Imagining the Nation in the Public School Textbooks of Afghanistan (2001-2021)

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Thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

Faculty of Education

University of Ottawa

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Abstract

This thesis applies critical discourse analysis to analyze the discursive construction of the nation as an imagined community (Anderson, 2006) in the patriotism, civic education, and history textbooks of Afghanistan's secondary public schools in circulation prior to the return to power of the Taliban in 2021. This study considers the textbooks both as sites for the contentious construction of ideology, discourse, and knowledge and as cultural artifacts. This analysis is situated in a double reading method. A dominant reading reconstitutes the imagining of community in the textbooks and a negotiated reading establishes the relationship between the textbooks' representations of the imagined community of the nation and the already imagined community in the society at large. The study finds that the imagining of the nation in the identified textbooks is problematically articulated with overlapping incoherent and negotiated discursive formations of nationalism and citizenship. The imagining is articulated by means of a conceptual pyramid in which history is the base or foundational element of the pyramid, tradition and democracy are the two side elements, and Islam is the apex of the pyramid with which all the above elements attain meaning. The textbooks imagine the nation as limited and sovereign through primordial, ethnocentric, and economic determinist representations and articulations of nationalism. A system of representations and articulations problematically constructs an incoherent and negotiated imagining that entails five thousand years of historical continuity, geographic fixity, and Aryan racial purity, all forged into a unity defined as contemporary sovereign Afghanistan.

An exclusionary imagining blemishes what Anderson calls the horizontal comradeship of the imagined community by inserting an implied master ethnicity, progressive but selective and stereotypical gendered acts and products of nationalism, and an urban-rural divide into the imagining. The imagining of the textbooks excludes subaltern identities, including those of Hindus and Sikhs, and the intersecting identities such as the uneducated women and the poor. The textbooks adapt and modulate conceptions that are textually in tension, constructing forged unities such as a pre-Islamic glorified Aryan racial nobility and Islamic morality; the embraced advent of Islam by Muslim invaders in Afghanistan and patriotic resistance against the Arab invaders; a historical, indigenous, yet modern constitutional democracy and Islamic law; and, a moderate Islam for domestic consumption and a confrontational, jihad-oriented, and a martyrdom-nurturing Islam against a globalizing and invading West.

The textbooks banally imagine the national community in Afghanistan by presumably benign representations of acts and products of nationalism and citizenship including rhetorical devices, analogies and metaphors; national maps, the anthem, and flags; the deixis of *we/our*; poetry and biographies; national heroes; and, images of monuments and historical artifacts. The textbooks historize, indigenize, Islamize, and gender both nationalism and citizenship in such a manner that one often becomes the building block of the other, culminating in overt and covert constructions of othering both nationally and internationally against Western schools of thought, systems of governance, and cultural expansion.

The findings of this study reveal a deep disparity in educational supply and demand, despite the popularity of education in Afghan society including for female students. National education policies incoherently officialized a centralized, standardized, and uniformed education across the country, which was often at odds with local realities. The national education strategic plans exceedingly became progressive and inclusive while the national curriculum frameworks faced the opposite trajectory, revealing the incoherence and impermanence of imagining the nation in education officialization. This study contributes to the understanding of the discourses of nationalism and citizenship in the imagining of national community in education in general, and in the context of Afghanistan, in particular.

Acknowledgements

I could not have embarked on my journey to acquire a PhD without the invaluable guidance and mentorship of my esteemed supervisor, Dr. Timothy Stanley. Throughout my doctoral studies and thesis research, Dr. Stanley provided supervision and laid the groundwork for my academic competence, critical thinking, and scholarly analysis. These intellectual assets will undoubtedly shape my academic and personal future. I am truly grateful to the members of my defense committee, Dr. Awad Ibrahim, Dr. Marie-Hélène Brunet, Dr. Nicholas Ng-A-Fook, and my external evaluator, Dr. Paul Tarc, for generously sharing their knowledge and feedback with me. Special thanks also go to my defense committee member, the late Dr. Lorna McLean, whose teachings on learning and unlearning history as well as her emphasis on feminism profoundly influenced my perspective in the course of writing my thesis. I also extend my appreciation to the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa, for financing my PhD studies.

I extend my heartfelt gratitude to my family and friends for their unwavering support throughout the years of my doctoral studies. In particular, I am indebted to my husband, Yaqub Ibrahimi, who served as my inspiration through his own perseverance and dedication in the acquisition of knowledge. My mother's unconditional love and selfless support were instrumental in the success of my journey. Every word of this thesis is penned with my father in mind, as he always expected nothing less than my pursuit of a PhD.

I owe a profound debt of gratitude to my teachers in my homeland of Afghanistan, who, despite facing bombed schools, resource-deprived classrooms, ideology-driven textbooks, unpaid salaries, and personal danger, never wavered in their commitment to education. It is to those resilient educators that I attribute my choice of research domain—the intersection of society and education. This thesis serves as a tribute to all Afghan textbook authors who courageously included progressive content in the textbooks despite facing adversity from regressive elements. My personal commitment to concluding this thesis was moved by the remarkable activism of all those common Afghans, particularly women and girls, who despite the daunting risks of imprisonment, confinement, and exile, steadfastly persevere in their quest for the right to education.

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Abbreviations

CETB	Civic Education Textbook
GoA	Government of Afghanistan
HSTB	History Textbook
MEC	Independent Joint Anti-Corruption Monitoring and Evaluation Committee
MoE	Ministry of Education
NCFs	National Curriculum Frameworks
NCF 2003	National Curriculum Framework 2003
NCF 2011	National Curriculum Framework 2011
NESP I	National Education Strategic Plan (2006-2010)
NESP II	National Education Strategic Plan (2010-2014)
NESP III	National Education Strategic Plan (2017-2021)
*NESP*s	National Educational Strategic Plans
PATB	Patriotism Textbook
SIGAR	Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction

Chapter One: Introduction

The overarching objective of this thesis is to analyze the imagining of the nation in the public school textbooks of post-September 11, 2001 Afghanistan. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's (2006) notion of imagined community, my analysis engaged in an inquiry into how the textbooks imagine the nation through the discursive construction of nationalism and citizenship. In my theoretical analysis of imagining the nation, and as my positionality on the themes of nationalism and citizenship, I juxtaposed the two themes to contend that they problematically overlap both conceptually and in the analyzed textbooks through systems of representation and articulation culminating in the construction of a forged discursive unity marked by incoherence, fluidity, negotiation, and impermanence.

The research questions that guide this study are as follows:

1. How do public school history, citizenship, and patriotism textbooks of Afghanistan discursively construct the imagining of the nation?
    a. How do they represent nationalism and citizenship?
    b. What specific representational strategies do they use to construct the relationship between the two?
2. How does this imagining of the nation articulate (with) the negotiated reading of common knowledge in the society?

The overall structure of this study is multifaceted. For an illustration of the overall framework of this study please refer to Annex A. The epistemological lens of my thesis is poststructuralism in recognition of language as a meaning production structure in systems of power (Williams, 2005). I disrupted settled and nuanced aspects of nationalism and citizenship discourses as constructed in the secondary text sources of this inquiry. The poststructural perspective led this study to Critical Discourse Analysis methodology as both emphasize the discursive practices of structures, underscore the nexus of language, power and knowledge, and reveal the incoherence, fluidity, negotiation, and impermanence of discourse without losing sight of the interconnection of power and inequality (Angermuller, 2020). In other words, discourse

analysis is the reasonable connection between the epistemological and methodological choices of this study.

The methodology of my thesis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). As a multidisciplinary perspective, CDA is constituted of a three-dimensional framework, namely, text (including talk and visual images), discourse practice (i.e., production, distribution, and consumption cycle of a text), and social practice (i.e., context) in which text navigates the discourse practice cycle (Fairclough, 1996; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). As such, the breadth (i.e., the span of knowledge) and depth (i.e., the quantity) of themes selected to critically analyze a discourse are impossible to exhaust in one study. In this study, my inquiry is focused on the discursive construction of imagining the nation. Therefore, I mainly analyzed the identified textbooks, highlighted the major events that mark the textbooks' discourse practice, and presented a critical analysis of social practice demonstrating that an imagined community was already in existence when the textbooks participated in imagining the nation. My application of CDA can be best explicated as treating text as a site where the triangle of language, power, and ideology constructs imaginings of the nation in the public school textbooks of Afghanistan.

The application of CDA in the analysis of the identified textbooks consists of two sets of approaches: CDA-specific and interdisciplinary approaches. In CDA tradition, Fairclough (2010a) does not use the term 'method' but 'methodology' as he does not view analysis as the selection and application of pre-existing methods but a process in which theory constructs an "object of analysis" (p. 5). Hence, the first approach is the utilization of CDA analytical tools; namely, an intertextual analysis (Fairclough, 1996; Fairclough, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2001), a double deconstructive reading of the text (Fairclough, 1996, van Dijk, 2006; Glaser, 1992), and ideology formation or 'ideological square' also known as 'Other-negative presentation' (van Dijk, 2006). The second approach is the utilization of an interdisciplinary analytical and interpretive approach. As explicated below, this approach consists of a theory of nationalism and a conceptual framework. As demonstrated in the theoretical construction and conceptual framework of this study, I employed both the CDA-specific and interdisciplinary approaches in the analysis of the text, discourse practice, and social practices relevant to this inquiry.

The theoretical construction of this study is social constructivism from *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006) perspective with such derivatives of nationalism as primordialism (Shils, 1995; Gibsly, 2005), ethnocentrism (Smith, 1993), and economic determinism (Gellner,

2006). Because I contend that imagining the nation entails both nationalism construction and citizenship formation in discourse, and the textbooks in question are products of the government, in line with Gellner's portrayal of interplay between the political and the public, I present several citizenship frameworks to illustrate the overlap of the two both conceptually and in the textbooks. Within the presented citizenship and citizenship education debate that underlines marginalization and exclusion including women, this study has a preference for *social transformative citizenship* because it transcends the binary of traditional versus progressive citizenship by underscoring justice as a central objective of citizenship (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Hence, the theoretical framework of this study is imagined community constituting both nationalism and citizenship constructions.

The conceptual framework of this study is comprised of *discourse* (Hall, 1992) *banal markings of nationalism* (Billig, 1995), *representational systems* (Hall, 1997), and *articulation* (Hall, 1988; 1985) as foundational conceptions that serve as analytical and interpretive devices. *The application of these concepts within the poststructural and* CDA enriched my inquiry of imagining the community in the textbooks by decentering the dominant and centring the marginal acts and products of nationalism and citizenship. It is within this context that the study yielded findings that denote a discursive forged community imagining that is constituted by incoherence, fluidity, negotiation, and impermanence (Hall, 1992).

This study utilized primary and secondary data sources. The primary text source of my study was comprised of multiple sources; fifteen public school textbooks of the Ministry of Education in Afghanistan, identified through a purposive sampling method, three national education strategic plans, two curriculum frameworks, and the Afghanistan Law of Education. The textbooks in question were produced in 2017 (except one in 2018) by the Ministry of Education (MoE) of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (henceforth GoA) for grades seven to twelve. I critically analyzed the textbooks prior to the fall of the GoA and the return of the Taliban in 2021. The primary text source consisted of six civic education textbooks, six history textbooks, and three patriotism textbooks. I selected the reviewed textbooks as they were most likely to address my areas of interest, namely nationalism and citizenship discursive construction. Furthermore, the choice of textbooks from lower secondary (Grades 7-9) and upper secondary (Grades 10-12) levels occurred naturally as the selected textbooks were offered in these grades. The textbooks were officially in circulation until the resurgence of the Taliban in

2021. It is anecdotally confirmed that the textbooks are still in circulation in public schools across the country in either complete or censored formats depending on their content.

The MoE produced a number of documents that officialized education in the country. First, three five-year National Strategic Education Plans (henceforth, *NESP*s) were published which detailed educational vision, objectives, approaches, and implementation strategies for 2006-2010; 2010-2014; and 2017-2021. Second, the MoE published two National Curriculum Frameworks (henceforth *NCFs*) in 2003, revised in 2006, and in 2011. This document outlined details of the country's textbooks. The textbooks analyzed in this study were planned under the latter curriculum framework. Third, the Ministry of Justice of the GoA published the Afghanistan *Law of Education* in 2008 which mandated the MoE to maintain education society nexus, among others.

The secondary text source of this research is classified into three clusters as follows. The first cluster is comprised of official documents of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan pertinent to public education. The second cluster incorporates reports produced by international institutions for a contextual examination of the role of international institutions in textbook development. The usage of news articles is inevitable in this study due to the recency of the post-9/11 events and the scarcity of their interconnected nuances in scholarly works. The third cluster includes scholarly articles and books about education and textbooks in Afghanistan. As such, the secondary sources are comprised of diverse national and international sources. The primary and secondary text sources are intertextually analyzed both within the same category and between them. Intertextuality, the shifting impact of texts on the fluidity of meanings of one another (Hall, 1997; Fairclough, 1995), allows codes to emerge for each text and demonstrates the complexity of interconnection between misleadingly unrelated codes' meanings. I undertook substantive coding (Glaser, 1992; 2016) for accurate encoding/decoding of primary text source constructs. The findings of this study are presented individually as *dominant reading* and *negotiated meanings* respectively (Hall, 1997). Likewise, this study applies the method of image deconstruction (Werner, 2002) for the study of primary text source analysis.

My aspiration in conducting this study is multifaceted. The writing of this thesis could not be feasible without an exercise of reflexivity both as an academic endeavour and a personal journey. A reflexive approach brings the subjectivity of a researcher into the discursive spaces that inhabit ideologies, beliefs, and experiences impacting content analysis and meaning

reconstruction (Zienkowski, 2017, p. 9). In 2021, my Ph.D. thesis writing was faced with the unfortunate return of the Taliban to power – twenty years after their fall in 2001. Immediately after, scenes of grieving girls (and boys) in disbelief at the educational verdicts of the Taliban that banned schooling for girls in secondary and higher education surfaced in social media rendering me to relive my nightmares of inflected agony, despair, and worthlessness as a student before I escaped the Taliban's first rule (1996-2001) with my family. I left behind my studies as a first-year student of medicine faculty to work as a refugee with no status in Pakistan before migrating to Canada. One factor, however, remained constant in my personal, professional, and academic displacements in the past decades; my nostalgia for my home country, for my school as a place for learning and socialization, and for my textbooks that we would cheerfully finish reading multiple times in a school year merely because our schools were not in possession of trade books. In search of an already cherished identity, amid many in-betweennesses that life later presented as both a challenge and a chance, I found the feasibility of returning to my home country school and textbooks through this thesis. I embarked on the critical analysis of Afghanistan textbooks prior to the resurgence of the Taliban to power. This journey has been both rewarding and, since 2021, poignant.

I identify as a beneficiary of the education system in Afghanistan up to grade twelve of public school under the Soviet occupation and Islamists' domestic war. I consider my studentship experience as not only a right but given its scarcity in the context of Afghanistan a privilege, too. My interaction with education as a public good was influenced by national universal educational policies rendering at the time my privileged socio-economic position and bi-ethnic (Pashtun and Tajik) identity irrelevant in the interest of communality, commonality, and uniformity under the prevailed communist and Islamist ideologies. These circumstances incoherently safeguarded me from many forms of marginalizations and exclusions that prevailed in society and education. Hence, as a youth in such a privileged position, I have the lived experience of induction into citizenry affect through education. Conversely, through an academic critical lens, I perceive education by dominant power apparatuses which Michel Foucault (1982) termed, 'technologies of the self' that call for safeguarding the public good through *self-regulation* and *self-examination*. When I was a recipient of the public good, the technologies of the self were deployed by socialists and subsequently by Islamist ideology formation practices. Hence, my perception of education as merely a public 'good' is presently displaced by my current

comprehension of the influence of the state-governed education policies. Consequently, both the unstable affect and the critique of self-regulation have been constantly present throughout my analysis in this thesis in search of a third space to reconcile the two.

In the past decades, my personal experience as an Afghan-Canadian and my professional profile as an international development practitioner educationalist and education programs evaluator have taken me to the Afghanistan education context. I commenced my role as an educator in Afghanistan at an early age amid civil war (1994-1995) teaching English at private schools and later on under the first Taliban rule supporting an underground homeschool for girls when my right to education was taken on gender grounds. Ever since education has been a cause and a commitment for me. In Afghanistan, more recently (2013-2015), I was engaged in an unprecedented Canadian initiative that aimed to develop a teacher training accreditation policy at the Teacher Training College of the MoE. Later (2016), following the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) reports that raised the alarm about the lack of transparency in textbook development, I played a leadership role in the evaluation of textbook development, production, and consumption at the MoE and the assessment of their implications on teachers, students, families, printing companies, and the black market. These encounters, my international assignments elsewhere in South Asia, and lived personal and educational experiences in Canada and the United States, situated some of my perspectives on education vis-a-vis society and displaced others. Consequently, I have established a profound belief in bringing the two (i.e., education and society) closer to making sense of one through the other. I anticipate that this thesis will enlighten me and those with mutual interest in this topic.

It is evident, therefore, that the embankment of my PhD thesis was not only a scholarly but also a personal endeavour to reconcile my positionality as an Afghan and as a Canadian. As an Afghan, I was nurtured as a gendered subject of a historically, geographically, culturally, ethnically, and religiously situated nation. As a Canadian, I was reproduced as a critical citizen with celebrated intersecting identities that were defined by law-producing institutions on behalf of my individuality. My academic education, while a Canadian citizen, guided me to deconstruct the binary of my two positions and to reconcile the two in a third place. It is partially this experience that constructed my gaze on the connection between individual and nation and nationalism and citizenship. It emerged from my personal experience that the third place is

incoherent, fluid, perpetually negotiated, and impermanent. My lived experience, therefore, is reflected in this scholarly endeavour.

I am cognizant of not only this personal but also my academic in-betweenness in my journey of knowledge production in this study. On the one hand, I employ my acquired academic expertise into practice, on the other, the subject matter of my study comes from a context distant from Western methodologies of meaning making. To reconcile this in-betweenness, I adopted a few approaches. Firstly, the realization that I problematically belonged to two imagined communities was a pathway to my engagement with Benedict Anderson (2006), and consequently, to my contextualization of his imagined community conception with citizenship and citizenship education as discursive practices that construct imagining community. Second, I acquired the position that imagining community is possible in any nation through the adaptation and modulation of the concept itself. Therefore, my choice of imagined community perspective with such derivatives of nationalism as primordialism (Shils, 1995; Gibsly, 2005), ethnocentrism (Smith, 1993), and economic determinism (Gellner, 2006) stems from my initiative to create a theoretical context that can accommodate the peculiarities of Afghanistan. Anderson's imagined community that leaves out the impact of government as a participating agency in imagining the nation is complemented by Gellner's positioning of government as a service delivery entity in search of political legitimization. Gellner's state formation along high and low cultures deflates the significance of culture and history as building blocks of the power apparatus. Therefore, I integrated primordialism and ethnocentrism for contextualizing Gellner and Anderson's notions of nationalism to Afghanistan's context rather than conversely situating Afghanistan within those theories.

Third, with the support of my academic supervisor's (Stanley, 2011; 2009) publications, I was able to apply the theoretical and empirical Western knowledge in the analysis of textbooks of Afghanistan without compromising the specificities of the socio-cultural and historical context of my field of study. Timothy Stanley's work emphasizes the importance of considering documents (such as textbooks) as "windows to the past" and "external reality" (Stanley, 2011, p. 9) and calls for the multiplicity of voices for an open space in which grand narratives are restructured (2009). Therefore, I treated the analyzed textbooks as open to interpretation and their analysis as open to a multidisciplinary approach. Fourth, in the absence of indigenous methodologies for textbook analysis in Afghanistan, as discussed in Chapter Four, this study is

situated within a poststructural and CDA analytical framework that minimizes the susceptibility of indigenous meanings of the textbooks to Western knowledge reconstruction.

The rest of this thesis is presented as follows. In Chapter Two, I present the theoretical approach of this study and analyze selected literature on nationalism, citizenship, and citizenship education in the textbook. I explore the discursive process of imagining of nation and the formation of citizenship in the textbook. I contend that the discursive formation of nationalism and citizenship problematically overlap conceptually and in the textbook. In Chapter Three, I present the conceptual framework of this study. The conceptual underpinning of my thesis consists of the conceptions of *imagined community*, *banal nationalism*, *representation*, a*rticulation*, and *discourse*. I introduce these systems of social construction and review their application in the analysis of this thesis. In Chapter Four, I highlight the multifaceted methodological underpinnings of this study. The chapter will discuss the epistemology and methodology of my analysis. Moreover, the chapter presents an overview of data sources, coding, and analysis. In Chapter Five, I present the context of education in Afghanistan (2001 – 2021) by analyzing the officialization of the national education in the three curricula, three National Education Strategic Plans, and the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008) produced and implemented by the MoE between 2001 and 2021. Furthermore, I analyze schooling challenges and present a summary of the literature on nationalism and citizenship in Afghanistan.

In Chapter Six and Chapter Seven, I answer part (a) of the first research question by analyzing primary text sources. I present the imagining of the nation through the constructions of patriotism and citizenship. I conduct a preferred reading of the textbooks from the perspective of the textbook authors. In Chapter Eight, I answer part (b) of the first research question by analyzing primary text sources. I discuss specific representational strategies that enable imagining the nation through the constructions of patriotism and citizenship. I conduct a negotiated reading of the textbooks from the textbook reader's (my) perspective. Chapter Nine answers the second research question by analyzing both primary and secondary texts. I conduct a negotiated reading of the textbooks from the reader's (my) perspective considering common knowledge in Afghan society. This chapter discusses the plausible impact of the constructions of imagining the nation on student readers. In Chapter Ten, I present concluding remarks, discuss

how these textbooks may reimagine the nation for a just and equitable patriotism and nationalism, and highlight areas for further research arising from my findings.

Chapter Two: Nationalism, Citizenship, and Citizenship Education

In this chapter, I analyze the imagining of nation through the construction of patriotism and citizenship in the textbook. I contend that the discursive formation of nationalism and citizenship problematically overlap. I further argue that citizenship on its merit and due to its roots in nationalism articulates with and represents an exclusionary sociocultural framework both theoretically and in the textbooks. The remainder of this chapter proceeds as follows. First, I present a discussion of the conceptions of nationalism and patriotism. Second, I examine the interconnections of nationalism and citizenship. Third, I discuss the textbook as a discursive product that is constituted by and is constitutive of nationalism and citizenship. Fourth, I present a review of post-9/11 Afghanistan public school textbooks analysis literature. Finally, I conclude the findings of this chapter and highlight its relevance to the study of this thesis.

Nationalism and Patriotism

The discursive site where the quest for the origin and structures of nationalism occurs is contentious. By looking at Antony Smith's work alone, one observes that the literature on nationalism has yielded an extensive taxonomy each deserving an elaborate analysis (Coakley, 2018, p. 334-342). Hence, the objective of this review is not to provide an exhaustive overview of conceptions of nationalism but rather to contextualize the construction of nationalism in Afghanistan. Therefore, I analyze primordialism (including ethnocentrism), economic determinism, and constructivist modernism for their relevance to the cultural structures of the society in Afghanistan. Primordialism corresponds to multi-ethnic and tribal social structures, economic determinism to relations between economic systems and political and social service structures, and constructivist modernism to all of the above from a socio-cultural perspective relevant to the study of education and society nexus. In this section of the chapter, first I will present the constructivist modernist notion of imagined community (Anderson, 2006) as my theory of choice for nationalism. Next, I situate this notion in the broader literature on nationalism and patriotism to exhibit the intricacies of nationalism on the one hand and to justify my preference for a constructivist modernist approach on the other.

Imagining nation-ness is a modern phenomenon. Benedict Anderson (2006) views the nation in sociocultural terms and depicts why people conceive themselves as members of an imagined community that paradoxically is "both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 6). In

Anderson's account, the nation is simultaneously a community and imagined because the c*ommun*ity is attained through a *horizontal comradeship* of those who have no knowledge about and contact with one another. For Anderson, this community was engendered following the demise of religion-oriented hierarchical dynasties and the advent of the enlightenment. Hence, the manner through which nations come into being can be best viewed as a discursive formation of imagining that connects the present to the past.

The conception of a nation as an imagined community is built on historically situated social assets. From Anderson's (2006) perspective, imagining is (re)articulated with the common cultural ground such as history, collective memory, language, and ethnicity in ways that justify the present. Anderson negates natural causes of national attachment (i.e., blood and ethnicity) but brings to the limelight the enabling attributes of imagining that were previously neglected in the theorization of nationalism formation. For instance, *vernacular literacy* that was possible through the mass production of newspapers and novels culminated in a sense of simultaneity and connection beyond spatial confines. For Anderson, nationalism was prompted by industrialization processes that offered a sense of commonality, shared simultaneity of time, sameness of lifestyle, and coincidence of places far apart (Calhoun, 2016). Therefore, imagined community is not contrary to real community but to relationships that are face-to-face. This imagining hinges on common lifestyles, shared reading texts, and simultaneous events that transcend objective spatial and temporal differentiations experienced by its members. It entails an imagining that was rendered possible through *acts of nationalism* that relied on the representation of cultural *products of nationalism* such as cultural performances, ceremonial practices, and national symbols depicted in flags, maps, poetry, and the national anthem (Anderson, 2006, p. 141). Hence, imagining a community is a contemporary construction of nationalism built on the ruins of pre-capitalist socio-cultural structures.

Imagining a community is contingent upon the re-articulation of the historical social formation processes and this can often be unjust. According to Anderson (2006), a nation imagines its past and current existence through discriminatory language policies such as in the case of Latin-speaking Magyar in the 18th century (p. 175), and the use of symbolism, such as the colonial use of the census, the map, and the museum in Southeast Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries (pp. 163-165). Anderson expounds, an *official nationalism* emerged out of *linguistic nationalism* (p. 109)**.** People often participate in carrying out both of these nationalisms. Thus,

as Anderson asserts, in the name of national interest the imagining not only *limits* the community and its political borders but in this discursive juncture, its members too expand their comradeship to self-sacrifice (p. 144). Exploitation, marginalization, and exclusion are as present in imagined communities as comradeship (Stanley, 2006). With the aid of print capitalism, through nationalist acts (e.g., language policies) and products (e.g., vernacular language) a forged unity emerges that is characterized by discrimination on the one hand and horizontal comradeship, on the other.

Nationalism and its imagining are not infinite. Anderson (2006) warns that as an imagined community, a nation is impermanent; a nation may wake up one day and decide not to continue the imagining of nation-ness. However, the demise of the nation and imagining do not come too soon and too rapidly because "nationalism has undergone a process of modulation and adaptation according to different eras, political regimes, economies, and social structures" (p. 156). Hence, nationalism is flexible yet impermanent. Anderson contends that to *denaturalize* and *demythologize* a nation, it is crucial to reimagine the nation by revisiting the elements that rendered imagining possible. Therefore, a community is a social unit in a perpetual state of imagining, unimagining, and reimagining in order to ensure its existence.

Reimagining nation-ness is not indicative of the demise of nationalism. As Anderson (2006) articulates: "The 'end of the era of nationalism', so long prophesied, is not remotely in sight. Indeed, nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time" (p. 21). Therefore, it is essential to study the nation and nationalism not only as a contemporary human society's social structure but also as one that will remain relevant in the distant future. In Craig Calhoun's (2016) words: "What scholars must examine is not so much the truth or falsity of national imagining but the different styles and forms in which nationhood is rendered, and the material and practical conditions for the production of national imagining" (p. 12). Hence, nationalism analysis is a quest for representations and articulations of social units and organizations rather than a quest for falsification of national imagining.

For the purpose of my thesis, imagining community can be best comprehended by situating this constructivist notion of nationalism in the alternative theoretical notions of nationalism. I contrast imagined community with primordialism including ethnocentrism and economic determinism. Primordialism traces nationalism in pre-industrial societies that precede the more developed forms of kingship and ethnicity. On the relevance of primordialism to contemporary debates, John Coakley (2018) asserts that recently more theories have been built on the

application of some elements of primordialism to analyze the contemporary articulations of nationalism. Following Coakley, I discuss the primordialism term as a *nationalist ideology* enacted by habitats rather than nationalism as a *unit of analysis* for social scientists (p. 329). In other words, as Coakley asserts, primordialism presumes the manners through which people have made sense of their collective being rather than a correspondence of people's practices and beliefs to contemporary theories of nationalism. Hence, it is no marvel to find elements of primordialism in the contemporary reproduction of nationalism.

From a primordial perspective, nationalism is characterized by naturality and commonality. Primordialism may be defined as "a sentiment, or affect-laden set of beliefs and discourses, about a perceived essential continuity from group ancestry to progeny (perceived kith and kin), located symbolically in a specific territory or place (which may or may not be the current place of the people concerned)" (Coackley, 2018, p. 329). Despite being in an early stage of social development, the primordial perspective affirms that people had a sense of nationality. Edward Shils (1995) maintains; "As long as human beings regarded membership in a territorial collectivity, going beyond kinship and ethnicity, as a valid criterion for regarding themselves as members of a distinctive collective unity, there was rudimentary nationality" (p. 96). Nation, as the origin of nationalism from a primordial perspective, is "a naturally occurring social grouping, often marked by cultural features such as a shared language, a single religion, shared customs and traditions, and shared history" (Gibsly, 2005, p. 51). The peculiarity of ethnic identity, biological characteristics, and traditions constructed around kinship and territorial claims, render a nation homogenous and distinct from others (Shils, 1995; Gibsly, 2005). In such a depiction, national identities are defined as real, fixed, essential, and singular. Despite its impracticality today, the aforementioned cultural trait of the primordial conception has a presence in the following modernist conceptualization of nationalism.

Primordialism emerged into ethnocentrism, however, perceived as a modern phenomenon. The ethnocentric account of Adam Smith developed over time yielding several conceptual frameworks and terminologies (Coakley, 2018). The purposive selection of Smith's ethnic perspective in this study is in recognition of the conceptual development of nationalism and its empirical application to the multi-ethnic society of Afghanistan. Smith (1998) asserts that in modern nationalism, *ethnies* reinterpret history by securing ancient cultural ingenuity to preserve contemporary ethnic interests. *Ethnies* are "a named human population with myths of common

ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of the common culture, a link with a homeland, and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members" (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996, p. 6). In essence, ethnicity is an identical phenomenon to nationalism, although it may sound paradoxical because both a nation and an ethnic group are constructed by biological, linguistic, and cultural diversities yet each is regarded with a false sense of homogeneity (Miller, 1995). In this account, ethnicity is the inherent element of nationalism.

Though ethnocentrism derives from primordial cultural traits, it varies from a primordial account given its political attributes in three processes. For Smith (1993), the first process is *vernacular mobilization* or the "rediscovery by ethnic intellectuals of indigenous traditions, customs, memories, symbols and, especially, language and their dissemination to wider strata of the designated population" (p. 35). The second process is "*cultural politicization* of the vernacular heritage" as a characteristic of the transition from *ethnies* to the nation through a process of redefining cultural wisdom and virtue as a political means to defend internal and external enemies (p. 35). The third and consequent process is *ethnic purification* described as the belief that "to preserve the culture, to guard against alien and contaminating influences, it must be kept unadulterated – indeed, it must be purged and purified" (p. 36). These processes imply that the political structure of *ethnies* is articulated with vernacular culture to reconstruct indigeneity through a reinterpretation of the historical social assets. Given the emphasis of ethnocentrism on vernacularity, historical reinterpretation, and ethnicity as a socio-biological attribute, elements of primordialism can be found in its articulation of nationalism. Smith's depiction of transformation from *ethnies* into *cultural politicization* and *ethnic purification*, however, is established on the premises of fixity and permeance, hence it fails to portray the non-linear sociocultural formations of nations and the causes of discursive junctures, transformations, and shifts. Anderson's (2006) portrayal of nationalism presents the convincing assertion that dynastical cultural erosion, the rebirth of a new culture through print capitalism, and their consequent sense of comradeship culminated in the imagining of nation that is neither fixed nor permanent. Therefore, Anderson's account is a stark evolution from perceiving nationalism as a fixed phenomenon along ethnic lines to a cultural phenomenon marked by the collapse of certain institutions and the rebirth of others under new economic and linguistic circumstances.

Against the above primordial and ethnocentric backdrop, economic determinism portrays nationalism as a contemporary-era construction involving the state more holistically. Ernest

Gellner (2006) emphasizes that the inevitable and consequent processes of industrialization have culminated in the production of nationalism through the decentralization of a communal social structure in urban centres, a centralized system of power with the promise of social services, and a modern form of economic mode of production. They utilized culture to facilitate the simultaneous and harmonious movement of all these structures. Gellner's account depicts nationalism from a macro scale nation formation perspective, however, it is Anderson's (2006) account of print capitalism that explicates *how* common people started to enact nationalism in their daily lives. Gellner's account is critical for taking a holistic stance on the articulation of nationalism formation by connecting the political, the cultural, and the economy as prerequisites.

Despite the differentiation between primordial and ethnocentric nationalisms, and Gellner's common-era nationalism, the commonality between them is culture. Gellner's (2006) account of an industrialized social system does not treat humans as merely a production machine but as one in need of culture. Gellner (2006) asserts "[…] culture is now the necessarily shared medium, the life-blood or perhaps rather the minimal shared atmosphere, within which alone the members of the society can breathe and survive and produce" (p. 36). Despite the ostensible breakage with the ethnic cultural past, Gellner's (2006) conception of culture does not stray too far from the primordial and ethnocentric perspectives: "The teacher class is now in a sense more important – it is indispensable – and in another sense much less so, having lost its monopoly of access to the cultural wisdom enshrined in scripture" (p. 36). In a more explicit statement, one reads Gellner's (2006) need to historicize his premisses of industrial economic determinism through a cultural past: "The industrial age inherited both the political units and the cultures, high and low, of the preceding age" (p. 50). The culture that Gellner refers to is political and, therefore, profoundly different from primordial and ethnocentric perspectives as it depends on the state for its nourishment to maintain functionality. In short, while Gellner emphasizes power and economy, it is evident that in his theorization of nationalism, culture has become commonplace.

Geller's (2006) construction of industrial culture does not denote social heterogeneity but like primordialism and ethnocentrism, homogeneity. Gellner maintains the industrial economic system has an "objective need" for a "mobile, literate, culturally standardized, and interchangeable population" (p. 44). In Gellner's account, as opposed to Smith's (1993) conception of vernacular culture, the nation is standardized and homogenized through modern practices that are imperative for establishing a *high (literate) culture* through education and

communication (Gellner, 2006, p. 37, 53). Against the high culture possessed by powerholders, Gellner positions *low (folk) culture* belonging to the uneducated powerless who have the potential to become high culture should rival ethnic *intellectual awakeners* act upon it (p. 94). In this case, low culture, "with a good deal of effort and standardized and sustained propaganda, can be turned into a rival new high culture, whether or not sustained by the memory, real or invented, of a historical political unit allegedly once built around that same culture or one of its variants" (p. 94). These statements indicate that although Gellner presents a hypothesis about the rebirth of low cultures in the context of modern industrial-era nationalisms, he employs primordialism and ethnocentrism in defence of his explication of nationalism as a modern phenomenon. However, Gellner fails to explicate what exactly leads members of a nation to establish a sense of belonging particularly when the class economy, the forces of standardization (e.g., culture and education), the potential dissidence of 'low culture' communities, and rival ethnic intellectual awakeners pose as a divisive rather than a cohesive force. Conditioning nationalism to industrialization poses an applicational limitation in pre-industrial agrarian societies like Afghanistan. Can people of certain shared geography and history not envision themselves as a nation regardless of their scale of economic development and ethnographic composition? What may respond to this question is that nations imagine themselves as a community in their own contextual and circumstantial framework (Calhoun, 2016). Anderson's notion of imagined community helps here because his conception of nationalism is universally applicable regardless of the economic mode of production and social development of a people. In this imagining, the role of the political realm is explicated by Gellner.

Gellner (2006) views the nation as a state-crafted (i.e., government-crafted) ideology with an interest in economic performance to gain legitimacy through the provision of rights, responsibilities, and services. In this account, the correspondence between the nation and the state develops into an ideological entity. In other words, the nation needs the state (i.e., the government) for services and the state needs a nation for its existence and legitimacy. However, Smith (1991) draws a distinction between the two and maintains that a nation is a socio-cultural phenomenon while a state is a political entity. For Smith (1991), nationalism is an ideology that people rather than governments naturally depend on because it serves as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining the autonomy, unity, and identity of a nation" (p. 74). Both of these two notions of nationalism prove to be problematic. Gellner's (2006) account of

interdependence between the power and the people assumes a sustained unity in the interest of industrial processes of nation-building. Smith's position strips nationalism from the state's political influence in the interest of ethnic politics. Contrary to the two arguments, the nation coincides with the political. Antony Marx (2002), in line with Anderson, maintains that the social cohesion acquired through the homogenization processes of modern-era nationalism is not impartial. When Marx asserts that state "officials and elites" often "use selective evocations of history to project an image of prior legitimacy and purposefully forget inconvenient images or experiences of past or present internal division" (pp. 104-105), it is indicative of overlap and nexus amongst state, people, and a politico-cultural past. When Anderson (2006) enlightens us about power in and the power of language at the disposal of cultural elites the riddle resolves as one that presents nation-ness as an unconscious yet political imagining. Hence, the coincidence of people and power is an inevitable catalyst in connecting the past to the present and consequently in the sustenance of nations.

Exclusion is an inevitable consequence of nationalism. Exclusion across theoretical perspectives emerges from an ingroup and outgroup differentiation. From a primordial perspective (Shils, 1995; Gibsly, 2005), exclusion is caused by the differentiation of natural and communal characteristics such as race, territory, and history. From an ethnocentric viewpoint (Smith 1991; Smith, 1993; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996), the exclusion is a by-product of contrast based on ethnicity and the common cultural ground that enables its formation. However, from an economic determinist standpoint (Gellner, 2006) it is in fact state policies with respect to education, language, and economy that are liable for exclusion. In the last two theoretical perspectives (i.e., ethnocentrism and economic determinism), marginalization sustains until the forged national unity breaks and the marginal position of ethnic and economic groups is centralized. These notions of nationalism, however, do not scrutinize the vehicles and obstacles of nations' fall and reassemblage. Anderson (2006), however, imagines the nation as exclusionary and inequitable in general, and due to the racism of colonial influence on nation-building, in particular. Although Anderson does not engage in a subaltern discussion of nationalism (Calhoun, 2016, p. 13), he acknowledges the existence of inequality in nationalism imagining as *actual*. For Anderson (2006) nation "is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 9). In case of the disruption of the unity of a

nation, the communal imagining is over. However, according to Anderson, people reimagine themselves as a community. This last indication of Anderson helps the explication of the long existence of nations and nationalism despite their disintegration and rebirth. Hence, by virtue of Anderson's notion of imagined community, we comprehend that it is not only inclusion but paradoxically exclusion too that constructs nationalism in a perpetual vicious cycle of revision and revival.

Nationalism is articulated with multiple exclusionary systems of representation. Antony Marx (2002) asserts that "nationalism has been internally exclusive, not just along the lines suggested by the old debate about civic or ethnic forms but also according to race, gender, religion, and class" (p. 107). Of all forms of exclusions perhaps gender is a more commonplace discrimination because as a male-dominated discursive site nationalism until recently had remained a construct out of women's scope of access. Anne McClintock (1993) articulates that male nationalism theorists have overlooked the gendered representation of nationalism while white feminists have neglected ethnicity. It was in this context of multiple identities and marginalizations that the term i*ntersectionality* was coined in the 1980s as a framework to analytically deconstruct the complexity of power, privilege, and exclusion and construct the subaltern (Crenshaw, 1991). McClintock asserts in the representation of nationalism that women "[…] are typically constructed as symbolic bearers of the name but are denied any direct relation to the national agency" (p. 65). Sylvia Welby (1990) contends that the state is accountable to the gendered public and private spheres. Welby asserts that while gender roles have transitioned from *exclusionary private patriarchy* to *segregationist public patriarchy*, state institutions sustain the former (p. 178). Unlike McClintock (1993) and Welby (1990), Nira Yuval-Davis, Floya Anthias, and Jo Campling (1989) contend that the role of women in the construction of nationalism is prominent as biological reproducers marking ethnic group division and as ideological reproducers by participating in cultural, economic, and military struggles. In this perspective, in oppressive systems of ethnicity, race, and class, women are not only subjects or bearers of oppression but are also objects or producers of repression. Therefore, both men and (and even excluded) women partake in the gendered and exclusionary formation of nationalism.

The unity of nationalism yet its exclusionary nature is indicative of incoherence in the formation of the ostensibly cohesive ideology. Nationalism may be viewed as what Stuart Hall (2021) calls a forged but unfixed and impermanent unity that is held not only by similarities but

also differences of its parts that are manifested in hegemonic relations of domination and subjugation. Hence, the correspondence between culture and *ethnies* (Smith), state and nation (Gellner), and among unequally treated national members (Anderson) is a unity that is forged through power differentiation. These processes are defined by Teun van Dijk (1998) as an ideological enactment of three processes undertaken by elites; the utilization of common cultural grounds, their purposive selection in accordance with the characteristics of their group membership, and their representation to meet a distinct end. The aforementioned and following explications demonstrate the ideological nature of nationalism.

Within the above context of nationalism as an ideology, nationalism as a discursive concept emerges into its other forms from civic nationalism to patriotism. Van Dijk's (1998) enactment of ideological formation is evident in how nationalism surpasses ethnicity to attain civility. In civic arrangements of nationalism, national identity remains the main identity marker complemented by liberal values of individualism and democracy ensured through political systems (Miller, 1995). The civic modality of nationalism is lucid about the inclusion of individualism and democracy but remains evasive about the substitution or removal of ethnicity in its broader cultural sense. On this evasiveness, Yael Tamir (2019) maintains that civic nationalism is a superficial reformation of ethnic nationalism. For Tamir, the incentive for the move toward civility is the Western perception of ethnicity as violent and hence undesirable both theoretically and empirically. In reality, Tamir contends, "by waving the civic flag, Western democracies pretend to be more peaceful and inclusive than they are, fostering a self-image that allows them to exonerate themselves, leaving them unprepared to deal with internal conflicts" (p. 431). Tamir (2019) contends that the shift from ethnic to civic is a deliberate attempt in which "the roles of culture, language, religion, ethnicity, and race are minimal and can therefore be ignored" (p. 431-432). Civics adds to the building blocks of nationalism construction from a political perspective, that is not inherently inclusionary, while it cannot escape the exclusionary cultural substructure from which it acquires its substances for imagining the community.

Another example of the enactment of ideology formation (van Dijk, 1998) of nationalism is patriotism which addresses the exclusive traits of nationalism toward inclusivity. However, like nationalism and its civic derivative, patriotism is controversial. George Orwell (1968) distinguishes between nationalism and patriotism characterizing the former as offensive, power-oriented, and collective, and the latter as defensive, devotion oriented, and individualistic.

Orwell's notion positions patriotism as a moral obligation. The problem with this approach is that morality is subject to philosophical inquiry to which Alasdair MacIntyre (1984) has a response. MacIntyre seeks moral justification in patriotism for the national project and national interest rather than the government. This notion, which is close to Smith's (1991) claim that nationalism is people's rather than government's ideology, underestimates the interconnection between the two particularly in autocracies where people are excluded from participation in the formation of the nation. This void may be answered by Joel Westheimer (2006) who distinguishes between authoritarian patriotism and democratic patriotism. Authoritarian patriotism "asks for unquestioning loyalty to a cause determined by a centralized leader or leading group" (p. 610) and democratic patriotism requires "being true and loyal to the principles of democracy" (Howard Zinn in Westheimer, 2006, p. 610). One of the characteristics of democracy is a constitution. Jürgen Habermas (1994) called for swaying away from ethnic-based national pride and orienting toward constitutional patriotism as it offers simultaneously group identity and a legal basis for the exercise of power. However, one may argue that patriotism even in its constitutional form is exclusionary. The constitution-making processes and the constitution's content are taken for granted as equitable; however, they are often marked by exclusion and marginalization (Flyvbjerg, 1998). It is within this context that patriotism as an inclusive substitute for nationalism may be regarded with skepticism. Stephen Backhouse (2013) views nationalism and patriotism as similar and concludes that "by telling you *who* you are and *what* you should love, patriotic narratives make overarching identity claims along similar lines to nationalism […]" (p. 47, emphasis in original). Marco Bitschnau and Marlene Mußotter (2022) not only question the dichotomous construction of nationalism and patriotism but also the assumption of their fixity over spatial and temporal variations. Therefore, like civic nationalism, patriotism and its manifestations are derivatives of nationalism ideology formation progression.

Nationalism is not only a conceptual formation but is also enacted banally in the lives of common citizens in ways that are not gender-neutral. Anderson's (2006) imagined community extracts material culture from census, maps, and museums to signs, myths, symbols, and ceremonial events that are articulated by national memory, and interpretation of history. Michael Billig (1995) refers to the recurring utilization of such signs in the everyday lives of common citizens as *banal nationalism* and argues that in the absence of religion and sacred language, languages, signs, and symbols become representations of nationalism. Banal nationalism is a

routine repetitive but insidious and subtle performance of common people that banally reinforces dominant nationalist representational systems through the application of signs and symbols in common textual and physical places and on ordinary objects (p. 6). McClintock (1993) calls everyday nationalism *masculine fetishism*, or the presentation of symbols through gendered *fetish objects* (e.g., architecture) and the enactment of nationalism through gendered *fetish spectacle* (e.g., military parade) (p. 74). Therefore, nationalism is not only a political agenda and a cultural manifestation but also a banal everyday cultural performance. Nationalism even in its banal enactment is exclusionary.

In conclusion, the discursive formation terrain of nationalism is expansive and contentious. There exist derivatives of nationalism, each of which responds to issues or gaps that nationalism formation is faced with yielding modern more sophisticated iterations. Processes of imagining the nation are the answer to many questions that cannot be responded to through theories of nationalism and their respective derivatives.

Citizenship and Citizenship Education

The premise that a nation is an imagined community raises the question of to what extent this imagining has penetrated considerations of the formation of the political sphere. Moreover, it gives rise to the issue of whether the cultural and the political realms coincide. I contend that while political, citizenship is comparably a cultural construction that is imagined in conjunction with ideas, ideals, and ideologies of nationalism. I further argue that citizenship education is a contentious site where the reconstruction of citizenship and nationalism coincide. In this section, I displace the conception of citizenship from its legal underpinning to a cultural position. I argue that nationhood cannot be comprehended solely through the presented theories of nationalism; namely primordialism, ethnocentrism, economic determinism, and constructivist modernism. These theories focus on natural, ethnic, industrial, and capitalist aspects of national formation in the absence of the political (citizenship) conception. Hence, rather than exhausting the literature on citizenship, I examine the conception of citizenship in comparison to these theories of nationalism. This approach will not only shed light on citizenship on its merit but will also expose its inevitable reliance on nationalism.

Despite an apparent intrinsic interrelation between nation-state and citizen, the discursive constructions of nationalism and citizenship are contentious and dichotomous. David McCrone

and Richard Kiely (2000) identify two understandings of citizenship and nationalism in the literature. First, they identify a liberal perspective that represents citizenship as Western and universalist, therefore, a good institution, contrasted against nation-ness as Eastern and particularistic, hence, bad conception. The authors find that the literature ascribes the institution of politics to citizenship and the culture to nationalism. Second, the authors highlight a revisionist notion that views nationalism and citizenship as similar phenomena. In other words, the particularity of identity formation as a cultural realm is an inevitable aspect of citizenship and, by extension, of politics. McCrone and Kiely dispute this, however, the authors reinforce the liberal view that they attempt to criticize. They do so outside of a value-ridden positive and negative dichotomous relation by contending that nationalism is a cultural conception that forms an imagined community while citizenship is a political phenomenon that constitutes state-citizen relations. Therefore, the binary position of the cultural and political under nationalism and citizenship markers is evident even in critical studies of the terms.

Against the above bifurcated backdrop, the debate concerning nationalism and citizenship has been further problematized. Most binary approaches to nationalism and citizenship overlook the notion that the boundary between the two is obscure and ephemeral. In this context, Toby Miller (2011) asserts that conventional natural attributes of identity such as soil and blood cannot define the social formation of citizenship due to the consequent effect of such complex social structures as culture and economic mode of production. However, the economy as a single attribute of citizenship is a reductionist approach that neglects the "questions of aboriginality, ethnicity, and nationalism in the formations of modern citizenship" (Turner, 1990, p. 197). Miller (2011) views culture as an attribute of the political institution of citizenship and defines cultural citizenship as; "the maintenance and development of cultural lineage through education, custom, language, and religion and the positive acknowledgement of difference in and by the mainstream" (p. 2). Therefore, the articulation of citizenship with culture represents the nationalist dimensions of citizenship formation and representation.

Like nationalism, the literature on citizenship presents the concept in dichotomous ethnic and civic terms. Tim Reeskens and Marc Hooghe (2010), in their study of thirty-three societies, have empirically tested the conceptions. However, on the one hand, they find that the ethnic and civic citizenship dichotomy is valid not only theoretically but also empirically because ethnic citizenship requires a common ancestry while civic citizenship requires obeying national laws,

and ethnic citizenship alone cannot lead to obeying national laws. On the other hand, the study finds that given the variation in their measurement, civic and ethnic citizenship is difficult to empirically test across societies. Hence, given the particularities of each society, the conjunction of the political and the cultural must be appreciated by contemplating citizenry as a catalyst converging the two.

The contemporary comprehension of citizenship is a testimony to the decisive citizenry performance in the citizenship arena. Thomas Humphrey Marshall (1950) depicted the gradual progression of citizenship rights in the 18th century as civil rights (equality before the law and individual rights), in the 19th century as political rights (notably universal suffrage), and in the 20th century as social rights (social-economic and cultural well-being). The critique of the Marshallian notion of citizenship has opened new spaces of controversy. Bryan Turner (1990) contends that "Marshall failed to emphasize the idea that historically the growth of social citizenship has been the outcome of violence or threats of violence, bringing the state into the social arena as a stabilizer of the social system" (p. 193-94). Turner presents the passive (top-down) and active (button-up) forms of citizenship contrasted against private and public (civil society) citizenship and concludes that rather than traditional citizenship (passive and private), as suggested by Marshall, citizenship is an outcome of a revolutionary (active and public) social formation. Debates like these, bring people from the margins of citizenship as a political entity to the centre of citizenship discursive spaces.

The circumstantial nature of exclusion in citizenship does not only imply erratic, intermittent, and sporadic eliminations but also systematic and historical marginalizations that not inadvertently but deliberately are of cultural characteristic and not secondarily but equally are important to nationalism. The absence of women from citizenship is a prominent illustration of exclusion on cultural grounds. Like nationalism, "citizenship is a status invented by men for men" (Heater, 2002, p. 120). Feminist citizenship debates have emerged around three main notions (Heater, 2002). First, the liberal political and civic debate endorses gender equality in both the private and public spheres. Second, the reformist argument perceives the economy as the extension of the male-dominated private sphere. Third, the transformational debate maintains that "the quintessentially feminine contributions of caring - for the family, for the neighbourhood, for the environment - may be integral features of the identity and status" (Heater, 2022, p. 129). The liberal view of citizenship is further criticized due to male dominance

expelling from the private to the public and leading to a confrontational gendered public (Welby, 1990). The feminist debate on citizenship is more intricate than the categorically situated schools of thought presented by Heater. Judy Tobler (2003) highlights the distinction between an equality-based traditional approach to citizenship in which women and men are considered equal hence their citizenship rights and performances are to be neutral and its alternative difference-based approach that necessitates preferential treatment of the subjugated gender. The author concludes: "A feminist citizenship must take account of women's (and men's) gendered subjectivity and the reality that there cannot be a truly gender-neutral citizenship" (p. 135). Such contentious construction of gender, the unsettled questions of the private versus public spheres and the equality-based versus difference-based traditions demonstrate the discursive formations of citizenship as a gendered phenomenon.

Citizenship is constituted through performative affect and it forms a role in citizenry suppression. Anne-Marie Fortier (2010) elaborates that a citizen is an affective subject defined as someone "whose conduct arises from desires, fears, anxieties, insecurities, affection, care, dis/trust, un/ease and so on" (p. 19). Fortier (2016) brings up the conception of governing through affect and emphasizes that affective citizenship is far from being neutral as "it arises from, requires and/or produces knowledge, labour, and (new) 'feeling rules'" (p. 1038). The ruling is dictated "through the conduct of a systematic and complex mechanism of subjectivation that considers a citizen as an 'affective citizen' but also reduces the citizen to an 'affective subject'" (Fortier 2010, p. 19). Affect does not impact everyone evenly, as Fortier (2016; 2010) reminds us, the subjective affect of some citizens is valued over others depending on their socioeconomic status. Hence, the erroneous claim of the universality of rights in citizenship culminates in inequality not only through rational political and economic systems, as discussed above but also through affect.

In the same manner as nationalism, citizenship selectively defines its identity targets. The affective phenomenon, as a characteristic of citizenship, has its roots in nationalist affect, history, and ideology. For instance, the question of self-sacrifice for a national cause may not be responded to merely by a primordial, ethnocentric, or modernist explication of nationhood built upon industrialization. Primordialism (Gibsly, 2005) views nationalist affect as a natural sentiment or linked to socio-biological ties, ethnocentrism (Hutchinson & Smith, 1993) as blood ties, loyalty, and solidary among national members, and economic determinism (Gellner, 2006),

complexifies affect by stating that "nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle of the importance of the congruence of the political and the nation or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment" (p. 1). This view cannot pronounce the impermanence of nations and the coexistence of anger and satisfaction. For Anderson (2006), however, "ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings" (p. 7). To borrow from Anderson, nations' unimagining and reimagining depict their anger and adaptation and modulation portray their satisfaction. Hence an 'affective subject' is a shared subject in the discursive formations of both citizenship and nationalism.

In conclusion, like nationalism, citizenship participates simultaneously in the production of social cohesion and division. Contrary to its claim, equality and universalism of citizenship are not innate but conditioned upon the circumstances surrounding its discursive formation including how a nation imagines itself with a primordial, ethnocentric, or economic determinist approach.

Citizenship Education

Perspectives on citizenship education vary depending on their ascribed value to education in general terms. The perspectives may be positioned in two broad approaches; the traditionalist approach to education contrasted against the progressive approach. The former calls for the depoliticization of education and advocates for a curriculum that descriptively emphasizes the government function and prescriptively the role of democracy in building a better future (Parker, 1996). James Ceaser and Patrick McGuinn (1998) outline the goals of traditional civic education in modern liberal democracies as consisting of three major mechanisms: first, "the transmission of knowledge and mores needed to create responsible and productive members of society" second, "teaching of specific skills, dispositions, and information helpful to performing the tasks of being a citizen in the strict public sense—voting, obeying the laws, paying taxes, and participating on juries and in politics", and third, "an attempt to foster an attachment to the nation's principles and institutions as objects worthy of respect, devotion, and sacrifice" (pp. 92-93). In this context, Kerry Kennedy (2019) asserts that the traditionalist approach reinforces the dominant discourse. For instance, there is reliance on history "especially the history that showed progress and development rather than the history that shows racism, discrimination, and class wars" (Kennedy, 2019, p. 5). John Dewey (1916), the founder of progressive education thought

asserts that the learner-society nexus is an essential element of modern education needs and should be reflective of society's complexities, foster creative thinking, and encourage problem solving of social issues. More recently, there has been a shift in education for democracy so that diverse backgrounds can exercise their rights both in the classroom and in society (Barber, 1992). The traditionalist and progressive education modalities continue to dominate the discursive terrain of education philosophy.

The problematization of the above dichotomous approaches to citizenship education stems from critical perspectives. The attainment of progressive education is a problematic undertaking because it is located at the crossroads of the past and future. Referring to this position of education, Peter Euben (1997) adds that in democracies education is faced with the problem of constructing the future for social cohesion without losing sight of dealing with past inequality controversies. It is within this context that Michal Apple (1991) asserts that knowledge is a product of power and as such, it may be concluded that education in its progressive form remains manipulative. Moreover, citizenship education is prone to conceptual incoherence and applicational inconsistence partly due to its inclination to homogenization. In Kennedy's (2019) opinion, historically in both democratic and authoritarian regimes, citizenship and civic education have focused on "an assumption of shared values, a focus on harmony rather than diversity and the production of a docile citizenry grateful for the past and trustful of the future and those who will manage it" (p. 5). In other words, education endorses social accord as evidenced by the fact that the "current attempts at CCE [citizenship and civic education] are more likely to stress tradition, conformity and stability in a democracy rather than revolution and renewal" (Kennedy, 2019, p. 6). This debate indicates that citizenship education even in its progressive form is controversial and only in a limited fashion accessible.

Between and beyond the traditional and progressive dichotomy of education lies transformative education. As per James Banks (2020), transformative education produces citizens who "take action to implement and promote policies, actions, and changes that are consistent with values such as human rights, social justice, and equality" even if they "violate existing local, state, and national laws (p. 156). Each of the above educational approaches; traditional, progressive, and transformative, produces distinct citizens. Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne (2004) highlight the three types of citizens emerging out of citizenship education. First, the "personally responsible citizen" has good character, is honest and law-abiding (p. 13),

and is produced within a traditionalist regime of education. Second, the "participatory citizen" engages in political systems but performs within the existing establishment (p. 39) and, therefore, is the byproduct of progressive education. Last, and the ideal form is the "social justice-oriented citizen", who focuses on asking questions that address social inequalities (p. 39). This citizen flourishes in a transformative education environment.

It is not only due to the temporality and spatiality of citizenship that a particular 'form' of the citizen is fostered; but there also exists variations of the ruling regimes that struggle to maintain a correspondence between their ideology and their citizenship education agenda (Kymlicka, 2016). In doing so, political regimes may have malicious citizenship education agendas. Heater (2002) notes that in states where political regimes promote ideologies such as racism, citizenship becomes secondary to ideological belief. Therefore, a progressive education approach promoting a more advanced citizenship education such as justice-oriented citizenship is restricted by the regime that dictates citizenship rules and roles.

Citizenship education constructs itself freely in third spaces not only together but also beyond central politics and policies. One such space is the school. Tupper (2006) questions the environment where citizenship education is enacted and maintains that "schools as discursive sites of citizenship propagate a particular conceptualization of citizenship that creates a precarious reality for teachers and students who are not all the same but who find their differences disappearing in the face of 'good' citizenship" (p. 46). Observational research shows that in the same educational institution, educators hold and reproduce different perceptions of citizenship forms such as adaptative (focusing on discipline in social involvement), individualist (endorsing autonomy), and critical democratic function (promoting autonomy in social involvement) (Veugelers & Groot, 2019). The differentiated views of the citizenship concept across categories of citizens (i.e., students, parents, and teachers) complexify the environment in which citizenship is (re)constructed (Veugelers, 2017). The differentiated enactments of citizenship education culminate in the(re)construction of multiple forms of citizenship (Veugelers & Groot, 2019). Hence, citizenship fluidity not only allows for forms of citizenship to emerge in educational contexts but also reforms the context in which it is reproduced.

In conclusion, citizenship education construction depends on the context in which citizenship takes place. Traditionalist and progressive approaches to citizenship education depend on the power structures that official discourse. The school offers a peculiar context for

citizenship education given the multiplicity of interests that serve as a breeding ground for new forms of citizenship constructions.

Textbook

The textbook, as one of the key curriculum and instructional materials has evolved in many forms. It has gained a holistic definition that includes all learning material. More precisely, textbooks may refer to "the student's textbook, the teacher's guide, exercise or learning workbooks, in-house pedagogical documents, and explicitly pedagogical reference tools, such as school atlas and time charts" as well as "computer-based tools designed for educational purposes, even though the word 'textbook' may seem a little inappropriate for them" (Lebrun et. al. 2002, p. 54). Within the scope of this thesis, the textbook is analyzed as exclusively students' 'textbook' or in-class written material centrally produced by the state. The textbook, in this context, is perceived as a political and cultural product.

The textbook is a medium between power and people. The textbook is a political artifact particularly considering its "politics of knowledge distribution" (Apple, 1991, p. 24). As a political product, Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith (1991) note, that the textbook reflects official knowledge, grand narrative, and elite discourse. The authors add that the textbook not only reflects the dominant discourse but also briefly the alternative perspectives to foster a hegemonic discourse. Like the construction of official nationalism through language in newspapers and novels (Anderson, 2006), citizenship is constructed through the production of official knowledge in the textbook. In its citizenship formation, the textbook also engages in nationalism construction, and as such, becomes a product of nationalism, too. Textbooks are viewed as the "key form of nationalist narrative" that "provide one of the most important ways in which nation, citizenship, the idealized past, and the promised future are articulated and disseminated in contemporary societies" (Hein & Selden, 1998, p. 3). As a discursive site, the textbook intersects nationalism and citizenship and connects the past and the present to pave the way for the future.

The textbook serves as a cultural artifact with a political economy of its own (Apple, 1991). It meets the two distinct attributes of a cultural *commodity*: it is a *product* for its capacity to reflect the lived experiences of a society and it is a *system of relations* given the relevance of the context of its production and consumption to its content (Apple, 1991). Therefore, as Apple

and Christian-Smith (1991) note "texts are caught up in a complicated set of political and economic dynamics" (p. 5). This statement highlights the fact that the textbook circulates in the economy and represents the same cultural relations as any other commercial object. In fact, the political economy of textbooks, from production to consumption, is an industry that is dictated by the same market and labour forces as any other merchandise product (Apple, 1991). The political and cultural nature of the textbook renders it conducive to reproducing nationalism and citizenship.

The textbook is an exclusionary and engendered political and cultural artifact. The legitimatized knowledge in textbooks focuses on "relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender/sex, and religious groups" through the exclusion of historical, cultural, and labour experiences (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 2). However, the null curriculum defined here as absent knowledge is reminiscent of the fact that absent information is not irrelevant, conversely, it presents itself by adversely manipulating learning (Eisner, 1994). Exclusions, however, are nuanced and settled and "are the products of often intense conflicts, negotiations, and attempt at rebuilding hegemonic control by actually incorporating the knowledge and perspectives of the less powerful under the umbrella of the discourse of dominant groups" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 10). As a discursive site reflecting power and politics, the textbook succumbs to selectivity. The selective nature of the textbook, like nationalism and citizenship, portrays its exclusionary nature. As Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) state "[…] the controversies over 'official knowledge' that usually center on what is included and excluded in textbooks really signify more profound political, economic, and cultural relations and histories" (p. 3). Apple (1991; 1992) reminds us that selection in the textbook is perpetual and never-ending (p. 10). As such, the textbook is constitutive of and constituted by ideologies of nationalism and citizenship in the processes of unimagining and reimagining nation.

Circumstantial conditions may become more evident and relevant for citizenship education through textbooks, particularly in times of crisis. Textbooks, in unstable societies such as post-conflict and divided societies "aggravate social unrest" because students come to class with a predetermined notion of socio-political issues and pre-existing social grievances (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p. 49). James Williams (2014) depicts this condition cogently as follows:

> Under normal conditions, schools' civic work is straightforward and mostly invisible. However, during periods of rapid social, political, and economic change, schools' civic

> work—especially that documented in school history and social studies textbooks—is plausible to change, and in changing, become visible, reflecting the role that schools and textbooks play in 'supporting' the nation. (p. 5).

Hence, the 'production' of the 'forms' of citizenship is not only a political phenomenon but also susceptible to contextual circumstances and dependent upon players in possession of educational material; above all, the textbook.

Since official knowledge is impermanent so are the national narratives of reproduction and the revision of textbooks. Because "texts are really messages to and about the future" (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 4), it has a futuristic orientation. Williams (2014) sums it up:

> The intimacy between nation and state, school and textbook suggests that school textbooks play a critical role in the ongoing (re)defining of nation and state, the linking of the state with the nation, the inculcation of the nation and membership in it in the minds of the young, and the creation of citizens […]. (p. 1)

Therefore, it is critical to note that "various narratives of the nation, including its origins and the paradigmatic events defining nationhood, like textbooks themselves, are always unfinished projects, requiring revision and reinterpretation if they are to remain relevant in ever-changing times. Such reinterpretation is essential, inevitable, and often controversial" (Hein & Selden, 1998, p. 4). Placing rhetorical devices, symbols, factual presentations, and stories in the context of an already accepted social asset from culture and history to religion, render textbooks convincing and indisputable in the formation of their dominant and grand narratives. The emphasis on certain meanings, events, and practices and the deemphasis on others is a "selective tradition" in textbook reviews (Williams, 1989, p. 58). Hence, the textbook is the textual representation of changing official grand narratives that render imagining nation plausible.

Textbook reviews, particularly in unstable states that sponsor education systems, are politically motivated. Williams (2014), by reviewing textbooks of multiple countries, names three key patterns of political uncertainty leading to textbook content revision, including state legitimacy, war, and the reimagining of a nation following a political change and preceding the formation of a new ideology (p. 5-8). States with a track record of undemocratic practices promote dependency on textbooks. These uncertainties produce several problematic circumstances for which textbooks bear the consequence. Williams (2014) adds that state dilemmas that impinge upon textbooks are legitimation, controversial past, moral complexity,

contested and unresolved active past, ambiguous nationhood, balancing criticality and loyalty, present controversies and discord, popular comment on the nation, freedom of speech and national insecurities (p. 329). In short, nations that change their grand official narratives often are doomed to revise their textbooks more often than relatively more stable socio-political societies.

The political, cultural, and exclusionary nature of the textbook should not portray it as a malicious object. Conversely, textbooks have the potential to enhance social cohesion as much as they can promote prejudice and hatred (Schissler, 2009; Lässig, 2009). Given the dual role, the question that merits attention is, whether some textbook subjects are more important than others. Simone Lässig (2009) indicates that the "impression that they [textbooks] do not only transport accurate, secured, and consensually approved knowledge but are also objective and free of judgment, is widespread" (p. 2). For instance, Vincent Greaney (2006) asserts that "although most textbook content does *not* promote material that fosters inappropriate views of others, some materials, especially history textbooks, promote versions of history and views that have the potential to undermine social cohesion" (p. 48, emphasis in original). In contrast, Lässig (2009) believes that all schoolbooks, including science books, are influenced by state selection and should be seen as political means. Even simple acts such as reading and writing may communicate political messages. Apple (1991) asserts "[…] activities as 'simple' and basic as reading and writing, can be at the same time forms of regulation and exploitation and potential modes of resistance, celebration, and solidarity" (p. 708). Others contend textbooks designed around citizenship education are richer in their construction of meaning. For instance, "history and civics textbooks typically function as nationalist primers that selectively highlight elements of the past to limn an 'official' story and etch the lineages and myths of contemporary patriotism" (Hein & Selden, 1998, p. 3). Like any textbook, such textbooks control readers' perception construction. In other words, "The stories chosen or invented about the national past are also invariably prescriptive-instructing people how they ought to think and act as national subjects" (Hein & Selden, 1998, p. 4). This occurs in societies interconnected with the world. For instance, a study (Lerch, Russell, & Ramirez, 2022) of 576 secondary social science textbooks from 78 countries published between 1955 and 2011 shows that narratives of nationalism in societies from Western cultural or civil society perspectives have less nationalist content over time; however, nationalism remained stable even in countries that were

economically and culturally globalized. In short, all subject textbooks construct an official knowledge that articulates the mechanisms of nation-ness as perceived by the power apparatus.

Rather than attention to the positive potential of the textbook, with the emergence of technology and new methods of learning the value of the textbook is increasingly undermined. There exists the counterargument that the utilization of textbooks has declined due to the inadequacy of a student-centric approach, the emergence of new innovative teaching material, and the inclination of "progressive teachers" who view state-sponsored textbooks with skepticism to develop their curriculum (Ball & Cohen, 1996, p. 6). Lässig (2009) refutes this claim by asserting that new media even in resourceful societies are insufficiently available, lack didactic concepts, and require an application skillset that is inadequate among teachers. Dependency on the textbook is particularly prominent in developing countries due to teachers' poor mastery of subjects, their potential lack of access to national curriculum documents, and a lack of supplementary teaching material (Greaney, 2006). Hence, the textbook must be regarded as one of the crucial discursive spaces of education, particularly in contexts in which imagining nation calls for rapid adaptation and modulation.

The official knowledge of textbooks is not short of an ideology. Ideology is defined here as a social system of beliefs that contributes to the (re)production or transformation of relations of domination (van Dijk, 1993). Textbooks participate in "constructing legitimated ideologies and beliefs and are a reflection of the history, knowledge and values considered important by powerful groups in society" (Crawford, 2003, p. 5). As such, the textbook continually but controversially participates in negotiating disproportionally alternative perspectives to foster a hegemonic discourse and by doing so presents itself as a site for legitimatized ideology and officialized knowledge formation. Williams (2014) names ideology formation as "games that nations play" in the textbooks (p. 332). The 'games' include portraying certain elements as exceptions, blaming someone else for wrongdoing, differentiating peoples as a means for othering, considering themselves as special and noble, ignoring certain uncomfortable elements, frequently referring to their suffering, fabricating or highlighting danger, restoring preferred elements, admitting certain topics are not to be discussed, portraying certain decisions as a necessity, limiting freedom, and "If this is right, and that is different, then that must be wrong" (p. 332). Textbooks are not only constructed through and representative of systems of power and privilege but are also constitutive of these systems. The textbook represents dominant discourses

and through sophisticated discursive devices presents them as the Truth (Crawford, 2000). Textbooks are not always explicit in the processes of ideology formation but through discursive strategies and rhetorical devices, backgrounding and foregrounding of knowledge, and marginalizing and centralizing identities or things, in a struggle to distance the official narrative from multiple and competing social realities. In other words, the manner through which the textbook selectively articulates social realities and in turn, it is articulated by and linked to those realities positions the textbook as an ideological object rendered available to the largest populations of society.

In conclusion, political turbulence, conflict, and economic underdevelopment are exemplary in demonstrating how the textbook gains more traction in these contexts. As the only medium of instruction, the textbook is faced with more labour of revision in unstable societies as a discursive site that reflects the perpetuity of reimagining nation.

Post-9/11 Textbook Content Analysis

In its recent history since the 1970s, Afghanistan has experienced those types of political turbulences that Williams (2014) deems conducive for textbook revision. In 2001, some of Afghanistan's politicians bid farewell to past hostilities, politically outside its borders through the Bonn Conference, to communism and Islamism to reimagine the state as an Islamic republic yielding the production of millions of textbooks. However, the textbooks produced between 2001 and 2021 are not widely reviewed to analyze the reimagining, from my perspective, at least for three reasons. The first reason is the recency of the textbooks; following the September 11, 2001 events, the primary level textbooks (grades 1-6) were not published until 2006 and secondary level textbooks (grades 7-12) until 2010 (Georgescu, 2008; Zarifi, 2013). The second reason is a linguistic constraint, particularly among international educationalists. I have directly experienced cases where international consultants with minimal knowledge of Afghanistan, no knowledge of the textbook language, and no experience in textbook analysis have conducted textbook reviews often with the support of Afghan nationals who have often lacked professional credibility to conduct textbook content analysis. The last reason is methodological novelty; textbook content analysis is a relatively recent scholarly endeavour in Afghanistan. Nonetheless, literature has been established by both Afghan and international scholars. The following are key studies.

Zeynep Tuba Sungur (2021) has reviewed grades four to nine of Civic Education (2011), Patriotism (2017), Social Studies (2010), and History (2017) textbooks, interviewed eleven experts from the MoE representing diverse gender and ethnic identities, and aimed to carry out a content analysis of three documents: the 2004 constitution, 2003 curriculum, and the 2008 *Education Law of Afghanistan*. The last two documents are not referenced in the article. In this thesis, I have reviewed these textbooks except for the three Social Studies textbooks because my selection was driven by the relevance of the textbooks to the construction of patriotism and nationalism at the secondary rather than primary level. The study ambitiously aims "to discover the content of the idea of nation in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan" (p. 993) or to reflect "a very specific understanding of nation that is peculiar to the context of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan" (p. 990). The author's main conclusion is that "the Western-imposed form of nation has a local content which struggles hard to keep the idea of nation together" (p. 990). The analysis depicts an unanticipated picture of the intricacy of nationalism by depicting why an ethnocentric notion may have a reactionary attitude toward an exclusionary nationalization project. For the author, nationalism is a coherent agenda verifiable by coherence in data interpretation. For example, the author identifies elements of nationalism in the data and confirms the findings because they "show up most consistently in relation to the idea of nation" (p. 993). The author imposes a conclusion on the analysis in the absence of sufficient referenced evidence. For instance, the analysis finds a discrepancy between the textbooks and the expert analysis versus the 2004 constitution. With an unsupported argument, the author views the constitution (Government of Afghanistan, 2004) as a Western product. This generalization appears to be based on the unsubstantiated assumption that the individual legal right framework granted in the 2004 Constitution is a novel Western imposition. Furthermore, the author utilizes the conceptions of citizenship and nationality as interchangeable phenomena in some parts of the article and as mutually exclusive in others. In the absence of conceptual and contextual grounding and author positionality, this otherwise interesting finding is an ambitious imposition of meaning on findings of limited and unreferenced data sources.

Gender representation forms another area of focus for textbook analysis. Somaye Sarvarzade and Christine Min Wotipka (2017) have analyzed gender representations in six primary-level Dari language textbooks (1980 – 2010) and find that the representation of women and girls in the textbooks have been influenced by political events and conclude that the 2010

government textbooks have made an effort to balance gender norms. My thesis does not study these textbooks. The article presents a comprehensive review of gender construction by systems of power and the differentiated impact of gender politics on the textbook content. Likewise, Shabana Khatak and Hussain Akhtar (2011) have reviewed Pashto language history textbooks for grades nine to twelve (2009; 2012) by the method of purposive sampling of lessons related to the legendry character of Malala who fought the British in the Maiwand battlefield during an Anglo-Afghan war. The authors conclude that the representation of her character in text and image has contributed to the construction of equal gender roles valuable for contemporary modern education in Afghanistan. This analysis, however, does not critically engage with the characterization of women in such contexts as war that are traditionally and predominantly claimed by men and purposefully rendered gender inclusive. Sayeed Naqibullah Orfan (2022) has reviewed the grades ten to twelve English language textbooks (2019) through a mixed method content analysis. The study does not strongly situate its binary portrayal of gender representations within relations of power and privilege.

Peacebuilding is another area of focus for textbook analysis. Hafiza Yazdani (2020) has carried out a content analysis of the Farsi-Dari language and an algebra textbook (2011) for grade four, among other textbooks of different political eras. The author concludes that the Dari textbook has topics in favour of peacebuilding although at varying degrees and endorses gender representation although stereotypical in quality. The grade four algebra textbook, according to the author, does not contain discussions on peacebuilding although by utilizing such examples as pilgrimage and immunization the book supports wellbeing and endorses a gendered perspective. The author brings to light the secondary importance of peace education demonstrated by its absence in the algebra textbook. Spogmai Akseer (2022) has carried out a content analysis of grades four and five social studies textbooks (2012) and concludes that the textbooks promote some peacebuilding, “however, the textbooks also reveal complicity by reproducing existing inequalities, through gendered depictions of the role of men and women in society, and the unequal and hierarchical position between the individual and the state” (p. 101). This analysis engages well with the text and compares its validity to contextual realities. However, the conclusion does not account for the reasons for the discrepancy between the two sets of data.

English language textbooks have also been analyzed for their skillset-building faculties rather than their contents. Mohammad Naim Rahim, Tawos Mohammadi, and Aminuddin

Hashemi (2022) have reviewed the grade twelve English language textbook (2017) by utilizing the Cunningsworth textbook evaluation checklist and the Liker-Scale with a focus on textbook layout and design, linguistic skillset building, content and topics, methodology, and the teacher's guides. On the content, the authors conclude that "most of the topics are not of students' interest because it does not have daily use", however, "the good point about the topics is that the topics are not culturally or religiously sensitive" (Mohammadi & Hashemi, 2021, p. 73). Like the rest of the analysis, no example or reference of a textual nature is provided.

Taken together, despite its relevance to citizenship education, the potential of the textbook as a meaning making means is undervalued. The limited content analysis of Afghanistan textbooks, in a country where the textbook performs a crucial role in state-citizen relation formation, is evidence of this undervaluation.

Conclusion

Diverse peoples of a territory imagine themselves as a community not only through discursive officialized and banal nationalism construction but also through citizenship formation, partly because despite a misperception that considers nationalism a cultural and eastern construction and citizenship a political and Western organization, the two problematically overlap. The seemingly irreconcilable relationship between nationalism and citizenship is a function of the discursive formations of nationalism and citizenship. On the one hand, the primordial, ethnocentric, and economic determinist nationalism frameworks reveal that they are both cultural and political evidenced in their articulation of such social processes as the establishment of commonalities among peoples, ethnic purification, industrialization, capitalism, and the low and high cultures. These formations require the foundation of citizenship to exist and persist. Citizenship too, besides being political is civic, social, and cultural. Hence, the political and the cultural are the common ground for both nationalist and citizenship constructions. On the other hand, the theoretical underpinning of nationalism faces limitation as the naturality of nationalism, ethnic commonalities, and industrialization are inadequate conditions for the existence of nations. Citizenship too, does not provide a holistic condition for the nations to exist, as, for instance, citizenship affect conception (as much as national attachment) fails to explicate self-sacrifice on behalf of the nation particularly when social inequality arises. The constructivist notion of imagined community demonstrates how linguistic nationalism and

official nationalism in acts and products of nationalism construct impermanent horizontal comradeship. This positioning of people as a collective assumes citizenship to be an integral part of the imagining. For instance, the officialization of language, centralization of people's public affairs, and historicization of the past bring to the forefront the need for the amalgamation of the cultural (i.e., nationalism) and the political (i.e., citizenship).

The ideological interdependency of nationalism and citizenship discursive formation is evidenced in the fact that the breeding ground for both phenomena in educating the citizenry redresses their limitations through theoretical variations in the textbooks. Such distinctions as 'civic nationalism' and 'patriotism', or 'civic education' portray the fuzzy boundary between nationalism and citizenship. Their (i.e., nationalism and citizenship) discursive formations present similar ideological frameworks and the simultaneous existence of othering and belonging in an impermanent forged unity. Both formations are exclusionary and gendered to the extent that responses to national attachment and even citizenship affect vary depending on the hierarchical positioning of identity and socio-economic groups. Given these arguments, I trust Anderson's (2006) imagined community narrative of nationalism should not be confined to nationalism but include citizenship, too.

Imagining the nation as a formation of both nationalism and citizenship and viewing it as an ideology is crucially significant for Afghanistan as a country still in conflict. Social crisis, poverty, and political turbulences expand discursive spaces of ideology formation leading to a myriad of othering multiplicity. Educational sites such as classrooms and textbooks bear the burden of ideology formation and the enactment of an official grand narrative, particularly in resource deprived countries such as Afghanistan where the textbook is the only source of knowledge for students and teachers alike. However, the textbook is not static but in a state of continual evolution as an unfinished project of an imagining awaiting to be revised followed by an unimagining and yet reimaging. In 2001, in the aftermath of the 9/11 events, when Afghanistan became the battlefield of discursive confrontation between 'terrorism' and 'democracy', the nation unprecedently reimagined itself. This thesis develops a systematic analysis of this imagining in the textbooks by analyzing the public school textbooks' content and the cycle of production, circulation, and consumption in this era.

Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework

The methodology of this study necessitates the application of not only Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) but also a multidisciplinary approach to analysis. I have presented CDA in Chapter Four. In this chapter, I present the multidisciplinary conceptual framework of my thesis that consists of the conceptions of *imagined community* (Anderson, 2006), *banal nationalism* (Billig, 1995), *discourse* (Hall, 1992), *representation* (Hall, 1997), and a*rticulation* (Hall, 2021). These are the key conceptions that frame this study in analyzing the textbooks. An elaborate discussion about the textbook is already presented in Chapter Two. Despite their complementary nature and often overlapping relationships, I introduce these conceptions independently for the purpose of precision and clarity. Annex A presents the overall theoretical, conceptual and methodological framework of this study The concluding remarks of this chapter underscore the relevance of these concepts to the methodology of this thesis.

Nation as an Imagined Community

The inquiry about the modalities of the discursive construction of nations as a modern phenomenon is a contested subject. I applied the nationalism theorization of Benedict Anderson (2006) who pioneered the conception of *imagined community* as a social construction that explains the emergence of modern states. In his account, a nation is an *imagined community* and inherently *limited* and *sovereign* (p. 6). This statement necessitates an examination of its terminology. Nation is *imagined* because members possess a sense of "communion", while most members have no contact with or know one another (p. 6). Nation is a *community* because there exists a "horizontal comradeship" despite the imposition of roles and responsibilities on community members in the name of safeguarding the national interest and the existence of a system of inequality and exploitation (p. 7). This comradeship, however, does not imply inclusivity. An imagined community is not only an inclusionary but also exclusionary social entity because "[…] some people are imagined as within the community, as belonging to the nation, others are imagined as being outside of it, inexorable aliens who are not and cannot be like one's self" (Stanley, 2006, p. 33). The nation is imagined as *limited* because it "has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lies other nations" (p. 7). This imagining overlooks borders as a site of territorial disputation between nations. Nation is imagined as *sovereign* and "*fully*, flatly, and evenly operative over each square centimetre of a legally demarcated territory*"* with an

assumed capability to form a coherent community with defined sets of values and the right to exercise power over its members seeking to safeguard national interest (Anderson, 2006, p. 19, emphasis in original). In Anderson's perspective, while some claims of exercise of power appear to be rational, such as tax collection or war declaration, other exclusionary measures too, however, justify abuse of power in the name of national interest. Hence, the imagined community is not a coherent phenomenon as it may appear from its name.

The discursive formation of an imagined community relies on cultural practices. For Anderson (2006), it is not only political ideology that forms nationalism but cultural systems are critical, too. The three cultural conceptions that, according to Anderson, eroded over time before communities were imagined in the Western world, are sacred language, dynastical and monarchical society, and the conception of the temporality of history and cosmology. As per Anderson (2006), nationalism emerged due to the erosion of the legitimacy of the "divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm" (p. 7). Yet, Anderson asserts, national imagining is enacted in reference to the past and its myths that legitimize the present-day territorial and independence claims and render present the past exclusionary systems of representation.

According to Anderson (2006), the erosion of the three cultural systems occurred due to several developments, which are also evident in the findings of the textual analysis of this study. For instance, print technology put an end to the monopoly of the sacred language of the church, led to the uniformity of language across society, and paved the way for the emergence of "linguistic nationalisms" (p. 110). Furthermore, newspapers and novels generated new aspirations for a better life, a sense of interconnectedness among members of society, and a means of communication between the state and citizenry (p. 14). Textbook, particularly in resource deprived nations like Afghanistan is the single commodity that is mass produced and one would theoretically expect to have an impact on the construction of imagining nation.

Imagining the nation is impermanent. Anderson (2006) views nationalism as "a process of modulation and adaptation according to different eras, political regimes, economies, and social structures" (p. 156). In this account, nation-ness has become *naturalized* and *mythologized* and is taken for granted as coherent and fixed. According to Anderson, mythology plays a role in imagining the nation as an entity that has ever existed. Anderson guides us that to *denaturalize* and *demythologize* nation, and to disrupt the superficial coherence and fixity of nation, the same discourses that imagine nation-ness and serve as identity markers need to be revisited. The

textbooks too, like the imagining of nation, are in a perpetual process of review and revision to accommodate the modulations and adaptions in the imagining of nation.

To explicate how nationalism is imagined, Anderson (2006) highlights the role of history, memory, symbols, and culture. In his account, certain performances, such as memorials for unknown soldiers and their presumably unmarked tombs or renaming of historical sites are acts of nationalism and a claim to interconnection. Cultural artifacts, historical monuments, and ceremonial practices are some of the objects that Anderson names as flagging that ensures the historical continuity from the past in the future in the collective memory. For Anderson (2006), poetry, national anthem, prose fiction, music, and other forms of art are "cultural products of nationalism" that determine nationalistic love (p. 141). These cultural products, for example, national anthems or reading a newspaper at breakfast, incite "an experience of simultaneity" among community members (Anderson, 2006, p. 145). The collective memory of a shared experience is at best limited and at worst exclusionary. Timothy Stanley (2006) asserts that public memory fosters and naturalizes a sense of connection but also disconnection because lived histories have assumed inclusions and exclusions based on values present in the past. The textbook does not only contain memories of the past but collects today's events to carry on to future generations. In doing so, the textbook serves as a vehicle for continuity from the past to the future as much as imagining nation does.

Nation as an imagined community contains multiple regimes of truth. As Sherrie Carroll, Suhanthie Motha and Jeremy Price (2008) assert, "social structures and contexts can behave simultaneously as powerfully tyrannizing regimes of truth and powerfully liberating imagined communities, an inherent contradiction that illuminates the ways in which the two theoretical constructs taken together can lead to a much more complex and nuanced understanding of identity construction" (p. 189). Therefore, I strive to not treat imagined community as a homogeneous entity.

In conclusion, imagining of community is built around the idea of communion and comradeship that has come out of economic and cultural forces that have shaped the way of life of people. These forces are materialized in daily discourses that compel people to either sacrifice themselves for the idea of being a nation or reimagine its historical existence.

Discourse

Imagining the nation is a discursive practice. As such, discourse serves as a breeding ground for the existence of a nation while it connects the past to the present and both to the future without assurance for coherence or permanence. This study recognizes the significance of discourse from a linguistic perspective. Stuart Hall (1992) offers a comprehensive overview of discourse in language:

> Discourses are ways of talking, thinking, or representing a particular subject or topic. They produce meaningful knowledge about that subject. This knowledge influences social practices, and so has real consequences and effects. Discourses are not reducible to class interests but always operate in relation to power – they are part of the way power circulates and is contested. The question of whether a discourse is true or false is less important than whether it is effective in practice. When it is effective - organizing and regulating relations of power (say, between the West and the Rest) – is called a 'regime of truth' (p. 205).

From the above statement, it may be deducted that discourse is a written or verbal statement that is governed by social and political rules (van Dijk, 2006; Fairclough, 1996). Discourse is formed in language to produce meaning and knowledge. Discourse has three constructive effects: it constructs; (1) "social identities" and "subject positions"; (2) "social relationships between people"; and (3) "systems of knowledge and belief" (Fairclough, 1996, p. 64). These constructions correspond to language functions: composing identity and positioning it in discourse, forming relationships between discourses, and constructing meaning (Fairclough, 1996, p. 64). Discourse is a complex set of internal and external relations between and among peoples who engage in communication (talk and text), communicative events (conversations, newspapers, articles, etc.), discursive objects (i.e., languages, discourses, and genres), and the physical world (i.e., persons, institutions, power relations) (Fairclough, 2010a, p. 3). As such, discourse is multifaceted.

Discourse is the intersection of incoherent meanings. Discourse is not a single but multi statement leading to a process of *discursive formation* that is not only shaped by the unity of multiple similar statements but also by their often-neglected discontinuity, breakage, and limitation (Hall, 1992). Discourse is constructed through symbolic systems that are socially shared and reinforced through repetition leading to the production of social representations that

contradict not only other discourses but also inevitably its own elements (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Therefore, discourse is not inherently consistent and homogeneous.

Discourse is not necessarily constructed through premeditated acts of discourse formation. Discourses are patterns of meaning that are historical, unfixed, and contextual. Hence, their production occurs out of the awareness of their producers. Discourses are changed at 'discursive junctures' (e.g., at the intersectionality of multiple identity factors) where multiple and conflicting meanings and possibilities merge (Hall, 1997). Therefore, as a system of representation, discourse is created because of multiple articulations, systems of representation, and meanings in language. Hence, discourse is a forged unity of impermanent meanings.

Discourse not only produces but also reinforces systems of power because discourse presents what Foucault called a *regime of truth* (Hall, 1992). Discourse analysis does not endorse the existence of the Truth but it does look for the dominant truth existing in the formations of social systems. Discourse constructs and is constructed in language by social power. Social power is not only about ownership of but also "privileged *access* to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 254, emphasis in original). Social power, however, is not constant but relational. Discourse influences social practices as it is constitutive of social, political, cultural, and economic arenas (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In Fairclough's (2010b) account, the relational attribute of discourse denotes the complexity and multiplicity of relations in society. The relational attributes of discourse, therefore, are not only about elements that form a discourse from people and text to power but it is also about the interrelation among discourses. As such, discourses possess intricate internal and external relationships.

The regime of truth in discourse constructs ideology. This constitution is considered ideology when it endorses the dominant power. According to van Dijk (2013), when a discourse pursues fixity, universality, and coherence, it enacts ideology. As per van Dijk, discursive ideology formation is a process that organizes basic beliefs of social representations and common cultural practices. At this conceptual level, the social system of beliefs serves as the foundation of all cognition, across and between different groups as "noncontroversial, commonsensical, and hence non-ideological" (van Dijk, 2013, p. 16). However, at the empirical level, discursive ideology is formed when group dynamism creates specific contextual, spatial, and temporal environments for each group, consequently, groups choose certain aspects of the common

cultural ground that represent their best interest. The determining factor in the selection of certain aspects of social representations is a group's socially valued resources such as membership, aims, norms and values, and group resources (van Dijk, 2013, p. 16). Van Dijk asserts that this selection is made by "the basic social properties of a group, such as the criteria of group membership, activities, aims, norms and values, relations to other groups, and specific group resources (or lack thereof) —or 'capital'" (p. 16). These selected social representations serve the interest of groups and may be considered as 'ideology'. This gives rise to a variety of politically motivated interpretations of the same phenomenon (e.g., liberty, freedom, democracy) (van Dijk, 2006; 2013). These newly emerged 'ideologies' lead to differentiated and varied claims that differ from the original common cultural ground. From van Dijk's (2001) perspective, discourses gain importance when they are obligatory, come from a credible source and alternative competing sources of information are absent. This renders the selection of text relevant to the analysis. Textbooks are obligatory, credible, and do not usually have competitors. Therefore, their importance in (re)production and reinforcement of discourse is crucial.

Discourse gains its importance from its analysis in relation to its social effect rather than its falsifiability. Rather than facts, it is the language that we use that constructs meaning because the power at the service of discourse (or the other way around) falsifies or validates facts in the interest of the sustenance of dominant discourse (Hall, 1992). Hence, rather than facts, language has a discursive power to construct regimes of truth. Of the effects of discourse, the establishment of a particular regime of truth is dominance and manipulation.

In conclusion, discourse constitutes and is constituted by discursive practices that are comprised of regimes of truth, knowledge, and relationships that are governed by social forces. This complex system depends on language to articulate fixed, differed, and impermanent meanings that await the multiplication of discourse to negotiate or negate emerging meanings.

Articulation

Discourse is comprised of articulations. In Hall's (1980) words, articulation is a *complex structure* or a forged social unity between differences and similarities of social elements that in dominant and hegemonic contexts with temporal and spatial specificity form a relationship and sustain it until new contexts necessitate rearticulations. In Hall's view, social structures are coerced into a forged unity despite the existence of differences, and it is due to their hierarchical

relationships within a dominant and hegemonic power formation context (Hall, 1980). Hence, articulations are neither natural nor fixed. In Hall's account, a discursive event is an articulation that works from a position of power and privilege to the extent that when articulations are effective, they forcefully obstruct rearticulations. In this account, articulations are discourses that are constructed by abstractions, hence, to theorize an articulation, they need to be understood by yet other conceptions.

Ideology may be viewed as an articulation. In other words, "the theory of articulation asks how an ideology discovers its subject rather than how the subject thinks the necessary and inevitable thoughts which belong to it [ideology]" (Grossberg, 1986, p. 53). To Hall's conception of articulation, ideology is relevant through its linkage to social groups. Hall is quoted as saying, "I want to insist that the popular force of an organic ideology always depends upon the social groups that can be articulated to and by it" (Grossberg, 1986, p. 55). In other words, articulations construct subjects by offering them meaning.

Articulation is an analytical tool. Articulation analysis is an attempt to exhibit not only connections between smaller parts of social formations but also the practice of how and when these connections are maintained (Slack, 1996). One way to understand this statement is to study how ideology is formed through (mis)representation, dislocation, or othering practices. A system of articulation is formed when competing representations form the structure of an articulated meaning. The knowledge created, hence, does not only represent a structure whose parts compete for sustenance but also one that its particles depend on each other for continuation. Hall asserts that articulation is an analytical tool that analyzes an enforced socially formed unity through the examination of its context (systems of articulations in its non-discursive sense), action (processes of relations), and discourse (the manner and structures through which language is used). Hall (1997) in his *encoding/decoding* methodology asserts articulation should be studied in the context of the circle of cultural production; from its production and circulation/distribution, to exchange and consumption. Encoding consists of the construction of meaning with codes most appealing to the audience and decoding deconstruction in accordance with one's contextual realities.

In conclusion, articulation as a complex structure exhibiting concurrently unity and disunity of its particles builds the underpinning of discourse. Representational meanings are at

play to construct articulations by rendering objects and subjects present or absent through positive or negative portrayals.

Representation

Language is one of the most complex systems of meaning-making. According to Stuart Hall (1997), "representation is the production of meaning through language" (p. 28). Language is a cultural *representational system* that impacts identity formation by representing ideas, concepts, feelings, people, objects, and places (Hall, 1997, p. 1). In Hall's account, meaning does not pre-exist representation but is reconstructed by it through interpretation. As such, meaning is neither constant nor objective but is contingent upon cultural specificities, temporal particularities, and spatial factors. Representation is enacted through discourse. The context in which a representation is enacted determines its meaning.

The process of representation is one that relates to power and discourse. According to Hall (1997), the process is such that meaning, ideas, concepts, and emotions are presented in symbolic forms, transmitted between writer and reader (or speaker and listener) in a dialogical manner. The dialogue sustains and changes through shared cultural codes, however, its fixity is regulated by power and is shaped by discourse (Hall, 1997). In simpler terms, as representations enter into circulation their original meanings are compromised by people to their interest until power intervenes to refix the meaning. As such it is in fact, power that circulates through meaning and knowledge rendering knowledge not a commodity that is based on 'truth' but one that requires effective cultural communication (Hall, 1997). Therefore, the nexus of discourse, power and knowledge is decisive in meaning construction.

Discursive events yield consequences. Discursive practices are concerned with the effects and consequences of representation by analyzing the power structures that construct identities and subjectivities (Hall, 1997). Hall states that discourse is a typical form of representational practice that defines, interprets, and justifies difference. As Hall asserts, the identification of difference is ambivalent; it is positive when cultural identity formation is the intention but it serves the opposite role when it acts as a site for aggression and *Othering* (Hall, 1997, p. 238). Hence, othering is a representational practice characterized by binary oppositions, naturalizing the Other as inferior to the core, and creating systems of exclusion (Hall, 1997). Hence, representation embeds exclusion and discrimination.

A representation does not necessarily present 'the truth' or accuracy about its subject but discursively constructs it in language. Representation is an interpretive framework comprised of a literal denotative meaning commonly comprehensible and a thematic connotative meaning linked to other systems of meaning (Hall, 1997, p. 228). It is within this system of denotation and connotation that lies difference, marginalization, and exclusion. Certain practices of representation including stereotyping or essentializing, reductionism, naturalization, binary oppositions, and othering of the represented produce repression and exclusion (Hall, 1997, p. 227). Representation is a highly active process in constructing meaning

Representation is an interpretive framework that does not produce permanent, fixed, and verifiable meaning. Difference cannot perpetually be depicted within a binary system, hence meaning is continuously deferred (Hall, 1997). Hall (1997) contends that the meaning that a representation produces is faced with three readings. The first reading is the *preferred reading* which is about what the text intended to communicate. The second reading is the *oppositional reading*, which rejects what the reading intended to communicate. And the third reading is the *negotiated reading*, which understands what is intended while remaking it for one's own purpose. Hence, the meaning of a text lives outside its existence in the interpretation of its reader as much as it exists in its own incoherent and impermanent existence.

In conclusion, system of representation is a network of interpretations of meanings that nest in symbolic and coded language and in explicit and open statements. These representations are in circulation through both conscious and banal processes of (re)construction and (re)consumption.

Banality of Nationalism

The imagining of nation is not only enacted officially in grand narratives that are produced at a large scale by the power apparatus but also through what Micheal Billig (1995) calls *banal nationalism*. According to Billig, banal nationalism in established nations is the daily familiar repetitive performances, carried out by common citizens, that reinforce symbols and ideologies of dominant national representational systems such as beliefs, assumptions, and practices (p.6). These presumably benign representations of nationalism produce the imagining of the nation. In his account, through banal nationalism, modern nations are reproduced on a daily basis. In Billig's account (1995), in the absence of a pre-existing meaning for nation, two interconnected

forms of representations; *speaking to* and *speaking for*, give meaning to nation because in the act of *speaking to* (or addressing) nation, nation is also represented or depicted as it entails *speaking for* (on behalf of) them (p. 95). Furthermore, in the act of *speaking about* (unilaterally) and *speaking with* (other voices) nation is constructed either for people or with people (Werner, 2000). Hence, the gaze and voice of text perform a crucial role in constructing nation.

Billig identifies certain discursive approaches through which banal nationalism is subtly and routinely reproduced. The first approach is *flagging* and *mapping*. Flagging is ordinary reminders that appear on daily objects such as flags on coffee mugs. As Billig notes, flags are waved at times of victory or crisis but more often they are not noticed and are not unwaved. Although banal, these objects and practices are essential in establishing a sense of nation-ness and national memory. These reminders are "so familiar, so continual, that it is not consciously registered as reminding" (Billig, 1995, p. 6). Hence, they construct nation but are often unnoticed.

In the construction of banal nationalism, Billig introduces *mapping* or the use of maps in unexpected contexts so that members of a nation not only imagine themselves as a community but also collectively in one place. Billig states that flags that appear on daily practices such as on weather forecasts or a building have a profound effect on imagining the nation. Maps flag the nation and define nation-state boundaries. Mapping allows the nation to extend their experiences of place to places beyond their experience and build a sense of interconnection with their inhabitants. Billig (1995) reminds us that banal nationalism is not *benign* but at such times as war and crisis, banal nationalism can be as forceful as any other. Maps and flags at such times can mobilize people and induce a sense of self-sacrifice.

The second approach of banal nationalism is *deixis* or small pointing words such as *we*, and *us* in such instances as *our* interest or *our* past, or *the* prime minister (Billig, 2005, p. 78). One of the rhetorical devices used to cover up the exclusion in textbooks is pronominal choices in such examples as *we* are proud of our history. By using first personal plural forms, banal nationalism functions in the interest of representing diverse and multiple peoples as a nation which inevitably overlooks differences and exclusions. In other words, deixis renders the act of *speaking for* the people a banal act. Apple (1991) comments on the usage of *we* "[…] 'we' means simply that there is universal agreement among all of us and this is what gets to be official knowledge. In fact, the very use of the pronoun 'we' simplifies matters all too much" (p. 4).

Authors use inclusive pronouns such as *we* for community, membership, and nation-building and connect themselves with their readers. *We* is often a self-positive representation as much as 'they' is often an other-negative representation (Billig, 1995; Fairclough, 2003, p. 145). These deictic expressions are discursive signs that render nationalism unreflexively present and assume a commonsensical reality that is banally shared in the daily lives of common citizens.

The last approach of banal nationalism is the conception of the *universality of nations* which portrays nation-ness as natural and as simply one within many other world nations. This universality, as per Billig (2005), also requires particularity so that nations are distinguished as unique. This universality, however, is not amicable but like the particularity aspect of nation, is one that leads to othering. Therefore, as Billig asserts, on the one hand, nations are rhetorically flagged and continuously reproduce themselves, on the other they can mobilize nations to confront one another.

Like nationalism as a political and cultural manifestation, banal nationalism is gendered. McClintock (1993) calls everyday nationalism masculine *fetishism*, or the presentation of symbols through gendered *fetish objects* (e.g., architecture) and the enactment of nationalism through gendered *fetish spectacle* (e.g., military parade) (p. 74). Therefore, in the identified textbooks, I regarded banal nationalism as a gendered exclusionary phenomenon.

Taken together, the concepts of this chapter treat language as a social construct that constitutes and is constitutive of meaning. While imagined community including nationalism and citizenship remain the theory of choice of this study, it is the conceptual framework of this study, from discourse, articulation, and representation to banal markings that offer analytical tools for the study of those discourses in the identified textbooks that render feasible imagining of the nation in Afghanistan education context.

Conclusion

The conceptual framework of this study is formed of distinct yet interconnected conceptions allowing for a rich analysis of imagining of nation in the identified textbooks of Afghanistan. While imagined community serves as the theory of this study through which nationalism and citizenship are analyzed, discourse, articulation, representation, and banal markings serve as analytical tools that enable this examination. The analytical tools render feasible the analysis of imagined community's limited and sovereign notions of being,

communion and inequality, and modulation and adaption in the discourses of Afghanistan textbooks.

The analysis of systems of representation in Afghanistan textbooks assists the problematization of textual claims of fixity, naturality, indigeneity, unity, coherence, and inclusivity with an objective to centralize the concepts that are rendered marginal, events that are backgrounded, and people who are misrepresented or excluded in the construction of nationalism and citizenship ideas, ideals, and ideologies. The paradox of a forged unity articulates not only the coexistence of cohesiveness and divisiveness in nationalism but also the cohabitation of equality and discrimination in the discursive formation of citizenship. Socio-cultural and political concepts such as culture, religion, history, tradition, and identity are articulations that seek their meaning in language through systems of representations and articulations. The convergence of the systems of representation and articulation culminates in ideology formation which reproduces such systems of inequality as stereotyping, binary oppositions, and othering. Consequently, the systems of inequality form such mega constructs as nationalism and citizenship. This thesis is an attempt to reveal this system and to present preferred and negotiated meanings of their reproduction in the identified textbooks.

Chapter Four: Methodology

The overarching objective of this thesis is to analyze the imagining of the nation in the public school textbooks of post-September 11, 2001 Afghanistan. My analysis is an inquiry as to by what textual means nationalism and citizenship perform a role in the constitution and reproduction of the nation in the public school textbooks of Afghanistan. In Chapter Two, as my theoretical analysis of imagining the nation, and as my positionality on the themes of national and citizenship, I juxtaposed the themes to contend that the two problematically overlap conceptually and in the textbook through systems of representation and articulation leading to the construction of a forged unity marked by incoherence, fluidity, and impermanence. I further argued that the imagined community is not only a conception for the comprehension of nationalism but also of citizenship. This chapter lays a theoretical foundation for the analysis of the primary and secondary text sources.

The methodological underpinning of this thesis is multifaceted. I applied a post-structural epistemological lens in the recognition of language as a meaning production structure (Williams, 2005). A post-structural perspective perceives knowledge as a value-loaded objective and subjective interpretation of specific peoples, spatially and temporally context-dependent, and awaiting unsettlement by other systems of interpretation (Williams, 2005). Accordingly, I questioned the underlying hidden, absent, and silenced elements of linguistic structures and examined relations of power as foundational stimuli that produce and reinforce dominant discourse and discursive practices (Williams, 2005). I did not assume that meaning should start with norms, rather, through a post-structural lens, I reiterate that it is in fact the periphery that defines the dominant norm and limits that outline the core (Williams, 2005). For instance, the conceptualization of citizenship and nationalism in Afghanistan as per the textbooks needs to be driven by the periphery (i.e., sites of marginalization) rather than the dominant (e.g., recurring spaces of positive overrepresentation of systems of power). I am cognizant that a textual analysis should not deny the core norms and meanings but acknowledge their limits and expect the potential of their disintegration and the emergence of new impermanent meanings (Williams, 2005). My analysis focuses on the limits of positive overrepresentations in the context of their hidden incoherence and fluidity. The newly emerged cores are vulnerable to disruption, too – and disruption is not necessarily a negative event (Williams, 2005). In my application of

poststructuralism, I consequently disrupted the settled and nuanced discursive formation of nationalism and citizenship in the identified textbooks.

The rest of this chapter is structured as follows. First, I analyze Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) from the perspective of Norman Fairclough (1995; 1996; 2003), Teun van Dijk (1993; 2006; 2013), and Reisigl Wodak (1997) as my methodology and discuss textual, discursive practice, and discursive social practices. Second, I review the application of my methodological approach to textbook analysis with a focus on CDA and multi-disciplinary approaches. Third, I present the primary and secondary text sources. Fourth, I engage in a reflexivity exercise. Last, I present a concluding remark on this chapter as a way forward to the analysis of this thesis.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The methodological underpinning of this thesis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). To my knowledge, there is no indigenous methodology for textbook analysis in Afghanistan. In Chapter Two I reviewed the analysis of Afghanistan textbooks. A review of the methodological frameworks utilized in those analyses indicates that all authors have applied non-indigenous methodologies considered as Western. In the absence of an indigenous method, CDA, its multi disciplinary approach, and the myriad of tools that it offers enabled my study to take advantage of my Western sources without losing sight of the indigeneity of my text source. A paramount aspect of CDA is its critical nature. CDA primarily studies the way social power is enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in social and political contexts. Fairclough (1995) whose CDA methodology is associated with a socio-cultural approach, emphasizes the connection between language, power, and ideology. Therefore, CDA takes an explicit position to question, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (van Dijk, 2001, p. 352). It is evident that CDA "is problem-driven (as opposed to theory-driven) and aims to uncover the hidden features of language use and debunk their claims to authority. It aims to make the implicit explicit in language use" (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017, p. 1). The term critique in CDA focuses on the manners through which the invisible interconnections are rendered visible. In other words, a critical approach requires a researcher to distance themself from a causal inquiry toward an analysis of interconnections, espouse a political stance, and practice self-reflection (Wodak & Meyer 2001). This requires self-reflexivity and positionality. I present my stance, in line with this CDA requirement, later in this chapter.

Fairclough (1996) provides a social theory of discourse that encompasses a three-dimensional framework involving text, discursive practice, and social practice. In this chapter, I explicate each dimension individually while confirming an overlap and complementary relation in their conceptual construction and analytical application.

Text

The first dimension of CDA is text. A text encompasses a myriad of properties including textual and verbal communication, auditory and visual products, and hard and soft (in)visible material either in original or mediated format. In cultural studies, texts "do not need to be linguistic at all; any cultural artifact – a picture, a building, a piece of music – can be seen as a text" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4). Text is viewed as a social construct and as a constructive structure of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Ferdinand de Saussure drew attention to language as a socially constructed structure by examining the small elements of language. This position refuted the previously accepted conventional notion that treated language as merely a grammatical phenomenon employed as a means of communication. Saussure illustrated that a signifier (e.g., a word) constructs the signified (e.g., the meaning of the word). He further asserted that signifier and signified, and opposite binaries have one-on-one, permanent, and independent relationships in creating a holistic universal meaning (Hall, 1997). Against Saussure's view of text as a social construct, Jacques Derrida contended that a text is not only a socio-political construct but also constitutive of these constructs (Leitch, 2011). Derrida challenged the fixity of the relationship between the smallest linguistic elements (e.g., opposite binaries), claimed that the signified does not have a presence on its own but its meaning is shaped in relation to other meanings, and illustrated that the structures are shallow yet complex, and impermanent yet resistant (Leitch, 2011). For instance, the previous comprehension of 'man' or 'white' as the core of 'woman' and 'black' as peripheries was contested by the argument that the core maintains their meaning only in relation to their opposites (e.g., masculinity and femininity) and have a hierarchical relationship in favour of the core. This analysis decentralizes the 'core' (i.e., man) and centralizes the marginal (i.e., woman). As a way of deconstruction, a signified (or concept) should not only be comprehended in relation to its opposite but also other seemingly unrelated concepts. Thus,

the function of language as we know it today has come a long way from merely a means of communication to a social structure that constructs a system of impermanent realities.

Textual analysis requires dialectical processes given its complexity. Fairclough (1995) asserts that a text allows "the interface of the variable interpretative resources people bring to bear on the text, *and* properties of the text itself (p. 9, emphasis in original). As such, the analysis of text entails knowledge of and familiarity with the interpretive frameworks of the people analyzed in the text. It also necessitates linguistic mastery to ensure accurate reproduction of text.

CDA is not about seeking the truth. Jacques Derrida asserts that truth is generated from *differance*- a deferred or delayed difference that is eternal and inherited in structures awaiting to occur in discursive articulation (Leitch, 2011). In other words, *difference*, refers to an indefinite differed meaning of a word as it is dependent on another word that is reliant yet on another word (Leitch, 2011). For instance, 'blackness', in this view, needs an explication not only in relation to 'whiteness' but also through a practice of intertextual study, such as, in the historical multi-perceptional narratives of slavery. The outcome of the deconstructive reading is the 'dissemination' of a series of 'undecidable' meanings rendered to readers available to choose from (Leitch, 2011). I considered my deconstruction of meanings in the identified textbooks as an infinite cycle of the reproduction of meaning by different people and across time.

Deconstruction and reproduction of a text as a discourse is a process that bears consequences. The practices that members of a social community use to engender a text are usually unaware of the magnitude of the structures that produce and reproduce the text while the producer may be politically positioned (Fairclough, 1996. p. 72). What is crucial is that the producers are not only unaware of the process of their production but also of the impact of the production on social systems and relationships leading to the emergence of divergent, contradictory, and contested meanings (Fairclough, 1996, p. 72-73). Hence, in my analysis the identified textbooks' authors are politically positioned (by virtue of their employment in a centrally planned education system), nonetheless, it can be assumed that they are neither aware of the vehicles and obstacles that affect the production of the textbooks nor aware of the impact of their production in the discursive spaces.

The question that merits attention is: CDA as a means for what end? In response, it needs to be clarified that "critique needs to be based upon sound ethical values, such as democracy,

honesty, integrity, transparency, accountability, objectivity, respect for others, lawfulness and loyalty to others" (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017, p. 5). I am cognizant that while these values are ethical, their construction, representation, and articulation are subject to spatial and temporal contexts. For me, the morality of textual analysis is in the commitment to centre the marginalized. During the analysis of the identified textbooks, I was cognizant that deconstruction is far from moral judgment. Deconstruction decentralizes the taken-for-granted centers such as 'self', 'author', 'man', 'talk' and 'presence' toward their peripheries; 'other', 'reader', 'woman', 'writing' and 'absence'. The objective is the decentralization of meanings and concepts with a focus on both oppressed and prominent elements and avoidance of dichotomies – all of which culminate in the emergence of new, non-universal, and impermanent meanings. Hence, in this thesis, the production of knowledge is a critical endeavour of destabilizing settled conceptions.

Discursive Practice

The second dimension of CDA is discursive practice. Discursive practice presents "a social theory of discourse" that relates to the production, distribution, and consumption of a text (Fairclough, 1996, p. 73). The production process involves multiple subjects; including, an actor who makes the text or the "animator", an actor who writes the text or the "author", and an actor whose authority is represented in the text or the "principle" (Goffman, 1981, as cited in Fairclough, 1996). The distribution process constitutes the usage of text by direct "addresses", potential "hearers", and "*defacto* consumers" (Fairclough, 1996). The consumption process entails different approaches in different contexts yielding a myriad of reproductions and formations of the original text (Fairclough, 1996). These processes of textual analysis indicate a laborious inquiry of not only text but also other discourses where text is produced, distributed, and consumed. Given this intricacy, an intertextual analysis makes the examination of text feasible (Fairclough, 1996). This three-dimensional analysis requires an intertextual analysis. The production analysis studies historical prior texts that constitute the text in question, the distribution analysis scrutinizes discursive networks that move and reform the text, and consumption analysis examines other texts that interpret the text (Fairclough, 1996). As such, a discursive practice is an intertextual analysis of the three-dimensional framework.

In my analysis of the identified textbooks, animator is the objects (i.e., people, things, events, etc.) represented and articulated in the textbooks, author is the textbooks' production

committees, and principle is the larger power structure including the MoE and the GoA that dictate meanings in the textbooks. My intertextual analysis has partially been carried out. I intertextually analyzed the three sets of textbooks and used secondary sources to contextualize the texts. I was unable to undertake a full cycle of the discursive practice analysis as it was not feasible due to the security context in Afghanistan. However, in Chapter Five I highlighted some reflections on the background of the textbooks, the prior jihadi textbooks that influenced the textbooks in question, the reaction of multiple parties commenting on the textbooks and the overall context in which the textbooks were produced involving the national and international players.

Intertextuality expands discursive sites. It merits attention that textual decontextualization leads to its recontextualization because other systems of meaning such as representations and articulations facilitate the process and in doing so change the original meaning of the text (Flowerdew, 2014, p. 166). In this debate, intertextuality necessitates not only a sound and nuanced methodological approach but also calls for an ethical commitment. Simply put, a researcher recontextualizes discourse and actively engages in the production of meaning; a process that bears responsibility. This theoretical ethical reminder guided my precision in the interpretation of the identified textbooks and my sense of responsibility for the recontextualized meanings that I produced.

Social Practice

The third, and last dimension of CDA is the discursive social practice. For a social practice to occur, it necessitates person(s) who perform an act, status (i.e., (in)eligibility) of actors to perform an act, the performance of an act, modes (i.e., ways) and styles (i.e., techniques) of performing an act, and the time and place in which an action occurs (Fairclough, 1995). As such, discourse is a performance and discourse analysis is the reproduction of the examined social practice. In Fairclough's (1996) perception of discourse as social practice, ideology and hegemony are prominent. Ideology is present in the "code", "structure", and "formation" of linguistics particles when they endorse power, however, individuals are often unaware of the association of their constructions to ideologies and the impact they produce (Fairclough, 1996). Therefore, in Fairclough's viewpoint, not all discourses are of an ideological nature unless they reinforce the power apparatus. Fairclough further complexifies the analysis of social practice by

perceiving it as a moment "where the micro-level of the text is constrained by the meso-level of discourse practices, which is in turn constrained by the macro-level of social practice, or social conditions, involving the role of power" (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017, p. 5). In other words, a text bears the burden of the production, distribution, and consumption of not only its own but other texts prior to it and other texts with which it is articulated.

At the heart of social practice lays power but often with a negative connotation. It necessitates at the onset to establish that manipulation is power abuse and is differentiated from persuasive forms of power exercise in which an individual who is persuaded has the free will and assessment resources to make an informed decision (van Dijk, 1993). At a social level, manipulation refers to power abuse and domination by control of the mind (belief) and by indirect control of action based on the manipulated belief (van Dijk, 1993, p. 362). A discourse is determined as manipulative or otherwise by the context of its use - a discourse may be manipulative in one context and not in the other (van Dijk, 1993, p. 372). To distinguish between context and text, in this level of analysis, 'context categories' rather than 'textual structures' are analyzed (van Dijk, 1993, p. 372). Textual analysis of discursive manipulation focuses on how information is organized and articulated linguistically. The contextual analysis of manipulative discourse requires an examination of the dominant position of the manipulator, the degree of the recipient's knowledge, and the conditions that advance the manipulator and weaken the recipient leading to social inequality (van Dijk, 1993, p. 374). Van Dijk (1993) perceives power as the discursive control of one group over the other through action and cognition but states that the 'modern' form of power domination involves the latter through "subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk" with the purpose to "change the mind of others in one's own interest", and this may often appear natural and acceptable (p. 254). Social conditions need to be met for social manipulation to take place; that is, dominant groups need material and intellectual assets such as status and group membership, and knowledge to control scarce social resources including public discourse (van Dijk, 1993, p. 362). Hence, to examine the social effect of discourse, it is essential to examine systems of social manipulation.

Discursive social manipulation culminates in dominance. Dominance is characterized as power abuse that breaches "laws, rules, and principles of democracy, equality and justice" while hegemony is considered as the willing acceptance of power domination on the part of the dominated as a result of their "mind management" by the dominant" (p. 255). Dominance has a

consequent effect when defined as "the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 249-250). Therefore, dominance and its consequential hegemonic social behaviour are mediated through talk, text, and discourse.

It is indeed language that determines the rules of power discursivity in the framework of an ideology. Discursive dominance leads to ideology formation. Ideology, as a social belief system, organizes basic beliefs of social representations (i.e., knowledge and attitudes) that are shared by members of a society within a common cultural ground (van Dijk, 2013, p. 16). This common cultural ground is inherently "noncontroversial, commonsensical, and hence non-ideological" (van Dijk, 2013, p. 16). From this basic social belief system, groups choose certain aspects of their culture that suit their interests and abandon the rest. These newly emerged 'ideologies' lead to differentiated and varied claims that may differ from the original common cultural ground. The determining factor in the selection of certain aspects of social representations is a group's socially valued resources such as membership, aims, norms and values, and group resources (van Dijk, 2013, p. 16). These selected social representations serve the interest of groups and may be considered as 'ideology'. To distinguish ideology from apolitical social values, we may consider the 'ideological square' analytical framework which allows researchers to explore text based on the absence, presence, and extent to which texts "Emphasize positive things about US, emphasize negative things about them, de-emphasize negative things about US, De-emphasize positive things about Them" (van Dijk, 2006, p. 125). Once ideology is formed through discursive exchanges and selection from a common cultural ground, the social power of the dominant is reinforced. As such, the social effect of a discourse may be viewed by how dominance is discursively reinforced in a society.

Contexts are fraught with a multiplicity of discourses. Discourses are not only contradictory externally but also from within (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 1997). Hence, context is not only about the dominant discourse but also, and more importantly, the *subaltern*. Context is constructed by what Jürgen Habermas (1989) calls participatory and deliberative institutions. State regulatory institutions emerge due to evolving social relations in public places, and the literary critique in the mass media; both of which offer a virtual space for rational thinking and consequently strengthen the quality of public opinion deliberative processes (Habermas, 1989). Nancy Fraser (1990) draws attention to the presence of women, individuals without property,

religious minorities, and marginalized groups as members of the public sphere although they were initially misperceived as being incapable of partaking in public discourse. Fraser calls these subordinated social groups *subaltern counter publics* and adds that they were always present alongside the dominant public and engaged in the formulation of "oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" through the invention and circulation of *counter discourses* (Fraser, 1990, p. 67). Feminist theories and theorists strive to identify subaltern publics and counter discourse. The appropriation of a feminist stance as a 'discursive turn' is critical in any research given the misperceived irrelevance of a gender approach in scientific inquiry in particular and gender diverse people in general (Lazar, 2007, p. 144). The field of feminist critical discourse studies defines its objective as "to show up the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities" (Lazar, 2007, p. 142). Feminist and gender exclusion notions are presented in debates on nationalism and citizenship in Chapter Two.

In conclusion, CDA and its emphasis on the intersectionality of language, power, and ideology brought to the limelight the critical element of this study and enabled the centralization of the marginal and decentralization of the dominant systems of power in language. The three-dimensional framework of CDA involving text, discursive practice, and social practice assisted this study in conducting an intertextual analysis of the primary source, that is, the identified textbooks, and secondary texts.

Critical Discourse Analysis Application

As highlighted below, I applied several methodological approaches to the analysis of the identified textbooks. In CDA tradition, Fairclough (2010 a) does not use the term method but methodology as he does not view analysis as the selection and application of pre-existing methods but as a process in which theory constructs an "object of analysis" (p. 5). In light of this approach, I followed the following analytical and interpretive tools. The first section of the following is allocated to the introduction of CDA tools and the second to interdisciplinary analytical tools.

Analytical and Interpretive Tools of CDA

In the following section, I discuss the interpretive frameworks pertinent to CDA that I applied to deconstruct meaning. First, the qualitative examination of this study involved the application of textual analysis as per the three-dimensional CDA framework (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 1996; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The first dimension of CDA is a textual analysis which includes text, pictures, graphs, and other illustrations. The second dimension of CDA is a discursive practice analysis that focuses on discourse production, distribution, and consumption. The third and last dimension of CDA is social practice analysis or the presence of ideology as discussed above (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 1996; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). These three dimensions served as the foundation of my analysis.

Second, I performed a double deconstructive reading of the text. As illustrated in Table 1, textual deconstruction is enacted by a double deconstructive reading (Hall, 1997). I performed the double deconstructive reading by only focusing on the text without its discursive and social practices. The second phase of the reading involved incorporation of the discursive and social practice by looking at the historical contexts of the textbooks and their intertextuality with other texts. The first reading is the *preferred reading* which is about what the speaker intended to communicate. The second reading is the *negotiated reading*, which understands what is intended while remaking it for one's own purpose. While Chapter Five explicates the context of an imagined community, the first reading is the imagining of the community in the textbooks and the second reading signifies the relationship between the already imagined community and the textbooks' imagining.

Table 1: Double deconstructive reading

Double Deconstructive Reading	**Objective**	**(Inter)textual Sources**
First or Preferred Reading	The interpretation of meaning from author perspective	Primary sources
Second or Negotiated Reading	The reconstruction of meaning from reader perspective	Primary sources Secondary sources

Textual analysis was also comprised of consideration for the *texture of texts*, defined as the texts' "form and organization" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4). Glaser's (1992; 2016) approach to data analysis entails the following order. In the course of my data analysis, I undertook *substantive coding* in two phases; primary level coding involving a page-by-page textual analysis followed by *secondary level coding* entailing a review of the established codes in the same text for the verification of existing and emerging codes. When new meanings were established, the observation of patterns of meaning allowed for the establishment of concepts. The classification and categorization of concepts served as *theoretical memos* (Glaser, 1992; 2016). I developed a coding manual to specify codes, define categories, and highlight examples for each code to guide data collection. Criteria for these segments were established after the first reading of the textbooks. Upon second reading, the criteria were further fine-tuned. Examples of coding that partially represent the construction of theoretical memos for Islam are provided in Annex B. The textbooks were reviewed and coded in their entirety.

In the course of my analysis, I sought *textural evidence* "which is partly linguistic and partly intertextual – partly a matter of how links between one text and other texts and text types are inscribed in the surface of the text" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 4-5). For instance, in an intertextual analysis, I searched for the location of text in relation to other texts in the same source and vis-à-vis other sources. More specifically, I searched for the construction of identity in the same textbook for an assessment of the coherence of its construction and subsequently examined this construct in other textbooks, and finally in the secondary source text, such as, for instance, in the governmental documents. Methodologically, I searched for absence and presence and their nuances such as the implicit presence in text and their foregrounding and backgrounding (Fairclough, 1995, p 5). Visual images are texts that require reading, deconstruction, and reconstruction in order to assess their intentional or dominant meaning and critical meaning. This study adopted Werner's (2002) method of image deconstruction in textbooks. Werner (2002) offers three clusters of seven ways of reading images. The first cluster, *reading for manifest meaning*, is *instrumental reading* that requires the reading of captions and answering guided questions in the methodology. The second cluster, *reading for associative meaning*, includes a*ssociative reading* and is comprised of narrative, iconic, editorial, and indicative readings. More

precisely, associative reading requires the discovery of other meanings associated with the image. *Narrative meaning* necessitates a storyline for the frozen-in-time image, *iconic meaning* refers to a greater event, issue, or value that the text alludes to, *editorial meaning* refers to the meaning that normative judgement of the artist as portrayed in the image, and finality, *indicative meaning* refers to the overall social context that has led to the creation of the text. Instead of Werner's third cluster, *reading for evaluative meaning*, which includes an oppositional and reflexive reading of an image, in line with Hall's (1997) text reading, I present a negotiated reading of the images. Images of the textbooks were analyzed on the basis of the above criterion.

Third, I applied the ideology formation process of CDA approach to the analysis of text in the primary and secondary sources. Van Dijk (2006) provides an 'ideological square' that is useful in the comprehension of group identity in discourse but also in distinguishing ideology from apolitical social values. Van Dijk analyzes ideological processes through which an identity group imagines and represents itself and the other. As illustrated in Table 2, the quaternary structure explores text based on the absence, presence and extent to which texts "Emphasize positive things about Us, Emphasize negative things about Them, De-emphasize negative things about Us, De-emphasize positive things about Them" (van Dijk, 2006, p. 125; van Dijk, 1998).

Table 2: Ideological square

Othering categories	**Emphasize**	**De-emphasize**
'US'	Emphasize positive things about 'us'	Emphasize negative things about 'us'
'Them'	Emphasize negative things about 'them'	Emphasize positive things about 'them'

This Us versus Them dichotomy in text is a form of social cognitive manipulation the successful materialization of which requires the condition of a dominant group having control over the material and intellectual assets including public institutions and discourses (van Dijk, 1993, p. 362). The ideological square indicates positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. I applied these representations in order to identify ideology in the formation of social resources. The preferred reading will entail analysis from the perspective of the authors of

the identified textbooks. The negotiated reading will constitute my reading of text through the use of interpretive and analytical tools introduced in this chapter.

Ideology formation may be performed at an unconscious level. I do not claim utmost objectivity in this study as my positionality is informed not only by the critical discourse analysis methodology of this study but also by my common knowledge about Afghanistan. For the purposes of this study, I borrow the common knowledge definition as "[…] sociocultural knowledge, assumed to be relevant in the education of secondary school students as competent citizens, and hence broadly shared in society" (van Dijk & Atienza, 2011, p. 94). Hence, 'common knowledge' is my socially situated 'belief' and 'opinion' requiring no methodological validation as "we might even define general sociocultural knowledge as the beliefs presupposed by general public discourse – that is, the (factual) beliefs that are taken for granted in some epistemic community, and need no further explanation, nor argument (as is the case for opinions)" (van Dijk & Atienza, 2011, p. 94). With a recognition of the multiplicity of common knowledge in the post-structural context that views truth as a multifaceted phenomenon, I strive to emphasize marginalization and exclusion.

In conclusion, I applied the analytical interpretive tools of CDA. In particular, my analysis benefited from the application of the three-dimensional CDA framework, double deconstructive reading of text by focusing on the *preferred reading* and *negotiated reading,* substantive coding, intertextual analysis, image deconstruction, and the quaternary ideology formation process.

Interdisciplinary Analytical and Interpretive Tools

CDA utilizes multidisciplinary concepts. In line with this tradition, I have selected thematic approaches to complement the aforementioned CDA tools and tactics. First, to analyze the identified textbooks, I borrowed from the imagined community conception of nationalism (Anderson, 2006) discussed in detail in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. I applied the aforementioned elements that contextualize the imagining of nation to the textbooks. I sought the ways the imagining of the community is represented through the primordial form of nationalism including ethnocentrism. More precisely, I analyzed how nationhood was portrayed as natural, affective, biological, and presented through a set of traditions constructed around kinship and territorial claims (Shils, 1995; Gibsly, 2005). In other words, I took advantage of the theoretical debates about nationalism as discussed in Chapter Two.

Concerning the application of imagined community, I assessed how the textbooks construct the community as limited and sovereign by looking at how community and comradeship are formed in discourses. I explored who claim this comradeship, who are invited to have this attachment, and who are excluded. In other words, I sought to respond to the question of who is imagined inside and who is imagined outside the community. I examined to what extent the text foregrounds its territory by backgrounding its border dispute. I also analyzed where text appeals for rational state power, such as taxation, and where this claim is irrational in the name of national interest that leads to drawing exclusionary and marginalizing boundaries. Although Anderson proposes the erosion of religion and dynastical rules as a prerequisite for the emergence of an imagined *official nationalism* in a Western context, when applying this conception, I was cognizant of their absence or presence in the text. For instance, I examined the utilization of the sacred language and dynastical and monarchical societal structures in the reproduction of nationalism and citizenship. In my analysis, I focused on the role of the print media, for instance, the magnitude of the production and consumption of textbooks as a medium of power exertion. I was vigilant as to how the official policy concerning language and education was a vehicle or an obstacle to the accessibility of education and what types of inclusions and exclusions they constructed. looked for indications of cultural, political, and social events that are represented through symbols, objects, and performances. I focused on denaturalizing and demythologizing nation by exhibiting how the mythical products of the textbooks are incoherent and unfixed both spatially and temporally. Espousing 'imagination' as an analytical concept for nationalism allowed this study to embark on an analytical journey that renders possible the analysis of imagining of nation in Afghanistan.

Second, to analyze the identified textbooks, I applied the conception of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). As explicated conceptually in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, the acts and products of nationalism do not always participate in the discursive construction of nationalism mindfully and through systems of power, therefore, their banal presence in text is inevitable. In line with the conception of banal nationalism, I analyzed the text to find out how the textbooks banally represent people, places, and objects banally through metaphors, symbols, and textual devices. I searched for banal acts of nationalism in the representation of social actors and social events. I analyzed how the nation is represented and depicted banally when the text *speaks to* (i.e., addresses) the nation and when the text *speaks for* (on behalf of) the nation. I also analyzed

the text when it banally performed the act of *speaking about* (unilaterally) and *speaking with* (other voices) (Werner, 2002). Hence, the analysis of the banality of nationalism was conducted by considering representations.

I analyzed the identified textbooks by applying the three banal nationalism approaches: namely, universality of the nation, flagging and mapping, and deixis (Billig, 1995), detailed in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. I borrowed the universality of nations approach to study how textbooks banally distinguish Afghanistan from other nations and what distinguishing qualifiers are banally used to represent the nation. For example, I sought whether the nation in Afghanistan is banally viewed as uniquely welcoming and tolerant or as invading and militaristic and how consistent this depiction is across diverse narratives. The *flagging* of the nation through ordinary reminders that appear on daily objects plays a profound role in constructing the nation banally and more actively in times of crisis. I searched for the banal presence of flags in unexpected places and for other ways that the text may subtly flag the nation by symbolizing ordinary acts and objects or by foregrounding symbolic representations in ordinary contexts. For instance, I observed how such seemingly ordinary objects as a mosque in an illustration, an ancient artifact, or a computer flag the nation. I searched for places where maps appear as illustrations or in text. I also searched for historical details associated with maps, for instance, whether maps represent a disputed or glorified past and what other symbolic and rhetorical function they perform in text. Lastly, I utilized deixis as an analytical tool to not lose sight of what would otherwise appear in text as ordinary. I searched for deixis with key nationalism and citizenship terms; for example, in combination with such words as duty (e.g., your duty) or rights (e.g., our rights). Together, these tools allowed my analysis to find banal imagining of the nation in the identified textbooks.

Third, I analyzed how the identified textbooks construct citizenship. In line with the conceptual discussions on citizenship and citizenship education elaborated in Chapters Two and Three, I analyzed citizenship in its civic (rather than ethnic) form (Reesken & Hooghe, 2010), despite my theoretical positioning that views both similar, in order to contrast nationalism and citizenship discursive formations and their potential overlaps. I analyzed how the textbooks establish the relationship between the people and government (Gellner, 2006) to examine how this construction serves as a vehicle or an obstacle to imagining the nation. In particular, I searched for whether service delivery was a concern for the legitimacy of the government and to what extent the textbooks compelled citizens to abide by the law. More specifically, I examined

if the identified textbooks promote a "personally responsible citizen", "participatory citizen" or "social justice-oriented citizen" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, pp. 13-39), as defined in Chapter Two. Criteria such as type of government, systems of governance, and the manners through which the citizenry rights vis-à-vis government accountability are articulated enabled this study to determine the type of citizen the identified textbooks aimed at producing. I processed these criteria through a distinction between two approaches to citizenship education; first, a traditionalist approach that descriptively emphasizes the government function and prescriptively the role of democracy (Parker, 1996; Ceaser & McGuinn, 1998) in the interest of the dominant discourse (Kennedy, 2019); second, a progressive approach that is justice oriented and questions historical and systematic inequalities (Westheimer & Kahne 2004). I did not look for this construction only in the civic education textbooks but also in the patriotism textbooks.

Fourth, I assumed language as a *representational system* that impacts identity formation, by representing ideas, concepts, feelings, people, objects, and places (Hall, 1997). Following my theoretical debate on representation in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, I looked for difference created by representational practices to examine whether it is positive (i.e., for identity formation purpose) or negative (i.e., acts as a site of aggression and othering) (Hall, 1997). This approach broadened my contextual analysis. In doing so, I observed practices of representation including stereotyping, binary oppositions, and othering that create sites of repression and exclusion (Hall, 1997, p. 227). In applying representation in this thesis as a system of constructing identity in the textbooks, I highlighted difference as a practice of Othering represented in binary oppositions in which hierarchical relationships create systems of marginalization and exclusion. A distinction between denotative and connotative meanings enabled my analysis to situate concepts, meanings, and representations in a broader context. This allowed my analysis to assess how text manipulates meaning in its transition from denotative to connotative meaning. I paid attention to who and when the multiplicity of repressions leads to the construction of a system of representation and how this culminates in the production of a forged unity. Once this was identified, I looked for signs of contradiction, incoherence, and eventual fractures of meanings.

Fifth, following my conceptual debate in Chapter Two and Chapter Three, I utilized the conception of *articulation* to perceive it as a complex structure or a forged social unity between differences and similarities of social elements under certain dominance and hegemonic contexts and in a specific time form a relationship and sustain it until new contexts necessitate

articulations (Hall, 1985). The paradox of a forged unity (Hall, 1980) articulates not only the coexistence of cohesiveness and divisiveness in nationalism but also the cohabitation of equality and discrimination in the discursive formation of citizenship. I theorized articulation in the textbooks by appreciating the interconnection of articulations (Hall, 1980). I paid equal attention to the internal structures of the elements, the relationships, and the contexts that form the inclusive totality of articulations as well as the differences between articulations (Grossberg, 1986; Slack, 1996). For instance, I examined the construction of nationalism and citizenship on their merit yet I also assessed how they overlap and differentiate. In line with the literature, unlike ideology, I treated articulation as an unstable, unfixed, and unnatural phenomenon that is in a perpetual state of formation. This allowed me to, in my search for marginalization, look for inconsistency, breakage, and disruption rather than coherence, homogeneity, and uniformity in text.

In conclusion, the interdisciplinary analytical interpretive tools of this study complement the CDA tools. The framework encompasses such analytical tools as the imagined community conception of nationalism, banal nationalism with a focus on the universality of the nation, flagging and mapping, and deixis, citizenship, representation, and articulation.

Research Sources

The following presents the primary and secondary sources of textual analysis carried out in this thesis.

Primary Text Source

The primary text source of this study consists of textbooks and the MoE's key documents relevant to this study. The MoE published the Patriotism Textbooks, Civic Education Textbooks, and History Textbooks in 2011. Since then, an unverifiable number of editions have been printed. This study critically analyzes fifteen Faris-Dari public school textbooks that have been identified through the purposive sampling method. The textbooks are the property of the Ministry of Education (MoE) of the Government of Afghanistan (GoA) and all were published in 2017 (except the civic education textbook grade seven published in 2018) and signed by Minister Asadullah Haneef Balkhi. As illustrated in Table 3, the primary text source is comprised of a total of fifteen textbooks from grades seven to twelve; six civic education textbooks, six history

textbooks, and three patriotism textbooks. At the time of publication of these textbooks, education in Aghan public schools was divided into a three-tier system: Primary (Grades 1-6), Lower Secondary (Grades 7-9), and Upper Secondary (Grades 10-12). The rationale of the textbook selection was governed by a purposeful selection of textbooks. I selected the reviewed textbooks because they were most likely to address my areas of interest, namely nationalism and citizenship and the textbooks from Lower Secondary (Grades 7-9) and Upper Secondary (Grades 10-12) were the ones offered in these grades.

The textbooks analyzed in this study fall within the three-tier education system in Afghanistan. The first set of textbooks is titled, patriotism (*Watan Dosti*) and each of the grades 7-9 have one textbook under the same title, distinguished from one another by their respective grades (e.g., *Watan Dosti*, Grade 7). *Watan Dosti* is a term in the Dari-Farsi language and its literal meaning is 'love for homeland'. The second set of textbooks is called Civic Education (*Tahlimat-e Madani,* meaning civic education), one for each of grades 9-12, with the same title and distinguished by their respective grades. Grade 9 is the only grade in which textbooks from both streams are taught. The last set of textbooks is History (*Tarikh*, meaning history). This study examines the revised second version of textbooks published in 2017 by the Ministry of Education in Afghanistan. I accessed the identified textbooks through the MoE website prior to the takeover of the Taliban in August 2021 which were available as textbooks in circulation at the MoE website until the resurgence of the Taliban. As per anecdotical references, following their takeover, the Taliban still use patriotism and history textbooks in public schools. However, given the sensitive content with references to democracy and women's rights, the civic education textbooks are taken out of the curriculum.

I analyzed all textbooks in the Farsi-Dari language to ensure consistency in translation and interpretation. All content, other than the national anthem, which is constitutionally required to only be in the Pashtu language, is in the Farsi-Dari language. The national anthem is the only text in the Pashto language, in line with the constitution of Afghanistan (Government of Afghanistan, 2004) that, despite identifying Farsi-Dari and Pashto as its official languages (Article 16), stipulates that the national anthem is in the Pashto language only (Article 20).

It merits attention to review the textbook development authors and teams. My intention of direct reference to names and teams is not a disparagement of authors and textbook development teams but it is solely for the purpose of an analysis of human factors contributing to textbook

development as reflected in gender balance, team composition, and the connection between agency and institution. The textbook development teams of the three sets of identified textbooks are comprised of textbook authors and publication teams that vary in combination and number but in general, can be categorized as follows: (1) Professional Editor(s); (2) Language Editor Team; (3) Scientific Editor Committee; (4) Religious, Political, and Cultural Committee; (5) Evaluation Committee; (6) Layout and Design Team; (7) Publication Team; and, (8) Printing Coordination Unit. Each committee has between 1 to 5 members. The textbook development teams are identified in the textbooks as senior employees of the MoE. For example, Habibullah Rahil, a member of the Political and Cultural Editor Committee, is an Advisor to the Curriculum Development and Book Compilation Directorate of the MoE.[1] In another example, all members of the Evaluation Committee hold senior positions at the MoE: Dr. Assadullah Mohaqeq is a Deputy Minister at the MoE, Curriculum Development and Teacher Training Department[2], Dr. Sheer Ali Zarifi is in charge of the Curriculum Development Project[3], and Abdul Zahir Golestani is the General Director of Curriculum Development and Textbook Compilation Department[4]. This evidence indicates that the MoE as the producer of the textbooks has attempted to represent its cultural, religious, and political institutional interests.

Textbook authors are not specified as MoE employees, except in civic education textbook grade seven which is authored by the Department of Civic Education Textbooks of the MoE. As illustrated in Annex C, only the patriotism textbooks are authored by all-male authors and each of the textbooks is authored by distinct authors. The history and civic education textbooks' authors are gender inclusive but to a very limited degree and authors of the textbooks in each set of textbooks overlap. For instance, Professor Mohammad Rasul Barwari is one of the five co-authors of *History Textbook Seven* (Bawari, et al., 2017) and one of three co-authors of *History Textbook Ten* (Bawari, et al., 2017). Likewise, Assistant Professor Mohammad Faruq Omarkhail is a coauthor out of three in the *Civic Education Textbook Nine* (Mohaquiq & Omarkhail, 2017), and one out of two in the *Civic Education Textbook Ten* (Omarkhail & Moshfiq, 2017). From the perspective of gender inclusivity, all the civic education textbooks, only grades eight and nine have female authors (1 out of 2 and one out of three authors, respectively). Of all history

[1] ـ حبیب الله راحل مشاور وزارت معارف در ریاست انکشاف نصاب تعلیمی و تألیف کتب درسی

[2] دکتور اسد الله محقق معین انکشاف نصاب تعلیمی و تربیة معلم

[3] دکتور شیر علی ظریفی مسؤول پروژة انکشاف نصاب تعلیمی

[4] سرمؤلف عبدالظاهر گلستانی رئیس عمومی انکشاف نصاب تعلیمی و تألیف کتب درسی

textbooks, only grades seven and eight are authored by women (one out of five, and one out of four, respectively). This observation indicates that the textbooks are strict in gender inclusivity and except for the *Patriotism Textbooks*, others are developed by a small and overlapping number of authors which denotes the domination of knowledge in the textbooks by a limited number of authors.

Each of the three sets of textbooks starts with the same one-page message from the late Minister of the MoE, Assadullah Hanif Balkhi. The message contains a progressive approach to education, inviting all stakeholders of the education sector, from principals and teachers to students' parents and communities to partake in educating the future generation of the country and in a better future for all. A paragraph invites teachers to follow the curriculum:

> I sincerely ask the good, committed, and compassionate teachers and educators, who have fought against darkness and ignorance to guide the children and the youth of the country toward the conquest of the high plateaus of knowledge, morality, and spirituality by carefully and sincerely adapting the curriculum[5] (All textbooks).

The endorsement of the Minister by presenting one page in each textbook is a testimony of the ownership of the textbooks by the MoE on the one hand, and the use of this message as a communication means with the teachers, on the other. The ownership of the textbooks by the MoE is set out on the cover pages of the textbooks. The cover page of every textbook contains the title of the book, the MoE logo, the year of publication, and a copyright message from the MoE. The copyright states, "textbooks are the property of the Ministry of Education. Their purchase and sale are strictly prohibited. Violators will face the law" (cover page of all textbooks).

The symbolism of nationalism is banally evident on the cover pages of the textbooks. Every textbook has three cover pages. As illustrated in Figure 1, (Bakhtyari & Mazari 2017, henceforth, *CETB 8*, 2017), the main title depicts the logo of the MoE, the copyright message, the title page reflects the name of the textbook "*Tahlimat -e Madani*" (civic education) and "Class Eight", an urban environment, a map of Afghanistan painted on an infrastructure's wall and satellite dishes. The second page reflects the national anthem in the Pashtu language and the flag of Afghanistan. The third cover page contains the content of the first cover page but in bold

[5] از معلمان و آموزگاران خوب، متعهد و دلسوز کشورم که ستیزه با سیاهی و نادانی را پیش خود ساخته اند، صمیمانه آرزومندم که با تطبیق دقیق و مخلصان نصاب تعلیمی، کودکان و جوانان میهن را بسوی فتح قله های رفیع دانش، اخلاق و معنویت رهنمون گردند.

larger font, it begins with the Quranic *Shahada* (The Testimony) verse in the Arabic language, “In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate”.

(Main title page) | (National anthem page) (Second title page)

Figure 1: Banal representation of the nation in the identified textbooks.

The pages banally symbolize the imagining of the nation from the perspective of the producing authority (i.e., MoE) through a claim of textbooks’ ownership, national flag, national anthem, adherence to the religion of Islam, endorsement of civic education (as emphasized in the title), and a decision as to the textbooks’ audience (as identified by a specific grade).

Structurally, the three sets of textbooks are similar. They are divided into lessons of 3-10 pages. The history textbooks contain individual chapters each consisting of lessons ranging between four to fourteen pages. The following is a typical lesson (Hotak, Rawnaqi & Babakarkhail, 2017, pp.3-6) (henceforth, *HSTB 12, 2017*) titled, “Political, Economic and Social Conditions of Afghanistan Before Ahmad Shah’s Seizure of Power”.

(p. 3) (p. 4) (p. 5) (p. 6)

Figure 2: A typical lesson structure in the identified textbooks.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the title of the lesson is highlighted in white colour on the upper side of the page. Lesson objectives read: “In this lesson, information is provided about the political, economic and social conditions and liberating uprisings, and their impact on the awakening of the

people before the revival of Afghanistan"[6] (Ansari, Ghori & Habid, 2017, p. 3, henceforth, *HSTB11* , 2017) The body of the text (p. 3-6) discusses the "Khushah Khan Khatak Uprising" and "Mirwais Nika Uprising". In the darker shaded box (page 6), "Class Activity" directs students to split into two groups, one to discuss the social and the second to debate political conditions before the emergence of Ahmad Shah. The "Questions" (p. 6) section poses four questions concerning the uprisings, while the "Out of Class Activity" (p. 6) asks students to learn about the economic conditions before Ahmad Shah's reign and to share it in the class, presumably the following day. Thus, a title, objectives, a theme, and assignments for students form a common structure of a typical lesson in all textbooks.

The primary text source of this research containing MoE's key documents relevant to this study includes national strategic plans, curriculum frameworks, and education law. First, as illustrated in Table 3, the MoE produced three five-year National Education Strategic Plan*s* (henceforth *NESP*s) which detail educational vision, objectives, approaches and implementation strategies for 2006-2010; 2010-2014; and 2017-2021. Second, the MoE produced *National Curriculum Frameworks* [henceforth *NCFs*] published in 2003 (revised in 2006) and published in 2011. Third, the Ministry of Justice produced the *Afghanistan Law of Education* 2008 which determined education society nexus.

To ensure the accuracy of translation from Farsi-Dari into English and to accessibility provide the original text of the textbooks to readers of the original text, I have provided the directly quoted textbooks' text in the original language in footnotes. References to the textbooks' authors are made in the first in-text citation for each textbook. Subsequent in-text references to the textbooks are abbreviated textbook names and publication years (e.g., *CETB 10*, 2010, for Civic Education Textbook 10), rather than the names of authors in order to ease the reading of the passages that contain multiple references and to provide more accessible information about the titles of textbooks used in the analysis passages. Given the thematic orientation of each textbook, reference to the textbooks' names provides context for the comprehension of the constructed meanings.

Secondary Source

The secondary text source of this research is classified into three clusters as follows. The first cluster is comprised of official documents of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan pertinent to

[6] دراین درس راجع به اوضاع سیاسی،اقتصادی و اجتماعی، جنبشهای آزادیخواهی و نقش آن در بیداری مردم افغانستان قبل از احیای مجدد افغانستان معلومات ارائه میگردد.

public education. The second cluster incorporates reports produced by international institutions for a contextual construction of textbook production and consumption cycle. The usage of news articles is inevitable in this study due to the recency of the post-9/11 events and the scarcity of their interconnected nuances in scholarly works. The third cluster includes scholarly articles and books about education and textbooks in Afghanistan. As such, the secondary sources are comprised of diverse sources. The following table reflects the primary and secondary document's references, rationale for selection and relevant details.

Table 3: Primary text source and rationale for selection

Subjects/Title of Textbooks		**Rationale**	**Grade 7-9**	**Grade 10-12**
Primary Text Source	Civic education textbooks	Exclusively on citizenship education.	3/3	3/3
	History textbooks	Articulates citizenship and nationalism.	3/3	3/3
	Patriotism textbooks	Articulates citizenship and nationalism.	3/3	Non-existent
	Total textbooks		9	6
MoE Document		**Rationale**	**Sources**	
Primary Text Source	1) Three Five-Year National Education Strategic Plans, 2) Two National Curriculum Frameworks, 3) Afghanistan Law of Education	Contain discursive practices that construct textbook ideologies. Govern the discursive formation of textbook production and consumption cycle. MoE is the sole textbook producing institution.	Online documents of the MoE	
	1) Three Five-Year National Education Strategic Plans, 2) Two National Curriculum Frameworks,	Contain discursive practices that construct textbook ideologies. Govern the discursive formation of textbook production and	Online documents of the MoE	

	3) Afghanistan Law of Education	consumption cycle. MoE is the sole textbook producing institution.	

Table 4: Secondary text source and rationale for selection

	MoE Document	Rationale	Sources
Secondary Text Source	**Cluster One:** Afghanistan Government documents and reports related to public school education and textbooks	Contain discursive practices that construct textbook ideologies. Govern the discursive formation of textbook production and consumption cycle. Provides context for textbook production and consumption cycle. GoA administers MoE.	Online reports and documents of the GoA
	Cluster Two: Reports and news articles produced by national and international institutions	Contain discursive practices that construct textbook ideologies. Govern the discursive formation of textbook production and consumption cycle. Given the recency of events in Afghanistan, some text may not be available in the above sources but reported as news. Non-governmental organizations are the discursive practice and discursive event producing institutions.	Online reports of national and international institutions and media outlets
	Cluster Three: Scholarly articles and books about education and textbooks in Afghanistan	Contextualize historical and contemporary discursive events in Afghanistan and in education in relation to textbook production and	Online scholarly journals and libraries

		consumption.	

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a critical aspect of my methodological approach. A reflexive approach demonstrates "how subjects engage with the logics, rationalities, and ideologies that infuse their discursive worlds with meaning at different levels of analysis" (Zienkowski, 2017, p. 9). For me, this discursive juncture is a product of the interface between discourses that form the intersectionality of my identities mentioned in Chapter One and the discourses of this study. Given the critical nature of CDA in which "[…] 'critique' is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 747), in this study I was conscious of the interconnections of (or disconnections between) the elements of this interface. The practice of self-reflection not only requires the discovery of interconnections but also the espousing of a political stance (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). It is because relexify is not ideology-free; as "all reflexive articulations of sociopolitical stances are mediated through discursive patterns that give reflexivity a myriad of ideological flavours" (Zienkowski, 2017, p. 2.). It was, therefore, critical in the course of my analysis to be aware of the mediations and their impact on my analysis. I do not claim that my reflection follows a standard systematic process because approaches to reflexivity vary depending on spatial and temporal contexts. In light of this specificity, my reflexivity exercise is discussed below.

My assigned identity as a biethnic (Pashtun and Tajik) Afghan and my acquired identity as a Canadian citizen have engendered a paradoxical binary of lived experiences of national attachment on the one hand, and academic knowledge of nationhood as an imagining and citizen agency, on the other. In the course of my thesis research that aimed to search for a third space to reconcile the two, I eventually learned that individuals like me are parts and particles of nationalism's grand narratives. Timothy Stanley (2006), whose supervision of my thesis has honoured and enlightened me, calls grand narratives commonsensical representations of the past which constitute public memory as they impose some histories and ride off others. Stanley (2000) asserts, "while nationalist grand narratives purport to trace the origins of the imagined community that makes the nation, they in fact constitute it. They identify who belongs in the nation and in what ways" (p. 82). A step further in my quest to understand the impact of grand

narratives, I learned from Stanley's view on nationalism in Canada that is not irrelevant to Afghanistan:

> The nationalist narratives that shape public memory in Canada, including public school history curricula, differently affect the inhabitants of an ethnically and culturally diverse society. These narratives place some people as inherent members of the 'imagined community' of the nation and others as outsiders to that community (Stanley, 2010, p. 1).

Hence, given my privileged position as a beneficiary of education in Afghanistan, I attempted to background my position as an inherent member of the imagined community in favour of forwarding the outsiders who are overlooked along identity lines.

My attempt to support my knowledge claims faced not only the dilemma of self-reflexivity and my in-betweenness as a Canadian and an Afghan but also the challenge of reconstructing my subjectivity in the interest of knowledge credibility. As a beneficiary of the education system and as an educationist in Afghanistan, my experiences and knowledge posed the challenge of compromising subjectivity in articulating my knowledge claims. The privately communicated "Guidelines for supporting knowledge claims", of Timothy Stanley, customized to reflect examples of Afghanistan's textbook analysis, was an instant of knowledge transfer beyond the boundaries of set theoretical frameworks. Knowledge claims, as the communication elaborated, were of at least four interrelated primary types; common knowledge, authority, direct evidence, and the author's scientifically articulated argument. Through such insightful communication, I came to the realization that a step forward from subjectivity to objectivity – to the extent possible, is a move from common knowledge to scientifically articulated arguments.

I am cognizant of my in-betweenness in my journey of knowledge production. On the one hand, I employ my acquired academic competence into practice, on the other, the subject matter comes from a context distant from Western methodologies of meaning-making. With the support of Stanley's academic publications, I was able to apply the theoretical and empirical Western knowledge in the analysis of textbooks of Afghanistan without compromising the specificities of the socio-cultural context of my field of study, that is, public school textbooks of Afghanistan. Stanley's work rendered the reconciliation of the personal dilemma when I read his words: "The great tradition of historical research is to read documents not just as artifacts but as windows on the past, in effect, to read through the document to an external reality" (Stanley, 2011, p. 9). I

was able to examine the past through an analysis of the textbooks and to appreciate the distance between myself and the subject of study in the interest of an external reality.

My ethical dilemma in the course of writing this thesis was my position and my voice and their accuracy on a script that has an eternal life span. Speaking of Canada, Stanley (2002) calls for an approach through which every student finds their past in textbooks and compares their narrative with the interpretations of others present in the classroom. Stanley (2009) states that the multiplicity of voices leads to open spaces that will reinterpret and challenge grand narratives. With this notion, and in line with my methodological principles, I aimed to present yet one more narrative of national imagining in the textbooks of Afghanistan with no claims of truth, coherence, and permanency.

Conducting an objective analysis of the identified textbooks is important but insufficient. There remains the question as to how far a researcher may go in connecting the past and present in an effort to make meaning today. More precisely, how can we not let the objectivity of today disrupt our understanding of yesterday? In the pursuit of a response to this inquiry, I benefited from Stanley's (2000) methodological approach:

> While I am interested in making meaning of the past, it is decidedly not my purpose to impose today's standards on past actions. Ultimately there is no way of knowing whether a historical interpretation corresponds to the real past itself because the real past is not knowable except through interpretation. (p. 82)

This view is critical for the case of Afghanistan given its past grievances that in my view overshadow a mediation in any text produced in a post-conflict society. It reiterates that the standards and values that we hold today cannot judge past actions. A word of wisdom from Stanley (2000) is to perceive the analysis of history as a work in progress:

> History at its best places particulars in context, understanding them in terms of what else is happening at the time and place under investigation and what else is known about the history of the period. History in this sense is always unfinished. As previously unexplored records become available and as new questions are asked, so, too, new interpretations emerge. (p. 102)

This statement is rich in its appreciation of the vast future possibilities in interpreting the past. This view, however, also requires an open attitude toward the unstable meanings of the past and an acceptance of redoing an analysis when there is new evidence. As Stanley asserts, "I read my

documents as actively trying to fix and refix meanings that were slipping at the time the documents were produced" (2011, P. 9). Besides a deliberate act of politically motivated intervention, according to this statement, slippage of meaning may also occur due to other prevailed limitations. Any reading of history is incomplete due to the limitation of the human capacity to maximize the systems of articulations and representations, resources, and time in an inquiry for more evidence. However, as we progress to develop new technologies and skills to conduct a more thorough historical analysis of text with more precision, our open attitude to redo our analysis becomes more crucial. Hence, my attempt in the analysis of the textbooks is neither a judgement of the past meanings by current standards and perceptions of truth nor a decisive and finished concluding remark.

In the end, my attempt to support my knowledge claims faced not only the dilemma of self-reflexivity and my in-betweenness as a Canadian and an Afghan but also the challenge of reconstructing my subjectivity in the interest of knowledge credibility. As a beneficiary of the education system and as an educationist in Afghanistan, my experiences and knowledge posed the challenge of compromising subjectivity in articulating my knowledge claims. I overcame this obstacle with a commitment to the precision of my methodology and analysis to the best of my knowledge. I hope the exercise of reflexivity helps my analysis become more objective and that my positionality raises the awareness of my reader about the choices I have made throughout my study.

Conclusion

This study is governed by specific research questions concerning imagining the nation through an analysis of discursive formations of nationalism and citizenship in the public school textbooks of Afghanistan. The multifaceted methodological underpinning of this study, in line with CDA and the conceptual frameworks, enabled this study to present a scholarly analytical framework for the analysis of the identified textbooks. While the primary text forms the foundation of this analysis, it is in fact the secondary text that contextualizes the production, circulation, and consumption of textbooks discussed in Chapter Five. I view myself as a researcher whose work is knowledge construction and not knowledge discovery. I am cognizant that the produced knowledge through my thesis is formed by my positionality and subjectivity

discussed in this and in chapter One. I declare my comprehension of the representational practices in the text and my conclusion of their meaning as developing and incomplete.

Chapter Five: Education Context in Afghanistan

A text is best comprehended in the context of its cycle of production, circulation, and consumption (Fairclough, 1996). In this chapter, I conduct a *preferred reading* and *negotiated reading* (Hall, 1997) of secondary text source with the objective to reflect on the context of education officialization in Afghanistan at the time the identified textbooks were produced, circulated, and consumed. I utilize four clusters of secondary text sources produced by national and international institutions. As illustrated in Table 3, Chapter Four, the first cluster consists of the Ministry of Education's (henceforth MoE) three five-year National Education Strategic Plan*s* (henceforth *NESP*S) (2006-2010; 2010-2014; and 2017-2021), two National Curriculum Frameworks (henceforth *NCFs)* published in 2003 (revised in 2006) and in 2011, and the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008). The second cluster is comprised of official documents of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan pertinent to public education. The third cluster incorporates reports of national and international non-governmental organizations. The usage of news articles is inevitable due to the recency of the post-9/11 events and the scarcity of their interconnected nuances in scholarly works. The fourth cluster includes scholarly articles and books about education and textbooks in Afghanistan. This Chapter demonstrates the representation and articulation of the officialization of education in Afghanistan. It strives to demonstrate that education officialization is neither fixed nor coherent in meaning construction, hence, it exhibits a condition of forged unity that is built on a fragile set of often incoherent, negotiated, and impermanent texts.

In Afghanistan, education is shaped by multiple regimes of truth given the discursive socio-political complexities of the society. I (Nazari, 2022) have elaborated on the multiplicity of the regimes of truth elsewhere as follows:

> In Afghanistan, an ideological confrontation between communism and Islamism during the Cold War decades (1970s–1990s) was responsible for victimizing education. The Soviet-backed Afghan government and the Western-backed Afghan Islamist *Mujahiddin* operating from Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, exploited public school curricula as an ideological propaganda weapon by taking advantage of social assets (defined as socially shared intellectual properties such as history, religion, or culture) and (re)constructing social values—i.e., perceptions of moralities such as liberty, equality, and rights (Van Dijk, 2003)—in accordance with their

> competing ideological belief systems. The superpowers perpetuated the victimization of education by funding their respective Afghan allies, who promoted their own individual ideologies through the public school curriculum. (p. 84)

As such, in Afghanistan, education at the intersection of *government* and *rationality* of ideologies has constructed a form of governmentality that has engendered a sense of *self-regulations*. Given this, the analysis of Afghanistan's education, and its analyzed textbooks, must take into consideration the bureaucracy and institutions that education has produced in the past decades.

In 2001, Afghanistan was faced with a dysfunctional and war-ravaged education system tormented by Cold War ideological confrontation (1978-1992), civil war devastation (1992-1996), and Taliban aggression (1996-2001). During the Cold War, education was a site for ideological confrontation between the Soviet-backed government in control of education in most parts of Afghanistan and the Western-backed Afghan Islamist mujahidin (holy war warriors) in control of the education of millions of children in refugee camps in Pakistan (Spink, 2005). Following the fall of the Soviet-backed government, the intra-group violence among Jihadi (holy war) fractions fragmented along political, party, ethnic, sectarian, and linguistic lines erupted into a civil war and exacerbated education availability, access, and equality. The subsequent Taliban regime further restricted education for boys and banned it for girls. The Taliban follow the strict *Deobandi* school of *sharia* (Islamic law) interpretation that they had acquired in Pakistani refugee camps as opposed to the moderate Hanafi jurisprudence adopted in Afghanistan (Rashid, 2000). In the aftermath of the fall of the Taliban in 2001, the MoE had to rebuild the war-ravaged and ideology-laden education.

Against the above backdrop and following the 9/11 events, from 2001 to 2021, the MoE officialized a national education narrative in three key documents; two *NCFs* (2003; 2006; 2011), three five-year *NESP*s (2006-2010; 2010-2014; 2017-2021), and the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008). As per the Curriculum Framework 2003(henceforth, *NCF 2003*) (Ministry of Education, 2003), the MoE managed to develop and distribute primary-level syllabi (grades 1-6) with a time lag in 2006 (Georgescu, 2008, p. 444; Zarifi, 2013). The MoE revised the *NCF 2003* in 2006 for lower secondary (grades 7-9) and upper secondary (grades 10-12) education (Georgescu, 2008, p. 444). Textbooks for these grades were published in 2011 signifying a delay of a decade from the fall of the Taliban in 2001. The following represents the context in which these education reforms occurred.

With its estimated thirty to forty million mostly Muslim population (roughly 90% Sunni, 10% Shia) living in less than 700,000 km^2 of landlocked mountainous area, Afghanistan's ethnographic fabric is comprised of more than ten ethnic groups speaking more than tens of languages of which twenty-three are marked as endangered (Catalogue of Endangered Languages, n. d.). Since 1979, no comprehensive census of Afghanistan has been undertaken (UNESCO, 2015). In the absence of a census, reliable identity cards, and politicization of estimates, the comprehension of Afghanistan's demography remains in the shadow of contested self-serving approximations at best and an uncountable multiplicity of sources at worst. The following data demonstrate that the resource deprived MoE officialized the post-9/11 national education upon a traumatized, engendered, illiterate, predominantly rural, and young population. This chapter is organized as follows. First, I present a review of schooling challenges in Afghanistan. Second, I discuss the nationalization of education through officially planned and centrally applied education reforms. Third, I present a summary of the literature on nationalism and citizenship in Afghanistan. Finally, I synthesize the findings of this Chapter and underscore its relevance to this thesis.

Literacy and School Enrolment

Afghan society has the lowest literacy rate in the world. In 2018, of the estimated 39.6 million population aged fifteen and older, only 43% (55 % male, 29 % female) were literate (UNESCO, 2021a). National Education Strategic Plan 2017– 2021 (Ministry of Education, 2016, henceforth*, NESP III*, 2016) acknowledges the dire state of illiteracy with gender disparity: "The male literacy rate (age 15+) is 62% [while] the female rate is 18%, compared to the median value for low-income countries of 70% and 57% respectively. Only one in five women in Afghanistan is literate and the literacy rate for women in rural areas is three times lower than in urban areas" (p. 19). This data indicates that the officialized national education debate was circulated among a gendered predominantly illiterate population.

According to the *NESP*s, student enrolment increased rapidly over time. Initially, the enrollment and retention rates were lower than the actual schooling needed because the MoE supply of educational services could not meet the demand. *NCF 2003* (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 11) stated that out of 4.5 million registered students, they could only accommodate three million due to a shortage of resources. School enrolment was less than a million in 2001,

nonetheless, it increased to 2.3 million in 2002, and to more than 5.4 million (nearly 35% of them girls) in 2006 National Education Strategic Plan 2007-2010 (Ministry of Education, 2006, p. 11, henceforth *NESP* I, 2006). Subsequently, enrolment increased to 6.2 million (36% female) in 2008, according to the National Education Strategic Plan 2010-2014 (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 2, henceforth, *NESP II*, 2010) and to more than 9.2 million in 2015 (39% female) according to according to *NESP* III (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 1). This MoE's data is in accordance with an international organization's (UNESCO, 2021a) data that confirms that the gross enrolment increased from one million in 2001 to ten million in 2018; while in every ten students, four were girls. However, this enrollment was not consistent across all education levels; in 2018 gross enrollment reached 6.5 million in primary, 2 million at lower secondary, 1 million in upper secondary, and only 0.4 million in higher education (UNESCO, 2021a). From 2001 to 2018 female literacy rate doubled from 17% to 37% and the number of female teachers increased by 58% (from 143,000 in 2007 to 226,00 in 2018) (UNESCO, 2021a). This data illustrates a significant positive change in school enrollment over nearly twenty years and social acceptance of the reformed education system to the extent that it challenged the MoE resource capacity.

Despite celebratory statements on school enrolment, the challenge of enrolment retention reveals a different reality. In 2010, "more than 46% of eligible children" were out of school (*NESP II*, 2010, p. 32). Of those enrolled, some were not present. In 2014, 18.3% of perceived present students were permanently absent but *NESP II* (2010) justifies this as the students "could have been enrolled elsewhere" (2010, p. 20). In 2018, out of school children were 3.7 million of which 60% were girls (UNESCO, 2021a). This data indicates that a significant number of school-age children were still out of school. A myriad of reasons explicated below account for this issue.

The MoE was faced with the challenge of absenteeism and dropout which were interlinked with other socio-cultural issues. Oxfam (2006) counted the top three reasons for low registration as the absence of or distance to school (50% female, 70 % boys), not being allowed to enrol by families (30% girls, 10% boys), and work (labour) at home or nearby (10% for boys and girls). The *NESP II* (2010) also acknowledges that "children drop out of school for reasons that include poverty, low quality of schooling, security problems, and local traditions" (2010, p. 33). Reasons for low enrolment and absence for girls were distinct. As per *NESP II*: "In addition to the shortage of female teachers, local traditions, discrimination against girls, insecurity in some

regions, and lack of girls' schools near their homes are among the obstacles to girls' enrolment" (2010, p. 29). At the age of puberty, girls are expected to drop out of school leading to early marriage (UNICEF, 2021a). According to the Afghanistan Civil Code 1977 (Ministry of Justice, 2006), the minimum age of marriage for boys is eighteen and for girls sixteen (Article Seventy). The age of marriage for girls falls to fifteen when the father or a judge permits the marriage (Article Seventy-One). The Global Gender Gap Index shows that before the resurgence of the Taliban in 2021, of 156 countries, Afghanistan ranked last (World Economic Forum, 2021). The above data signifies that the poor educational outcomes were exacerbated by unfavourable socio-cultural factors while, as discussed earlier, families were pro-education.

Poverty also played a vital role in low school enrolment, absenteeism, and dropout. The profile of students shows that in 2018, those aged twenty-four and younger formed 64 % of the total population of which 74% lived in rural areas (UNESCO, 2021a). In 2009, 83% of all schools were in rural areas and 17% in urban centres (*NESPII,* 2010, p. 28). Hence, the main textbook consumers among student readers were a vast young rural population. Poverty and economic choices render education a scarce public good. As per *NESP III* (2016), 36% of the population, mainly in rural areas, was below the poverty line, while other sources report that 55% of the estimated 39.6 million people of which 64% were at school age (24 and younger) experienced multidimensional poverty. This context is exacerbated by "multidimensional risk" factors including humanitarian needs, conflict relatd violation of rights, internal displacement, and natural hazards, to name a few (UNICEF, 2021, p. 17-19). As per the MoE, of the 25% of children involved in child labour, less than one-third of them also attended school. Furthermore, children who attended school were not out of the labour market: in 2014, of the 42% of children aged 5-14 attending school, more than half of them (51%) were also involved in child labour (*NESP III*, 2016, p. 19). This high rate of child labour reflects the low national employment rate; in 2018 only 43.5% of those aged 15 and older were employed (UNESCO, 2021a). As per these reports, it is evident that poverty and child labour hindered school enrollment, however, the data also reveal an inclination to education despite poverty and child labour. Most education evaluations in Afghanistan are student-centred inquiry with a resource and utilitarian orientation which backgrounds government accountability, as presented below, particularly in the shortage of teachers, schools, and textbooks.

Ghost Figures at the Ministry of Education

Education is not only a political but also an economic realm prone to exploitation. The post-9/11 education resulted in macro-level systematic and system-wide corruption and nonexistent resource digits on financial statements, referred to as ghost numbers (Adili, 2017). The Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR, 2016), created in 2012 by the American Congress to oversee reconstruction in the country, reports that "The word 'ghost' has been used to refer to teachers, students, and schools that are registered with the Afghan Ministry of Education but do not actually exist" (p. 4). Both SIGAR (2016) and Oxfam (2006) reported the Afghan media as the main source of disclosure of the "allegations of embezzlement, inconsistent and underreporting of nonexistent 'ghost' schools, thousands of 'ghost' teachers on official rolls, 'ghost' training seminars, and discrepancies in student enrollment and attendance records" (Oxfam, 2006, p. 5). Following the national and international outcry, the parliament summoned the then MoE minister (2008-2015) Gholam Faruq Wardak who was subsequently substituted by Assadullah Hanif Balki (2015-2018) as a result of a presidential election and a consequent cabinet change. The latter minister, in 2016 made an appalling public statement that revealed the reported school enrolment of 11.5 million across the country made public before his appointment was inflated and that the actual number was six million (Adili, 2017). Subsequently, he assigned the Independent Joint Anti-Corruption Monitoring and Evaluation Committee (MEC) to carry out a vulnerability assessment of corruption (MEC, 2017). From the findings of the report, one may realize that the study is in fact an investigation of corruption accusations against the incoming minister's predecessor rather than a monitoring and evaluation geared toward the future. The following presents key contexts of ghost figures relevant to my thesis.

First, the education sector data has been overcast by ghost teachers. The MoE acknowledged that the student-teacher ratio was forty to one but in some remote and insecure provinces, it was as high as up to seventy to one (*NESP II,* 2010, p. 32). In reality, these numbers were inflated. Oxfam (2006), in the earlier days of the formation of ghost figures, reported that "between 16,000 to 20,000 teachers are estimated to be ghost employees" (p. 28). The number was confirmed by the Inter-agency Network for Education in Emergencies which defined ghost teachers as "those who do not come to work or who are doubly registered" (Sigsgaard, 2009, p. 23). The MEC study, citing a national media, indicates the reporting of the existence of 75,000

ghost teachers by one media outlet and 3,500 by another (Afghan Broadcasting Network, cited in MEC, 2017, p. 130). The scope of the factfinding initiative is unclear. The incentive behind the existence of ghost teachers is utterly economic. According to Oxfam (2006), in the year 2005-2006, the MoE paid approximately 90% of its $117.6 million budget in teachers' salaries (Oxfam, 2006, p. 21). The MoE has always attributed the shortage of teachers to "inequitable distribution of staffing positions, insecurity and teachers' unwillingness to relocate to rural areas" (*NESP II,* 2010, p. 32). As described below the issue of ghost teachers was exacerbated by the poor qualifications of teachers.

Teacher qualification was an issue acknowledged by the MoE. *NESP* I (2006) informed that only 22% of teachers met the grade fourteen minimum qualification of which only 28% were female and located primarily in urban areas. Grades thirteen and fourteen are post-secondary education offered to students from grade nine for vocational and pre-and in-service teacher training education programmes each consisting of two to five years depending on specialization and entry-level (UNESCO, 2011). Years later, *NESP II* (2010) reported that only 24% of teachers had an education of more than grade fourteen or higher. MEC (2017) refers to a comment made by a parent participant in a focus group discussion, and it merits attention:

> A suicide attack isn't the most dangerous thing for us, because a few people will die – Afghan mothers will have other children. It is the unprofessional and unknowledgeable teachers that are most dangerous for us because they kill the future of Afghanistan. (p. 3)

Teacher incompetence renders the application of curriculum difficult and leads to poor educational outcomes. In this relation, MEC (2017) reported that "the school curriculum is too large, leading to corruption vulnerabilities as teachers try to get ill-prepared students through the *Kankor* [university entrance] exam" (p. 4). Ghost teacher training seminars often hindered teacher education. MEC reported that due to "pay-for-appointment" or bribe at the rate of "AFN 50,000 to 70,000 (about USD 800 to 1,000)" (p. 25-26), "some 75 percent of the graduates of the Teacher Training Colleges are unable to get work as teachers" (p. 4). The report also adds that illiterate teachers were hired when they met the appointment payment requirement. The school management was ill-prepared to provide professional support to underqualified teachers. In one province, for instance, in the early years of post-9/11, a school relied on the police to prepare the expenditure receipts required by the MoE (World Bank, 2011). This data indicates that the rural

area was affected the most and perhaps girl learners even more by a myriad of reasons causing teachers' absence.

Second, ghost schools too became a recognized phenomenon prior to the resurgence of the Taliban in 2021. The shortage of school buildings was indeed an objective reality. In 2007 the MoE stated that "although more than 3,500 school buildings have been constructed only 25% of our schools have usable buildings. Thousands of communities have no easy access to schools" (*NESP* I, 2006, p. 11). As per the MoE, "The average student-classroom ratio, according to 2008 statistics, is 141 to one but there is considerable disparity among the provinces" with the lowest being seventy-three to one and the highest 287 to one (*NESP II* 2010, p. 52). In 2008, the *NESP II* confirmed that "around 55% of schools have decent buildings while 45% do not yet have usable buildings" (2010, p. 52). Furthermore, "in 2015, approximately 49% of schools lacked adequate buildings; 62% lacked surrounding walls, 31% lacked drinking water, 33% lacked functional sanitation facilities and 76% lacked electricity" (*NESP III*, 2016, p. 21). In response to this shortage, schools began operating in multiple shifts which led to reduced students' learning time in the classroom by up to 50% (UNESCO, 2011). While school shortage was an issue, the MoE could not spend half of its annual education budget (Oxfam, 2006). MEC refers to multiple Afghan media sources that refer to the existence of thousands of *ghost schools* and in one instance up to 3,500 ghost schools (Daily Afghanistan, cited in MEC, 2017, p. 130). According to one Afghan media outlet (Tolo TV, cited in SIGAR, 2016), the number of *ghost schools* and closed schools active on MoE payroll in the southern Kandahar province alone was controversially between 158 to 224 schools. The ghost schools were mostly located in the Southern predominantly Pashtun areas that were affected by the conflict relatively more significantly than the rest of the country due to its proximity to Pakistan from where the Taliban were allegedly planning their attacks. Ghost schools caused by conflict and corruption indicate the intricacy of education in conflict affected regions of the country, in particular.

Given the unstable security in Afghanistan during the reviewed period, school shortages and educational assets and facilities should be viewed in the context of conflict. One study shows that nearly 6% of schools were burned or closed in 18 months alone due to terrorism (*NESP* I, 2006, p. 11). In 2008, it was reported that "some 300 militant attacks and threats related to schools, causing 66 deaths and injuries 64 others, mostly children, which has forced the closure of more than 600 schools in the south and south-east and severely limited access to education"

(Waldman, 2009, p. 9). In the first nine months of 2019, children accounted for 77 percent of casualties caused by explosive remnants of war (UNICEF, 2019). Armed groups recruited children, mostly boys "to plant IEDs, gather intelligence and for other war-related tasks" for which they were sexually abused by the groups or detained by Afghan authorities to the extent that by December 2018, 205 boys were detained in juvenile rehabilitation centres (UNICEF, 2019, p. 9). Human Rights Watch (2016) records that "the Taliban, too, have also used schools as military bases. In some, they have destroyed textbooks and other materials that they deem un-Islamic. The Taliban have also planted improvised explosive devices (IEDs) in or near schools that they have used" (p. 15). In this relation, the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack (2021) finds that:

> Afghan armed forces, international military forces, and non-state armed groups used explosive weapons in at least 180 reported attacks on schools in Afghanistan between January 2018 and June 2021. Attacks on schools involving explosive weapons reportedly killed or injured more than 640 students and educators and damaged or destroyed over 70 schools during that period. These attacks ranged from air and ground-launched strikes to IEDs and incidents involving unexploded ordnance. (p. 6)

The report indicates that this data does not include incidences when schools are used for military purposes. Conflict, hence, had a determinant role in school availability.

Third, ghost textbooks became known to the media and investigative entities over time. Most reports do not discuss textbook availability as a reason for the low rate of enrollment, absenteeism, and dropout. This is important because the shortage of textbooks has been a widely known phenomenon (Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 2011; UNICEF, 2022). To remedy textbook shortage, schools transferred their excess books to the under-resourced schools, teachers delivered the syllabi by dictating lessons, parents purchased textbooks from the black market, and students shared notes and textbooks. The question of textbook affordability and the required labour for alternative arrangements are often absent from critical discussions concerning the enrolment and retention of students and are only posed as a problem when the textbook shortage is an independent inquiry subject. Of all impacts of 'ghosts', textbook corruption and shortage received the least attention.

In my experience as an evaluator of allegations of textbook corruption at the MoE (2016), textbook corruption was committed at multiple levels. It began at the point of contracting with

printing companies and continued from the MoE to the Provincial Education Departments (PEDs), from PEDs to schools, within schools, and in the classroom. The free-of-charge textbooks had an attractive seller and consumer black market. I have seen rooms filled with millions of textbooks at the MoE storage facilities on the same day that I have heard teachers complaining of textbook shortage in schools. Besides corruption, transfer and storage issues resulted in textbook shortages. I have heard PEDs not being able to transfer textbooks to schools because they have not received transportation funds. I have seen textbooks being stored under leaking roofs of rooms made of mudbrick in poorly equipped and funded schools. This is often paralleled by personal contributions to render textbooks available. I have heard PED staff using staff or community members' mules with no remuneration expected to distribute textbooks to schools and have seen small private homes or small basic community mosques being used as textbook storage facilities in the winter when schools are closed. Communities, parents, and students often shared and exchanged textbooks as the most precious commodity. Nonetheless, no community contribution could compensate for the widespread systemic corruption.

Findings from a presidential factfinding commission into alleged MoE corruption offer a glimpse of how else the leakage of resources occurred at multiple levels:

> Seven contracts had been signed with a private printing company, which – instead of printing the required textbooks – had printed textbooks of an old type that already existed in the stores within the Ministry of Education. As a result, hundreds of thousands of books were kept unused in storage, where they were spoiled. Similarly, in a separate case, Pashto language textbooks were printed twice and consequently rotted in storage rooms. Another contract for 13.6 million textbooks was made with an Indian printing company which ended up producing low-quality books (many pages were left blank). The company promised to recompense the damages (it would either deduct 87,000 US dollars from the total cost or print 150,000 religious textbooks instead) but it is not clear if that compensation was ever provided. (Adili, 2017, p. 6)

In my experience as a textbook evaluator at the MoE, this account is a small fraction of the circumstances under which the textbooks were developed, circulated, and consumed. The above three examples of inflated data in the education sector, namely, the availability of teachers,

schools, and textbooks, question the possibility of the circulation of textbooks as widely as the MoE wished to reach its target readers.

International Assistance and Capacity Development

The international players served a key role in rebuilding the war-ravaged and ideology-laden education of post-9/11 Afghanistan by providing political, financial, and technical support with success in building institutional and human capacity and education reform (Woo & Simmons 2008; Spink, 2007; Georgescu, 2008; Jones, 2009). The MoE confirmed that the Department of Curriculum began developing a curriculum "with the support of UNESCO's International Bureau of Education (IBE) and UNICEF" (*NESP* I, 2006, p. 36). Curriculum development for lower and upper secondary education highlights technical dependency "Complete syllabi draft according to the model prepared under the supervision of UNESCO-IBE" (*NESP* I, 2006, p. 68). This, however, should not be taken as the colonization of the topics of the textbooks. Two consultants engaged in curriculum development note:

> One attempt to shift the power dynamics [between foreign experts and national curriculum development employees] was to have our Afghan colleagues design the work schedules, the directionality of projects, as well as the framework for the textbooks. It was equally important that the textbook writers drew on their own experiences and knowledge to craft stories, examples, and activities for the textbooks that would be relevant to Afghan children's lives. (Woo and Simmons, 2008, p. 293-294)

Technical support was supplemented by financial support. *NESP* I (2006) indicates that "in the last three years, almost 21 million textbooks have been printed of which 17 million [were supported] by USAID [United States Agency for International Development] and 3.6 million by DANIDA [Denmark Government Development Corporation]" (*NESP* I, 2006, p. 37). *NESP II* (2010) blatantly admits that the government "is not in a position to cover the cost of education" therefore "donors' contributions to education are preconditions for success in achieving the *NESP* objectives" (2010, p. 135). Between 2001 and 2019, USAID alone spent an estimated $346,618,824 on education (including higher education) (SIGAR, 2019). The GoA and the MoE depended on foreign financial assistance.

The international community's support for education in Afghanistan was not flawless. Some typical international assistance implications were embedded in the planning. For instance, SIGAR (2021) reports instances where international aid agencies were also involved in the poor planning of school construction:

> The design of some U.S.-funded schools required a crane to install a heavy roof but cranes could not be used in the mountainous terrain that is characteristic of many parts of the country. […] Adapted designs featured lighter roofs that did not require cranes but the less robust construction was unable to support heavy snow loads, rendering them unusable. U.S.-built schools were also required to have entrance ramps and extra-wide doors to comply with the Americans with Disabilities Act, even though they were sometimes constructed in rugged terrain that was itself inaccessible to wheelchairs. (p. 72)

While investigative reports reveal such shortcomings in international education planning, they do not form the building blocks of education reform in the narratives that highlight national failures. Hence, the international community played a major role in financing the reconstruction of education but their failures and lessons learned rarely, if at all, appear in reports of education reconstruction in Afghanistan.

The international community offered support within a dynamic and controversial politico-military context, the study of which is beyond the scope of my thesis. I only briefly offer examples of political and military contexts of international assistance adversely affecting education. Politically, at the onset of the US military action in Afghanistan, nation-building was not on the official agenda of Western foreign policy. In 2001, George W. Bush shifted the Clinton administration's policy of humanitarian assistance to counterterrorism (in opposition to nation-building) (SIGAR, 2021). In the same year, the Under Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith noted in a memo that “the US should not plunge into a nation-building project” (SIGAR, 2021, p. 24). Despite this official policy, in reality, nation-building was implemented through education planning. The Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz believed that “there is a lot that could be done with just basic food, medicine, and education programs if we do not set the bar too high” (SIGAR, 2021, p. 24). Gradually, national security in Western countries was articulated with and linked to education in Afghanistan. Mario Novelli (2010) comments on such articulation by the UK’s Prime Minister of the time:

> In September 2009 UK Prime Minister Brown (2009), in a speech on Afghanistan made similar links between the need to be in Afghanistan and UK homeland security: He also stressed that 'development' and within that 'education' were central planks in the UK strategy of both 'winning hearts and minds' in Afghanistan and protecting the UK from attack. (p. 37)

The Western decision-makers assumed a trivial role in education as an aspect of nation-building in Afghanistan, however, they mainly viewed the education reform as a means for the attainment of their national security.

From a military perspective, the International Military Forces (IMF) had an adverse impact on education. IMF assigned Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) each representing a NATO member country and deployed them each in every province of Afghanistan to win hearts and minds and legitimize military intervention with civilian support. The role of PRTs in building schools and carrying educational services in unmarked vehicles consequently led to the militarization of education and the blurring of the distinction between the military and education (Novelli, 2010; Oxfam, 2006; Kolhatkar & Ingalls 2006). Subsequently, schools become a site for conflict. School attacks should be seen in the light of a larger picture of civilian casualties. For instance, in 2008 alone, "there were over 2,100 civilian casualties, 55% of which were caused by militants. Despite steps to reduce civilian casualties, international military forces (IMF) caused 552 civilian deaths through airstrikes in 2008, which is up by 72% in 2007" (Waldman, 2009, p. 4). However, the International Criminal Court only pursued crimes against humanity including civilian killings committed by the Taliban (and other terrorist networks), disregarded the Afghan government crimes, and granted impunity to IMF related crimes (Amnesty International, 2022). Eventually, the conflict marked a steep high rate of school dropout (Waldman, 2009; Novelli, 2010). The militarization of education was an undertaking of the international stance against terrorism.

Foreign assistance for education reform was also offered in technical assistance form. However, this transfer of expertise caused an imbalance of power between international and national education technical experts. Woo and Simmons (2008), two international curriculum and textbook consultants to the MoE, observe a power imbalance between national and international team members. The consultants recall that "we found ourselves re-enacting the 'colonial unconscious' that situates certain regions, especially Western countries, as 'developed' and others

as ‘fields’ that required our expertise” (Woo and Simmons, 2008, p. 294). National expertise and local knowledge were traded for what was perceived as the technical capacity that could be offered by international educationalists. However, the imported technical capacity was interrupted by the common international assistance flaws such as breaking down an educational reform into pieces of work that could be accommodated in short visits. Woo and Simmons remark their ad hoc and rotational short stays of two weeks in Afghanistan culminated in discontinuity in relationships, objectives, and capacity building of Afghan colleagues:

> […] we wound up as hired supervisors who were parachuted in to execute specific training components and help authors meet pre-set writing goals, with little regard for existing capacity. We jumped into action, often with vague knowledge of the educational levels of the writers, and an even more impoverished understanding of the histories or contexts of their lives, and with little time to remedy these shortcomings. The hierarchical relationship between the knowledge of the Western ‘expert’ and the knowledge of the locals was thus reinforced. (Woo and Simmons, p. 302, 2008)

On the one hand, international technical support was a necessity, on the other, it could not be enacted outside the rules of international assistance conditionalities and intricacies.

The presence of international consultants at the MoE did not escape the MoE employees and public attention. MEC (2017) references an Afghan Ph.D. candidate’s research finding that shows there was tension between international consultants and employees of MoE over substantial differentiation in earnings. Kabul University (2013) commissioned the review of MoE public school textbooks that were only produced in 2011 and piloted in Kabul province only. Their published report in Farsi-Dari (with a summary in English) makes frequent references to the presence of “imported from abroad authors” (p. 48), and the problems caused; including quoting a teacher’s feedback: “Some authors of history textbooks are imported from abroad without consideration for their specialization and experience in writing textbooks, therefore, they have copied external books” (p. 56). The involvement of rotationally assigned short-term international consultants in the Curriculum Department did not go unnoticed by the media as their salaries had become a site for confrontation between national and international technical experts. A news report indicates more than forty thousand dollars in annual salaries for a foreign consultant at the Ministry of Industry and Trade (BBC, 2019) another national media outlet finds international consultants earn tens of thousands of dollars on a monthly basis at the Mines

Ministry (8 AM Daily, 2014). Although the international assistance controversies did find their presence in education assessment reports, the public pressures forced the MoE to officially respond to the backlash. The following details the MoE response.

In response to the Kabul University report (2013), the Director of the Curriculum Development Project of the MoE published an official booklet in Faris-Dari with a textual and physical appearance that indicates a hasty public response appropriate for lay readers. The author states that he shares the booklet "with our honourable people" (Zarifi, 2013, p. 2). The pretext of the booklet indicates the frustration of the Department. It states that despite an overall positive reception of the curriculum "some media and some people presented some criticism and views" and warns that "political and propaganda-oriented views of this national and scientific document [the curriculum], if far from reality, is not only a breach of one's rights but is also considered as the trivial treatment of and playing with future national destiny issues" (p. 1-2). The content of the Curriculum Department document focuses on specific curriculum issues of the time, from the poor quality of textbooks to their unavailability, from school and teacher shortages to incomplete curriculum implementation in schools (Zarifi, 2013). More importantly, the document acknowledges the public concern about the overrepresentation of international experts and their astronomically high salaries. In justification, the document states that the Department of Curriculum is constituted of scientific and professional personnel that includes 100 national experts from different subject matters. However, "the second section is the Development Project that is funded by the World Bank" which was established in 2008 and consists of 223 foreign and national consultants (Zarifi, 2013, p. 11). The author does not disaggregate the 233 consultants into national and foreign contractors, however, he presents the justification that "in the beginning, due to administrative and logistical issues and the novelty of the process [of curriculum development], the publication of textbooks did not have the appropriate speed and besides high salaries were paid to the experts who had come from abroad and this was criticized by some people" (Zarifi, 2013, p. 11). The document concludes this topic by stating that "once the leadership at the Ministry changed", following a review, the consultants were "dismissed" and reduced to a total of 100 and later to 50 including national computer operators (Zarifi, 2013, p. 11). The document attempts to convince the public that the consultants' remuneration came not from public funding but from the World Bank either implying the MoE had no choice but to accept the international assistance salary scale or that it had no control over the previous

'leadership' decision of high salary. The above debate uncovers the political economy of curriculum development that is further complexified in an international assistance context.

Legacy of Internationally Funded Jihadi Violent Textbooks

As detailed above, the post-9/11 MoE was able to develop its first set of textbooks as late as 2006 at the primary level and 2011 at the secondary level. Before the printing of these textbooks, the MoE circulated the 1980s textbooks developed by the former Soviet-backed government and by the West-backed Islamist Mujahiddin in refugee camps in Pakistan, to address the immediate needs of students. In other words, some of the refugee camps textbooks were utilized in public schools at the primary level for five years and at the secondary level for ten years, before the post-9/11 textbooks were printed. The MoE covertly confirms that "the curriculum of the country was impacted by the imported ideologies and the atmosphere and conditions of migration" (Zarifi, 2013, p. 5). Prior to this, the refugee camps textbooks remained in circulation as a source of knowledge in public schools during the civil war (1992-1996) and under the rule of the Taliban (1996-2001) mainly due to state dysfunctionality (Spink, 2007). Therefore, their extension into post-9/11 education renders a review of their production and content relevant to this study.

The textbooks produced in refugee camps are controversial for their content. The content of the textbooks is considered violent by international authors (Burde, 2014; Jones, 2009; Georgescu, 2007; Spink, 2005; Davis, 2002). The refugee camp curriculum relied on counting bullets' speed, Russian dead bodies, and weapons to teach math and jihadi literacy (Burde, 2014; Jones, 2009; Georgescu, 2008; Spink, 2005; Davis, 2002). Language textbooks were radicalized starting from the alphabet; *Jeem* was for 'jihad' (holy war) (Davis, 2002), and *Tay* was for *Tufang* (riffle) (Burde, 2014, p. 75). A grade five Faris-Dari language text contained such passages as: "it is obligatory for Muslims to fight in the way of God. The Prophet said wage jihad against kafirs [infidels] with your wealth, with your life, and with your speech" (Burde, 2014, p. 78). Religious textbooks contained violent content to the extent that they "instructed 'true believers' to kill all non-Muslims" (Spink, 2005, p. 201).

The violent textbooks remained in circulation because the 1980s mujahidin (holy war worriers) fractions based in Pakistan refugee camps and divided along political, ethnic, sectarian, and linguistic lines each had their own published textbooks (Jones, 2009), until the establishment

of the Education Centre for Afghanistan in Pakistan that granted centrality to textbook development. Hence, besides radical Islam, the jihadis fuelled sectarianism conflict through the curriculum. In 1998, 12 years after the original publication of the textbooks, UNICEF and Save the Children with USAID created parallel textbooks called Basic Competency Learning (BCL) materials to strip violence from the textbooks, however, the new books could not compete with the jihadi textbooks in engendering incentive and sentiments to fight the war (Spink, 2007). Consequently, the violent textbooks shaped education in Afghanistan for decades from the 1980s to 2006 for primary and to 2011 for secondary level grades.

The crucial role of Western institutions in radicalizing curriculum is critical as it reveals the nexus of education, politics, and economy in an international assistance context. The University of Nebraska Omaha (henceforth UNO) with the collaboration of the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and USAID supported the education agenda of the mujahidin aimed at fighting communism in Afghanistan (Spink 2007; Burde 2014). The refugee camps textbooks containing jihadi literature were produced for Afghan children and youth from 1986 to 1992 with fifty million dollars in USAID funds (Coulson, 2004). The textbooks were also distributed in UNHCR-funded schools (Brude, 2014). In 2001, there was political pressure from USAID and economic interest from UNO to reprint the old textbooks and to produce quick results. The UNO convinced the Minister of MoE of the time, himself a graduate of the university, to accept that "the BCL books, which were being advocated by UNICEF to be adopted by the MoE, were not religious enough and that he would face severe repercussions if he approved them. He was also told that these books were not Afghan, as they had not been developed by the Ministry of Education" (Spink, 2007, p. 202; Burde, 2014). The violent textbooks of the refugee camps were developed in the Education Centre for Afghans in the refugee camps; therefore, they were perceived more as indigenous than the BCL textbooks of UNICEF. In a different account, the MoE redistributed the refugee camps' textbooks after pressure from the Central Asia Task Force (Rugh, 2012). The UNO office was located in Pakistan, therefore, printing this revenue-generating activity took place in Pakistan instead of the economically deprived Afghanistan. As a result, "curriculum development meant simply ensuring textbook supplies to students based on cheap printing in Pakistan of primers developed in co-operation with the University of Nebraska, published and distributed with the financial support of USAID" (Georgescu, 2008, p. 430). It was not only the quality but also the availability of textbooks that were affected by the UNO

Pakistani solution to textbook printing for years. Following a drone attack by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that killed 24 Pakistani soldiers along the border, Pakistan closed its borders preventing the crossing of 4.5 million textbooks for months (Radio Free Europe, 2012). The above indicates that not only politico-military contexts adversely impacted education but also the assistance and academic support to Afghanistan development had significant harmful consequences on the post-9/11 education reform.

Lavish funding for education rendered the printing of jihadi textbooks a hasty decision. The printing cost of textbooks containing jihadi literature was covered by the $90 million budget allocated for Afghanistan education in 2002 alone (Spink, 2007). According to a journalistic account from an interview with Thomas Gouttierre the then Dean of International Studies and Programs, UNO had received a 6.5 million contract in 2001 alone to publish the books (Warner, 2002, p. 800). Thus, the extension of the ideology-laden 1980s textbooks into the first decade of the twenty-first century that aimed to promote democracy was in fact driven by the economic and political voracity of international governmental, non-governmental, and academic institutions.

The textbooks were violent to the extent that there is the claim that the post-9/11 education system was adjusted or modified and ideology was taken out. *NCF 2003* confirms that "immediately after the war textbooks from neighbouring countries were adjusted to our system […]" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 12). *NESP* I (2006) acknowledged that since 2002 "the subject-based textbooks (both primary and secondary) that were produced by the UNO in conjunction with the Afghan refugees in Pakistan were modified to omit all references to direct violence" (*NESP* I, 2006, p. 37). In a more explicit statement, the *NESP* I indicates that the review was conducted "to ensure that specific political ideologies were not included in the texts" (2006, p, 37). The Education Interim Plan (Ministry of Education, 2011b) for 2011-2013 reports that as late as 2008, 147 titles of secondary school textbooks (grades 7-12) were revised and 23 million of them were reprinted and distributed (Ministry of Education, 2011). However, this modification in the haste of 2001-2006 was trivial. A journalistic account representing an interview with Thomas Gouttierre the Dean of International Studies and Programs at the UNO shows that "most of the changes were minor, and 10-30 alternations were per book" (Warner, 2001, p. 800). Therefore, early observations of the textbook content analysis indicate that "references in all the books to the mistrust of the descendants of Ali were not removed. There

was no representation for non-Sunni, non-Pashtun children of their histories or culture in the books" (Spink, 2007, p. 201). Furthermore, research findings indicate that textbooks were reviewed by the Taliban and feedback offered for subsequent revisions in 2011 in an alliance between the government and the Taliban in the interest of opening public schools and paying the government and Taliban-hired teachers in areas under Taliban control (Rubin & Rudeforth, 2016). The gradual increase in the presence of the Taliban in the education system is confirmed by SIGAR (2019) in areas such as monitoring schools, censoring school textbooks and subjects, assigning teachers to teaching positions, and monitoring teachers' performance in areas under their control (p. 123). Hence, on the one hand, the government circulated the jihadi textbooks and on the other, the Taliban intervention in education from outside the government offered a conducive context for their effectiveness.

The jihadi textbooks were also caught in the national political intricacies of the Afghan society. In 2011 USAID began to fund the MoE to print textbooks through national private printing companies, amounting to $27 million and the publication of 13.6 million textbooks between October and December 2012, leading to widespread corruption and poor quality of textbooks, alarming shortage, and a growing black market (Spink, 2007). Furthermore, when the violent textbooks eventually were reprinted, they were delayed for months due to a failed attempt to include the photograph of the MoE minister on the first page (Spink, 2007). The minister was a *jihadi* returnee from Pakistan. The ex-combatant jihadis began serving as teachers through the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) program, hired by another minister (Spink 2007), who too was a jihadi in Pakistan. The jihadi returnees who were themselves educated through violent textbooks commenced teaching the textbooks in public schools. Research in the northern part of the country finds that "teachers were violently beating children simply because of their assumed differing political or ethnic backgrounds" (Spink, 2007, p. 203). It is evident that national factors had a crucial adverse impact on textbook production, distribution, and consumption.

In conclusion, the post-9/11 education nationalization context reveals a bleak picture for reform and progress. Illiteracy, particularly among women, unemployment, resource waste, cultural practices, and ghost figures at the MoE were some of the crucial contextual challenges in which the identified textbooks came into existence. Yet, data exhibit interest on the part of the

public in taking an active role in education reform, school enrollment, and textbook consumption.

Officialization of the National Education

Following the 2001 events and until the fall of the government in 2021, the Ministry of Education (MoE) of Afghanistan officialized the national education narrative in three key documents. First, in three five-year *NESP*s; *NESP* I (2006) for 2006-2010, *NESP II* (2010) for 2010-2014, and *NESP III* (2016) for 2017-2021 periods. Second, in two *NCFs*; *NCF* 2003 (Ministry of Education, 2003) and *NCF* 2011 (Ministry of Education, 2011a). The revised 2003 *NCF* in 2006 is not included in this study. Third, the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008). The Afghan government documents reviewed in this thesis do not utilize the term nationalism but covertly articulate it with other national concepts. For example, the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008) refers to "national unity", "national pride" (p. 1), "national values" (p. 3, 7), "national solidarity" (p. 6), and "national unity" (p. 15). Likewise, *NESP* I (2006) refers to "national values" (p. 6), "national unity" (p. 20), and "national standards" (p. 23). *NESP II* (2010) utilizes such terms as "national values" (p. 8), "national unity" (p. 20), and "national standard evaluation system" (p. 38). *NESP III (*2016) utilizes such terms as "national development" (p. 13), "national authorities" (p. 17), and "national standards" (p. 18). The *NCF 2003* refers to "national independence", "national heritage", and "national unity, solidarity and respect for human rights", all on one page (p. 16). Hence, manifestations of nationalism are present in the officialization of education in Afghanistan. In the following sections, I discuss each document independently and demonstrate the intricacies of nationalism and citizenship discursive formations.

National Education Strategic Plans

The first mechanism through which the officialized education was constructed is the three five-year *NESP*s that covered periods of 2006-2010; 2010-2014; and 2017-2021. The *NESP*s are developed in light of Afghanistan National Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UNESCO, 2015). The documents highlight priority areas such as general education (i.e., scientific subjects), Islamic education, curriculum development, teacher education, and many other areas. The common objectives of all *NESP*s are general (i.e., non-

Islamic) education, teacher education, working conditions, curriculum development and learning material, Islamic education, technical and vocational education and training, literacy and non-formal education, and educational administration reform and development. All *NESP*s aim to develop a quality modern national curriculum but also incorporate Islamic and national values. The documents highlight quantitative concerns over curriculum development. For instance, they highlight the required budget for each specific expense (school building and textbook production) but generally, they overlook a distinct and systematic discussion over quality. Generally speaking, the officialization of education was well planned and enacted systematically.

The *NESP*s progressively articulate with concepts like equality and diversity. *NESP* I (2006), (2006-2010) highlights the development, economic growth, and stability as educational vision (p. 46). The vision of *NESP II* (2010) remains the same as *NESP* I but it adds the need for people's active participation in the security of Afghanistan and unprecedently includes priority areas in the textbook developing as fluidity in the "cross cutting issues such as peace education, human rights, elimination of violence against children and women, environmental protection, counter-narcotics, and HIV" (p. 23). *NESP III* (2016) adopts an equitable approach to education not acknowledged in *NESP* I and *NESP II*. *NESP III*, which unprecedently pioneers the inclusion of the term diversity, contains three theories of change, one of which is about equitable access. Three areas of focus are dedicated to equitable access; they include geography as "including differences between the situation in urban and rural areas", gender as "including access and retention of girls in schools and other learning programmes", and inclusion as "including learners with special needs, IDPs, returnees and other disadvantaged groups" (p. 4). This holistic equitable access is still limited as it neither details why these categories are considered equity groups which overlooks their particular educational contextual needs nor does it identify the other disadvantaged groups referred to under the inclusion category. Contrary to its predecessors, *NESP III* confirms consultation with the Ministry of Women's Affairs (p. 13). (p. 6). The *NESP*s become more citizen-oriented over time denoting fluidity in the officialization of education.

The language of *NESP*s modulates over time. *NESP III* (2016), contrary to *NESP* I (2006) and *NESP II* (2010), utilizes the term "citizen" (p. 4). For instance, "the common goal of the strategic plan is to prepare skilled and competent citizens through the education system to sustain Afghanistan's socioeconomic development and social cohesion" (*NESP III*, 2016, p. 2). The

document even defines a "responsible citizen" as one who is "prepared to contribute to the welfare of society and equipped for viable employment in the national and international labour market" (*NESP III*, 2016, pp. 2, 4, 32). *NESP III* uses the term citizens besides the formerly used terms such as students, teachers, parents, and the people. For example, the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008) refers to "children", "youth", "students", "boys and girls", "teachers", "Afghans", and "employees" as education sector subjects and not citizens (p. 1). The Law endorses, "the guarantee of equal education rights for subjects of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan […]" (p. 1). The term subject in this document is not contextualized as non-citizens but all those living in the country including citizens are referred to as subjects. The utilization of the term subject and the absence of the term citizen is consistent throughout the document.

The substitution of the term citizen with the term subject in official documents of Afghanistan is legally practiced. In the constitution (Government of Afghanistan, 2004), the term subject is the only term utilized to denote citizen. For instance, the constitution's (Government of Afghanistan, 2004) first chapter is on the state and the second on "The Primary Rights and Responsibilities of Subjects"[7] and its first article starts with the following statement: "Any type of discrimination and privilege among subjects of Afghanistan is forbidden"[8] (p. 15). Throughout the document, the term subject is consistently used to refer to citizens. This is an audacious measure because, in some Afghanistan official documents, both terms coexist with distinct roles. For instance, The Afghanistan National Development Strategy 2008-2013 (Ministry of Education, 2008) focuses on security, governance, and growth national planning utilizes both subject and citizen terms simultaneously. When specific rights are involved, the document utilizes the term citizen as "a tolerant nation, unified and pluralist, committed to Islamic values and the honourable objectives of cooperation, justice, and equality of citizens" (p. ii). When general rights are meant the document utilizes the term subject as in "the government would like all subjects of the country to have better education" (p. 13). However, such nuances are often lost in translation from Afghanistan's official languages. For instance, the English and Faris-Dari side-by-side constitution (Government of Afghanistan, 2004) reveals that the term subject in the original document appears as a citizen in the translated document. As such the *NESP*s

[7] حقوق اساسی و وجایت اتباع
[8] هر نوع تبعیض و امتیاز بین اتباع افغانستان ممنوع است.

demonstrate progress in the recognition of the term citizen and a preference for its usage over the term subject.

National Curriculum Frameworks

From 2001 to 2021, the MoE officialized a national education plan in two National Curriculum Frameworks (henceforth *NCFs*) published in 2003 (revised in 2006) and in 2011. The 2006 framework was a revision of the 2003 framework that only included primary-level education (grades 1-6). Under the revised 2006 framework, the MoE developed civic education textbooks for secondary education (grades 7-12) divided into two streams: patriotism and civic education. Textbooks for these grades were completed and distributed only in 2011 (Zarifi, 2013). In the meanwhile, as discussed above, the secondary (grades 7-9) and upper secondary (grades 10-12) textbooks published in the 1980s continued to be in use (UNESCO, 2011, p. 7-8). The *NCF 2011* (Ministry of Education, 2011a) remained in force until the Taliban resurgence (2021). It divides primary and secondary education into multiple "Curriculum Areas and Subjects". Of relevance to this study is the Social Studies area. According to *NCF 2011* (Ministry of Education, 2011a), this area includes subject studies like history (grade 7-12), civic education (grade 7-12), social studies (grade 4-6), and geography (grade 7-12). The curriculum allocates 2 hours a week to all subjects at all grade levels but for civic studies one hour (*NCF*, 2011). The nationalization project of education through a centrally designed and implemented curriculum is discussed below.

A comparison of the first (2003) and the last (2011) *NCFs* reveals inconsistency and differentiation in the formulation of values. Both documents start with a message from the respective Education Ministers, have the same number of pages (50-54), and bear the name of the country, the logo of the MoE, and the respective departmental names. Differences between the two documents are noteworthy. Both the 2003 and 2011 curricula emphasize the importance of a standardized, centralized, unified, and common curriculum. Georgescu (2008) shares a personal experience that exhibits this approach was a deliberate choice: "While the educational authorities in Afghanistan stressed the need for a common, centralized curriculum, providing common requirements for all students, they also accepted that optional courses could be provided as extra-curricular activities in the upper grades" (p. 437). The centralization of education is

echoed in the *NESP*s, too. For instance, the message of the minister reads: "The centrality of education to the development, growth and thereby stability of Afghanistan cannot be overstressed" (*NESP* I, 2006, p. 9). Consequently, *NCF* 2003 (Ministry of Education, 2003) adds: "The curriculum provides common requirements for all students; it is unified and centralized" (p. 27). The curricula's ideology is a centralized, unified, and standardized education without proper arrangement to address marginalization, representation, and irrelevance.

The nationalization of education not only involved the MoE as the highest authority but also the higher order above it. A presidential directive communicated through the Independent High Commission of Education for Afghanistan and narrated by an international curriculum development consultant is overt evidence of education officialization:

> Developments in the area of the primary and secondary curriculum were also greatly supported by the work of the Independent High Commission of Education for Afghanistan, the members of which were mandated by President Karsai [Karzai] […] to develop a strategic vision for educational revival and development in Afghanistan. The Commission's Report asked for consistency between general and vocational curriculum development, as well as for a meaningful balance between tradition and innovation, and between local and international aspects: The general education curriculum should reflect national history and culture, values, and traditions. It should also be based on international scientific principles, norms, and standards. (Georgescu, 2008, p. 439).

Ironically, the commission that claimed independence received its mandate from the highest source of authority, the president, to develop the education vision. Furthermore, the above quote demonstrates that the commission aimed to balance assumed binaries that separate learning from building skills and tradition from innovation and undermine their potential mutual inclusivity. The similarities between the two curricula are reflected in their structural rather than content (as discussed below) formation and their approach to centralized education.

There are ample content differences between *NCF 200*3 (Ministry of Education, 2003) and *NCF 2011* (Ministry of Education, 2011a). Unlike the former, the latter framework commences with the national anthem in the Pashtu language in line with the constitutional stipulation of a unilingual national anthem despite the bilingual official language policy. The anthem appears beside the *Kalimat* or word of purity in bold font. The Kalimat indicates that; There is no deity but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. The section of the document that discusses

education history in the country in both curriculum frameworks. The *NCF 2011* (Ministry of Education, 2011a) narrative is more religious not only for removing the history of pre-Islam but for its praise of an Islamic era. This symbolically suggests a departure from a more secular and internationally influenced curriculum in 2003 when Afghanistan was in the limelight of international assistance, toward an Islamic and nationalistic curriculum in 2011 when the war in Iraq had rendered Afghanistan of secondary importance. The enactment of this symbolism is evident in the comparative texts of the two documents. The "Education Policy" section of the two curricula consists of 20-24 numerically listed items each in one to four sentences. The policy of the *NCF 2003* endorses patriotism, national unity, defence of national independence, national governance and sovereignty, and protection of national heritage, among others. The *NCF 2011* repeats these values in its policy; however, its wording and tone are more religious. In this section, while the 2003 document has only one Islamic reference as "worshipping God" and "Islamic brotherhood" (p. 16, p. 24), the 2011 document borrows from the Education Policy of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to add "belief in piety", "principles and values of Islam", and "Islamic teaching" (p. 25). Furthermore, unlike the 2003 document, the 2011 document states that in line with the Islamic teachings, the constitution, traditions of Afghanistan, and "pedagogical principles and experiences", "the education system of Afghanistan is based on separation of boys from girls" (p. 25). It further states that coeducation "is not allowed in any educational institution such as courses, sports clubs, etc., no matter public or private" after grade three at the elementary level (p. 25). The 2011 document lists another policy "focusing attention on female education in accordance with Islamic enjoins and values" without stipulating such conditions for boys' education (p. 27). In contrast, the 2003 document lists this policy; "Students should be educated to fight against discrimination of all kinds and demonstrate gender sensitivity" (p. 17). Hence, a comparison between the curricula of 2003 and 2011 policies reveals the gradual Islamization, gendering, and nationalizing of policies over time.

Equality is another aspect of the two compared curricula. Both curricula highlight the "General Goals of Education in Afghanistan" under various headings. Although they generally contain the same topics some nuances are obvious. For instance, the title "Spiritual and Moral Objectives" in the 2003 document (p. 19) has a moderate undertone compared to its revised name "Moral and Religious Goals" in the 2011 document (p. 29). The latter includes religious goals in the title. Under the title "Cultural and Artistic Education Objective", both documents use

culture in singular form and add the qualifier 'Afghan culture' without regard for diversity. In this respect, only the *NCF 2003*, under "The social and civic education" title, includes "handling diversity" (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 20). Human diversity, nevertheless, is missing from the *NCFs 2011* and even ethnic diversity is omitted under the "Social and civil goals" heading as follows: "Strengthening morals of respecting and following laws and supporting rights of all citizens of the country regardless of their gender, age, economical, social and political status" (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 31). Therefore, the "General Goals" section of the *N*CF 2011 compared to the *NCF 2003* indicates a shift toward a less equitable and less inclusive representation.

The background of equality is crucial because civic education was included in the revised curriculum of 2003 in 2006. In the *NCF* 2006, the MoE added civic education to the secondary education curriculum, intending to deal "with the concept of multi-layered identities and learning to live together" (Georgescu, 2008, p. 443). There are 10 elements under the "Social and Civic Education Objective" title: "honouring their country and defending its sovereignty and strengthening family and social relationships based on Islamic values, principles and rules" "solidarity, peace, brotherhood" "respect human rights", "fighting against terrorism", "applying critical thinking, effective communication techniques", "handling diversity, settling conflicts peacefully and constructively, and developing the capacity to handle Mass Media messages critically" (Jones, 2009, p. 35). The 2006 curriculum objectives, however, indicate that there is little, if any, content that addresses directly multi-layered identities. Instead, the curriculum 2006 objectives articulate social diversity with 'living together through the homogenization of identities to foster a sense of responsibility for unity, morality, and peace. Hence, while diversity was recognized in the 2006 framework identity remained a missing piece of equality discussion.

The Law of Education

The *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008) outlines the multiple aspects of public, private, vocational, and public service education in Afghanistan. The Law is comprised of fifty-two articles, each under a thematic topic, and organized into eleven chapters. The Article Two of the Law lists sixteen objectives of which the most relevant for this study are equal educational rights to all subjects including the promotion of Islamic, patriotic, national unity,

preserving independence and defending national territories, preserving national interests and honours, and loyalty to the system of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. The Law's objectives also include strengthening the spirit of respect for human rights, supporting women's rights and democracy, and removing any kind of discrimination. These are complemented by Article Three which stipulates equal rights to education for all Afghanistan subjects without any discrimination. The Law stipulates the provision of education from preschool to higher education at no charge and compulsory education up to grade nine. Articles Thirty and Thirty-One of the Law emphasize a single curriculum across the country. As such, the law is partly in line with the officilization processes of education.

It is not the intention to introduce the Law as expansively as the *NESP*s and the *NCFs*. Therefore, two examples detailed below are derived from the document and discussed in light of the *NESP*s and the curriculum frameworks. The first example, which concerns language policies, demonstrates a consistency among the *NESP*s, the curriculum frameworks, and the Law. The second example, concerning education police, exemplifies inconsistency between the Law and the two formerly mentioned sets of documents.

The languages of Afghanistan are protected by the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008). Article Thirty-Two of the Law renders the official languages Pashtu and Dari compulsory across the country and emphasizes that in provinces "the language of teaching shall be selected from one of the two-state official languages, based on the current language spoken by the majority of the population residing in the area, in accordance with its related rule" (p. 10). The Law further adds that when the "language of the majority of the people is the third official language […] in addition to teaching Pashto and Dari languages, opportunities for teaching third languages as a teaching subject shall be prepared" (p. 11). All *NESP*s recognize non-official languages of the country. For instance, *NESP III* (2016) recognizes that other languages spoken by the majority of people, "in addition to Pashto and Dari, are the third official languages" (2016, p. 18). Likewise, the *NCFs* operationalize this provision. For instance, *NCF 2011* indicates, "the development of textbooks and teacher guides in third languages is ongoing" (Ministry of Education, 2011a, p. 19). These statements are in line with the constitution (Government of Afghanistan, 2004), Article 16 and Article 43 that the State is responsible for providing opportunities for the education of all languages of the country. In short, all three documents; the *NESP*s, the *NCFs*, and the Education Law have an equitable policy toward languages.

These arrangements, however, follow a contentious history over language politics, leading the non-Pashtu-speaking participants of the 2004 constitution-making assembly, which comprised 40%, to temporarily boycott the assembly (Adeney, 2008). In response, and to balance the recognition of Dari as an official language, the Pashtu-speaking Pushtun ethnic assembly members successfully ensured Pashtu remained the only language of the national anthem (Adeney, 2008). Language policies have not been constituted along the Pashtun and Tajik ethnic divide nor along the political dominance of one over the other. While historically, Pashtun ethnic elites have governed the state, Persian has been the dominant language of the public sphere and administration (Adeney, 2008; Bahry 2013, Barfield, 2010; Hanifi, 2011; Lee, 2018). The impact of international assistance has also been relevant to language policies in education. A study on the sociolinguistic complexities of the people in Afghanistan and its impact on education finds that there has been "little international support for plurilingualism and multilingual education, despite a number of small international organizations that support the development of mother tongue-based bi-/multilingual education (MTBMLE) as a model for quality education in Afghanistan" (Bahry, 2013, p. 59). Furthermore, the political and power dominance of the Pashtun ethnic is contrary to the subservient position of their Pashtu language due to the dominance of the Farsi-Dari language, spoken by multiple ethnic groups including Tajiks and Hazaras. Hence, the *Education Law of Afghanistan* is inclusive in its approach within the institution of education but cannot surpass the exclusive socio-political contexts in which language policies have been historically and presently enacted.

Despite an inclusive language policy, the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008) endorses other restrictions. In one instance in which the *Education Law of Afghanistan* refers to the Education Police, both the *NESP*s and the *CFs* remain silent. The Law introduces Education Police and justifies its function as "to strengthen the quality and effectiveness, order and discipline in the educational institutions listed in this law and to perform charity services and voluntary community, if necessary, educational supervision departments are established and developed. The operation of these departments is regulated according to the relevant bill" (Ministry of Justice, 2008, Article, Thirty-Four). Furthermore, under "Prohibition of political activities," the law states that political activities of students, teachers and employees are banned and "taking advantage of people, institutions and political parties of educational institutions stipulated in this law and educational programs for political objectives is forbidden"

(Article Forty). Despite this, under "Implementation of extracurricular activities" the Law encourages activities that promote Islamic ethics, volunteerism in social institutions, and student exchange programs within the country and with "Islamic and other friendly countries" (Article Thirty-Three). The Law requires students to wear "specific clothes" according to the climate of the region (Article Forty-One) which renders students identifiable outside school premises. Therefore, despite its enforcement of official education in accordance with other policies of the MoE, the *Education Law of Afghanistan* is exceptionally and controversially cautious about citizenry identity as students.

Much of the above articles of the *Education Law of Afghanistan* have been lost in translation deliberately or otherwise inadvertently. The English translation, accessible on the UNESCO website, does not indicate that the Law is the property of the Ministry of Justice as a "special issue" signed by the president and sold for forty Afghanis on the original *Law of Education* document (Ministry of Justice, 2008, cover page). The English translation in the following text of the *Law of Education* replaces 'Education Police' with 'Boy Scouts':

> In order to improve quality, effectiveness, order, and discipline in the educational institutions stated in this law and perform voluntary and social services when needed, the department of the boys' scouts, shall be established and expanded. The method [of] activities of the Boy Scouts shall be outlined in accordance with its related rules. (Ministry of Justice, 2008, Article Thirty-Four).

This substitution of Education Police with Boy Scouts is an aberrant translation of the term in the original text. Text translation is also a tool for textual distortion. The translated text does not place a comma before the 'when needed' as in the original text but puts the comma after this phase, this changes the meaning from the original: 'when needed, the Department of Education Police shall take action, to its distorted translation as shared above. As such, the translation is lighter in its enforcement of the tone. Furthermore, it appears in the translated text as if the Boy Scouts are 'established and expanded' within the MoE because the term 'Police' (څارندوی) and the Ministry of Justice as author and property holder are omitted in the English translation. Therefore, the translation can be interpreted as MoE attempting to conceal the strict articles of the Law from international readers but it also reveals the MoE's commitment to not abide by the Law's content given their absence in the *NESP*s and the curricula. Anecdotal evidence suggests

that the MoE gradually and silently abandoned this Article from the onset. As such, the *Education Law of Afghanistan* adopts a soft language in its translated issue.

In the same manner that meaning is lost in the translation of the terms subject and citizen, as discussed above, the translation of the *Education Law of Education* (Ministry of Justice, 2008) from its original to English has distorted meaning. To my knowledge, no document or article has exclusively critically deconstructed the *Education Law of Afghanistan* or has raised the issue of education police. On the contrary, the document has received compliments. With respect to the topic of "the prohibition of corporal punishment within educational institutions", UNESCO (2021a) compares Afghanistan with Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan and asserts that "Afghanistan provides an explicit protection in its *Education Law of 2008*" (p. 35). On the one hand, this statement is supported by Article Thirty-Nine of the Law which stipulates that: "Every kind of physical and psychological punishment of students is prohibited even for their correction and chastisement. Violators shall be prosecuted in accordance with the legal provisions" (p. 13). On the other, it only offers an optimistic illusion about corporal punishment rendering absent the most alarming issue of education police, discipline in education, school uniform, and the ownership of the Law by the Ministry of Justice as a site with high potential for aggression.

In conclusion, the three sets of documents; the *NESP*s, the *NCFs*, and the Law of Education, do not demonstrate coherence in the manner through which they articulate rights and equality. While NEPs become more citizen-oriented over time, *NCFs* become more restrictive. The Law exemplifies the nationalization of education in institutions and policies that transcend MoE.

Nationalism and Citizenship

In the following section, I present a brief overview of the literature on the genesis of nationalism and citizenship in Afghanistan, engendered by authors from the country and outside. I divide the literature into five often entangled and overlapping but at times contradictory conceptions disputed by their counter narratives. In my view, the first form of nationalism in Afghanistan is *historical nationalism* which is based on a linear continuity from the past that finds its roots in a mythical and imagined five thousand years of self-glorifying identity. It dates to the pre-historic era to the 7th century which marks the end of the Sassanid Empire. This epoch is partly a construction against the Muslim Arab invaders and is represented by the people of

Aryana and as the inhabitants of the changing geography of Khurasan (Land of the Sun). Subsequently, following the advent and spread of Islam, Afghanistan (Land of Afghans) became a nation-state following Ahmad Shah Durnai's 18th century successful invasions of scattered parts of contemporary Afghanistan and beyond (Ghobar 1967; Habibi 1966; Lee 2018). As such, historical nationalism builds the historical existence of a people, their culture, identity, and religion in a historical context.

From my perspective, the second form of nationalism in Afghanistan is *territorial nationalism* which can be partly accredited to Ahmad Shah Durani's territorial claims (which bestowed him the title of the founder of Afghanistan) and to the country's geographical location. Afghanistan was the roundabout of the ancient world (Hyman, 2002) but performed as the graveyard of empires (Jones, 2010) denoting its vulnerability to invasion threats from world powers the recent examples of which are the British in the 19th, the Russians in the 20th, and the American-led coalition in the 21st centuries. Regionally, the political interferences of Pakistan (with whom Afghanistan has disputed shared land) and Iran (whose anti-American stance is concealed with support to the Shia Muslim minority in Afghanistan) complexify territorial nationalism. Hence, territorial nationalism unlike historical nationalism that is built today on the ancientness of the people, prioritizes the territorial sovereignty of contemporary Afghanistan.

The third form of nationalism in Afghanistan, from my perspective, is *centralist nationalism* which was formed during the 19th century Amir Abdul Rahman's institution building initiatives (Ghobar 1967; Habibi 1966; Lee 2018). The Amir established a powerhouse in the Kabul province constructed in the historical memory of the official narrative as an alternative to an anarchical tribal power disaggregation (Barfield 2010; Kakar, 1979; Kakar, 2006; Rubin, 2002). Rather than ancientness (historical nationalism) or geography (territorial nationalism) that demonstrate the theoretical attributes of primordially (Shils, 1995; Gibsly, 2005; Smith, 1998), centralist nationalism brought to the limelight the importance of administration in the way that Gellner (2006) deemed essential state-run service delivery system to nationalism. This administrative centralization necessitated demographic, administrative, and resource (re)allocation which became a discursive breeding ground for contention among adversely affected peoples. As such, centralist nationalism has commenced institution building and service delivery as a relatively recent and ongoing phenomenon.

The fourth form of nationalism in Afghanistan, from my perspective, is *modernist nationalism* which was gradually but steadily taking shape due to confrontation between and interaction among colonial powers and the repatriation of exiled elites from more advanced socio-cultural and political establishments like the Ottoman Empire (Barfield 2010; Farhang 1988; Lee, 2018). This initiative in the early 20th century was followed by a series of reforms including constitutional movement, modern administrative reforms, and institution building in all arenas including education. Hence, one may convincingly apply Benedict Anderson's (2006) processes of nation building to this nationalism era as it was an initiative by intellectual returnee elites who embarked on a wave of reforms such as linguistic policies in favour of Pashtu, institution building for consolidation and centralization of power, printing state-run and private newspaper publications opening doors for freedom of speech, and radio programming to raise public education, all of which often contained translated world knowledge and literature.

The fifth form of nationalism, from my perspective, is the *urbanized nationalism* construction that with access to newly consolidated resources such as language, print press, and modernity dialogue was formed in the 19th century, particularly under the reign of Amanullah Khan (Barfield, 2010; Ghobar, 1967; Lee 2018). This nationalism is distinguishable from the indigenous, rural, and tribal forms of national attachment that relied on primordial nationalism. This distinction does not imply a binary of a modern urban and a regressive rural context. On the contrary, given the low urbanization progression in the country, most urban elites were residents of rural areas. The unpopulated emerging urban centres with vast resources due to centralization offered ample opportunities for the majority of rural people to migrate to cities. In other words, rather than human material resources determined the urban and rural divide, and consequently, the urban modern versus the rural primordial nationalism.

The sixth form of nationalism is *secular nationalism* which was constructed by the state (the formal social organization) and enacted upon the society (the informal social organization) by both consent and coercion. It emerged as a result of the above nationalisms, particularly under the reign of Amanullah Khan, sustained due to the official and cultural adaptation to the moderate *Hanafi* school of Islam, and was nurtured as a Cold War cultural interjection (Barfield 2010; Hyman 2002). Hence, secular nationalism, contrary to Western perception, has been embedded in history and has converged with the culture and religion of the people.

All the above pillars of nationalism have been systematically problematized, deconstructed, and criticized as officialized grand narrative, ethnic nationalism, and hegemonic interpretation of margenalizations. The historical, territorial, and centralist productions of nationalism have been disputed by those who see these narratives as a historical construction to justify the historical power domination of ethnic Pashtun elites (Ahady, 1995; Rahimi, 2017; Shahrani, 1986; Mousavi, 1997). For instance, territorial nationalism has been criticized because of the narratives of land gain and land loss by powerful dominant Pashtun elites who overlook the ethical violations of the narratives of land gain (i.e., Durrani's killing of Indians in the Panipat victorious fight in 1761) and the socio-economic and security implications of land loss (i.e., Abdul Rahman's land offer to British India in return for legitimacy in 1893 leading to the division of people on both sides of disputed land between Afghanistan and contemporary Pakistan) (Lee, 2018). The centralist nationalism is opposed by the view that it is an exclusionary and discriminatory mechanism that adversely affects non-Pashtun ethnic groups that in the resource-deprived country often are excluded from the government's limited resources and inevitably short priorities (Rahimi 2017; Shahrani 1986; Mousavi 1997; Lee 2018). The modernist, urbanized, and secular nationalism discursive formation has been scrutinized particularly by regressive Islamist jihadis and the Taliban who view modernization as a threat to Islam and their monopoly over religion. Hence, each of the nationalist discursive formations is to be articulated with their counter and disputed claims of the nation's existence.

Given its shortcomings, nationalism does not suffice to create social attachment on its own without the institutional support that is derived from citizenship. I divide the contemporary citizenship conceptualization in Afghanistan based on three chronologically ordered historical events and name them in accordance with their political conduct, namely, absolutist liberal citizenship, authoritarian socialist citizenship, and inchoate liberal citizenship. First, an absolutist liberal citizenship conception formed immediately after the end of the reign of the last constitutional monarch and the establishment of the first republic in 1973. This period is characterized on the one hand as constitutionalist granting primary civic rights, and on the other, as politically restrictive (Barfield 2010; Lee 2018; Rubin 2002). Second, an authoritarian socialist citizenship conception was formed by the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) in 1978. This citizenship formation had benefited from and catered to Soviet politics. PDPA was a single party, non-Islamic, and against civic rights in return for the

unsuccessful promise of economic reform and the elimination of classes (Barfield 2010; Lee 2018; Rubin 2002). Between 1992 and 2001 the country was in a state of civil war among mujahidin Islamist groups. Therefore, the presence of citizenship conceptions was either non-existent or not disseminated. Hence, establishing generalizations about citizenship formation in this era requires rigorous scholarly inquiry. Third, an inchoate liberal citizenship conception was formed in 2004 following the 9/11 events including the first constitution with liberal aspirations. In this era, citizenship and civic rights were defined and enacted by a relatively progressive constitution (Afghanistan Constitution, 2004). However, as discussed below, the inchoate liberal citizenship conception was also constantly challenged and influenced by Islamists, equality advocates, and foreign perspectives.

In Afghanistan where citizenship and nationalism overlap, the reliance on Islam further problematizes this discursive space. In the sources of Islamic guides, the concept of citizenship with its new and emerging meanings is non-existent (Kamali, 2011). The Quran, for example, categorizes Islamic social hierarchy as the loyalty of the ummah (the community) toward the *khulafa* (governors) as protectors (Kamali, 2011). If Islam is the cultural trait of citizenship, Islamism is its political wing. While Islam is a faith demonstrated in beliefs, rituals, and symbols, Islamism is an ideology that preaches strict interpretations of *sharia* (Islamic law) by drawing on Salafi ideology (Tabibi, 2012; Gerges, 2011). Hence, Islam has the potential to contain citizenship either as a restricted or as a moderate value system.

Citizenship rights and responsibilities are not equally distributed across sectarian and religious demographic categories. Islam has played a key role either as a divisive sectarianism force (e.g., the Shia and Sunni divide) or as a catalyst for collaboration (e.g., transnational alliances). Sectarianism has left the citizenship rights of each national minority group in jeopardy. Originally, Muslims as common citizens did not see any conflict between Islam and their constitutional rights. However, the emergence of Islamism has challenged access to this source of rights (Panjwani, 2008). Although in Islam the concept of justice is important because justice plays a key role in defining the relationship between citizens and the state (Kamali 2011; Panjwani 2008), in practice the Islamic interpretations overlook the equality of minorities and women. In response, dynamic citizenship has been offered as a modern-era conception defined as equality in justice for political, social, and economic rights for all citizens with a particular focus

on minorities and women (Kamali, 2011). Hence, Islamic processes of rights and equality are susceptible to exclusion.

More overtly, the government enacted banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). Given the recency of the period of this study (i.e., 2001-2021), references and examples are drawn from non-academic sources. In 2014, the government hoisted the largest national flag 97 by 65 feet dimensions in Kabul City, Afghanistan (Nordland, 2014). State media products, including military showcasing, continued to be produced under this flag. Other citizenship initiatives were restrictive due to hostile identity politics and claims of inclusion. For instance, when the government unprecedently initiated to issue of national electronic identity cards, division over the inclusion of ethnic identities rather than the national identity of Afghan was an issue (Bezhan, 2013). The scrutiny of the intricacies of nationalism and citizenship in this period is far from the scope of this study. Affected by the circumstances at the time, I published an article entitled, "Identity challenges in the absence of human security and citizenship rights" (Nazari, 2018) in a national daily newspaper in Afghanistan to highlight how national security was a pretext to overlook the demand of Hazaras who were attacked by insurgents for their ethnic identity. Hence, the system of representations and articulations of nationalism and citizenship in Afghanistan demonstrates a highly complex discursive formation exacerbated by a shortage of resources and an abundance of conflict.

In the end, nationalism and citizenship have been the two prominent discursive themes in the formation of the nation in Afghanistan. The forms of nationalism and citizenship discussed above not only coexisted but also overlapped. For instance, the citizenship formation could not come into existence without the modernist form of nationalism as its supporting stand while modern nationalism could not be constructed without citizenship including constitutional rights.

Conclusion

The resource-deprived MoE officialized national education upon a traumatized, engendered, illiterate, predominantly rural, and young population. Despite this, there existed a conducive context for the production, circulation, and consumption of the identified textbooks. The education contextual analysis exhibits that education supply and demand emerged and evolved enthusiastically. From a supply perspective, the officialization of education through three *NESP*s, two curriculum frameworks, and the law of education demonstrate the

government's commitment to providing an officialized and centralized education. From a demand perspective, findings prove that education is not an undervalued commodity in Afghan society and that educational preferences for boys are not in stark contrast with a preference for the education of girls. The high school enrolment rate was attained despite child labour, distance to schools, destruction of schools, human casualties in schools, and socio-cultural factors affecting more prominently girls. Therefore, between 2001 and 2021, the MoE proliferated the education supply through the centralized officialization of education while the people demanded education despite facing a myriad of challenges.

The nationalization of education was a top-down narrative. This is evident in the way *NESP*s selectively report educational challenges. Despite the educational gains, meeting student enrollment demand, absenteeism, dropout, and retention rate, particularly among girls remained a challenge. The *NESP*s do not conceal these challenges but remain evasive about challenges pertaining to ghost figures, teacher qualification, and textbook production and consumption. Therefore, the *NESP*s selectively emphasize issues pertaining to the people and background structural challenges not addressed by the MoE. The discrepancy between the actual educational shortcomings and the selectively portrayed issues leads to an ambiguity as to the extent the teachers taught and students learned the identified textbooks.

Lack of coherence in the nationalization agenda of education is also evident in the difference between *NESP*s and the *NCFs*. The *NESP*s progressively articulate with concepts such as equality and diversity, emphasize consultation with the Ministry of Women's Affairs, normalize the term citizen and define 'responsible citizen'. However, the *NCFs'* policies reveal a gradual Islamization, gendering, and exclusion. Despite these stark differentiation between the *NESPs* and *NCFs*, the commonality between the two remains the standardization and centralization of official education. The law of education lies in between the two sets of documents as it both emphasizes equality like *NESP*s and endorses restrictions like *NCFs*. Hence, a forged unity susceptive to breakage is evident in the grand narrative of education nationalization in Afghanistan and it is of interest to analyze how incoherence is reflected in the content of the identified textbooks.

The context of education in Afghanistan was heavily influenced by factors beyond the scope of MoE's influence. Poverty, culture – particularly for girls, child labour, and lack of infrastructure were the main hindrances to education. Conflict, leading to the militarization of

education, leading to the destruction of public schools and human loss were perpetuated by all parties from Afghan armed forces and non-state armed groups to international military forces. The political economy of textbook development was affected by high-level political institutions up to the presidential interference and corruption at all levels from the MoE to the black market. Internationally, education was impacted by world powers' perplexing Afghan nation-building agenda driven by their own national interest, the militarization of the education sector, poor planning of school construction, profit-driven international academic institutions, and international consultants self-exposing as actors of the 'colonial unconscious'. Therefore, the content of the identified textbooks and their production and consumption cycle are not only a byproduct of educators' and publishers' contributions but also of a wide range of national and international political, economic, and academic institutions in a historical context.

The above educational context articulations intersected with various types of historical and modern nationalisms and citizenships. The presence of multiple textbook development teams from the MoE to oversee such matters as religion, politics, culture, and language, among other procedural matters, the uniformed structure of the textbooks, the presence of national symbols, and constant reminders of the textbooks as ownership of the MoE reveal that the nationalization of education was a top-down construction of the imagining of the nation. Hence, the identified textbooks were produced and consumed in nationalism and citizenship contexts that have their roots in the institutions of the past and present.

Chapter Six: Patriotism

In this chapter, I respond to part 'A' of the first research question of this study by analyzing the imagining of the Afghan nation with a focus on representations of nationalism in the identified textbooks. While this chapter only presents the discursive construction of nationalism, Chapter Seven highlights the discursive formation of citizenship aspect of this research question. In Chapter Two, I discussed the overlap between patriotism and citizenship; hence, the division of these two conceptions into two chapters is for the purpose of precision and clarification in establishing the overlap in the succeeding chapters. Given the arguments in Chapter Two concerning the theoretical formation of nationalism, in this chapter, I apply nationalism and patriotism interchangeably. In line with the methodological framework of this study explicated in Chapter Four, the analysis of this chapter is a preferred reading of the textbooks from the authors' perspective. Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine will revisit the findings of this chapter for a negotiated reading from the reader's (my) perspective. The analysis of this chapter finds that the textbooks tactically and banally imagine patriotism through a primordial nationalism lens that emphasizes an intrinsic affect toward nation-ness built on historical, geographical, linguistic, religious, traditional, and racial commonalities. The foundation of this structure has nationally an association with the concept of Islamic and Islamic brotherhood and internationally with Islamic ummah. The textbooks utilize rhetorical devices, social assets, and common cultural grounds to partake in this construction. With an ethnocentric stance, the textbooks participate in othering attained nationally by a problematic unification of diverse peoples, which consequently culminates in their nuanced and covert homogenization and exclusion. Beyond the nation, the textbooks participated in othering with a narrative of an invading West and a victimized Islamic world. The domestic application of Islam is in tension with its utilization in an international context. This othering participation enacts textual violence when it engages with the constitution of such conceptions as honourable jihad and glorified martyrdom in an unequal globalizing world stage that has culminated in a civilizational divide. The rest of this chapter is presented as follows. Under specific headings, I discuss the discursive construction of National Identity and Social Values; Inclusion and Exclusion; Five Thousand Years of Historical Continuity; Islamic Brotherhood, the Ummah, Clash of Civilizations, Jihad and Martyrdom; and Emblems that Banally Flag the Nation. The conclusion presents the highlights of findings in light of the research question.

National Identity and Social Values

The textbooks discursively construct patriotism as a natural phenomenon. For the textbooks, "patriotism is a sentiment that exists in every human intrinsically and naturally"[9] (Ashrafi & Rawan, 2017, p. 13, henceforth, *PATB 7*, 2017) because everyone: "is raised there, takes advantage of its water, weather and other endowments, becomes accustomed to its surroundings, and lives in its warm and loving embrace"[10] (Hadaf & Helaman, 2017, p. 36, henceforth, *PATB 9*, 2017). This statement is also repeated in other textbooks (*PATB 7,* 2017, p. 20) and)Wazeen & Hotak, 2017, p. 17, henceforth, *PATB 8*, 2017). A lesson in *PATB 7* (2017, pp. 80-82) explicates the right of the country over **us** (e.g., loving the country and respecting the laws), and the right of **us** over the country (e.g., using its land and air). Hence, the authors use deixis to represent patriotism as an intrinsic sentiment that bears duty.

The construction of 'Afghanistan' is a country merits attention. All textbooks refer to the country with this name regardless of historical point of reference. In rare cases and with secondary importance, other names are associated with the country. For instance, the name Khorasan is mentioned in a historical narrative and the name of Afghanistan is added in brackets (*HSTB 11*, 2017, p. 54). This way, Afghanistan remains an ever existing country.

The textbooks imagine the nation as an entity with commonalities. The textbooks characterize Afghans as being "one unit" (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 43). In the textbooks, commonality means that the people have "a shared home and history", and "jirga" [generally known as the assembly of leaders and notable characters who make decision by consensus] (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 12), and a common religion (i.e., Islam), land, history, culture, geography, language, national unity, and interests (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 66; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 8, 15). The textbooks praise commonalities for having served such purposes as accepting Islam, nurturing science, and fighting the British, and the Russians (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 43, 56). Hence, from the perspective of the textbooks' authors commonality is an essential aspect of national existence.

In the imagining of the textbooks, one of the central elements of commonality among people is Islam:

> The Islamic element of the national identity of the Afghan people is such a comprehensive and broad umbrella that all strata of our nation have gathered under it and as a vast human

[9] وطند وستي احساسي است كه به طور فطری و ذاتی در نهاد هر انسانی وجود دارد.

[10] زیرا وی در آن جا نشو و نما کرده، از آب و هوا و نعمتهای آن مستفید میگردد، با محیط و ماحول آن انس و الفت گرفته و در آغوش گرم و پر محبت آن زنده گی می نماید.

> population, with historical, cultural, social and geographical common antiquity, manifest themselves in the formation of a single and united nation. [11] (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 15).

In fact, in the construction of patriotism, it is Islam that has a definitive role. Unlike the civic education and history textbooks, the patriotism textbooks prioritize Islamic themes by commencing each book with a chapter dedicated to praises to God containing such messages as seeking God's mercy, expressing gratitude to God for blessings bestowed on humans, and submitting to the divine power of God, followed by a second chapter honouring Prophet Mohammad. In these lessons, textbooks promote ethical and moral values. For example, the Prophet "[…] used to help with household chores; sewed his clothes; ate with his servants, would shake hands during greetings with the rich and the poor alike, and would hold hands until the other person let go"[12]. (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 5). In another example, the Prophet is quoted as saying, "The one who is not trustworthy does not believe [in God]"[13] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 6). As such, these opening chapters in each of the patriotism textbooks contain key messages as opposed to prayers and praises.

Islam precedes patriotic attributes, national values, and identity markers in the word order of sentence structures. For instance, "we are religious and patriotic children of Afghanistan […]"[14] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 67), and: "after Islam, historical, cultural, social, civilization, geographical location, and social conditions also play a role in the formation of our national identity"[15] (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 15). In sequencing patriotic values, Islam precedes territorial integrity and national pride: "National interest is comprised of religion, intellectual values, independence, territorial integrity, economic prosperity, power, status, national pride, history, culture, etc."[16] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 23). In another example, '*Afghanyat'*, without a definition, while literally meaning the characteristics and quality of being an Afghan, comes after Islam: "After Islam, *Afghanyat* is the second element of the national identity of Afghanistan"[17] (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 15). The "Characteristics of Afghans" lesson (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 42-44) identifies

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[11] عنصر اسلامی هویت ملی مردم افغانستان چنان چتر فراگیر و وسیع است که تمام اقشار ملت ما در زیر آن گرد آمده و بحیث کی کتلهٔ بشری دارای قدامت تاریخی، فرهنگی، اجتماعی و جغرافیایی مشترک در تشکل کی ملت واحد و یکپارچه تبارز می کند.

[12] […]در کارهای خانه همکاری می نمود؛ لباسهای خود را بخیه م یکرد؛ با خادمان یکجا غذا می خورد، با غنی و فقیر یکسان مصافحت می نمود و در هنگام مصافحت تا آن که شخص مقابل دست خود را نمی گرفت، دستش را رها نم یکرد.

[13] چنانچه فرمود: کسی که امانتدار نباشد، ایمان ندارد.

[14] - ما فرزندان متدین و وطندوست افغانستان، […]

[15] پس از اسلام، مشترکات تاریخی، فرهنگی، اجتماعی، تمدنی، موقعیت جغرافیایی و اوضاع اجتماعی نیز در ساختار هویت ملی مردم ما نقش دارند، زیرا مشابهتهای یاد شده مقام ملت افغانستان را در میان ملتهای جهان مشخص و برازنده میسازد.

[16] منافع ملی عبارت از دین، ارزش های معنوی، استقلال، تمامیت ارضی، امنیت، رفاه اقتصادی، قدرت، مقام، افتخارات ملی، تاریخ، فرهنگ و غیره میباشد

[17] پس ازا سلام، افغانیت دومین عنصر هویت ملی افغانستان است.

Afghans' acceptance of and contribution to Islamic civilization as a key national characteristic. A lesson on "Patriotism", references the Prophet's love for his birthplace during migration from Macca to Medina city (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 13). Hence, the textbook authors attempt to articulate patriotism and national identity with Islam.

The textbooks construct social values and articulate them with Islamic principles. The lesson titled "Safeguarding People's Property and Honour" (*PATB 9*, 2017) condemns taking others' rights from an Islamic perspective (p. 61), and the "Environment Protection" lesson (*PATB 8*, 2017) presents safeguarding natural resources as a "religious, ethical and humane responsibility"[18] (p. 70-72). In a lesson on literacy (Bakhtyari, Omarkhail & Moshfiq, 2017) (henceforth, *CETB 11*, 2017), the first word revealed in the Quran, *Iqra*, meaning 'read' or 'recite', is discussed to endorse literacy (p. 73). The textbooks interpret acts of nationalism through an Islamic lens. In a topic on the triumph of mujaheddin against the Soviets (*PATB 7*, 2017), the causes are ranked but faith comes first: "The strong faith of the mujahidin in God and the day of judgement; National unity and solidarity; A passionate love for the homeland and the desire for independence and freedom"[19] (p. 67). The authors of patriotism textbooks reproduce contemporary virtues and values through Islamic narratives.

In conclusion, the textbooks construct patriotism from a primordial perspective with an emphasis on intrinsic affect and social commonalities. While natural commonalities have national outcomes (e.g., defence and civilizational enrichment), Islam as the main source of commonality is the integral commonality with which social values are articulated.

Inclusion and Exclusion

The textbooks imagine the nation as having diverse ethnic groups and languages through democratic elements. Referring to the constitution (Government of Afghanistan, 2004), a textbook (*PATB 8*, 2017) declares:

> The nation of Afghanistan consists of everyone who has the subjecthood of Afghanistan. The nation of Afghanistan consists of tribes of Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluch, Pashees, Nuristani, Aimaq, Arab, Kyrgyz, Ghezelbash, Gajar, Brahui and other

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[18] وجیبه دینی، اخلاقی و انسانی

[19] عواملی که باعث پیروزی مجاهدان و شکست کفار متجاوز گردید، عبارت بود از: - ایمان قوی مجاهدان به خدا و روز آخرت. - وحدت و یکپارچه گی ملی. - عشق آتشین به وطن و حب استقلال و آزادی.

> ethnic groups. Each individual of the Afghan nation in Afghanistan is called Afghan.[20] (p. 10)

In this text, not only ethnic groups but also tribes are considered equal constituting the nation of Afghanistan. A textbook (Mohaqiq, Omarkhail & Hazrati, 2017, henceforth, *CETB 9*, 2017) refers to the 2008 election to exhibit equality among ethnic groups: "In this election, individuals from all ethnicities living in the country were able to run for office and compete with each other"[21] (p. 24). Another textbook (Moshfiq, Fazil, & Omarkhail, 2017, henceforth, *CETB 12*, 2017) discusses political participation and refutes "direct or indirect restrictions on electors and nominees"[22] from many perspectives including discrimination based on ethnicity (p. 33-34). Lastly, *CETB 9* (2017) highlights the presence of the ethnic groups of Afghanistan at the Bonn Conference and presents the sixth constitutional article as follows:

> The government is obliged to create a prosperous and progressive society based on social justice, protection of human dignity, protection of human rights, the realization of the republic, assurance of national unity, equality between all ethnic groups and tribes, and balanced development in all regions of the country.[23] (p. 47)

The textbooks respect diversity from a constitutional perspective and demonstrate examples that are present in the lived experiences of student readers. This way, the textbooks demonstrate the obligatory nature of equality among ethnic groups in the constitution.

The textbooks also indigenize social diversity through the traditional jirga institution. *CETB 9* (2017) confirms the presence of "members of national assembly, heads of provincial and district councils, and elite and famous individuals of ethnic groups"[24] (p. 12) in the jirga. As discussed in this and the following chapters, the textbooks rely on jirga to indigenize various acts and products of nationalism, including democracy and constitution making. Therefore, jirga participates in the construction of patriotism in Afghanistan.

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[20] افغانستان عبارت است از تمام افرادی که تابعیت افغانستان را دارا باشند، «ملت افغانستان متشکل از اقوام پشتون، تاج کي، هزاره، ازب کي، ترکمن، بلوچ، پشه یی، نورستانی ایماق، عرب، قرغیز، قزلباش، گجر، براهوی و سایر اقوام است. بر هر فردی از
»... افراد ملت افغانستان کلمۀ افغان اطلاق می شود

[21] در این انتخابات افرادی ازتمام اقوام ساکن کشور توانستند که براي احراز این مقام نامزد شده و با هم به رقابت بپردازند.

[22] اعمال هر نوع محدویت مستقیم یا غیر مستقیم به رأی دهنده گان و نامزدان

[23] دولت به ایجاد یک جامعۀ مرفه و مترقي بر اساس عدالت اجتماعي، حفظ کرامت انساني، حمایت حقوق بشر، تحقق جمهوریت، تأمین وحدت ملي، برابري بین همه اقوام و قبایل و انکشاف متوازن در همه مناطق کشور، مکلف مي باشد.

[24] از اعضاي شوراي ملي و رؤساي شوراهاي ولایات و ولسوالي ها و افراد خبره و سرشناس اقوام

Islam also performs as a homogenizing catalyst in the constitution of patriotism. Following Islam's advent, "[…] all tribes and ethnic groups now had a single religion and faith" [25] (Ansari, Ghori, Omar, Habid & Ahmadzai, 2017, p. 11, henceforth, *HSTB 8, 2017*). Islam views ethnic groups as equal: "[…] God Almighty in the Qur'an and Sunnah has not obligated a particular ethnicity to carry out political affairs and advance the political power of Muslims, forbidden to others"[26] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 96). *PATB 9* (2017) endorses diversity with equality from an Islamic perspective: "They, as per the Islamic verses, view ethnic diversity and languages as a means to know one another and not as a reason for privilege and superiority against others" [27] (p. 11). As such, the textbook authors imagine the national ethnic diversity and equality as aspects of the tradition and religion of the people.

The textbooks emphasize the need for unity. However, *PATB 9* (2017) the unity among Afghans is a construction that is outward-looking rather than an inward approach because:

> National unity is one of the characteristics of Afghans. Sometimes Afghans may have problems and controversy among themselves, which is a necessity of a shared life; but they unite against the enemy. The pages of history are a good proof of this claim.[28] (p. 11)

Another example conveys the outward-looking implication more directly: "By having diverse ethnic and tribal groups, cultures, languages, and customs, the people of this land have always united against the world conquerors […]"[29] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 37). Hence, in an Islamic context, commonality has the connotation of unity.

The textbooks balance unity with equality and tolerance. *PATB 7* (2017) elaborates that such differentiating characteristics as race, ethnicity, or tribe are all for peace and security (p. 56). Likewise, the *PATB 8* (2017) encourages tolerance because:

> A person has to live and interact with those whose behaviour, habits and taste differ from them. To avoid problems and conflicts, this situation requires one to endure tolerance and patience, and for the sake of coexistence and peace in the society, to accept those things that are not compatible with their own taste, needs, and habits.[30] (p. 57 – 58).

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[25] زیرا همهٔ اقوام و قبایل صاحب عقیده و دین یگانه یی شدند.

[26] خداوند جلَّ جلالُهُ در قرآن و سنت قوم خاصی را برای اجرای امور سیاسی و پیشبرد قدرت سیاسی مسلمانان مکلف نکرده که به دیگران حرام بوده باشد

[27] در این سرزمین پشتون، تاجک، هزاره، ازبیک، ترکمن، بلوچ، نورستانی، پشه یی، عرب، پامیری، قزاق، قرغیز، براهوی، گوجر و غیره. اقوام در پهلوی هم برادر وار زندگی میکنند. آنها بر اساس آیات قرآنی تنوع اقوام و زبانها را وسیلهٔ شناخت یکدیگر می دانند؛ نه سبب امتیاز و برتری بر یکدیگر.

[28] وحدت ملی یکی از خصوصیتهای افغانها است. شاید گاهی افغانها در میان خود مشکلات و جنجال داشته باشند، که لازمهٔ زند هگی مشترک م یباشد؛ اما در برابر دشمن یکپارچه م یشوند. اوراق تاریخ گواه خوب این مدعاست.

[29] مردم این سرزمین با داشتن اقوام و قبایل مختلف، فرهنگ، زبان و کلتور متنوع و رسم و رواج های گوناگون همیشه در مقابل جهان گشایان و اشغالگران متحد گردیده

As such, equality and tolerance are also normatively endorsed in the textbooks.

The textbooks represent diversity as a threat. A textbook (Omarkhail & Moshfiq, 2017, henceforth *CETB 10*, 2017), considers cultural diversity from an ethnic perspective as one of the challenges of underdevelopment in the country:

> Weak management and leadership, economic weakness, geographical location, unnecessary extravagance, disagreements, low literacy, poor education, **ethnic diversity and social dispersion**, colonial interference and encroachment, as well as conflicting interests of Afghanistan's neighbouring countries **are the most important factors in shaping Afghanistan's backwardness.**[31] (pp. 82-83, emphasis added).

In a bold statement, a textbook (*CETB 11*, 2017) reads: "If the population is made up of **many different groups**, there is a greater chance of **deviant behaviours**"[32] (p. 37, emphasis added) and concludes:

> And if the **population is uninformed** from cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic perspectives, it is more likely that **deviance and crime [rates] to be lower** in that society. But otherwise, it is possible that **it [diversity**] has an impact on the behaviour of individuals and leads to some **deviance and crime**. [33](p. 38, emphasis added)

In this relation, *CETB 12* (2017) criticizes the media for exhibiting "ethnic and linguistic exemplifications"[34] (p. 114) while elites and famous individuals of ethnic groups are not allowed to form political parties on the basis of identities: "The establishment and activity of a party based on ethnicity, position, language and religion are not allowed"[35] (p. 37). The imagining of the nation in the textbooks is cautious of public and political manifestations on the basis of diversity and ethnicity.

The textbooks portray social sub-categories and their lifestyles. First, the textbooks elaborate on mainstream culture (*CETB 10*, 2017):

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[30] انسان مجبور میشود با انسا نهای دیگر در یکجا زنده گی نموده با کسانی تعامل نماید که از نظر رفتار، عادات و ذوق با او اختاف دارند؛ این حالت ایجاب می کند انسان برای جلوگیری از بروز مشکلات و درگیری، راه صبر و گذشت را پیش گرفته، به خاطر همزیستی و صلح و صفا در جامعه، برخی از اموری را تحمل کند که با ذوق و خواهش و یا عادات شخصی او سازگاری ندارد.

[31] ضعف مدیریت و رهبری، ضعف اقتصادی، موقعیت جغرافیایی، اضافه طلبی های بی مورد، اختلافات، پایین بودن سطح سواد، ضعف تربیت، تنوع اقوام و پراکنده گي اجتماعي، دخالت و دست درازیهاي استعمارگران و هم چنین منافع متضاد کشورهاي همسایه افغانستان مهمترین عوامل عقب مانده گي افغانستان را تشکیل مي دهند.

[32] در صورتی که نفوس از گروههای زیاد و متفاوت تشک ل شود، احتمال رفتارهای انحرافی ب شتری وجود دارد.

[33] و اگر نفوس از لحاظ فرهنگی، قومی، مذهبی و لسانی یکنواخت باشد، امکان بیشتری وجود دارد که انحراف و جرایم در آن جامعه کمتر باشد. امّا در غیر این صورت، امکان دارد که بر رفتار افراد تأثیر گذاشته و عده یی را به انحراف و جرایم بکشاند.

[34] تمثیل های قومی، لسانی

[35] تأسیس و فعالیت حزب برمبنای قومیت، سمت، زبان و مذهب جواز ند ارد.

> A common feature of all small cultures is that their members, in some ways, feel isolated from other members of society. This isolation can be voluntary or the result of other factors. Whatever the reason for this distance, small cultures (in some ways) move away from the mainstream of community culture. In some communities, **especially in the countryside in which tribal or kinship groups live separately but closely to each other**, diversity and the difference of small cultures in some cases lead to **hostile and controversial relationships**, and sometimes lead to **fights and quarrels**.[36] (p. 19; emphasis added)

In the above statement, the tribal communities are singled out by 'especially', an example of a "small culture", and viewed as a "countryside" phenomenon by a combination of "close" but "separate" qualities which denotes interdependency but a lack of cooperation, an unusual combination. Furthermore, their lifestyle is characterized by conflict and quarrels. As such, the textbook represents the countryside of the society as a small culture.

Second, another textbook, Department of Civic Education Textbook Authors, 2018 (henceforth, *CETB 7*, 2018) lesson represents the nomads. According to the textbook nomads are people who move around the country in search of water and greenery, and "due to the fact that nomads are always on the move, their children are deprived of the blessings of literacy and education"[37] (p. 37). In this statement, nomads are covertly held liable for their lifestyle. The above text follows: "For the reason that nomads spread their tents far from cities and villages, they can hardly reach health care resources in cities and villages"[38] (p. 37). This representation is consistent with the above urban gaze with regard to countryside communities. Third, textbooks present their view on immigration. Although a textbook (*CETB 10*, 2017) confirms that, "lack of access to opportunities and unfair distribution policies are among the factors that lead to the migration of rural people to cities"[39] (p. 72), it continues that displacement is a negative social phenomenon:

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[36] یکی از خصوصیات مشتر ک همهٔ فرهنگ های کوچک این است که اعضای آن ها، از بعضی جهات، خود را از دیگر اعضای جامعه جدا احساس می کنند و منزوی می شوند. این انزوا می تواند داوطلبانه و یا نتیج ۀعوامل دیگر باشد. دلیل این دوری هر چه باشد، فرهنگ های کوچک)از بعضی جهات(جدا از راه اصلی فرهنگ جامعه حرکت می کنند. در اجتماعاتی به خصوص در دهات آن های کیه به صورت گروه هاي خويشاوندي و قومی به طور جدا از هم و امّا در نزديکی کي ديگر زنده گي ميکنند، تنوع و تفاوت فرهنگ های کوچک دربعضی موارد، موجب روابط خصمانه و جنجال بر انگیز میان آن ها مي شود و گاهي به زد و خورد و نزاع مي انجامد.

[37] به دليل آنکه کوچيها همواره در حال کوچ و جابجايي هستند، بيشتر آ نها مکتب ندارند و فرزندان شان از نعمت سواد و تحصيل محروم مي مانند.

[38] به دليل آنکه آ نها دورتر از شهر و روستا نيز خيمه مي زنند، به امکانات صحي شهر و روستا نيز به سختي مي توانند دسترسي پيدا کنند.

[39] عدم برخورداري از فرصت ها و سياست هاي ناعادلانة توزيع، از جمله عواملی است که منجر به مهاجرت مردم دهات به شهرها مي گردد.

> The migration of rural people to cities, in addition to the adverse economic, social, and cultural effects, puts a lot of psychological pressure on immigrants. Due to moving away from their homeland and finding themselves in a new environment, immigrants face a state of alienation and isolation, which can pave the way to social deviation and harm. In particular, the existence of unemployment and poverty encourage this.[40] (p. 72)

In this text, migration is represented as deviation and as discussed above, the textbooks consider deviation as a social threat. The text asks "[…] how migration may be stopped?"[41], and responds, that through the provision of education, health care, agriculture, livestock, and markets "there will be no migration" as these measures "can be effective in keeping rural people close to rural life" (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 73)[42]. The urban-centric gaze of the textbook may be exemplified in other texts in which residential buildings are described as the "best way of providing affordable housing" because they can accommodate more people in smaller spaces (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 83).

Likewise, in the "Stage of Life" lesson (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 15), an image (see Figure 3) visualizes five stages of life in the bodily progression of a male person from infancy to late adulthood (p. 15). Apart from its male-centred gendered depiction, the image shows an urban style of clothing; a crawling infant in a jumpsuit, a walking child in shorts, and an adult man in a suit and tie carrying a briefcase. All of the above social categories are viewed as sources of deviance and disharmony.

Figure 3: An urban centric gaze.

The only reference to non-Muslim people of Afghanistan is in the biography of King Amanullah, in a historical statement (*PATB 9*, 2017) that is narrated and quoted from King Amanullah's speech addressing the nation in 1919: "We do not have Hindu, Hazara, Shia, Sunni, Ahmadzai and Popalzai but we are all one nation, and that is the Afghan nation. For me all Afghans are brothers"[43] (pp. 42-43). This statement, which also renders absent other ethnic

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[40] مهاجرت مردم دهات به شهرها، علاوه بر آثار نامطلوب اقتصادي، اجتماعي و فرهنگي، فشارهاي رواني زيادي بر روي مهاجران باقي مي گذارد. به جهت دور شدن از وطن خود و قرار گرفتن در محيطي جديد، مهاجران با نوعي حالت بيگانه گي و انزوا مواجه مي شوند كه اين امر مي تواند زمينه ساز بروز انحرافات و آسيب هاي اجتماعي باشد. خصوصاً وجود بيكاري و فقر اين امر را دامن مي زند.

[41] این جا سؤال مطرح می شود که چگونه می توان جلو این مهاجرتها را گرفت؟

[42] اگر امكانات تعليم، تداوى، كار، صحت و... در دهات فراهم گردد و ارتقاى سطح يك في زند هگي دهاتي همانند شهر مورد توجه قرار گيرد، مهاجرت صورت نمي گيرد. از جانب ديگر حمايت از توليدات ك شاورزي وما لداري و هم چنين صنايع محلي و جذب بازارهاي مناسب براي آن از طرف حكومت ها مي تواند در دل بست هگي مردم دهات به زند هگي در دهات مؤثر واقع شود.

[43] هندو، هزاره، شیعه، سنی، احمد زایی و پوپلزایی نداریم؛ بلکه همه یک ملت هستیم که آن ملت افغان است. برای من همهٔ افغان ها برادر هستند.

groups, Sikhs, and Jews of the country is not discussed in the textbook but rather shared as one of the speeches of the King. The absent identities remain the subaltern of the community imagining of the textbooks.

Ethic groups are present in the historical narrative of the textbooks. In Ahmad Shah Durani's military trips in the 18th century, Hazara and Uzbek supported his fight: "Nasser Khan, the governor of Kabul and Peshawar, who was still in power, wanted to fight the Afghani forces with the help of the Imaq and Hazara forces but the Imaq and Hazara forces refused to fight"[44] (Hotak, Rawnaqi & Babakarkhail, 2017, p. 11) (henceforth, *12, 2017*). In this depiction, the refusal of the Imaq and Hazara forces to join the traitors against the Afghan forces is celebratory because Durani as the founder of Afghanistan brought unity among ethnic groups (Panjshiri, Hotak, Rawnaqi & Babakarkhail, 2017, p. 15, henceforth, *HSTB 9, 2017) (HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 7). *HSTB 9* (2017) presents Durani as a symbol of ethnic equality: "There were two types of soldiers in the armed forces at that time. There were regular forces and irregular forces also known as ethnic forces. […] Ethnic forces were exempt from paying taxes while serving"[45] (p. 14). In this quote, it is not mentioned who are the recipients of the taxes in a country that is characterized based on ethnicity. It is also unclear who regular and irregular forces are. The text also remains silent about who are the rest if there is an ethnic force. There is also an implied privilege for 'regular' forces and a covert lack of privilege for 'irregular forces' covered up by denotation of the privilege of not paying taxes. The regular force and ethnic force (in fact, irregular force) differentiation is not established, and it is important, particularly in light of the fact that textbooks associate Ahmad Shah with the tribal Abdali or Durani names (*HSTB 9, 2017*,p. 15). This way, the textbooks authors acknowledge ethnic cohabitation as an asset in times of crisis.

One ruler who does not have an ethnic, tribal, or official title in the textbooks is Habibullah Kalakani. The textbooks' treatment of him vis-à-vis other rulers merits attention. Kalakani is characterized as being "from the east and north fronts" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 88) and from "Kohdaman and Kohistan" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 89). He is exceptionally referred to by his father's occupation as "the son of the water carrier" and an "insurgent" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 89). Moreover, while the textbooks portray the interest of other kings in politics as their sense of duty, Kalakani's motivation is portrayed as deception and selfishness: "Habibullah Kalakani, in

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[44] ناصرخان والي كابل و پشاور كه هنوز در قدرت بود م يخواست به كمك قشون ايماق و هزاره با قواي افغاني بجنگد، اما قشون ايماق و هزاره از جنگ امتناع ورزيدند.

[45] در قواي مسلح آن زمان دو نوع عساكر موجود بودند كيي قواي منظم و ديگر قواي غير منظم بود كه به نام قواي قومي شهرت داشت. [...]. قوتهاي قومي در حين خدمت از تأدية ماليات معاف مي شدند.

collaboration with several high-ranking government officials who had secretly opposed the government for personal gain, attacked Kabul in late December 1928"[46] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 89). The textbooks portray a bleak picture of Habibullah's rule compared to other rulers. During his rule: "Government offices and government administration in Kabul […] were destroyed […], most of the institutions were looted or partially destroyed"; and, "He gave government revenues to the people and the treasury to his army," therefore, the textbooks conclude that he "was hostile to civilization" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 92). In the cases of other rulers, such as Ahmad Shah [1747–1772] and Abdul Rahman [1880 – 1901] textbooks only acknowledge their inability in certain social and cultural affairs but do not present a graphic depiction of their shortcomings. In worst cases, too, rulers are not graphically and negatively portrayed. Amir Yaqub Khan (1879) signed "the infamous treaty of Gandamak with [Sir Pierre Loui] Cavagnari, the British representative" as a result of which "Karam, Landy Kotel, Khyber Valley, Sialkot and some other parts of the country became part of British India" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 50).[47] Despite this, Yaqub Khan is characterized as "a well-famed man" whom "the people of Afghanistan loved" and was suffering from a mental and psychological illness (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 49). The next example is Shah Shuja [1839 – 1842, second reign], for his alliances with the British: "Because Shah Shujah considered himself surrounded by the mujahedin, he inevitably had to call for jihad against the British. But [in fact] he was providing information to the British on a daily basis"[48] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 35). But the textbook states that Shah Shuja was suffering from "weakness" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 33) and people removed his name from the Mosque sermon and eventually murdered him (*HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 33 – 34). Unlike Kalakani the dynastical figures as kings and Amirs receive a positive characterization even when the textbooks covertly acknowledge them as traitors.

In conclusion, the textbooks confirm social diversity and equalize differences while they also view diversity as a threat to social harmony. In the former construction, Islam, jirga, and history play a role, and in the second construction, urban gaze and historical representation of rulers reveal exclusions. The main exclusions and misrepresentations of the patriotism agenda of the textbooks are countryside communities, nomads, internally displaced people, small cultures, and non-Muslims.

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[46] حب ب الله کلکانی با همکاری عدهٔ از مامورین عالی رتبه دولتی که در خفا به خاطر منافع ی شخصی خود بر ضد دولت قرار گرفته بودند، در اخر دسامبر سال 1928 بر کابل حمله نمود.

[47] در سال 1879 میلادی معاهده ننگین کندمک با کیوناری نمایندهٔ انگلیس امیرمحمدیعقوب خان عقد و امضا گردید که به موجب این معاهده کرم، لندی کوتل، دره خیبر، سیالکوت و بعضی نقاط دیگر جزء هند برتانوی شد و بدین اساس نمایندهگان انگلیس در شهرهای عمده افغانستان مستقر گردیدند و کیوناری با سپاه محافظ خود داخل بالا حصار کابل شد.

[48] چون شاه شجاع خود ی را در بین مجاهدین محصور میدید. مجبوراً علیه انگلیسها امر جهاد صادر نمود ولی اطلاعات روزمره داخل افغانستان را در اختیار انگلسها قرار میداد.

Five-thousand Years of Historical Continuity

All textbooks construct Afghanistan as having a five-thousand-year-old ancient history. In the first history textbook in grade seven of the curriculum, the title; "Do You Know the Source of the Five-thousand History of Afghanistan"[49] (Bawari, Jabarkhail, Haqpal, Ahmadzai, Ahmadzai, 2017, p. 13, henceforth, *HSTB 7, 2017*) draws attention to the richness of history in the country. *CETB 10* (2017) repeats this history in Afghanistan; "Afghanistan is a land that has five thousand years of rich cultural history"[50] (p. 69). The five thousand years is established through archaeology and artifacts as evidence. Textbooks construct a long civilizational history by denoting ancient cities, such as the *Aiy Khanum City* to prove the presence of Greek-Bakhatri civilization (*HSTB 7, 2017*, 13), to Bagram the Capital City of the Great Kushan Empire (Bawari, Ahmadzai & Haqpal*, 2017, p. 39)* (henceforth, *HSTB 10, 2017*), and Heda Cultural Centre for the Kushan Empire (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 41), to name a few. As an example, the textbooks claim that *Mandigak Hill* existed three thousand BCE. in Kandahar province and its population "had laid the foundation of civilization" [51](*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 13). Afghanistan is not a modern name but one that has always existed. The text glorifies the Madigak Hill civilization by referring to its objects of nationalism (*HSTB 7*, 2017):

> Discoveries included a magnificent building with a large courtyard, a high wall for defence purposes, and rooms of various sizes that represent the palace of the rulers of Mandigak and their administrative center. French archaeologists, during their excavations, found, in addition to food stores, especially wheat, various clay, copper, and bronze vessels with beautiful shapes and ornaments, and clay sculptures.[52] (p. 13-14).

HSTB 10 (2017) gives further credibility to the historical continuity and ancientness of Afghanistan by providing an affirmative statement from world archeologists:

> Toynbee [Arnold J. Toynbee], the famous British historian mentions Afghanistan as the center of ancient civilizations and their confluence. However, the Japanese archaeologist, Maurizio Tuzi has called ancient Afghanistan a crossroads of trade. Allameh Habibi calls Afghanistan the cradle of civilization in the region. Similarly,

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[49] **آیا مبدا تاریخ پنج هزار سالهٔ افغانستان را م یدانید؟**

[50] افغانستان به عنوان یک سر زميني که داراي پنج هزار سال سابقهٔ درخشان فرهنگي است.

[51] [...] بنیاد تمدنی را گذاشته بودند، که ثبوت تاریخ پنج هزار ساله افغانستان می باشد..

[52] ساختما نهای باشکوه کشف گردید که دارای صحن بزرگ، دیوار بلند با مواضع دفاعی و اتاق هایی با سایزهای مختلف که نماینده گی از قصر حاکمان مندیگک و مرکز اداری آ نها می نماید. علاوه برآن ذخیر هگاه مواد غذایی خاصتاً گندم، ظروف متنوع گلی، مسی، برونزی با داشتن اشکال زیبا، وسایل زینتی و مجسمه های گلی نیز در جریان کاوش ها توسط باستان شناسان فرانسوی کشف گردیده اند.

> other titles and names about the importance of ancient Afghanistan have been attributed to the country.[53] (p. 29)

This civilization is shown as dynamic and beyond its 'borders': "The people of Mandigak had established cultural and economic relations with the people of Anu and the Namazgah Tapa in the northern region (Turkmenistan), with the people of Sialak Tapa in the west (Iran) and with the civilization of Herapeh and Mohanjudaru in the south (India)"[54] (*HSTB 7*, 2017, p. 14). The text states that Mandigak people left the area 2500 years ago to unknown areas (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 14). This way, the text implicitly claims the dispersion of people from Afghanistan to elsewhere is what spreads civilization. These references portray the people as dynamic and engaging and establish their identity in relation to others.

Second, the portrayal of the glorious history of five thousand years is demonstrated by the racial nobility of the Aryan people. The text introduces Aryans as a people that lived in Afghanistan two thousand years ago. These people included a series of tribes that "called themselves Aryan, which means pure and noble"[55] (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 3). This emphasis is repeated: "The Aryans called themselves noble and virtuous"[56] (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 15). Textbooks provide a literal definition of Aryan as "noble and virtuous, or as per some, cultivator, farmer"[57] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 9). Aryan pride is obvious in praise of social assets; for example, when the customary practice of jirga is praised for its participatory nature, the practice is considered an Ancient Aryan practice (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 58). According to *HSTB 7* (2017), Aryans established the first civilization in Afghanistan's Balkh province in 2,500 BC, and, they:

> […] engaged in agriculture and horticulture. They grew a variety of flowers and planted fruit trees. At celebrations, bouquets were given to each other. On the first days of the year, all people, old and young, men and women celebrated together, played, and sang. One of the most famous celebrations of Aryans was called Samaneh. In this celebration, young people rode horses. They played spears and danced.[58] (p. 8).

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[53] مؤرخ شهیر انگلیسی (تایلبی) از افغانستان به عنوان کانون مدنیتهای قدیم و محل تلاقی آ نها یاد کرده است، اما باستان شناسان جاپانی)ماوریزویوتوزی(افغانستان باستان را چهار راه تجارتی لقب داده است؛ ولی علامه حبیبی افغانستان را مهد تمد نها در منطقه معرفی کرده است. به همین ترتیب، القاب و عناوین دیگر نیز راجع به اهمیت افغانستان قدیم ذکر شده است.

[54] از آثار کشف شده چنین برمی آید که مردمان مندیگک با مردمان انو و نماز گاه تپه)ترکمنستان(درحوزهٔ شمال، در غرب با مردمان تپه سیالک)ایران(و در جنوب با مدنیت هراپه و موهنجوداررو)هند(روابط فرهنگی و اقتصادی، برقرار نموده بودند.

[55] این قبایل خود را آرین مینامیدند که معنی اصیل و نجیب را افاده می کند.

[56] آرین ها خود را اصیل و صاحب اخلاق نیکو می گفتند.

[57] آریا: اصیل و نجیب، یا به گفتهٔ برخیها زارع، دهقان.

[58] آ[…] در کنار پیشه تربیه و نگهداری مواشی، به زراعت و باغداری نیز پرداختند. انواع گلها را پرورش دادند و به غرس نها لهای میوه دار پرداختند. در مراسم خوشی ها به یکدیگر دست ههای گل تحفه می دادند، در روزهای اول سال همه مردم، پیر و جوان، مرد و زن باهم یک جا جشن مي گرفتند، بازی مي کردند، سرود م ینواختند. یکی از مشهورترین جشن های

A glorification of racial nobility is evident in this passage.

The textbooks connect Afghanistan to world civilizations. The textbooks assert that Aryans dispersed from Afghanistan to Iran and later to Turkey and European lands (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 16; *HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 4) or "made human civilization in India, Persia, Europe and elsewhere" [59] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 14). However, "those Aryans who remained in Afghanistan, laid the foundation of great civilizations such as the Vedic and Avastin civilizations"[60] (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 16; *HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 4). *HSTB 10* claims that several other civilizations have originated in 'Afghanistan', too: "To prove this claim, as an example one may mention the Greek-Bakhatri and Greco-Buddhist civilizations, both of which are innovations of the people of this land and are considered as important cultural heritages in the ancient history of the world" [61] (p. 54). Sometimes this statement is bolder: "Greek and Buddhist civilizations originated and developed primarily in ancient Afghanistan. It later spread to other neighbouring areas" [62](*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 43). As such pre-Islamic Afghanistan has been inhibited by noble people and has been a nurturer of world civilizations.

The five thousand history construction of Afghanistan takes pride in transitioning from immorality and ignorance to superior desirable moralities in Islam. One textbook adapts from previous (racial nobility) to the new (Islamic morality) construction by stating that before Islam the world lived in ignorance (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 84), and another modulates by asserting that "bad morality was pervasive and good ethics was very rare"[63] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 5). Therefore, after the arrival and spread of Islam "a great change in the life of our people was revealed"[64] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 8), because the Prophet, "transformed all bad and improper morality to superior desirable moralities and qualities and guided humankind from perversion and misery towards happiness and salvation on the earth and in the afterlife"[65] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 5). As such, the textbooks transition from race to religion.

آریا بیان به نام سامانه یاد می شد. در این جشن جوانان به اسپ سواری می پرداختند. نیزه بازی و رقص مي كردند و میدان رزم وبزم را بر پا می کردند.

[59] [...] تمدنهای بشری را در هند، فارس، اروپا و جاهای دیگر تشکیل دادند.

[60] آن عده از آریا بیان که در افغانستان باقی ماندند، مدني تهای بزرگی مانند مدنیت ویدي و اوستايي را اساس گذاشتند.

[61] برای ثبوت این مدعامیتوان به عنوان نمونه از مدنیتهای دوران یونانو با ختری و گریکوبودیک یاد آوری کرد که هر دو از ابداعات مردم این سرزمین است که از میرا ثهای مهم فرهنگی در تاریخ قدیم جهان بشمار میرود.

[62] تمدن گریکو بودیک اساساً در افغانستان قدیم بوجود آمد و انکشاف کرد. بعداً به دیگر نواحی همجوار انتشار یافت.

[63] اخلاق بد و نادرست رواج داشت و اخلاق خوب بسیار کم وجود داشت.

[64] تحول بزرگ در زند ه گی مردم ما رونما گردید.

[65] همهٔ صفات اخلاقی بد و نادرست را به صفات و ارزشهای عالی اخلاقی نیکو و پسندیده مبدل ساخت و بشریت را از گمراهی و بدبختی بسوی سعادت و رستگاری دنیا و آخرت هدایت و راهنمایی کرد.

It was not only Afghanistan that was in ignorance but other regions of the world too. Referring to Saudi Arabia, a textbook adds: "Socially, they lived in injustice and ignorance" and "deprived of humanity, many families buried their infant daughters alive. Corruption and moral perversions were prevalent among the rich"[66] (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 59). When the social conditions in Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia are rendered similar *HSTB 10* (2017) universalizes immorality:

> […] infidelity, terror, and injustice reigned on earth. Although most people in parts of Europe, Africa, and West Asia considered themselves followers of the religions of Moses and Jesus; they had brought in lots of deviations and changes and had abandoned the true path of their religion. Atrocities had reached their peak and force was the only method of state tyranny that prevailed at the time.[67] (p. 97)

By holding responsible 'the followers' rather than 'the true path of their religion' for the 'atrocities' that 'had reached its peak', the texts avoid confrontation with the two religions yet accomplish to bestow admiration on Islam by their binary positions. As such, a glorified Aryan era is condemned for its ignorance in a celebratory undertone for the advent of Islam.

The textbooks welcome the Islamic army invasion of Afghanistan. Ansari, Ghori, Omar, Habid, Ahmadzai (2017) (henceforth, *HSTB 8,* 2017) present how "the advancement of the Muslims towards Afghanistan (Khorasan) cities began during the Caliphate of Omar (RA)" and when the "Islamic Army" "captured" cities "the complete spread and prevalence of Islam in our country materialized […]" and the "spread of this heavenly religion"[68] commenced (p. 4). The textbooks state the economic interest of the Arabs: "Arabs migrated as tribes to those areas of our country that resembled the Arabian Peninsula"[69] (Ansari, Ghori & Habid, 2017, p. 6) (henceforth, *HSTB 11, 2017*), and in relation to their imposition of inequitable taxation (*HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 12). *HSTB 11* (2017) narrates the advent of Islam and the suffering of people: "In Kabul, the Muslims suffered a great deal, and the Kabulis put up a fierce resistance against the Islamic army

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[66] از لحاظ اجتماعی در بی عدالتی، جهل و نادانی زنده گی می نمودند […] وتعداد زیادی از خانواده ها دختران نوزاد خویش را زنده به گور می کردند.در میان قشر غنی و پولدار، فساد و انحرافات اخلاقی رواج داشت.

[67] […] در روی زمین کفر و وحشت حکمفرما بود و در در جایی حق تلف یها صورت می گرفت اگر چه مردم قسمت های بیشتر اروپا، افریقا و قسماً آسیای غربی خویشتن را پیروان دین حضرت موسی و حضرت عیسی)علیهما السلام(می دانستند؛ ولی در ادیان خود انحرافات و تغییرات زیادی را بوجود آورده و راه اساسی و اصلی دین را به کلی رها نموده بودند. ظلم به اوج خود رسیده بود و زور یگانه روش استبداد حکومت داری حاکمان وقت بود.

[68] پیشروی مسلمانان به جانب افغانستان)خراسان(از زمان خلافت حضرت عمر)رض(آغازیافت. پس از نیشابور، هرات اولین شهری بود که به تصرف مسلمانان درآمد سپس شهرهای دیگر نیز به دست سپاه اسلام افتادند .به خصوص پس از سال 41 هجری قمری/ 661 م این پیشرو یها فزونی یافت و شهرهای زیادی از کشور ما به تصرف مسلمانان درآمد. اما رواج وگسترش کامل اسلام زمانی رخ داد که عناصر و نیروهایی از داخل مملکت ما مانند صفاریان سیستانی، کمر به حمایت و نشر این دین آسمانی بستند.

[69] نکتهٔ مهم این است که همراه و هم زمان با این لشکر کشی ها، شمار زیادی از اعراب به صورت قبیله یی مهاجرت کردند و در آن نواحی از مملکت ما که به جزیرة العرب شباهت داشتند، استقرار یافتند.

but they were eventually defeated"[70] (p. 6). The textbooks present details about the manner through which Arabs invaded Afghanistan.

The textbooks do not lose sight of people's reaction to the expansion of Islam in Afghanistan. They construct patriotic heroes, who fought against Arabs, without losing sight of welcoming the influx of Islam into Afghanistan. In reference to the Umayyads the second and the Abbasid the third caliphate to succeed the Prophet, a text in *HSTB 8* (2017) states: "The people of Afghanistan in many situations supported the anti-Umayyad uprisings, which were considered their [Abbasids] political opponents"[71] (p. 5). *HSTB 11* (2017) reconciles Islamic and nationalist perspectives:

> During the rule of the Umayyads, dissatisfaction intensified in our country, and they appointed the ruler, judge, and Imam from the Arab race. Political dissent was severely repressed, and the simple Islamic court became luxurious. […]. Our people, seeing the injustice and discriminatory behaviour of some fanatics, while they strongly believed in Islam and made sacrifices in its spread, revolted against them, like the uprising of Abu Muslim Khorasani. [72] (p. 12).

Here, confrontation is constructed for *the* better Islam. Through the portrayal of Islam as a religion worthy of sacrifice, the textbooks background the corruption in Islamic intuitions. The text emphasizes the victory of Islam and the resistance of the people as two parallel but reconcilable events.

The textbooks engage in the characterization of historical individual figures to exhibit patriotism despite Arab's invasion. Abu Muslim Khorasani (*HSTB 7*, p. 79, *HSTB 8*, 2017, p. 6; History Textbook 11, 2017, p. 7), Khalid Barmak (*HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 17), Yahya Barmak (*HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 17; *HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 9-10), and Amir Koror and Amir Foulad (*HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 8) rose against the Umayyads as men who were born in Afghanistan, as opposed to being introduced as Arabs. For instance, Abu Muslim Khorasani who is introduced as from Jawzjan province of Afghanistan, "[…] lowered the flag of the Umayyads in Sefinj and instead raised the flag of the Abbasids, which was black" [73] (*HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 6), consequently, "the caliphate

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[70] در کابل مسلمانان رنج و زحمت زیادی را متقبل گشتند و کابلیان مقاومتهای سختی را در برابر سپاه اسلام انجام دادند اما سرانجام شکست خوردند

[71] مردم افغانستان در بسا از حالات از قیا مهای ضد امرای اموی که مخالفین سیاسی آنها به شمار می رفتند، پشتیبانی کردند.

[72] دلایل قیام های مردمی در دوران دولت بنی امیه نارضایتی ها در کشور ما شدت گرفت و آن ها حاکم، قاضی و امام را از نژاد عرب تعیین می کردند، وظایف عمدهٔ دولتی منحصر به نژاد عرب بود. مخالفین سیاسی به شدت سرکوب م یشدند، دربار سادهٔ اسلامی مجلل شد. افزایش مصارف دربار و سپاه که از طریق ازدیاد مالیات صورت می گرفت، و نیز بیگاری و کار های اجباری، موجبات فقر و تنگدستی مردم ما را فراهم نمود و باعث نارضایتی بیشتر گردید. مردم ما با مشاهدهٔ بی عدالتی و رفتار تبعیض آمیز از جانب عد هیی متعصب، در حالی که سخت به اسلام ایمان و باور داشتند و در گسترش آن فداکاری ها نموده بودند در برابر آ نها قیام کردند، مانند قیام ابومسلم خراسانی.

[73] […]درسفیدنج پرچم اموی ها را پایین نمود و در عوض، پرچم عباسیان را که رنگ سیاه داشت بلند کرد.

passed from the Umayyad dynasty to the Abbasid dynasty" [74] (*HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 7). What highlights the forged unity of the above narrative is its ending: "Abu Muslim was appointed governor of Khorasan but the Abbasid rulers were not optimistic about him and […] Mansour [the Caliphate of Islam] cunningly invited Abu Muslim to the center of the caliphate and killed him"[75] (*HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 13; also mentioned in *HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 7) because he was afraid of the people of Afghanistan (*HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 7). Here, the evasively presented disapproval of Khurasani is from the Abbasid's perspective, however, his murder is at the hand of an individual fearful of the people of Afghanistan.

Fourth, the five thousand historical construction of Afghanistan continues with the glorification of Islamic governments. Two centuries of Islamic occupation on the one hand and nationalist resistance on the other is forged in the following unifying paragraph: "For almost two centuries, the Muslim conquerors fought continuous wars for the stabilization of an Islamic government until the groundwork was laid for the emergence of independent Islamic governments in Afghanistan"[76] (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 54). This text interwinds two centuries of resistance with the reward of the establishment of independent Islamic states. These two opposing movements are presented as parallel events. The reward is important because "each in their own turn made valuable contribution in establishing an Islamic civilization"[77] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p 8), in other words, the reward was a participatory effort to welcome Islam rather than to oppose it. This statement is contradicted by the rest of the history of Islamic governments that exhibit fluctuation between stability and instability as the glorified time came to an end after the invasion of Genghis and Mongols in the 13th century (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 8). Subsequently, Genghis and Mongols were defeated by Shahrokh and Sultan Hussein Bayqara, and Afghanistan took some steps toward progress and development but after the death of Bayqara civil war and the invasion of the Safavids occurred. The text asserts with pride that Safavids were defeated by Mirwais Khan Hotaki but also acknowledges that upon his death eight years of civil war erupted. The text pridefully states that the country was put back on the progress track by Ahmad Shah whose death paved the way to chaos and British invasion. The text moves on to discuss the

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[74] باوجود این فتوح اولیه، مخالفت ها با مسلمانان در بعضی نقاط مملکت ما از بین نرفت. به خصوص رفتار شماری از طرفداران قبیله بنی امیه، موجب رنجش و نارضایتی مردم گردیده وقیامهایی را به دنبال داشت. سرانجام در اثر یکی از همین قیا مها که توسط ابومسلم خراسانی رهبری میشد، خلافت از خاندان اموی به خاندان عباسی که خود را خانواده پیغمبر و وارث نظام سیاسی که توسط آن حضرت تشکیل شده بود قلمداد میکـردند، منتقل گردید.

[75] ابومسلم والی خراسان تعیین شد ولی حکام عباسی به ابومسلم و دیگر رهبران قیام کننده گان خوشبین نبودند. بناءً در صدد نابود ساختن شان برآمدند. تا اینکه در سال) 134 ق/ 755 م(منصور، ابومسلم را به حیله به مرکز خلافت دعوت کرد و کشت.

[76] عساکر فاتح مسلمین برای ثبات حکومت اسلامی تقریباً دو قرن به جنگهای پی در پی ادامه دادند تا اینکه زمینه برای ظهور دول های مستقل اسلامی در افغانستان مساعد گردید.

[77] در بناي تمدن اسلامي هر كدام به نوبت خود سهم ارزشمندي گرفتند

independence of Afghanistan from the British and the Soviet invasion. Hence, although the claim of the textbooks is a glorified past with morality, expansion, and progress, its depiction of history proves to offer challenges and flaws as well.

In conclusion, the construction of five thousand years of historical continuity of the textbooks; established through civilizational pride, racial nobility, and Islamic morality, and evidenced by artifacts and archaeologists' statements, from the perspective of the textbook authors is not a hollow empty history but one that is worthy of patriotic pride.

Islamic Brotherhood, the Ummah, and 'Clash of Civilizations'

The textbooks construct Islamic brotherhood for national unity and Islamic Ummah (society) for international alliance making against a globalizing and invading West. This leads the textbooks to call for jihad and martyrdom in the name of justice.

Islamic Brotherhood and the Ummah

The textbooks frame Islamic brotherhood as a superior quality compared to all other Afghan identity characteristics. For instance, *PATB 7* (2017) considers Islamic brotherhood as the basis of people's unity:

> The most important commonalities of our people are the sacred religion of Islam, the land, history, culture, language, coexistence, and shared interests. Of course, each of these elements is important for our national unity but Islamic brotherhood comprises the basis of the unity of the people of Afghanistan"[78] (p. 56)

Another text (*PATB 8*, 2017) renders social difference irrelevant to brotherhood:

> One of the other outcomes of Islamic brotherhood is the melting of differences, based on ethnicity, race, language, colour, tribe, and [geographical] location and social location among Muslims, and non-discrimination among them. This is because the only criterion for superiority among people is piety, which consists of all virtues and goodness."[79] (p. 68)

PATB 7 (2017) claims that brotherhood promises peace and security (p. 56). Hence, brotherhood participates in the act of homogenization across social identities. When contextualized within the Islamic umma (i.e., society, nation) rationale, it becomes apparent that Islamic brotherhood is an

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[78] مهمترین مشترکات مردم ما دین مقدس اسلام، سرزمین، تاریخ، فرهنگ، زبان، زندگی باهمی ومنافع مشترک میباشد؛ البته هریکی از این عناصر در وحدت ملی نقش دارد؛ اما اخوت اسلامی اساس وحدت ملی مردم افغانستان را تشکیل میدهد.

[79] از نتایج دیگر اخوت اسلامی، ذوب شدن اختلافات و تفاوتهای قوم، نژاد، زبان، رنگ، قبیله، سمت و موقف اجتماعی در میان مسلمانان و عدم تبعیض در بین آنهاست، زیرا تنها معیار برتری بین مردم »تقوا« می باشد که در بر گیرندۀ تمام فضایل و خوبیها است.

international agenda. *PATB 9* (2017) views Afghanistan as part of the Islamic ummah: "the nation of Afghanistan is the indivisible part of the Islamic ummah and Afghanistan is a historic and precious territory of the Islamic world"[80] (p. 24). The Islamic nation is referred to as a fist, an analogy that denotes unity on the one hand and a force against the 'other' on the other (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 23). To visually reinforce this concept, the lesson depicts the map of Afghanistan and a male-looking hand in the shape of a fist that comes out of the map (see Figure 4). The fist signifies the pledge of Afghanistan to the Islamic nation.

PATB 8 (2017) renders belief in the ummah mandatory for patriotism: "one of the requirements of patriotism of a Muslim is that he considers himself as a member of the Islamic nation […]"[81] (p. 68).

Figure 4: Banal symbolization of Islamic ummah.

Another text takes the matter beyond this imposition of individual choice and calls upon the shareholders of the political systems and the people of Afghanistan to connect to the Islamic world (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 25). This way, the textbook authors condition patriotism to Islamic ummah membership and the two form a system of representation obligated upon all to follow.

The system of representation; Islamic brotherhood and Islamic ummah, is a breeding ground for the construction of confrontation between the ummah and the 'other'. *PATB 9* (2017) demonstrates that brotherhood is a tool against an enemy:

> The enemies of the dignity and freedom of this land, at some historical stages, have tried to weaken the relationship of the people of Afghanistan with the great Islamic ummah and to separate them but the believing and patriotic people of this land have endured many sacrifices in this area.[82] (p. 25).

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[80] ملت افغانستان جزء جدایی ناپذیر امت اسلام، و سرزمین افغانستان خطهٔ تاریخی و پربهای عالم اسالم است.

[81] از ایجابات وطندوستی کی فرد مسلمان این است که خود را بخشی از امت بزرگ اسلامی بداند […]

[82] چه بسا که دشمنان عزت و آزادی این سرزمین در برخی مراحل تاریخی، تلاش نموده اند رابطهٔ مردم افغانستان را با امت بزرگ اسلامی سست و آنها را از هم جدا ازند، که مردم مؤمن و وطندوست این سرزمین قربان بهای بیدریغی را ازین ناحیه متحمل گردیده اند.

The subsequent sentences indicate that Afghans owe to the ummah who approached Afghanistan from all corners of the world to support Afghanistan's jihad against the Soviets (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 24). The textbooks perceive the ummah as superior to others. A question reads: "What are the key characteristics that distinguish and render better Islamic ummah over others, what are they?"[83] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 26). This text indicates that the ummah has made sacrifices for the people of Afghanistan, followed by statements that implicitly encourage the reciprocation of the favour when needed.

Globalization and the 'Clash of Civilizations'

Unlike the patriotism textbooks, the civic education and history textbooks do not allocate any discussion on the international affairs of Afghanistan. History textbooks present each country in individual lessons; however, their analysis is not within the scope of this study. Hence, I discuss the construction of the external world based on the patriotism textbooks' articulation of globalization.

The textbooks briefly present the positive aspects of globalization. These characteristics are the integration and enhancement of economic products, and the elimination of obstacles to the movement of information (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 65). The textbook names institutions of globalization:

> The UN Security Council also has a right to violate the sovereignty of states when it comes to peace and global security. In such circumstances, governments are practically having to accept international restrictions. Basically, with the globalization of politics, national interests and global interests are merging. (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 64)[84]

This endorsement is opposed when a text gives real-life examples of the failed role of the UN in promoting peace in the cases of Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq war, Bosnia Herzegovina and Yugoslavia conflict, and Palestine because "after half a century the land of Palestine people are still under the occupation of Israel" (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 38). The textbooks acknowledge the positive aspects of globalization while confirming the failure of the UN in high profile cases.

The textbooks consider the adverse role of nation states in the globalization process. *CETB 10* (2017) acknowledges national weaknesses and flaws such as poor leadership and

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[83] -مهم ترین ویژگی ها و خصوصیاتی که امت اسلامی را از امتهای دیگر برتر و متمایز می سازد چیست؟

[84] شورای امنیت سازمان ملل نیز حق دارد در مسایل مربوط به صلح و امنیت جهانی حاکمیت دول تها را نقض کند. در چنین شرایطی دولت ها به طور عملی مجبور هستند که محدودیت های بی نالمللی را قبول کنند. اصولاً با جهانی شدن سیاست، منافع ملی و منافع جهانی درحال ادغام شدن است.

management, a weak economy, geopolitics, greed, [political] heterogeneities, and low literacy rates as triggers of globalization's negative consequences (p. 83). Although textbooks summarize the cause of poverty in poor countries as a "shortage of assets, human capital, expertise, and skills"[85] (*CETB 10*, p. 80-81), they hold the neighbouring countries responsible for poverty: "important regional and neighbouring countries whose conflicting interests has caused war and insecurity and has paved the ground for decadence and backwardness of the country"[86] (*CETB 10*, p. 83). This way, the textbooks consider not only globalization but to a much smaller degree national weaknesses and regional geopolitics as causes of poverty and instability in Afghanistan.

The textbooks present the adverse outcomes of globalization. The critical aspects of globalization include employment insecurity, a widening world poverty gap, and cultural materialization caused by countries with a powerful military, media, technological and economic basis (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 65). From an economic perspective, a textbook refers to the "colonial factors" causing world inequality (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 80-81). The text asks students why some countries are poorer and challenges students that this cannot be due to new state formation as Egypt is a poor country despite its three thousand years of history while Canada and the US "who have no more than 150 years of history"[87] are rich (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 80). Likewise, natural resources cannot be a cause for poverty or richness, as Japan with little agrarian land produces its wheat and by importing raw materials from the world outside sells expensive goods and industrial products (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 81). Lastly, the text refers to intelligence, colour, and race as factors that cannot cause national poverty and richness as studies of diplomatic authorities' behaviour find similarities among the rich and the poor diplomats (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 81). The textbooks conclude that "as a result of economic globalization, giant industrial countries dominate the economically underdeveloped governments and permanently keep them dependent. As a result, the industry of weak countries does not grow ever"[88] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 64). As such, economic inequality is perceived as the key element of globalization inequality.

A textbook not only highlights inequality in the context of globalization but also traces signs of inequality within the rich countries' societies. The text clarifies that inequality is the

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[85] کمبود سرمایه، کمبود نیروی انسانی متخصص و ماهر

[86] کشورهاي مهم منطقه و همسایه گان که منافع متضاد آن ها موجب جنگها و نا امنیهاي داخلي گردیده

[87] که بیشتر از 150 سال تاریخ ندارند.

[88] در نتیجه جهانی شدن اقتصاد، کشو رهای صنعتی بزرگ بر دولت های رشد نیافته از نگاه اقتصادی مسلط م یگردند و آن ها را به طور دایم وابسته به خود نگه میدارند. در مقابل صنعت کشو رهای ضعیف هیچ گاه رشد نم یکند.

inherent characteristic of the powerful countries within their own societies: "[…] modern class-based societies, [have] a kind of subtle but very deep and wide exploitation. A limited minority who has at their disposal the valuable facilities and resources of the society exploits the majority of the society from economic, political, and cultural perspectives"[89] (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 65). The textbooks render globalization as a phenomenon that has originated from industrial societies.

From a cultural perspective, the textbooks view the current state of affairs as the confrontation of the Western civilization against Islamic civilization: "in fact, the current divide between the Islamic civilization and Western civilization is over culture. Today, Islamic civilization is on the defensive against Western civilization, and on the contrary, Western civilization is on the offensive against Islamic civilization"[90] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 61). Although Christianity is not directly opposed or introduced as a threat, a textbook (*CETB 11*, 2017), mentions the emergence of Protestantism as a new sect in Christianity: "A sociologist in a holistic research shows that Protestantism forced people to work hard and to save money and it led to capitalism and industrialization"[91] (p. 50). In another example (*CETB 12*, 2017):

> Today, governments and different national and international groups, in different ways, strive to transmit their preferred cultures. For example: using mass media to transmit culture, is not limited to the government. However, religious and commercial groups and organizations are also active in this area. For example, we can name the religious propaganda of the Vatican and Transworld.[92] (p. 62).

These passages are interlinked with the earlier statements that attempted to depict the industrial societies as the origin of the negative aspects of globalization given their domestic inequalities.

The textbooks discuss the threats of globalization in the contexts of cultural aggression, and cultural hegemony, and construct cultural exchange as an alternative. In terms of cultural aggression, the text maintains that poor countries "become obedient and adopt the characteristics of weaker people, and then these [rich] countries make the world a political and military

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[89] به دلیل خصوصیاتی که برای جوامع طبقاتی مدرن برشمردیم، در این جوامع یک نوعی استثمار آرام، ملایم ولی بسیار عمیق و وسیع وجود دارد. یک اقلیت
محدود که امکانات و منابع با ارزش جامعه را در دست دارد، اکثریت جامعه را هم از لحاظ اقتصادی، هم از لحاظ سیاسی و هم از جهت فرهنگی تحت استثمار خویش قرار میدهد.

[90] در حقیقت اختلاف کنونی میان تمدن اسلامی و تمدن غربی بر سر فرهنگ است. تمدن اسلامی امروز، در برابر تمدن غربی حالت تدافعی داشته و برخلاف تمدن غربی در حالت هجوم بر تمدن اسلام یقرار دارد.

[91] مثال دیگر، ظهور پروتستانت زم، به عنوان مذهب جد دي در مسیحیت، است. یکی ی ي از جامعه شناسان، در نت ج یک تحقیق مفصل نشان میدهد ه پروتستانتیزم که کة ی ی یکی از مذاهب مس ح ت است، مردم را به ار سخت و پسانداز وادار کرد و در ك ی ی نت جه به ظهور سرمایه داري و صنعتي شدن، منجر گردید.

[92] به طور نمونه میتوان از مرکز سخن پراکنی دینی واتیکان و ترانس ورد یاد کرد.

battleground" (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 65).[93] In this quote, culture is viewed as a soft power to attain hard power. *CETB 12* (2017) refers to the cultural aggression of the "communists" (p. 61) and refers to the role of the Western countries, in such a manner as if it compares the two:

> The confrontation of the former Soviet communists with the cultural system of Muslims in Central Asia and the Caucasus was a kind of cultural invasion that used all means, including the power of the system and propaganda, to destroy the roots of religion in the region. Today Western countries seek to impose their culture as a leading culture on other societies and nations.[94] (p. 61)

In this paragraph, not only the Soviet but also the West are held responsible for the imposition of their culture. Concerning expansionist and greedy states, the same textbook gives the example of: "the former Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, as well as the tendency of the Jews to expand their lands and usurp the adjacent lands"[95] (p. 57). In this text a country name, the Soviet is compared to the Jewish invasion, which does not bear a country name. As such the textbooks view cultural aggression and expansionism as similar aspects of globalization.

The textbooks compare cultural hegemony with cultural exchange. A section on cultural hegemony uses the analogy of a virus that only affects weaker members (countries or cultures, in this case) (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 24). In this text, the virus is the foreign culture, and the weak member is the host culture not able to defend itself. The textbooks explicate the term cultural diffusion by naming Islamic scholars (e.g., Ibn Roshd, Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Sina and Zakaria al-Razi) whose contributions "was effective in the growth and flourishing of this [Christian-European] culture"[96] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 60). In describing cultural exchange term, as a preferred interaction between nations, the same textbook places Islam and Christianity's relationship in a historical context claiming that Islam has flourished the Western culture by transfer of intellectual property from the Islamic to the Christian world (p. 60). As such, according to the

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[93] در نتیجه جهانی شدن اقتصاد، کشورهای صنعتی بزرگ بر دولت های رشد نیافته از نگاه اقتصادی مسلط می گردد و آن ها را به طور دائم وابسته به خود نگه میدارند. در مقابل صنعت کشورهای ضعیف هیچگاه رشد نمی کند.

[94] مقابلهٔ کمونیستهای شوروی سابق با نظام فرهنگی مسلمانان درآسیای میانه و منطقهٔ قفقاز، نوعی تهاجم فرهنگی بود که از همهٔ امکانات، از جمله قدرت نظام و تبلیغات استفاده شده بود تا ریشه های دین را دراین منطقه نابود کنند. امروز کشور های غربی در پی آن اند تا فرهنگ خود را به عنوان فرهنگ های پیشتاز بر جوامع و ملل دیگر تحمیل نمایند.

[95] توسعه طلبی: یکی دیگر از اهدافی است که در بعضی جوامع از نگاه اهمیت در درجهٔ دوم قرار دارد. بعضی از دول چشم طمع به سرزمی نهای دول تها دوخته اند و به توسعهٔ طلبی در سر زمین دیگران دست می زنند. در این گونه دول تها توسعه طلبی، هدف درجه دوم به حساب می آید؛ مانند: تجاوز شوروی سابق بر افغانستان و همچنین گرایش یهود یها به توسعهٔ سرزمین و غصب زمی نهای مجاور نمونه هایی از توسعه طلبی است.

[96] اشاعهٔ فرهنگ گاه موجب شکوفایی فرهنگ و گاه سبب جذب یک فرهنگ به نظام فرهنگی دیگرمی شود؛ به طور مثال: می توان از اشاعهٔ فرهنگ اسلام یدر اروپا در دورهٔ جنگ های صلیبی و پس از آن یاد کرد. در جریان برخورد میان مسلمانان و اروپایی ها در تجارت، جنگ و مسافرت به اماکن مقدس فلسطین، همچنین اعزام محصلان به مراکز علمی مسلمانان، خصوصاً در هسپانیا و شمال افریقا، اندیشه های فلسفی و اجتماعی افرادی چون: ابن رشد، ابن خلدون، همچنین اندیشه های علم یابن سینا و ذکریای رازی و شیوه های تعلیم و تربیهٔ مسلمانان در مکاتب چون: نظامیه به اروپا انتقال یافت و در ترکیب با فرهنگ مسیحی- اروپایی در رشد و شکوفایی این فرهنگ موثر واقع شد.

textbook, the West has enacted cultural aggression and hegemony against Islam, while the cultural diffusion and exchange arising from Islam has led to the flourishing of Western cultures.

Against the above backdrop, the textbooks retain a cultural protectionist approach. On the one hand, the textbooks represent culture as dynamic, changeable, and relative, and refer to the capacity to learn from others. *CETB 10* (2017) states that culture "becomes richer over time, therefore, it is capable of excelling and evolving"[97] (p. 9), or that culture "has to keep moving and flowing. Coming to a stop is its death"[98] (p. 10). On the other hand, in practice, cultural protectionism dominates the overall approach of the textbooks to culture in Afghanistan. Students are encouraged to learn from other cultures but to make their own decisions because "the solutions of other countries are suitable for their problems"[99] and such statements as we can learn from others' strategies to solve a problem but we do not copy their solutions (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 23, p. 70). Therefore, the textbooks' authors endorse the flourishing of culture from within.

The protection of culture conveys other meanings, too. Referring to five thousand years of Afghanistan's history, *CETB 10* (2017) reminds student readers that:

> The Islamic State of Afghanistan, the people, the youth and every individual of this country are obliged to strive to preserve and enrich their high Islamic and national culture and values. Protect their Islamic culture, beliefs, and values from the invasion of foreigners[100](p. 69).

A similar script refers to the importance of the culture, religion, and language of Afghanistan (in singular form) and renders the government, the people, and every individual "obliged" "to enrich and safeguard their culture and defend and resist against aggression and negative aspects of foreign cultures so that they perform their Islamic and national obligation" (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 24). As such, the protection of culture is interlinked with Islam as an obligation.

On a more conceptual level, the textbooks participate in othering when they compare Islam with other schools of thought and view the former as superior. First, *PATB 7* (2017) overtly criticizes extremes in the socialist system because "human freedom has been totally

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[97] فرهنگ، درخلال زمان غنا می یابد پس قابل اعتلا و تکامل است

[98] باد متحرك و روان باشد. توقف او مرگ اوست.

[99] راه حل های دیگر کشور ها برای مسایل خود آن ها مناسب است.

[100]. دولت اسلامی افغانستان، مردم، جوانان و فرد فرد این کشور مکلف هستند تا در حفظ و غنای فرهنگ و ارزش های والای اسلامی و ملی خویش بکوشند. فرهنگ، ارزش ها و عقاید اسلامی خویش را از تهاجم اجنبیان محافظت نمایند.

negated"[101] (p. 53). Second, the textbook (*PATB 7*, 2017) indicates that liberalism in the West offered absolute freedom therefore its ills are "still affecting humanity" (p. 53). The text concludes that Islam's emergence was a solution to the widespread "slavery" of the modern ages and the "moral corruption" of liberalism (p. 53). The sequence being presented is as if Islam came after and in response to the two first movements. Third, a textbook (*PATB 9*, 2017) compares capitalist society with socialist societies accusing the former of individualism and the latter of collectivism and posing Islam as an option for its moderation and balance (pp. 20-21). Fourth, a textbook (*PATB 8*, 2017) refers to Marxism and communism and equates communism with atheism and quantifies atheism with the words "oppression", "bloodiness", and "infidelity" by referencing the experiences of the Soviet invasion (p. 28). The only occasion the term infidels is used in the textbooks is this one and in the context of the Soviets. However, in a footnote that elaborates on the atrocities of the "communists", a text states that "communists were a group that were following the ideology and insight of the Jewish Karl Marx and did not believe in God and the day of judgement"[102] (p. 66). This eight-line footnote is one of the only three footnotes in *PATB 7* (2017); the other two are a reference to a Quranic verse reference (p. 24) and a reference to a classical literary work (p. 81), each of a phrase and a sentence length respectively. This long footnote is the only occasion that Jews and Karl Marx are mentioned in the footnote of the textbooks. Fifth, the text compares Islam to any and all other religions and schools of thought: "Islam, contrary to all other religions and schools of thought, considers the application of justice as a necessary matter not only for Muslims, their friends and relatives but also for their enemies" [103] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 78). In this statement, friends and relatives are distinguished from enemies. The patriotism textbooks engage in constructing the prominence of Islam over other schools of thought.

Jihad and Martyrdom

The above debate on negative aspects of globalization is followed by the construction of jihad, the holy war. *PATB 7* (2017) introduces jihad against the above ideology formation of a good Islam and a bad set of world ideologies. A lesson defines jihad as follows: "The literal

[101] در بعضی مکاتب فکری و نظامهای سیاسی جهان، آزادیً های انسان کامل سلب گردیده، که دوران طولانی قرون وسطی در اروپا و نظامهای سوسیالیستی در قرن بیستم مثالهای روشن این امر است.

[102] کمونیست ها گروهی بودند که از افکار و نظریات کارل مارکس یهودی، پیروی می کردند و به خدا و روز آخرت ایمان نداشتند.

[103] اسلام برخالف همة ادیان و افکار ونظریات دیگر، تطبیق عدالت را نه تنها در مقابل مسلمانان و دوستان و خویشاوندان؛ بلکه در برابر دشمنان نیز یک امر ضروری میداند.

meaning of jihad denotes strive, and as a term, it refers to any effort that is made in the protection of the religion of Islam and its values"[104] (p. 65). This statement is also repeated in *PATB 9* (2017, p. 37). To embed jihad in the critical thinking competence of students, a lesson in the same textbook questions students: "When the land of Muslims is invaded by enemies, what does *jihad* dictate?"[105] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 67). As such, the textbooks treat jihad as an action-oriented resistance against an unidentified enemy.

Another concept related to jihad is martyrdom. According to *PATB 8* (2017) "A martyr is someone who for the sake of the obtainment of God's will, and on the path to the realization of the religion of Islam and for the protection of its rules and values, has sacrificed their lives"[106] (p. 27). *PATB 7* (2017) adds that "armed jihad for God is both a faith and a patriotic duty" for which God promises "blessings and rewards", "the highest status in the afterlife", "the title of a martyr" and "a high rank in the heaven"[107] (p. 66). The text does not define or qualify any of these promises. *PATB 8* (2017) characterizes the people of Afghanistan as a martyr nurturing nation:

> Beloved Afghanistan is the land of martyrs, and our people are a martyr nurturing nation. The nation of Afghanistan, in order to protect its religion, honour, territory, freedom, and independence, has always made sacrifices and has given thousands of colourful-shroud martyrs for achieving these noble ideals. [108] (pp. 27-28)

A colourful shroud is a common Islamic reference to the stains of blood from the unbathed body of a martyr at the time of burial. Despite a strong emphasis on jihad, the textbooks condemn suicide bombing. *PATB 7* (2017) forbids suicide and punishment: "No one has the right to harm themselves in the name of freedom, which is why suicide [attack or killing others], suicide [of the self] or physical punishment is forbidden in Islam"[109] (p. 53). Text references sharia to forbid the killing of others and the self, managing for the murder of others, planning for murder, and abortion (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 29). Hence, jihad is encouraged; however, suicide and killing including of an unborn infant are forbidden in Islam.

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[104] جهاد در لغت به معنای تلاش و کوشش است و در اصطلاح عبارت از هر کوششی است که به خاطر حمایت از دین اسلام و ارزشهای آن صورت میگیرد.

[105] در زمانی که سرزمین مسلمانان از طرف دشمنان مورد تجاوز قرار گیرد، جهاد چه حکم دارد؟

[106] شهید به کسی گفته می شود که به خاطر کسب رضای خداوند (ج) و در راه تحقق دین اسلام و پاسداری از احکام و ارزشهای آن، جان خود را قربانی کرده باشد.غ

[107] جهاد مسلحانه در راه خدا، از نظر اسلام یک فریضهٔ دینی و ایمانی محسوب شده، ثواب و پاداش خیلی فراوان دارد خداوند متعال در قرآن کریم مجاهدان را به پیروزی در دنیا و به مقام والا و درجهٔ بلند در آخرت و عده کرده و کسانی را که در راه جهاد کشته میشوند، به نام شهید یاد نموده، آنان را به عالیترین مرتبه در بهشت مژده داده است.

[108] افغانستان عزیز، سرزمین شهدا و ملت ما ملت شهید پرور اسـت. ملت افغانستان بخاطر حفظ دین، ناموس، خاک، استقلال و آزادی خود در هر وقت قربانی داده و هزاران شهید گلگون کفن را برای به دست آوردن این آرمانهای مقدس تقدیم کرده است.

[109] هیچ کسی حق ندارد به نام آزادی به خودش ضرر برساند، به همین سبب انتحار و خودکشی و یا تعذیب جسم در اسلام حرام قرار داده شده است.

In conclusion, the textbooks imagine the nation as united under the Islamic brotherhood nationally and under the Islamic ummah conception, internationally. The textbooks view the affairs of the country and the Islamic nations with the non-Islamic world as the invasion of the Western civilization and the defence of Islamic civilization formed in an unfair globalizing world. To find a remedy, the textbooks call for jihad and martyrdom. Martyrdom, however, is distinguished from suicide attacks and the processes that enable any suicidal act.

Emblems and Deixis that Banally Flag the Nation

The following presents how the textbooks banally construct the nation through national heroes, classical poetry, and the national flag, anthem, and map.

National Heroes

The textbooks imagine the nation as having national heroes with super qualities and outstanding contributions. *PATB 7* (2017) indicates that Afghanistan is a hero nurturing nation and heroes are: "individuals who in difficult and unpleasant circumstances take a centre stage, and throw themselves in the waves of problems and crisis, and lead the broken and stormbound ship of its nation to victory and prosperity coast"[110] (p. 27). The textbooks situate heroes in several contexts. Heroes are to save the country when it is invaded and its land and independence are in jeopardy: "those who accept danger and make an effort and struggle toward the path of nations' freedom, and rescue and release them from captivity, are heroes"[111] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 27). National heroes are historical:

> The people of Afghanistan, with a sense of patriotism and a spirit of freedom, came together under the leadership of national leaders and heroes and considered the expulsion of the British as one of their religious and national duties. They were led by leaders and heroes all over the country; […][who] raised the flag of jihad against the invading British army and waged jihad.[112] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 28)

The text moves on to state how the "mujahidin killed the British special envoy Macnaghten, hundreds of the British army officers and thousands of soldiers", and their "prestige and

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[110] قهرمان معمولاً به اشخاصی گفته می شود که در شرایط دشوار و ناگوار در صحنه تبارز میکند و خود را در میان امواج مشکلات و نابساماني ها می اندازند و کشتي شکسته و طوفان زد ة ملت خود را به ساحل پیروزي و بهروزي رهبري میكنند.

[111] كساني كه خطر را می پذیرند و در راه آزادي ملت ها كار و پیكار میكنند. و سبب نجات و رهايي آن ها از اسارت می گردند، قهرمانان اند

[112] مردم افغانستان با داشتن احساس وطندوستي و روحية آزادي خواهي تحت قيادت رهبران و قهرمانان ملي دور هم جمع شدند و بيرون راندن انگليس ها را كيي از وجايب ديني و ملي خويش دانستند. ايشان در سر تا سر كشور تحت رهبري سران و قهرماناني؛ همچون: سردار وزير محمد اكبرخان فرزند امير دوست محمدخان، مير مسجدي خان كوهدامني، نايب امين الله خان لوگري، عبدالله خان اچكزي و غيره علم جهاد را برافراشته. عليه قواي متجاوز انگليس به جهاد پرداختند

reputation was afflicted in the world"[113] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 28). Heroes sacrifice and become martyrs: "Historical and national honours are a product of our heroes' many sacrifices, strife and *mujahidat* of our ancestors, *ghazis*, martyrs, and hero"[114] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 30). In this text, heroes are praised for their *mujahidat* (the act of jihad*),* for becoming *ghazis* (who kill an enemy during jihad*),* a martyr who is killed during jihad*,* and heroes (who have died or have victoriously returned alive from jihad*).*[115] Furthermore, heroes are portrayed in scientific contexts. For instance, *PATB 7* (2017) states:

> Also in a situation where a nation is in the pit of scientific backwardness, ignorance, degeneration, and moral decline, people come forward and turn on the lights of science and knowledge by accepting any kind of challenge. They bring awareness and enlightenment and guide the people of the nation to scientific development and moral perfection; they are also heroes.[116] (p. 28)

This paragraph is followed by an explanation of heroes who endorse the development of the country. Hence, heroes act to free the nation, turning the light of science on, and developing the country.

The textbooks allocate specific lessons to present biographies of iconic individuals without referring to them as national heroes. These individuals have fought the enemy to either expand the national boundaries of the country or defend an invasion (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 28, 84; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 25, 31, 40, 54, 54; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 17, 33, 34, 39, 53). Some heroes of the textbooks who were involved in Afghanistan's political sphere before the Cold War are victims of the Soviets' regime (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 32, 47, 63). Other heroes are from more recent history (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 17, 71; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 47; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 65, p. 70, p. 86). National heroes selected in the textbooks indicate a range of personal and professional backgrounds.

Classical Poetry

Poetry renders the presence of patriotic affect in the textbooks feasible. Poetry appears as independent lessons, as supporting text in relation to a theme, and in some bibliographies of

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[113] حیثیت و پرستیژ شان به سطح جهان صدمه دید.

[114] افتخارات ملی و تاریخی محصول قربانیهای فراوان، مبارزات و مجاهدت های نیاکان، غازیان، شهیدان و قهرمانان ملی ماست. برای به دست آوردن افتخارات ملی و تاریخی، نیاکان ما زحمات زیادی را متحمل گردیده و قربانی های فراوانی تقدیم نموده اند.

[115] Definitions are mine and present common knowledge in Islam.

[116] همچنان در شرایطي كه يك ملت در گودال عقب مانده گي علمي، جهل و انحطاط اخلاقي سقوط ميكند افرادي می آیند و با قبول هر نوع مشكلات، چراغ علم و دانش را روشن ميكنند،]آنها] به آگاهي و روشنگري می پردازند و افراد ملت را به توسعة علمي و كمال اخلاقي رهنمون ميكنند؛ آنها هم قهرمان اند.

poets and writers. Like national heroes, all presented biographies represent men only. All third-person singular gender pronouns are neutral in the Farsi/Dari language, however, in line with the textbooks' male-oriented approach, and to present a singular form as the original text, I chose a male pronoun in the following translations. Poetry performs many acts. Patriotic poems encourage a love for one's country:

God has given that nation superiority/ That wrote its own destiny
He does not attend to the nations/Whose farmers sowed for others
By: Iqbal (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 12). [117]

In this poem, there is a call upon people to serve their own country. In another classical poetry, a poem encourages students to acquire knowledge and science:

Lifeless is a nation that has no mastery in an industry
In fact, knowledge and industry are the soul of a county
By: Bahar (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 41). [118]

According to this text, industry and knowledge are as important as the soul of a country. The importance of the two for Afghanistan may be viewed more directly in the following verse:

Through craftsmanship, the world has gained order and harmony
Why are we negligence of the idea of our country's order and harmony
By: (No mane is provided in the text) (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 41). [119]

Another poem views science as power:

East lost its identity upon mockery of the West
Let these nations be disparaged by the West
For the power of the West is not from *chang* and *rubab* [musical instruments]
Nor from the dance of girls with no hijab
Its power does not come from infidelity/ Nor its glories from Latin script
The power of its throne stems from science and art/From this fire is its torch bright
Wisdom doesn't come from shortening attire/ A turban is not an obstacle to science and art

[117] خدا آن ملتی را سروری داد / که تقدیرش بدست خویش بنوشت /به آن ملت سروکاری ندارد / که دهقانش برای دیگران کشت
[118] جسم بیجان است آن قومی که صنعت پیشه نیست / در حقیقت صنعت و دانش بود جان وطن
[119] از هنرمندی جهان با نظم و سامان گشته است / ما چرا غافل ز فکر نظم و سامان وطن

Oh, dynamic youth! Science and technology/ Require brain not a *franc* [white man]
If someone learns in lamp fume at night/ Acquires science, technology and wisdom
There is no limit in searching for meaning/ Without *jihad* [effort], there is nothing to gain
By: Halama Mohammad Iqbal (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 22).[120]

The poem inexplicitly contrasts music (by referring to *chang* and *rubab*) with science in favour of the latter. The text also indirectly discourages the performance of dance and the removal of the hijab. In general, the poem sends the message that seeking knowledge requires no prerequisites and one may acquire it in the midst of a shortage of resources.

Poetry also promotes cohabitation:

Human beings are members of one body/In their creation, they are of the same jewel
As calamities afflict pain on one member/The other members may not sense tranquillity
You, if with no concern for others' suffering/You shouldn't be called a human being
By: Sahdi (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 69) (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 16). [121]

Despite its universalist outlook, this poem is only used in the context of lessons related to the members of the nation and of the Islamic ummah as opposed to the world population regardless of their religion. However, another poem promotes cross-national cohabitation:

Truth seekers draw on the same plea and proof/Our tents are separate; our hearts are one
From Hijaz, China and Iran/We are dew of a cheerful dawn
By: Iqbal Lahori (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 50). [122]

Poetry also depicts violent national resistance against an imaginary enemy:

If your ill-wisher embarks[on invading]/We make the world tougher in their eyes
We will pound his head on the stone like the head of a snake
We will colour the land with his blood
We won't rest with comfort, slumber, and food

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[120] شـرق را از خود برد تقلید غرب / باید این اقوام را تنقید غرب / قوت مغرب نه از چنگ و رباب / نـی ز رقص دختران بی حجاب /محکمـی او را نه از لا دینی اسـت / نی فروغش از خط لاتینی اسـت / قوت افرنگ از علم و فن اسـت / از همین آتش چراغش روشن است / حکمت از قطع و برید جامه نیست / مانع علم و هنر عمامه نیست / علم و فن را ای جوان شوخ و شنگ / مغز می باید نه ملبوس فرنگ /گر کسـی شـبها خورد دود چراغ /گیرد از علم و فن و حکمت سـراغ / ملـک معنی کس حد او را نبسـت / بـی جهـاد پیهمـی نایـد به دسـت

[121] بـنی آدم اعـضای یکـدیـگر {یک پیکر} انـد / کـه در آفرینـش ز یک گوهرند/چـو عضوی بـد درد آورد روزگار / دگر عضـوها را نمـاند قـرار
تـو کز محنت دیگران بیغمی / نشاید کـه نامـت نهنـد آدمـی

[122] امر حق را حجت و دعوا یکی است / خیمه های ما جدا دلها یکی است/از حجـاز و چیـن و ایـرانیم مـا / شبنـم یک صبـح خنـدانیـم مـا

Until we throw [the enemy] out of the homeland

By: Abdul Ali Mostaghni (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 14). [123]

In other instances, poetry is used to reinforce martyrdom:

From the battle of drenched in blood martyr/Bloom everywhere red roses

The air and plains of the country are rosy/Where martyrs are resting in blood

By: Unknown (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 28). [124]

In this poem, martyr is honoured and glorified by symbolizing a martyr's blood with a red rose. In one instance, the interpretation of a poem does not match the message of the poem. To contrast the poem with its subsequent interpretation, both are presented below:

O Kahba[125] of love and gratification! /O cradle of beauty and the sanctuary of enjoyment!

O the dust of your ground, the light of eyes/drawn on the eyes like kohl /

My moon and my ultimate beauty/You are my love and you are my loving

Every particle of you is a universe for me/Every drop of you is an immense ocean for me

You are like a loving mother but a hundred times kinder/

Where's my shelter, if not your embrace?

Where is my bastion, if not your mainstay?/Without your name, may my name be faded

Without your love, may my life be forbidden/My eye that is a bright jewel

From your dust has become gleamy/O your dusk is the dawn of life

Your thorn is the prime of eminence/Your tall mountains, a rival to the sky

Your dark clouds make pearls/Your winds, like the moist fragrance, are captivating

Your deserts and plains all prosperous/Your waters, like the water of life

Giving an eternal life/Your thorn is better than the garden of others

Your soil is better than the heaven of others/Everything that is in you is beautiful;

they're the manifestation of beauty and joy

By Khalili (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 20). [126]

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[123] بدخواهت اگر نماید آهنگ / سازیم جهان به دیده اش تنگ/ کوبیم سرش چو مار بر سنگ / سازیم زمین ز خون او رنگ/با راحت و خواب و خور نسازیم /تا از وطنش بدر نسازیم

[124] ز رزم شهید غرقه در خون / بهر جا لالهٔ سرخ رنگ بینی
فضا و دشت میهن گشته گلگون / همانجا کی شهیدی خفته در خون

[125] *Kahba* is Muslims' house of worship located in Mecca.

The textbook interprets the poem as: “According to the poet, the stateless man will have no name and no sign, his life will be anonymous and without an identity”[127] This message is not communicated in the poem indicating that the textbook authors impose meaning on the poem. Hence, poetry is not only a discursive device to banally construct patriotic affect but is also prone to manipulation.

National Flag, Anthem, and Map

The textbooks utilize the national flag, national anthem, and national map of Afghanistan as a visual and symbolic aid to banally construct patriotism. Specific lessons discuss the national flag. *PATB 9* (2017) has allocated two lessons on the flag titled “National flag and emblem” and “National flag, emblem and jirga” (p. 31). As mentioned in Chapter Five, the flag appears not only on the cover and inside pages of textbooks but also is used banally as decorative objects to label page numbers and student assignments of patriotism textbooks. The national flag appears banally on buildings such as on the wall of a mosque image (*HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 33). In a text, the national flag symbolically constructs national values:

> National unity, which is a political and social term, means the living of its subjects made up of different ethnicities, races, languages, and regions under one flag, who are united on the basis of common religious, historical, cultural, social, and economic interests” [128] (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 8).

Within this context of ‘unity’ and ‘shared value’, the national flag’s banal role becomes empirical.

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[126] اي كعبه عشق وخانهٔ شوق! اي مهد جمال و معبد ذوق! / اي خاك درت فروغ ديده بر ديده چو توتيا كشيده
ماه من و آسمان حسن من، تو مهر من و مهربان من تو / هر ذرة تو مرا جهاني هر قطره چو بحر بيكران
چون مادر مهر پروري تو صد بار از آن فزون تري تو / جز كوي تو سر پناه من كو؟ جز پاي تو تكيه گاه من كو؟
بي نام تو محو باد نامم بي عشق تو زنده گی حرامم بي عشق تو زنده گی حرامم / اين ديده كه گوهري است رخشان از خاك تو گشته پرتو افشان
اي شام تو صبح زندگاني خار تو بهار كامراني / كهسار بلند تو فلك تاز ابر سيهت بود گهر ساز
باد تو چو مشك تر دلاويز دشت و دمن تو جمله زرخيز / آب تو چو آب زندگانی بخشندهٔ عمر جاوداني
خار تو زگلشن جهان به خاكت ز بهشت ديگران به / هر چيز كه هست در تو، زيباست زان مظهر حسن و ذوق پيدا است

[127] از نظر شاعر، انسان بي وطن نام ونشان نداشتهٔ زنده گی اش بي هويت و گمنام خواهد بود.

[128] وحدت ملی که یک اصطلاح سیاسی و اجتماعی است، به معنای زنده گی کردن اتباع کی کشور از اقوام و نژادها و زبانها و مناطق گوناگون در زیر کی بیرق م یباشد که بر مبنای روابط مشترک دینی، تاریخی، فرهنگی، اجتماعی و منافع مشترک اقتصادی با هم یکجا شده اند.

The visual presence of the flag in the textbooks serves multiple purposes. In a lesson on patriotism, a young man is depicted as affectionally kissing the national flag (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 13) (see Figure 5). The image genders national affect.

Figure 5: Banality of national affect.

The flag also participates in acts of nationalism, for instance, it is present above a row of national army men (*CETB 7*, 2017, cover page) (see Figure 6). This masculine fetish nationalism is present in the object (i.e., national flag) and acts (i.e., national defence) of nationalism. As such, the national flag flags the nation through nationalism objects and acts.

Figure 6: Banal masculine fetish nationalism.

The national flag that would otherwise present the nation banally is erected and woven at crisis times as objects of power. A text refers to the story of the second Afghan-Anglo Mainwand battle in which Malala sacrificed herself for the sake of the protection of the flag (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 12; *PATB 8*, 2017, cover page). The image of the lesson (see Figure 7) portrays a woman on the battlefield holding the national flag.

Figure 7: Enactment of the otherwise banal national flag.

Another textbook symbolically refers to "the flag of jihad" and that it "will be raised when the values of the nation are invaded" (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 28-29). Hence, flags appear in the textbooks for patriotic, banal representational, and symbolic values of the nation.

Maps are a recurring visual aid of textbooks and are used to banally endorse patriotism. The national map appears in the lessons of *PATB 7* (2017); titled, "Homeland" (p. 34), "Unity and Solidarity of Afghans in Defense of the Country" (p. 37), and "The Heart of Asia" (p. 58), and the lessons of *PATB 8* (2017) "Patriotism from an Islamic Perspective" (p. 17), and "Afghanistan

and its Geographical Importance" (p. 59). This indicates that national maps are associated with patriotism.

In the lesson, "The Right of Motherland" (*PATB 9,* 2017, p. 89) an image depicts a map of Afghanistan from which three characters emerge; a fully armed male soldier pointing a gun at an unidentifiable aim, a male street sweeper, and a young girl student with her head down to chest to read a book (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Gendered act and product of nationalism.

While the map is a product of nationalism, it simultaneously depicts an act of nationalism through the construction of multiple gendered roles different people have in the country. Mature men are assigned to service and defence and a young girl to education. Masculinity in the above fetishism of nationalism is not an exception.

In a lesson titled, "National Identities" (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 14), the map of Afghanistan contains photos of national heroes, all men (see Figure 9). Hence, nationalism even in its banal form is gendered and selective. What maps contain is not always fixed but depends on the message the maps intend to convey.

Figure 9: Map flags the nation with male heroes.

In the "national commonalities" lesson (*PATB 9*, 2017, p.14) the map appears with multiple colours denoting the celebration of diversity (see Figure 10) yet within the national borders. This symbolism is not consistent across the presentations of the national map and is dependent upon the context in which the map flags the nation.

Figure 10: Celebratory depiction of national diversity.

Another lesson titled "Unity and Consolidation of Afghans in the Defense of the Homeland" (*CETB 7*, 2017, p. 37), portrays the map in green (see Figure 11).

While this unicolor symbolizes uniformity against an unidentified enemy, it also contrasts with the multicoloured map that celebratorily flags the nation with diverse identities within the national border. As such, the map is not only a banal representation of the nation but it is also a political device as well.

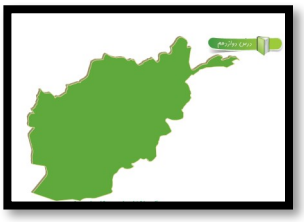

Figure 11: Map flags the nation as homogeneous.

Maps do not only flag the nation at the present but they are also roadmaps to the past. A lesson asks students to use the map of the lesson (see Figure 12) to show the direction of Afghans toward Esfahan (*HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 43). This historical event selectively shows an invitation by the Afghan forces toward an enemy and not contrarily.

Figure 12: Map as pathways to the past wars.

Roadmaps may also depict ideals that are not communicated in textbooks. A map (see Figure 13) bears the name 'Pashtunistan' but information is absent in the text (*HSTB 9,* 2017, p. 47). Other textbooks portray numerous maps which are not discussed in the lesson but they banally communicate the imagery of a nation that has always existed.

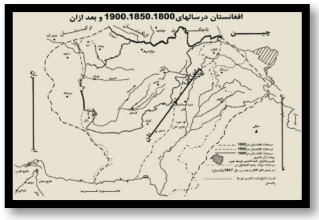

Figure 13: Mapping the future of the nation.

This way, maps banally flag the nation to construct the nation's past and current existence.

The national anthem appears on the first page of every textbook. Please refer to Figure 1 for the image of the presentation of the national anthem. The textbooks attach a symbolic value to the anthem: "The national anthem is a symbol of the unity of all ethnic groups and residents of the country" [129] (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 7). By 'residents' the text manages to escape mentioning non-ethnic diversities as they are not included in the national anthem. The national anthem presents the names of ethnic groups of Afghanistan in the Pashtu language: In conclusion, the textbooks banally construct the nation through references to national heroes who have self-sacrificed for

[129] سرود ملی سمبول وحدت تمام اقوام و باشنده گان کشور می باشد.

the betterment of the nation by partaking in the advancement of science to participating in jihad. Poetry and the national map, flag, and anthem of the country, too, banally represent the nation.

This land is Afghanistan/It is the pride of every Afghan
The land of peace, the land of sword/Each of its sons is brave
This is the country of everyone/Of Balochs and Uzbeks
Of Pashtuns and Hazaras/Of Turkmens and Tajiks
With them, there are Arabs and Gujjars/Pamiris, Nuristanis
There are Brahuis and Qizilbash/Also Aimaqs and Pashais
In the centre of Asia/It will persist as a heart forever
We will follow the one God/We all say, "Allah is the greatest"
"Allah is the greatest", "Allah is the greatest".

Conclusion

The identified textbooks' imagining of the people of Afghanistan as patriots is multifaceted. The textbooks emphasize an intrinsic affect toward nation-ness and articulate commonality among people through the construction of Islamic ethics as a supreme value above all other national characteristics, a five thousand years of historical continuity, a geography that has always existed as Afghanistan, multi-civilizational pride and dispersion of people around the world, Aryan racial nobility, and the traditional institution of jirga. The construction of commonality is the breeding ground for the depiction of national identity, unity, and interest. The textbooks perform this construction by providing archaeological artifacts, statements of world archaeologists, and historical events centred on iconic power holders presented as scientific evidence.

Social diversity is a crucial discursive space of the textbooks. Normatively, the textbooks imagine the nation as having diverse ethnic groups and languages endorsed by the constitution, Islam, elections, and the traditional jirga institution. The evidence of this social diversity and equality is the recent Bonn conference that demonstrated the participation of all social strata. Furthermore, ethnic forces form alliances with what the textbooks refer to as Afghani forces or regular forces. In return, the former receives tax exemption from the latter. The textbooks call for the avoidance of conflict and tolerance for social diversity along racial, ethnic, and tribal lines so that equality and unity are established. Pragmatically, however, the textbooks overtly

perceive diverse ethnic groups, displaced people, immigrants, rural people, nomads, tribal lifestyles, and small cultures as a cause for social backwardness and a threat to economic development, social harmony, and security. It is evident that the textbooks' authors are concerned about diversity because they perceive it as a cause of deviant behaviour. With an urban centric gaze, the textbooks propose keeping people at bay through service delivery in rural areas.

Islam is the supreme value of all other national identities and one of the most recurring themes of the textbooks. Islam participates in the construction of national identity, unity, and interest by proving all national identities irrelevant to the shared religion. References to the conduct of the Prophet (or sunnah) and Quranic verses (or surah) promote such social values as environmentalism, kindness, literacy, house chores by men, and personal qualities like trustworthiness. Although the textbooks disapprove of killing, suicide, genocide, mass murder, and abortion, they endorse retaliation and public display of punishment on the basis of Islamic principles. The textbooks also employ Islamic values to endorse national sovereignty, solidarity, independence, and defence nationally through Islamic brotherhood and internationally through jihad and martyrdom.

Islam also defines the relationship between the peoples of Afghanistan and the world. Within the Islamic world, the relationship revolves around the conception of unification with the Islamic ummah. Within the Western world, it is an inequitable globalizing system that dictates the relationship of the people with the non-Islamic world. Although the textbooks hold responsible the nation state and its neighbouring countries for the inequitable outcomes of globalization in Afghanistan, it is, in fact, the invading West that perpetuates economic inequality, military invasion, cultural hegemony, cultural aggression, and civilizational clashes against the defending Islamic ummah. The textbooks propose cultural exchange but only represent the historical contribution of Islam to the West and endorse learning from others rather than copying their solutions unquestionably. By contrasting world ideologies to Islam, the textbooks present the latter as the moderate, just, and only solution to slavery of the modern age and moral corruption of liberalism.

The advent of Islam in Afghanistan dominates the historical construction and imagining of the past. Islam is contrasted and glorified with Aryan racial nobility for its superior ethics. The textbooks elaborate on the welcoming of Muslims to the country without losing sight of national defence and national heroes. Islamic governments are depicted against immorality and anarchy

and praised for establishing an Islamic civilization. The textbooks balance this glorification with statements about civil wars and the frequent fall of the governments.

The textbooks use linguistic devices to banally endorse the constructions of the textbooks. Poetry promotes affective to encourage attachment with one's country, acquisition of knowledge and science, cohabitation, national defence, and martyrdom. The national flag, anthem, and map of Afghanistan banally represent patriotism. Visualization and analogy are rhetorical devices used in the construction. The fist symbolizes unity among the Islamic ummah, the virus represents a foreign culture, and the flag signifies jihad.

According to the textbooks, a patriot is someone who has an intrinsic natural love for the homeland for its commonalities such as five thousand of historical continuity, Aryan racial nobility, an ever-existing geography named Afghanistan from where civilizations have emerged and intersected to flourish, social diversity, and the tradition of jirga. A patriot is someone who believes in *Afghanyat* and the path of national heroes and their contribution to science and national defence. Above and beyond these commonalities, a patriot commits to Islam as the supreme source of identity and morality in comparison to any other national identities and Western philosophies. A true patriot does not allow deviance from norms and social order threatened by ethnic diversity and social sub-categories, particularly the countryside communities, tribes, nomads, immigrants, and displaced persons. A good patriot respects unity and equality across diversities and refrains from prejudice along racial, ethnic, and tribal lines. A patriotic is aware that patriotism is conditioned upon membership in the Islamic brotherhood and the ummah, obligated to the protection of Islamic culture and values, and the conduct of jihad as a duty. At times of invasion of land and Islam, a patriot partakes in jihad because reward comes through ghazi, hero, martyrdom, and the highest rank in the afterlife statuses. Despite this, a patriot does not engage in acts related to suicide attacks, does not commit suicide, and does not engage in killing be it genocide or abortion.

Chapter Seven: Citizenship

In this chapter, I respond to part 'A' of the first research question of this study by analyzing the imagining of the Afghan nation with a focus on the representation of citizenship in the identified textbooks. While this chapter only concerns the discursive formation of citizenship, Chapter Six highlights the discursive construction of nationalism aspect of the research question. In Chapter Two, I discussed the overlap between patriotism and citizenship; hence, the division of these two conceptions into two chapters is for the purpose of precision and clarification in establishing their overlap. In line with the methodological framework of this study explicated in Chapter Four, the analysis of this chapter is a preferred reading of the textbooks from the authors' perspective. Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine will revisit the findings of this chapter for a negotiated reading from the reader's (my) perspective. The analysis of this chapter finds that the identified textbooks' imagining of the nation in Afghanistan as citizens is multifaceted. Although the terms citizen and citizenship are not utilized in the textbooks, subjecthood construction benefits from an elaborate depiction of democratic values, institutions, and rights. Civil, cultural, and political rights including peaceful demonstration are granted to all subjects. Women are depicted in their traditional but also political roles. The portrayal of democracy relies on its compatibility with Islam and the traditional jirga institution. The relationship between the government and the people is based on service delivery and law enforcement by the former and following laws by the latter in the interest of social harmony. The governments are represented as progressive, reformist, and in favour of endorsing science and this is proved by progressively advancing human rights in the constitutions and gradual but continual administrative modernization. The textbooks do not refrain from confirming flaws and shortcomings of governments in a historical context, from familial conflicts and hasty modernization to corruption. The rest of this chapter is presented as follows. Under specific headings, I discuss Democracy and Reform, Government and Governance, and Gender Equality. The Conclusion presents the highlights of findings in light of the research question.

Democracy and Reform

Democracy and reform are two recurring themes in the identified textbooks. The following presents each individually given the emphasis of the textbooks on each.

Democracy

Democracy forms one of the key themes of the textbooks for which independent lessons are allocated. Two chapters in two books (Mohaqiq, Omarkhail & Hazrati, 2017, p. 15-26, henceforth, *CETB 9,* 2017) and (Moshfiq, Fazil, Omarkhail, 2017, p. 83-98, henceforth *CETB 12,* 2017) with the identical title "Democracy", contain similar sub-titles such as, "What is democracy", " How can people participate in government's decision making", and "Democracy in Afghanistan" in grade nine; and "Democracy Definition and Nature", "Goals, principles, and means of democracy", and "Democracy in Afghanistan" in grade twelve. These titles indicate the allocation of extensive content about democracy in two textbooks.

The textbooks construct democracy as a citizenry right although the constitutional status of the citizen is subjecthood. A textbook (Wazeen & Hadaf, 2017, henceforth, *PATB 8*, 2017) borrows from the constitution to stipulate members of the nation are subjects: "The fourth article of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan defines the nation as: "The nation of Afghanistan is defined as all individuals who have the *tabyat* [subjecthood] of Afghanistan" [130] (pp. 9-10). The subject has citizenship rights. In this context "subject is referred to someone in a relationship with a government who on the one hand has civic rights and on the other is obliged to responsibilities toward the government"[131] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 91). Further details in the textbook reveal that subjecthood status denotes citizenship rights in a democratic setting. *CETB 12* (2017) defines democracy in Farsi-Dari as *mardom saralri* (literary meaning the rule of the people) and based on its definitions adds that "therefore, through democracy, the people of a country gain the opportunity to freely participate in political decisions and to use their will in carrying out their affairs and monitoring the government"[132] (p. 85). As such, although the textbooks do not utilize the term citizenship in the above examples, they grant citizenship rights to subjects.

The textbooks elaborate on what democracy entails. The preconditions of democracy are "the existence of a suitable constitution, separation of powers, monitoring of powers by each other, elections, and transparency in government affairs"[133] (*CETB 12*, p. 91). A text highlights

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[130] قانون اساسی جمهوری اسلامی افغانستان در مادۀ چهارم ملت افغانستان را چنین تعریف میکند: ملت افغانستان عبارت است از تمام افرادی که تابعیت افغانستان را دارا باشند ملت افغانستان متشکل از اقوام پشتون، تاج کي، هزاره، ازب کي، ترکمن، بلوچ، پشه یی، نورستانی ایماق، عرب، قرغیز، قزلباش، گجر، براهوی و سایر اقوام است.

[131] تبعه به کس اطلاق میشود که در رابطه با یک دولت، درنظر گرفته میشود که از سویی برخوردار از حقوق مدنی است، و از سوی دیگر مکلف به تکالیفی در برابر دولت است.

[132] پس مردم یک کشور فرصت میابند از طریق و راه دموکراسی درتصمیم های سیاسی به طور آزادانه مشارکت داشته و در پیش برد امور و نظارت بر حکومت ارادۀ شان را به کار گیرند.

[133] موجودیت قانون اساسی مناسب، تفکیک قوا، نظارت بر یک دیگر، انتخابات و شفافیت امور دولتی.

the principles of democracy in one page and eight bullet points defining it as equality in front of the law, equality in courts, equality in opportunities, equality in social responsibilities, popular support for government legitimacy, public deliberation, and people's rule. The textbooks even define who a democrat person is. A "democrat person" is someone who has "a critical attitude towards those in charge", "flexibility", "awareness and a sense of responsibility", and in a mismatch of attributes, a democrat has "civilizational advancement" (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 91). The textbooks also identify political participation as a characteristic of democracy and define its spectrum. On this scale, casting a ballot is the lowest, party membership and candidacy are mid-levels, and winning a seat is the highest level of political participation (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 22). Given these attributes of democracy that define democracy's preconditions, principles, democratic qualities at the individual level, and the political participation spectrum, it can be derived that textbooks have a people centric gaze toward democracy.

While the textbooks overtly endorse democracy, they prescribe a particular variation of democracy for Afghanistan. A lesson titled "Democracy in Afghanistan" (*CETB 12*) acknowledges that, "Afghanistan is moving toward democracy with its unique social, cultural and economic indicators"[134] (p. 93). Without an elaborate discussion of these indicators, the textbooks situate democracy in an Islamic context. The lesson "Islam and Democracy" (*CETB 12*, 2017), states:

> Different people of nations have various understandings and interpretations of democracy. However, we Afghans as a Muslim nation, in all our affairs, follow the teachings of the sacred religion of Islam. So, given this understanding, our intention to praise or endorse democracy, if carried out in some statements, is that people can freely participate in political affairs; elect, monitor, and fire their representatives and leaders in accordance with the principle of merit and faith, and give them authority to act in those affairs that Islam requires of the nation. Of course, this interpretation of democracy is not incompatible with the principles of Islam. (p. 95-96)[135]

The textbooks reduce the distance between Islam and democracy's conceptual frameworks by viewing democracy as a political process and Islam as an ethical overarching conduct.

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[134] افغانستان با شاخص های اجتماعی، فرهنگی و اقتصادی منحصر به خود در جهت توسعه دموکراسی قرار دارد.

[135] از دموکراسی، در میان ملت های مختلف، به فهم و تعبیرات گوناگون صورت می گیرد؛ امّا، ما افغان ها به عنوان یک ملت مسلمان، در تمام امور خویش پیرو احکام دین مقدس اسلام هستیم. پس با درنظرداشت این فهم، مراد ما از تمجید و یا تأیید دموکراسی در بعضی از یاد آوریها اگر صورت گرفته باشد، آن است که مردم بتوانند در امور سیاسی، آزادانه سهیم گردند، نماینده گان و حاکمان خویش را بر اساس اصل شایسته گی و ایمان داری، انتخاب، مراقبت و برکنار نمایند، و به آنها در اموری صلاحیت عمل بدهند که اسلام انجام آن را به دوش ملت گذاشته است. البته این گونه تعبیر از دموکراسی، با مبادی اسلام منافاتی ندارد.

The textbooks refer to the traditional jirga institution and then connect it to democracy. *CETB 12* (2017) situates the jirga tradition in a historical context. The textbooks trace jirgas back to the Sabha and Samithi jirgas (traditional assemblies) of the Aryan era (p. 93). Since the Aryan era pre-dates Islam, the text articulates the practice of jirga with the religions of the time:

> In the era of the Kanishka the Great, a grand religious jirga under the leadership of the seventh Hina Buddhist leader a Kandahari scholar was formed. This jirga edited and modified the ancient Hina-Yana or Vasumitra religion, which led to the formation of the new Maha-Yana religion[136] (p. 93).

This paragraph connects the participatory practice of jirga to an ancient time, to a religious enactment, and to a known place (Kandahar province), all of which construct a system of representation that is familiar.

After having established the historical context of the jirga, the textbooks equate the tradition of loya jirga (grand assembly) with modern-era state-building and democratic practices. The *CETB 9* (2017) defines executive brunches as the legislative power, the judicial power, the people's jirga (the parliament), the seniors' jirga (the upper house), and the executive power (p. 10-13). Accordingly:

> Loya jirga is an assembly formed only in Afghanistan and is the highest level of the will of the nation. Loya jirga is not a permanent assembly and is formed temporarily under certain circumstances. Members of loya jirga include members of the National Council, chairpersons of provincial, and district councils, and elite and iconic characters of ethnic groups[137](*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 12).

Hence, loya jirga is held when matters of independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national interest are discussed (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 12-13). Therefore, when loya jirga as the highest level of the will of the people enacts a historical decision, it legitimizes decisions of high national importance.

The textbooks associate democracy with the constitution. *CETB 9* (2017) details key elements of democracy in the constitution of Afghanistan as the president being accountable to the people and the grand assembly, the right of every Afghan to elect and be elected, the

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[136] در عصر کنشکای کبیر جرگه بزرگ مذهبی به رهبری پیشوای هفتم بوداییان Hina- عالم کندهاری تشکیل شد این جرگه مذهب قدیم هینه یانه Vasumitra واسو متره تعدیل Maha-yana را مورد تعدیل و اصلاح قرارداد، که به مذهب جدید مهایانه Yana یافت.

[137] لویه جرگه مجلسي است که تنها در افغانستان تشکیل مي شود و عالي ترين سطح اراد ةملت مي باشد. لويه جرگه مجلسي دايمي نيست و در شرايطي خاص به طور مؤقت تشکيل مي شود. اعضاي لويه جرگه عبارتند؛ از اعضاي شوراي ملي و رؤساي شوراهاي ولايات و ولسوالي ها و افراد خبره و سرشناس اقوام.

formation of associations and political parties, peaceful demonstrations by the public, freedom, non-discrimination among individuals of the society, and equality (p. 24). Lesson activities instruct students to find advantages of the constitutions that are not mentioned in the book (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 9) and to name the constitutional articles that are about the rights of women, nomads, and the elimination of illiteracy (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 25). This indicates that the textbooks embed the constitution and democratic values in the critical thinking competence of students. The textbooks confirm the supremacy of the constitution as supreme law. The constitution is a law above all others: "The constitution is considered as the mother and basis of other laws. No laws of the country can be contrary to it"[138] (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 8). This declaration, however, is opposed in another statement (*CETB 12*, 2017):

> Considering this fact, the current constitution of our country has named the country the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the religion of the state, the holy religion of Islam, and it is also stated in its third article: In Afghanistan, no law can be contrary to the beliefs and principles of the holy religion of Islam. By stating the above, the Islamic nature of the country's legal system in various legal fields has been ensured and the eternal will of this nation has been realized[139] (p. 23-24).

Despite the above statement, (*CETB 9*, 2017) assigns Islam as one of four characteristics of the constitution: 1) being Islamic, 2) being a republic and popular, 3) respecting human rights, and 4) implementing social justice and the elimination of any type of discrimination (p. 8). In a more straightforward statement, a text states that the sharia: "absolute sovereignty and the right to legislate belong to God. It is not permissible for any Muslim to disobey the obligations and prohibitions stated in the sharia"[140] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 96). In general, the established hierarchy of democracy and Islam grants the latter a higher universal status.

The textbooks present democracy through a progressively advancing constitution. *CETB 12* (2017) grants historical continuity to the constitution of the country. According to the textbook, the first political party of Afghanistan was formed by the Constitutionalist Movement of the 20th century with "progressive and libertarian goals"[141] including adherence to the

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[138] قانون اساسی مادر و اساس قوانین دیگر به حساب می آید. هیچ قانونی در کشور نمی تواند بر خلاف آن وضع شود.
امروز تقریباً همه کشورهای دنیا قانون اساسی دارند. دولت ها مجری قانون اساسی هستند.

[139] قانون اساسی فعلی کشور ما نیز با در نظر داشت این حقیقت نام کشور را جمهوری اسلامی افغانستان و دین دولت را دین مقدس اسلام قرار داده و همچنان در مادۀ سوم آن تصریح شده: در افغانستان هیچ قانون نمیتواند مخالف معتقدات و احکام دین مقدس اسلام باشد. که با تصریح فوق، اسلامی بودن نظام قانونی کشور را در عرصه های مختلف حقوقی تأمین نموده و خواست همیشه گی این ملت را لبیک گفته است.

[140] حاکمیت مطلق و حق قانون گذاری ازآن خدا است، برای هیچ فرد مسلمانی جواز ندارد که از فرایض و محرماتی که در شریعت اسلامی بیان گردیده، سرپیچی نماید..

[141] اهداف مترقی آزادی خواهانه و استقلال طلبانه

religion of Islam (p. 94). The textbook gives varying amounts of details to different constitutions of each era. The text refers to the constitutions in numeric order (e.g., the first constitution, the second constitution, the third constitution), with more focus on the post-independence (1919) and post-9/11 constitutions. The portrayal of constitutions suggests upward progress. For instance, the "first constitution" was ratified in 1923 through loya jirga under the reign of King Amanullah and offered rights and freedoms such as: "the right to equal subjecthood to all subjects of the country, freedom of personal rights, personal immunity, elimination of slavery and the prohibition of employing individuals as captors or slaves, right to education, freedom of private schools and religious schools, compulsory elementary education, the safety of property, prohibition of torture, etc." (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 22).[142] Likewise, the second constitution was ratified in 1929 under the reign of King Nadir through loya jirga and "only one new matter in this constitution […] is the establishment of the first parliament"[143] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 22). The third constitution was ratified under the reign of King Zahir in 1964, and the text evasively states that "This law promised important changes in the political, administrative, cultural and legal arenas of Afghanistan"[144] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 22). In the 20th century, the constitution was shared with the public through the media. The fourth constitution was compiled in 1977 under the Republic of Dawood Khan through the approval of the loya jirga also the public representatives and its draft was published in newspapers. The text adds that "of the positive points of this law is that, for the first time, the president was to be elected by the loya jirga and to be accountable in cases of crime and national treason when accused by the wolesi jirga [national assembly] and loya jirga [grand assembly]"[145] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 22). Under a single title, "The Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in 1980*"*, the fifth, sixth, and seventh constitutions are summed up. Unlike any other constitution, the fifth constitution does not mention the name of the state person under whose presidency the constitution was signed and does not mention the legal basis nor what was included in this constitution. However, the sixth constitution returns to the normal practice of mentioning the name of the president "Dr. Najibullah" and mentions loya jirga, however, refrains from

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[142] حق تابعیت مساوی برای همه اتباع کشور،آزادی حقوق شخصی، مصونیت شخصی، لغو بردگی و منع استخدام افراد به حیث اسیر یا برده، حق تعلیم و تربیت و آزادی مکاتب و مدارس خصوصی و اجباری بودن تعلیمات ابتدایی، مصونیت مالکیت، منع شکنجه و غیره.

[143] فقط یک موضوع دراین اصولنامه جدید است که به آن جنبهٔ مردمی می دهد، و آن عبارت از: تأسیس اولین پارلمان افغانستان است

[144] این قانون تغییرات مهمی در زنده گی سیاسی، اداری، فرهنگی و عدلی افغانستان وعده داد.

[145] از نکات مثبت این قانون، انتخابی بودن رئیس جُمهور توسط لویه جرگه برای اولین بار در تاریخ افغانستان، مسؤول بودن رئیس دولت در صورت ارتکاب جرم، خیانت ملی،متهم شدن از طرف ولسی جرگه و محاکمه آن توسط لویه جرگه می باشد.

mentioning any constitutional change (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 23). The seventh constitution is claimed to have been proposed during the civil war under the presidency of "Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani" and refers to the number of chapters and articles, and explicates why the seventh constitution was not approved: "… in light of criticism made by the jihadi parties and the various strata of the nation, the text was not signed" (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 23).[146] Thus, the textbooks highlight the progress of each constitution which is legitimized through jirga. Some constitutions have more details and are positively represented compared to others.

The textbooks ground the unique democracy of Afghanistan on the constitution, therefore, the ways in which the textbooks regard the function of the constitution in democracy merits attention. In general, the textbooks utilize the constitution to legitimize democratic values. In *CETB 12* (2017) constitution-related debates are integrated into themes on political participation (pp. 29, 35, 36), women's participation (p. 41), human rights (pp. 71, 74, 76, 79, 80, 82), democracy (pp. 87, 91, 94, 95), and the media (pp. 110, 114). The current constitution of Afghanistan is discussed in detail and acknowledges the key aspects of rights and privileges such as people's political rights, civil rights, cultural rights, and economic rights. For example, civic rights are explicated as:

> The right to life, liberty and security of person, equality before the law, the right to sue and to choose a lawyer, immunity, residence, right to marry and to form family, the right to access health services, the right to child protection, respect for the rights of others, and so on.[147] (*CETB 12*, 2017, 24).

Furthermore, cultural rights are detailed as:

> The right of men and women to free education in government institutions up to a bachelor's degree, the provision of compulsory secondary education, and the design of effective programs and their implementation in the field of mother tongue education. To balance and expand education for women, improve nomads' education, and eradicate illiteracy in the country, the government is obliged to plan and implement a uniform curriculum.[148] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 24).

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[146] نظر به انتقاد احزاب جهادی و اقشار مختلف ملت که روی متن مسوده داشتند به توشیح نرسید.

[147]: حق زند هگی آزادی و امنیت شخصی، مساوات در برابر قانون، حق داد خواهی و انتخاب وکیل، مصونیت، محل اقامت حق ازدواج و تشکیل خانواده، حق دسترسی به خدمات صحی، حق حمایت از اطفال، رعایت حقوق دیگران و غیره.

[148] حق تعلیم زن و مرد تا درجهٔ لیسانس در مؤسسات دولتی به صورت رایگان، تأمین تعلیمات متوسط اجباری، طرح پروگرام های موثر و تطبیق آن در زمینه تدریس زبان های مادری، دولت ملکف است به منظور ایجاد توازن و انکشاف تعلیم برای زنان، بهبود تعلیم کوچیان و امحای بیسوادی در کشور، نصاب واحد تعلیمی، طرح و آن را تطبیق نماید.

These two examples show that the textbooks participate in the construction of civic and cultural citizenship.

Reform

The textbooks promote science and knowledge as key characteristics of pre-Islamic, Islamic, and contemporary-era Afghanistan. Referring to the pre-Islamic scientific era, a textbook Ansari, Ghori & Habid, 2017, henceforth, *HSTB11*, 2017) asserts:

> Dari, Pashto, Takharid, Sanskrit, etc. were common in different parts of the country. Between 21-40 AH / 642-661 AD, the people of Afghanistan had access to mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, and were familiar with Greek and Sassanid sciences as well as with Indian philosophy.[149] (p. 4).

More importantly, the textbooks construct yet another outstanding era. Ansari, Ghori, Omar, Habid, and Ahmadzai (2017, henceforth *HSTB 8,* 2017) present the Islamic era as flourishing from a scientific perspective:

> The religion of Islam also removed the existing obstacles in the way of the acquisition of science and knowledge and took away the knowledge monopoly that was in the hands of the powerful and rich people and rulers. That is why science and knowledge grew. The number of scholars and scientists increased in our country and many people offered scientific services to the world of knowledge [150] (p. 11).

As such, the factors of justice, access, and equality are included in this narrative of science and knowledge in Afghan society to make a distinction between knowledge and science before and after Islam. The Islamic era spread of science also included the imposition of religious studies. In the context of converting the people of Nuristan to Islam, (Hotak, Rawnaqi & Babakarkhail, 2017, henceforth, *HSTB 12, 2017*) states: "religious science teachers from Laghman, Logar, Parwan, and Kapisa were sent to Nuristan so that the people of Nuristan could learn Islamic teachings" [151] (p. 57). As such, the binary of pre-Islamic and Islamic eras and science and Islam are presented simultaneously.

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[149] دری، پشتو، تخاری، سانسکریت و ... در نقاط مختلف کشور رایج بود. بین سا لهای ۲۱-۴۰ ق / ۶۴۲-۶۶۱ م مردم افغنستان به ریاضی، نجوم و طب دسترسی داشتند و با علوم مروج یونانی، ساسانی و فلسفه هندی نیز آشنا بودند.

[150] دین اسلام همچنین موانع موجود در راه تحصیل علم و دانش را برداشت و انحصار علم را که در اختیار مردمان قدرتمند و پولدار و یا حکمران بود، از بین برد. به همین دلیل علم و دانش رشد کرد. شمار علما و دانشمندان در کشور ما زیاد گردید و افراد زیادی خدمات علمی شایستهيي به دنیای دانش عرضه داشتند.

[151] معلمین علوم دینی از لغمان، لوگر، پروان و کاپیسا به نورستان اعزام گردیدند تا مردم نورستان تعلیمات اسلامی را فرا گیرند

The textbooks present human evolution with a scientific explanation. This representation is materialized by Bawari, Jabarkhail, Haqpal, Ahmadzai and Ahmadzai (2017) (henceforth, *HSTB 7,* 2017) which discusses human evolution simultaneously from religious and scientific perspectives. The prehistoric era is said to have started "with the creation of human beings and primitive cultures and continued until the expansion of civilization and the creation of script and writing",[152] while historical periods are said to have started "from the creation of the script and early civilizations to this day"[153] (pp. 3-4). The textbook acknowledges that "humans of prehistory had a simple but very difficult life" and adds that they only relied on their physical power to meet their needs, lived in the mountains, put on animal and tree skins, and ate fruits and wild animals (p. 4). After this account of the life of early human beings, the text adds: "Because the human being is the noblest of all creatures, for this reason, he changed his life on the earth uninterruptedly and has now achieved a civil life. After humans achieved a civil life, from that time onward, the historical period began and continues until now"[154] (p. 4). It is of interest to note that although the textbooks create a rather scientific context for human evolution, the very first example of a 'historical event' rather than being an event relating to human history in the world or Afghanistan, refers to an Islamic event: "Every incident and event that has occurred in a time and place is a historical fact. For example, the Battle of Bader that took place in the second year of Hijrah during the holy month of Ramadan, 150 km from Medina, became a historical fact"[155] (p. 3). Thus, the historical accounts of the textbooks prioritize science with an Islamic preview.

From the manner through which reform is depicted in the textbooks, it can be said that reform is the interface between democracy and governments. The textbooks introduce modernization agenda through government initiatives in a historical context. *HSTB 12* (2017) introduces the first landmark of modernization and reform through the characterization of Amir Shir Ali under the title, "Reform 1868-1879" (p. 45). The text characterizes the Amir as "an intellectual and modernist, the founder of the new civilization in Afghanistan" [156](p. 45). The Amir's achievements are the appointment of a prime minister and an executive branch, in the

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[152] از آفرینش انسان و فرهن گهای ابتدایی آغاز مي شود وتازمان تعمیم مدنیت و ایجاد خط و کتابت ادامه دارد.

[153] دوره های تاریخی از زمان پیدایش خط و مدنیت های اولیهٔ بشری آغاز می شود و تا اکنون ادامه می یابد.

[154] از آنجايي که انسان اشرف المخلوقات است، به همین جهت نسبت به سایر موجودات زنده در روی زمین، زنده گی خود را بلا وقفه تغییر داده و اکنون به زنده گی مدنی دست یافته است. بعد از آنکه انسان ها به زنده گی مدنی دست یافتند، از همان زمان دوران تاریخی آغاز شده وتاکنون ادامه دارد.

[155] هر واقعه و حادثه که در زمان معین و مکان مشخص واقع شده باشد، واقعهٔ تاریخی است. مثلا غزوهٔ بدر که در سال دوم هجرت در ماه مبارک رمضان در 150 کلیومتری مدینه واقع شد، یک واقعهٔ تاریخي است.

[156] امیر شیرعلی شخص روشنفکر و متجدد بود، موصوف بنیانگذار تمدن جدید در افغانستان می باشد.

Military realm the establishment of an army, and in the cultural realm the establishment of the first modern schools and the publication of the first governmental newspapers (HSTB, 12, 2017, pp. 45-47). Of the four pages of the textbook, only one page focuses on the reforms, in very general terms, while the rest of the lesson is about the internal conflicts between the sons of the King and his response to the First Anglo-Afghan War for which he had to seek the support of the Russians (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 47). Like Ahmad Shah Durani and Abdul Rahman Khan, Shir Ali Khan faced defeat not only on the political front but also because his accomplishments vanished following immediate conflict and instability that involved dynastical and tribal rivalries and foreign interference. The textbooks often overlook the misconduct of iconic leaders but do refer to their failures attributed to national and external players.

Another iconic reformist is King Amanullah (1919-1929). The title, "Reform 1921-1928" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 79), celebrates the king as the most modernist king in history. Under independent titles, *HSTB 12* (2017) extensively discusses his contribution to independence, finance and economy, administration, education, and cultural affairs. Some examples of the reforms are the approval of the first constitution of Afghanistan in 1923 and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, the reduction of taxes, the establishment of a public administration school, the modernization of the military, the establishment of new modern, universal, mandatory and free education systems and public schools including international educational internships, and publication of many newspapers including for women, and significant improvement in women's rights, transborder transportation, telegraph, postal and telephone communication, and production factories, (pp. 79-82). Like the earlier historical characters and events, the era of King Amanullah came to an end due to external interference and a national uprising leading to the loss of his highly celebrated accomplishments. As such, the textbooks historicize reform and progress through narratives of the country's leaders and by linking the reform to democracy the textbooks contextualize democracy as a positive value.

The textbooks also discuss the reactionaries of the reform initiatives. *HSTB 12* (2017) demonstrates the negative reaction of the people to the reforms. Causes of the negative reaction are attributed to internal and external reasons; from the British policy of "Divide and Rule" and the use of their intelligence services, and elders' rejection of the reforms, to the organized revolt of the people in particular regions by some leaders of the country" (pp. 87-88). The textbook acknowledges that the hasty and ambitious modernization and reformist agendas of the king have

led to the revolt of the people (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 88). Furthermore, the textbook refers to the negative character of King Amanullah's "insurgent" successor, Habibullah Kalakani who has been identified as the "son of water carrier" rather than through tribal names and presented as being from Shamali (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 89). These passages indicate an appreciation for science and reform, a criticism of the manner through which the reforms materialized and an inward-critical gaze at the reaction of the people to the reform

A recurring theme in the textbooks is the Decade of Democracy. The lessons "Democracy Decade 1963-1973" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 105) and the reign of King Mohammad Zaher (*HSTB 9*, p. 60) refer to this decade. *HSTB 12* (2017) remarks on the adoption of constitutional monarchy, the adoption of a new constitution, the freedom of the media, the unprecedented activism of political parties due to a new law which was approved by the National Assembly but not signed by the king, and the disentitlement of the royal family members to hold official positions (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 107). Accordingly, during the democracy decade, five prime ministers took office (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 107) and secret activism in schools and universities continued (Panjshiri, Hotak, Rawnaqi & Babakarkhail, 2017, p. 61, henceforth, *HSTB 9, 2017)*. *HSTB 12* (2017) recognizes the existence of "extreme demonstrations" against the reforms but does not mention who revolted, what the claims were, and how the demonstrators were treated (p. 106). In another example (*HSTB* 9, 2017):

> Socially and politically, profound changes were unveiled in the country. In accordance with the constitution, freedom of expression materialized. The law on the freedom of political parties was announced but it was not practical. However, several right-wing and left-wing parties operated openly and secretly. In these political movements, schools in Kabul City and other provinces as well as at Kabul University played a major role.[157] (p. 61).

Despite this characterization of the democracy marked by freedom and reform as well as political activism, in a different lesson about the cousin of King Mohammad Zahir, Dawood Khan *HSTB 12* (2017) calls this period anarchy:

> The 26 July coup d'état ended the decade of democracy and the 1964 constitution, though five governments in recent years of the monarchy had been fighting for

[157] از لحاظ اجتماعی و سیاسی تحولات عمیق در کشور رونما گردید، مطابق قانون اساسی زمینهٔ آزادی بیان فراهم گردید. قانون احزاب سیاسی اعلان، ولی عملی نبود. با این همه یک تعداد احزاب دارای اندیشه های راست وچپ به شکل آشکار و پنهان به فعالیت پرداختند. در این حرکت های سیاسی مکاتب شهر کابل و ولایات و پوهنتون کابل نقش عمده داشتند.

> democracy, in reality, anarchy prevailed over them. The 26 July coup d'état put an end to these atrocities and replaced the monarchy with a republican system and Sardar Mohammad Dawood Khan emerged as the national leader. [158] (p. 111).

This above passage degrades monarchy in favour of a republican state which is established where history ends in the history textbooks. However, another textbook (Hadaf & Helaman, 2017, henceforth, *PATB 9*, 2017), in a biographical reference to one of the Democracy Decade prime ministers, states that some people misused the decade's liberties and parliamentarian immunity which led to the expansion of communist ideology (p. 87). In the end, a question asks students: "In your opinion, are freedom of speech and democracy unlimited?"[159] (p. 88). This question is not answered in the body of the text because the lesson is a biography and lacks any discussions on freedom of speech or democracy. These debates indicate that the textbooks attempt to glamorize each government era only to depreciate its value when contrasted with a new regime of governance.

In conclusion, the textbooks imagine the nation as having a long but complicated and often interrupted history of a people-centric democracy and reform. The unique democracy that the textbooks construct by situating it in the historical, traditional, and Islamic contexts is well understood when the textbooks emphasize the role of reform and modernization in the establishment of democracy. The textbooks are cognisant of the sensitive position of democracy in society and resort to the critique of hasty modernization efforts that led to their demise.

Government and Governance

The unique democracy of Afghanistan is also present in the historical narrative of governments and iconic stat persons. The civic education textbooks are the only textbooks that have allocated specific themes on the concept of government and public services while other textbooks refer to the government as a cross-cutting theme. The following presents the construction of the government from early modern to contemporary governments.

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[158] کودتای 26 سرطان به دهۀ دموکراسی و قانون اساسی 1964 م خاتمه بخشید، گرچه پنج حکومت در سال های اخیر نظام شاهی دعوای دموکراسی م ینمودند ولی در حقیقت خصلت انارشی بر آ نها غالب بود. کودتاه 26 سرطان به این نابه سامانی ها خاتمه داد و به جای نظام سلطنتتی نظام جمهوری استقرار یافت و سردار محم دداوو دخان منحیث رهبر ملی ظاهر شد.

[159] به نظر شما آیا استفاده از حق بیان و دموکراسی نامحدود است؟

Early Modern Islamic Governments

The textbooks present the early modern Islamic governments through the characterization of iconic leaders rather than distinct institutions. The first character that begins the history of modern Afghanistan and modern governments is Ahmad Shah Durrani (1747-1772), also referred to as *Baba* (the father) and the founder of Afghanistan. Like many other rulers, the *HSTB 12* (2017) frames Ahmad Shah's goals as establishing the unity of the people, centralization of the government, maintenance of the national borders, and defending the country against the invasion of neighbouring countries (p. 9). The textbook paints a bleak background before Ahmad Shah's emergence:

> The conquest and disintegration of Afghanistan by foreign powers, the absence of a central government, the economic recession, the social unrest, and the political upheavals in neighbouring states paved the way for the formation of a central government in Afghanistan.[160] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 7)

The textbook adds that the two centuries of material and moral decline in society was the basis of the need for a central power (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 5). The textbook also refers to education and intellectual activities being adversely affected; "schools and training centres were closed and because there were no incentives for poets and scholars, many of them fled to other countries, particularly to India"[161] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 5). As such, a central government is legitimized against a bleak backdrop but its failure is also highlighted.

The textbooks portray government formation as a participatory endeavour. It refers to the approval of ethnic groups; tribal leaders, Hazaras and Uzbeks (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 7). The participatory characterization also justifies the inclusion of landlords and tribal leaders: "Ahmad Shah Baba knew that to protect their interests, the landlords and tribal chiefs would create problems for Baba to consolidate a stable government," therefore, "to avoid and overcome the problems, he included them in government and military affairs, in the jirgas*,* and engaged them in military trips, and he also respected their opinions"[162] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 8). As such, the textbook indicates that these elements (i.e., the landlords and tribal chiefs), were included in the government as a prudent measure.

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[160] استیلا و تجزیهٔ افغانستان توسط قواي اجنبي، عدم موجوديت حكومت مركزي، ركود اقتصاد، اوضاع ناب هسامان اجتماعي و تحولات سياسي در دول مجاور زمينهٔ تشكيل يك حكومت مركزي را در افغانستان مهيا ساخته بود.

[161] مدارس و مراكز تربيتي مسدود گرد يد، و از اينكه براى دانشمندان و استادان مرجع تشو ق وجود نداشت، تعداد زياد ايشان به ممالك د گر مخصوصاً هند متواري گرد دند.

[162] احمدشاه بابا ميدانت كه ملاكين و رؤساى قبايل به خاطر حفظ منافع خود، جهت تحكيم دولت با ثبات مشكلات را براي بابا به بارخواهند آورد. براي دفع اين مشكل و فا ق آمدن بر مشكلات، ا يشان را در امور دولتي و نظامي شامل، و در جرگه ها برايشان عضويت داده و به نظرات ايشان ارج گذاشت و در سفرهاى نظامى نيز ايشان را مصروف ساخت.

The narratives of the iconic military figures emphasize centralization and power. *HSTB 12* (2017) introduces Ahmad Shah through ten "military trips", each forming a subtitle with a date and consisting of half a page (pp. 11-16). For example, titles appear as, "First Journey (1748-1747)", "Second Journey (1749)", and finally, "Tenth Journey (1769)". For example, Ahmad Shah invaded Lahore among others on the first trip; annexed multiple provinces of Afghanistan that had revolted against a central power in the second; and invaded Mashhad, in the third and the fourth; Punjab and Delhi in the fifth; Punjab and Baluchistan in the sixth; and, Delhi in the seventh trip. The following is an example of the full text of his "Second Trip" to illustrate how the word 'trip' refers to his military missions:

> Ahmad Shah Baba travelled to Herat in early 1749. Three of Nader Afshar's rulers had not surrendered to Ahmad Shah Baba, among them Darvish Khan Hazara declared his allegiance to Ahmad Shah Baba. Herat was conquered by Ahmad Shah Baba who appointed Darvish Khan as governor. Ahmad Shah Baba ordered his Prime Minister, Shahwali Khan, to travel to the north because after the decline of the Junidi government, Merv, Faryab, Jawzjan, Balkh, Khulm, Badakhshan, and Takharistan had become autonomous. Shah Wali Khan annexed the mentioned areas one by one to the central government.[163] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 12).

Here, the textbook promotes the consolidation of power and a central government but does not lose sight of the importance of social constraints. The text does not attribute the demise of Ahmad Shah to his weaknesses but to the conspiracy of the British and Iranians, and internal tribal conflicts among his sons and grandchildren (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 29).[164] As such a central participatory government is constructed through the portrayal of Ahmad Shah as a strong character whose demise had national and external causes.

Another character in the textbooks that is critical in depicting governments and receives praise for power consolidation is Abdul Rahman Khan (1880-1901). His seizure of power is justified by his goals: "to consolidate and revive the central government to form a legitimate state and overthrow the patron-client-based local power centres because the continuation of such a

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[163] سفر دوم: احمدشاهبابا در اوا ل سال 1749 م به هرات سفر کرد. سه نفراز حا کمان نادر افشار به احمدشاهبابا تسلیم نگردیده بودند، از جملهٔ آنها دروش خان هزاره طرفداري خود را از احمد شاه بابا اعلان نمود، هرات توسط احمدشاهبابا تسخیر گرد ید و موصوف دروش خان را به حیث والي هرات تعین کرد. احمدشاه بابا شاه ولی خان صدراعظم خود را حکم نمود تا به مناطق شمال سفر نما ید زیرا بعد از انحطاط دولت جنیدي مرو، فاریاب، جوزجان، بلخ، خلم، بدخشان و تخارستان خودمختار گردیده بودند. شاولي خان مناطق مذ کور را یکي بعد د یگر به حکومت مرکزي مدغم نمود.

[164] توطئهٔ ها و مداخلات مستقیم انگلیس ها و ایرانی ها در امور داخلی افغانستان، تعدد پسران و نواسه های تیمورشاه که ب هخاطر پیروز شدن بر رقیبان خویش، خود را به دامان انگلیسها و ایرانیها میانداختند- و همچنان به قتل رسیدن سرداران بارکزایی چون سرداراپاینده محمدخان و سردار وزیر فتح خان از جمله عوامل سقوط سدوزایی ها و انتقال قدرت به بارکزای یها محسوب می شود.

situation would have dangerous consequences"[165] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 55). The circumstances in which Abdul Rahman came to power are portrayed as grim by indicating losses due to British invasions leading to the destruction of the military, administrative, economic, social, and government systems (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 55).[166] Although *HSTB 12* (2017) refers to some reforms, for example, the creation of finance offices, it is Abdul Rahman's enforcement of power that receives the most attention (p. 55). The textbooks justify the suppression of 'insurgents' for consolidation and centralization:

> Because the local rulers saw their interests at stake, the newly formed government faced several uprisings and oppositions throughout Afghanistan […]. All these insurgencies in the area were suppressed forcefully and all provinces came under the control of the central administration.[167] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 55).

The invasions are glorified for ensuring a central admonition but also because "the people converted to the holy religion of Islam" and "Government forces conquered many areas of Nuristan and security was ensured there" [168] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 57). A more graphic depiction emerges: "The temples were destroyed, and mosques were built in its place, bringing nineteen wooden statues and several bows and arrows to Kabul"[169] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 57). As a result of the above, the province name was changed from *Kafurstan* (the land of infidels) to *Nuristan* (the land of light) (*HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 56-57). This narrative ties Islam to the centralization agenda. The narratives of Abdul Rahman denote the necessity of power for unity.

Contemporary Governments

Textbooks highlight the importance of contemporary governments through a need for sovereignty, order, and social services. It can be derived from the textbooks that modern institutions are also less about religion. A moderate representation of Islam is established when the textbooks background Islam in reference to social institutions. A lesson on

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[165] یکی از اهداف عمده امیر عبدالرحمان خان تحکیم و احیای حکومت مرکزی بود تا دولت قانونی را تشکیل و حکومتهای کالطوایفی را از بین ببرد زیرا ادامهٔ چنین وضع عواقب خطرنا با خود داشت.

[166] موقعیکه ام ر عبدالرحمنخان در) 1880 م(زمام امور را بدست گرفت، با شرایط بس ار ی ی دشوار روبهرو بود زیرا به اثر تجاوز انگلس مردم افغانستان صدمات زیاد را متحمل گردیده ی بودند بهطور مثال در افغانستان دستگاه نظم اداری و حکومت مرکزی فرو ریخته و تشک لات ی نظامی و ملکی بهکلی از ب ن رفته بود. در شهرهای عمدهٔ افغانستان مراکز صنعت و پ شه وری، ی ی زراعت و مالداری و س ستم آب اری بهکلی از ب ن رفته و صدمه دیده بود، فرهنگ و اقتصاد ملی ی ی ی نابوده شده و در سراسر افغانستان س ستم کالطوایفی استقرار پ دا کرده بود، مال ات سنگ ن ی ی ی و کمرشکن ذریعه ملاک ن و خوان ن بالای مردم وضع شده بود که مردم توان پرداخت آنرا ی ی نداشتند

[167] . چون حکمروایان محلی منافع خود را در خطر میدیدند، حکومت نو تأسیس در سراسر افغانستان با یک تعداد شورشها و مخالفتها ک روبهرو گردید[…] . همهٔ این شورشها در مناطق مذکور با استعمال قوه سرکوب گردید و تمام ولایات تحت کنترول اداره مرکزی قرار گرفتند.

[168] قوای دولت بسیاری ازمناطق نورستان را فتح نمود و امنیت در آنجا تأمین گردید.

[169] بتخانه ها ویران و به عوض آن مساجد اعمار گردید و به تعداد نزده مجسمهٔ چوبی و یک تعداد تیر و کمان به کابل آورده شد.

"Institutions", defines economic, political, educational, and familial institutions and only then, within a comparatively shorter text, discusses religion. In a debate on culture, a text states that culture is made of values, regulations, and beliefs; however, the latter explanation is shorter than the first two (Omarkhail & Moshfiq, 2017, p. 3, henceforth, *CETB 10*, 2017). In a lesson on "Human Rights" (*CETB 9*, 2017), Islam is acknowledged but backgrounded and human rights is foregrounded: "The values of human rights are not new to the Muslim people of Afghanistan who have been nurtured in the school of Islam, however, human rights as a system, came under the limelight in the first constitution in 1303"[170] (p. 46). The civic education textbooks present social institutions by rendering absent hudud (punishable limitation). A debate on banks does not make a reference to *riba* (usury) although it highlights investment and lending as functions of banks (Bakhtyari & Mazari, 2017, p. 19, henceforth, *CETB 8*) and immoral punishable behaviours refer to narcotics (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 6) as opposed to *zina* (adultery). This way, the textbooks suggest a modern representation of social institutions and a moderate Islam simultaneously.

Besides the positive construction of democracy stated above, the textbooks portray a strong relationship between the people and the government. *CETB 12* (2017) presents a broad spectrum of relationships between people and the government: "The subject matter and important contents of the constitution are on the study of the relationship between the government and the people, and specify the rights, privileges, responsibilities and authority limits of these two groups"[171] (p. 21). *CETB 9* (2017) establishes the relationship between the people and the government based on sound democracy principle: "[…] the government is the right of the people and it is the people who should decide about the affairs of their country"[172] (p. 18). *CETB 12* (2017) positions people in charge of the government: "Therefore, through democracy, the people of a country gain the opportunity to freely participate in political decision making and to exercise their will in the implementation and monitoring of government affairs" [173]

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[170] ارزش هاي حقوق بشر براي مردم مسلمان افغانستان كه در مكتب آزادي بخش اسلام تربيت شده اند، چيز تازه اي نيست؛ اما حقوق بشر به طور نظام يافته، عمدتاً در اولين قانون اساسي در سال 1303 هجري شمسي مورد توجه قرار گرفت.

[171] موضوع و محتویات مهم قانون اساسی مطالعه روابط میان حکومت و مردم بوده و حقوق، امتیازات، صلاحیت ها و حدود اختیارات این دو گروه را مشخص می سازد.

[172] […] حکومت حق مردم است و این مردم هستند که باید در مورد مسائل کشور خود تصمیم بگیرند.

[173] پس مردم یک کشور فرصت میابند از طریق و راه دموکراسی در تصمیم های سیاسی به طور آزادانه مشارکت داشته و در پیشبرد امور و نظارت بر حکومت ارادهٔ شان را به کار گیرند.

(p. 85). This relationship is reemphasized "the highest legislative body is the embodiment of the will of the people" [174] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 12).

The textbooks give the government a wide range of responsibilities. *CETB 12* (2017) highlights the importance of the government as: "the supreme rule in legislation and law enforcement systems" and confirms that "sovereignty is limited to the extent that a state does not violate other states' rights" [175] (4). The textbook also underlines the need for order by showing the effect of the absence of government as a disorder, interruption, lawlessness, barbarism, oppression, and tyranny in which case "[…] lives and property and honour of the people are endangered, and chaos (anarchism) take its place" [176] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 5). *CETB 8* (2017) refers to social services as government responsibility, from education, agriculture, health care, and banking, to commercial markets, the traffic police, telecommunications, emergency services, and the media. *CETB 12* (2017), indicates that the government is the preserver of Afghan culture, the embodiment of political institutions, and responsible for political development in a state. Other responsibilities of the government include safeguarding national heritage and promoting councils (*PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 39, 51) as well as importing those goods that do not harm national industries and the health of the people (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 56). Hence, the textbooks partly break away from Islam and its institutions and endorse government institutions for the contemporary era.

The textbooks promote social harmony. In another book (Bakhtyari, Faruq & Moshfiq, 2017, henceforth, *CETB 11*, 2017), social rules and regulations are considered vital for social harmony (p. 31). An analogy of bees and ants is given for their organization and harmonious life: "They do their job without disobeying the instructions of their higher authorities" [177] (*CETB 11*, p. 24). In this analogy, disobeying authority is highlighted as a cause of social disorder. A few pages later, the text acknowledges that bees differ from human beings who are prone to social deviation due to factors such as population density, displacement, migration, ethnic diversity and others (p. 31). Furthermore, the need for social control is due to people's tendency to rebel: "abundance of population, inequality, discrimination and other causes lead to tension,

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[174] عالی ترین ارگان تقنینی مظهر ارادهٔ مردم است

[175] فرمانروایی عالی ترین قدرت دولت قانون گذار و اجرا کنندهٔ قانون است. قلمرو حاکمیت برای اعمال قدرت تا آنجاست که با حقوق دیگر دولت ها تداخل نداشته باشد. امروز این اصل پذیرفته شده که فرمانروایی دولت، بر خاسته از خواست و ارادهٔ مردم است به این دلیل، رژیم های سیاسی خود را نماینده مردم می دانند.

[176] […] جان، مال و ناموس مردم به خطر می افتد و آنارشیسم)هرج و مرج(جای آن را میگیرد

[177] آنها بدون آنکه از هدایات مقامات بالاتر خود مخالفت و سرپیچی کنند، امور خود را پیش میبرند […] .

social disorganization, and together they enhance deviance and encourage people to rebel" (p. 31).[178] Hence, the same concern stated above, reappears here, by historically presenting rebellion, deviation, and uncontrollable large populations.

By emphasizing the government's role in attaining order, ensuring sovereignty, and offering services, the textbooks hold people responsible for the government. *PATB 8* (2017) details relevant information in such subtitles as "obeying the law", "guarding and protecting the government", "collaboration with governmental institutions", "financially supporting the government" (i.e., by paying taxes), "thrift in consumption", and "performing duties in an appropriative manner" (p. 74). Another textbook reads: "Some laws oversee public conduct and adherence but some others are related to the performance of the government"[179] (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 32). Hence, laws 'oversee people' but only 'relate to government performance'.

People are also responsible for their political participation. The following text (*CETB 12*, 2017) evasively warns people:

> In many countries, not only the participation of people in politics is discouraged but they are also not allowed to interfere in politics. This issue has two main reasons: 1. The government has the power to limit political interference. So far as there exists public illiteracy, ignorance, weakness, and incapability in understanding and conducting political affairs, it is easy for governments to curtail political participation. 2. Elites and rulers always fear that their values, interests, and connections will be lost [180] (p. 31).

This text positively warns people of their responsibility to enhance their political participation and refers to power abuse by the government. It does not overlook how the personal interests of elites and rulers may hinder political participation. As such, the textbook partakes in raising awareness about the prospect and circumstances of losing political rights.

The textbooks position the government as an authority to enforce order. This is evident in the textbooks' presentation of the underlying reasons for the creation of the early governments: "With the expansion of human society their control became more difficult, and the kinship and tribal rules could no longer respond to the emerging needs. […] [Therefore] [s]ome

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[178] ازدیاد نفوس، نابرابری، بي عدالتي و، تبعیض و سایر عوامل که تشنج به بار آورده، ایجاد بي نظمي کرده، انحراف را افزایش داده، و مردم را به شورش سوق میدهند.

[179] بعضی از قوانین ناظر به اعمال مردم است که بایستی بدان عمل کنند، ولی بعضی دیگر معطوف به عملکرد حکومت است

[180] چرا بعضی از کشورها نمی گذارند که اتباع آنها در اداره کشور مشارکت کنند؟ در بسیاری از دولت ها نه تنها شرکت تود ههای مردم در سیاست مورد تشویق قرار نمی گیرد، بلکه به آن ها اجازه مداخله در سیاست هم داده نمیشود، این موضوع دو علت اساسی دارد: -1 حکومت قدرت محدود کردن دخالت در سیاست را دارد. تا زمانی که بیسوادی، بی خبری عمومی، ضعف و عدم تشکیل و ناآگاهی مردم و ناتوانی آنها در درک مسایل سیاسی وجود داشته باشد، برای حکومت کار نسبتاً آسانی است که دخالت در سیاست را محدود سازد. -2 نخبه گان و حکام اغلب می ترسند که مبادا ارزش ها، منافع و علایق آنها از میان برود.

tribal leaders gathered more power so that they could control larger populations"[181] (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 4). Hence, the text discusses disciplinary institutions; the court, police, and prison under independent sub-titles (*CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 32-33). As an example, the text highlights the role of the police force: "in the absence of police force in the society, the executive branch of government cannot ask the people to carry out government orders. In that case, many people will disobey government orders"[182] (*CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 32-33(. Therefore, the textbooks establish the need for the government through its services including law enforcement and demand people to reciprocate.

The textbooks also discuss government failures through the application of certain textual devices that help text obscure the failures. First, *CETB 8* (2017), places specific issues in a historical context. For instance, a text blames the low level of exports of goods from Afghanistan on the decades-long decline in exports (pp. 22-23). In another example, *CETB 9* (2017) details the first post-9/11 presidential election but comparatively only briefly refers to the second election (p. 24). Second, *CETB 11* (2017) confirms the shortcomings of the government but holds liable the people. For instance: "In the years of war and crisis different groups have seen the potential of their activities in Afghanistan as suitable and have taken advantage of the absence of the control of the government in remote areas" [183] (p. 89). While "the absence of the control of the government" is confirmed, the text, in fact, forwards the 'different groups' as responsible for insecurity. Another lesson in *CETB 11* (2017), on addiction and narcotics confirms that smugglers "buy some government officials (particularly [in] the police and courts]" to facilitate their activities and smugglers coordinate with some "high governmental officials" leading to the spread of administrative corruption (pp. 90-91). As such the textbooks individualize rather than institutionalize a problem. The identification of governments is consistent with the acknowledgement of Islamic kingdoms' failures leading to civil wars.

In conclusion, the textbooks imagine the nation's governments through the characterization of individuals rather than institutions and in doing so highlight their ambitions for centralization of the government and power and their demise as a result of familial conflicts,

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[181] با وسعت جوامع انساني، ادار ةآن ها نيز دُشوار گرديد و قواعد خويشاوندي و قبيله يي نمي توانست پاسخگوي نيازهاي جديد باشد. برخي از سران قبايل، نيرو و امكانات بيشتري فراهم كردند تا بتوانند جمعيت بيشترى را اداره كنند.

[182] اگر پولیس در جامعه نباشد، بخش اجرایی حکومت نمیتواند از مردم بخواهد که فرامین حکومتی را اجرا نمایند.

[183] در سال های جنگ و بحران گروه های مختلف زمینهٔ فعالیت خود را در افغانستان مساعد دیده و از فقدان کنترل دولت بر مناطق دور دست استفاده نموده و به فعالیت پرداختند..

British interferences, and rare cases of their own short-sightedness. The textbooks depict governments in the position of service delivery including law enforcement.

Gender Equality

The textbooks cover the gender equality theme comparatively in fewer topics. The textbooks do not allocate any specific lesson to gender equality but discuss it under sub-titles; "Women and Development" (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 74), "Gender and Inequality" (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 67), and "Women Participation" (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 39). Before a discussion on gender equality, it merits attention to view how the textbooks perceive human rights in general. Normatively, human right is progressively referenced in the textbooks. In *CETB 9* (2017), human rights is defined as the right to life, freedom, and security of the person, 'the feeling of' equality before the law, human dignity, the right to marriage, property rights, freedom of thought, belief, expression, and the media; right to education (p. 44-45). The textbook makes historical, Islamic, and constitutional references to establish the seriousness of human rights in Afghanistan and obliges the government to provide and secure the rights of all citizens (*CETB 9*, 2017, pp. 47-49). In endorsing human rights, the textbook refers to specific national and international human rights conventions and institutional endorsements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (*CETB 9*, 2017, pp. 44, 47). These references make it clear that the textbooks view human rights as a concept that is embedded in the social values of Afghanistan and has an international dimension and validation.

The textbooks also touch upon the theme of justice through an Islamic lens. In discussing Islamic justice, *PATB 9* (2017) describes the restoration of equality through *qessas* (retaliation) in the case of theft committed by an elite woman. The Prophet does not grant the privileged woman any mercy due to Islam's non-discriminatory principle and consequently, her hand is cut off. The Prophet is quoted as saying, "I swear to God, even if Fatimah the daughter of Mohammad steals, I will cut her hand off" (p. 78). Another story in the textbook describes *qassas* during Umar's rule in which the son of the Governor of Egypt faces qassas for the murder of a Christian man. This is the Islamic portrayal of justice in favour of non-Muslims in a politically high-profile case. Furthermore, the text details in independent subtitles the various types of right to life by disapproving of killing, suicide, genocide, mass murder, and abortion (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 27-29). However, the translation of a presented Quranic verse reads, "O believers! You have been

ordered retaliation for the killed. Of course, the wisdom of retribution in the punishment of murder is to guarantee the life of society […]" (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 28). On capital punishment, a textbook (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 39) presents different 'views on crime and deviation', and introduces the 'labelling view' indicating that it perceives public displays of punishment as wrong but continues that "unless there is a greater interest in it, like teaching a lesson to others and preventing them from committing crimes" by "cutting the hand of a thief and lashing an alcohol drinker or a (premarital sex) adulterer"[184] (p. 41). Since the textbook does not counter argue this view, and its undertone is positive, one may conclude that the textbook endorses this view. The textbooks have a strict approach to justice when it is explicated through an Islamic lens.

The textbooks articulate gender equality as an Islamic value. A Quranic verse is interpreted as a confirmation that people are born from men and women and difference is an opportunity so that people to know one another (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 84; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 67). *CETB 10* (2017), acknowledges women's capability, "provided that they enter the scenes of political, social, economic and cultural life as the driving force of history within the framework of Islamic ideas, rules and values"[185] (p. 74). The text does not render this condition mandatory for men. *CETB 12* (2017) views the rights of women from an Islamic perspective but states that: "essentially the Western world has learned the political participation of women from Islamic teachings"[186] (p. 40). The reason for this, according to the text is that in England suffrage rights of women were not given to them until 1918, in America until 1920, in Italy until 1925, in France until 1944, and in Swiss in 1971. However, when a text discusses gender equality in the 20th century and speaks of women presidents, instead of offering examples from Islamic countries, it exemplifies Margret Thatcher in England and Indira Gandhi in India (p. 40). The textbook grants women's rights through Islam to the extent that claims women's rights in the West but the textbooks also condition only women's rights exclusively to Islamic principles.

To endorse gender equality, the textbooks historicize women's rights commencing with the ancient era:

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[184] الی اینکه مصلحت بزرگتری در آن نهفته باشد مثل عبرت دادن به دیگران و باز داشتن شان از ارتکاب جرم تنها به هم ن اساس حدود ی در دین اسلام مشروع و مجاز قرار داده شده است. مثلاً قطع کردن دست سارق (دزد) شلاق زدن شراب خوار و زنا کار (غیر محصن) و غیره.

[185] زنان نیم پیکرة جامعة بشری بوده و قادر اند، نقش خوبی را در تحقق توسع ۀایفا نمایند. مشروط بر آن که آن ها در چوکات عقاید، قواعد و ارزش های اسلامی بالفعل به حیث نیروی محرکة تاریخ وارد صحنه های حیات سیاسی، اجتماعی، اقتصادی و فرهنگی شوند.

[186] اساساً جهان غرب مسأله حق مشارکت سیاسی زنان را از تعالیم اسلام فراگرفته است؛

> The role of women in the Vedic age was clear, with several women working with their husbands outside the home, and a number of them took care of the house. Besides, many women, in the same way as scientists (*Rishis*), were engaged in social affairs and would recite poems[187] (Barwari, Ahmadzai, Haqpal, 2010, pp. 5-6, henceforth, *HSTB 10, 2017*).

CETB 12 (2017) highlights the active participation of women in political, economic, and scientific realms during the reigns of King Amanullah (1919-1929) and King Mohammad Zahir (1919-the 1970s) before acknowledging the Bonn Agreement (2001) as a historical landmark for women's rights (p. 41). As such women's rights appear to be a historical social asset.

Gender rights are also endorsed from a cultural perspective. In a textbook (Ashrafi & Rawan, 2017, henceforth, *PATB 7*, 2017), a lesson on the characteristics of Afghans refers to respect for women (pp. 42-44), and another lesson in the book underlines that different social groups have some rights toward one another regardless of whether they are men or women (p. 80). A comparison between men and women regards the difference between the two as natural but inequality as unfair in a historical context because:

> Because housework, while difficult, did not have a tangible income, the social status of women was degraded day by day, and their ability and merit were considered less than that of men. That is why in all societies, important and high-level jobs are in the hands of men[188] (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 67-68).

Student activities in *PATB 9* (2017) demand students explain the effect of law enforcement in maintaining the rights of women and children (p. 76), and the secret to the success of society in unity and solidarity among men and women (p. 80). As such, women's rights are endorsed through historical and contemporary narratives.

The textbooks also confirm the political rights of women. *CETB 12* (2017) highlights the roles of women in unconventional areas, such as in promoting democracy and combating wars and calls for a women-friendly quota system in the parliament and the upper house (p. 14) and referring to the structure of the upper house or the elders' house states that from the appointed members of the house, "The president appoints fifty percent of the appointed persons as

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[187] سهم زنان در عصر ویدی مشخص بود، یکتعداد از زنان شوهران شان را بیرون از خانه همکاری میکردند. و تعداد شان امور منزل را برعهده داشتند. افزون بر آن یک تعداد زنان همچون دانشمندان)ریشی ها(به امور اجتماعی اشتغال داشتند

[188] به دلیل آن که کار خانه در عین سخت بودن، درآمد ملموسی نداشت، مقام اجتماعی زنان روز به روز تنزل یافت و توانایی و شایسته گی آنها کمتر از مردان در نظر گرفته شد و به همین خاطر در همه جوامع ارهاي مهم و با صلاحیت در دست مردان قرار دارد.

women"[189] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 13). As such, the rights of women are endorsed in the political sphere.

While women are rarely present in historical narratives, their presence is often motivated by political reasons. Women characters appear in four historical contexts: first, as political alliance makers. For example, the marriage of Alexander the Great "with a young girl named Ruksana" aimed to form a political alliance with a local commander in Balkh (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 18), and the marriage of King Shujah with the daughter of Dost Mohammad Khan sought to create an alliance with his brother Wazir Fatih Khan (*HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 23) and the Barakakzai brothers (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 22). Second, in the context of wars against the British: "As the famous epic of the young girl Malala who had partaken the *Maiwand* battle. When the flag carrier died on the battlefield, she raised the national flag to boost the morality of the ghazis" [190] (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 51). This is also narrated in (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 12). Other references are Haino who condemned her husband for escaping a war led by Ahmad Shah in India (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 40-41), Bibi Halahi who supported her son Abdul Qader in fighting the British (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 4), and Ghazi Adi who fought the British (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 29). The patriotism textbooks portray women as mujahidin who took part in the war with the British (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 40; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 28; *PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 29, 66). W helped the *mujahidin* by providing water and food on the battlefields, "hundreds of mujtahid women" took part during Anglo-Afghan wars (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 40), and 'lionesses' and loins took part in *jihad* (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 66). Another example mentions that "as only in the Afghan-Anglo wars in Afghanistan, 850 women took part in Kabul forests and the plains of Asmayee mountain, of which 83 became martyrs" [191] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 29). Hence, women are portrayed as worriers and mujahidin to defend their country.

Third, textbooks refer to women in a family lineage context. All family lineages discussed always include an indication of fathers and brothers but only the most prominent iconic leaders may have the names of their female family members mentioned: Ahmad Shah Abdali's mother, Zarghona (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 8; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 25), Mirwais Khan's mother, Nazo Ana (*HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 70; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 17), King Amanullah's wife, Queen Soraya

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[189] رئیس جُمهور تعداد پنجاه فیصد از این اشخاص انتصابی را از بین زنان برای این کار توظیف و تعیین م کند.

[190] چنانچه حماسهٔ مشهور ملالی دختر جوانی که در جنگ میوند اشتراک نموده بود موقعیکه علم بردار در میدان نبرد به شهادت رسید علم ملی را بدست گرفته، نگذاشت که روحیهٔ غازیان ضعف گردد […]

[191] چنانچه تنها در تجاوز دوم انگلیس بر افغانستان 850 زن در جنگهای کابل در دامنه هاي کوه آسمايي شرکت ورزيدند، که 83 تن آنها به شهادت رسيدند؛ طوری که کارنامهٔ غازي ادي در جنگ کابل و کارنامهٔ ملالي در نبرد ميوند، از خاطرات فراموش ناشدنی به حساب م يرود.

(*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 86), and Salahuddin Saljoqi's wife, Omaira Saljoqi (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 71) are mentioned by their names alone. As such, women's names come beside prominent historical figures for a sentimental effect rather than on their merit.

Fourth, textbooks figuratively refer to women to construct patriotism. 'Mother' is used as an analogy for the country (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 13, 20, 21, 22, 35; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 6, 70; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 42, 50, 89, 90) while for hard power the 'manly' adjective is a common characterization, for instance in passages such as safeguarding the country in a manly manner (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 41, 87; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 37; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 39); not succumbing to the enemy and fighting back in a firm and manly manner (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 43; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 12); a historical record of a hasty and manly rush to jihad front against the enemy (*PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 28, 65,); good manly characters as a factor of common national identity (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 31); manhood a trait of a national leader (PATB 9, 2017, p. 45); Afghans have manly identities (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 31), and keeping one's promise in a manly manner (PATB 7, 2017, p. 43). Hence, the female gender is sentimental and the male gender is for leadership and identity formation.

In Farsi-Dari, pronouns are neutral; therefore, it is futile to identify gender discrimination in the grammatical structures unless there are overt references. Overt gender bias occasionally appears in such examples as teachers symbolically perceived as "intellectual fathers" (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 5) or parenthood is described as the right of "father over son" (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 70), ethnic groups live 'brotherly' (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 60), people join the hand of brotherhood and unity (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 68), every Afghan considers themselves as brothers (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 68), Islamic bonding is on the basis of 'brotherhood' (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 56, 68), and defence of the country is a sign of freedom and chivalry (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 82). In Dari/Farsi, the literal meaning for 'chivalry' is comprised of a compound noun *jawan* (young) and *mardi* (manhood) to denote stereotypical masculine qualities and the prime of masculine strength. As such, even in their figurative depiction women are inferior to men.

The textbooks position women in traditional roles as mothers, wives, and teachers. *CETB11* (2017) states that "in Afghan society, the character of the mother in shaping the morale and behaviour of a child is more significant than any other member of the family"[192] (p. 8). The textbook identifies women's roles as: "Each person plays several roles. For example, at home, a

[192] در محیط افغانی شخصیت مادر در جهت دادن اخلاق و رفتار کودک از هر فرد خانواده بیشتر اثرگذار میباشد.

person may be a **mother** and **spouse**, in the school a **teacher,** and in a political party an **ordinary member […][193]**" (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 29, emphasis in original). The word "ordinary" qualifies and confines political membership. *CETB 10* (2017) calls women the "illiterate majority" (, p. 74) while in support of women's education but no reference is made to the illiteracy of their male counterparts. Thus, women are constituted as the only people who are illiterate.

Gender inequality is perpetuated in illustrations. The textbooks depict men and boys in seventy percent of pictures, while in thirty percent of pictures, women are depicted in political and traditionally assumed female occupational roles as politicians in the voting act and as workers in the tailoring act (*CETB 12*, 2017), and as students in learning act (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 3). (see Figure 14). This portrayal indicates the absence of women in less traditional roles as farmers or engineers.

Figure 14: Portrayal of women in social roles.

National identity is masculine in text and pictures. In one lesson titled "National Identity" (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 14), the map of the country is covered by male faces except one woman. Femineity is limited to a very young age in some pictures; for instance, between the ages of children and adult women, teenage girls are not depicted. Young child girls are depicted holding the national flag (*PATB 7*, 2017, 42), appearing behind the cover page of Qurhan (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 27), in school uniform reading a book (PAT 9, 2017, p. 89; The Group of Textbook Authors of the Department of Civic Education*, 2018,* henceforth, *CETB 7*, 2018, Cover Page), in all white gown in a pilgrimage (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 67). The chastity of women allows them to appear in these roles: while holding a machine gun (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 89) or in community dispute settlement councils (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 58), and in the traditionally approved roles as teachers (*CETB 8*, 2017, p. 4), doctors (*CETB 8*, 2017, p. 15), and tailors (*CETB 8*, 2017, p. 11, *CETB 12*,

[193] هر شخصی رولهای متعددی را بازی میکند. مثلاً یک نفر ممکن است در خانه **مادر** و **همسر**، در مکتب **معلم** و در حزب **عضو عادی** باشد. او هر رول را در جای خود بازی میکند

2017, p. 39) but also the post-9/11 political contexts as parliamentarians or leaders (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 55), voters (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 39, p. 110), and peaceful protesters (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 18). Women are depicted in action in public spaces, however, in discussions of social calamities, such as poverty, social inequality, displacement, addiction, illiteracy, homelessness, land mines, and child labour, as well as cultural activities, images of men and boys dominate and exclude women.

In conclusion, the textbooks imagine the nation as supporting the rights of women historically, constitutionally, and from an Islamic perspective. The textbooks depict these rights in cultural and political arenas. However, the textbook only depicts women as political alliance makers through intermarriages, facilitators of war against the British and Russia, elements of affect through association with iconic figures such as mothers and wives, and in patriotic context as in such symbols as 'motherland'. Although the textbooks confirm the political participation of women and their portrayal in action, the traditional role of women stands as one that is essential and primary.

Conclusion

The identified textbooks' imagining of the nation in Afghanistan as citizens is multifaceted. Although the textbooks do not utilize the terms citizen and citizenship, they construct the concept of subjecthood with the same values as relevant to citizenship. The textbooks identify the rights of subjects through discussions on preconditions, values, principles, systems, institutions, and practices of democracy that well define democratic citizenship. Afghanistan subjects are situated in this context as beneficiaries of democratic citizenship. In their positioning of citizenship, the textbooks perceive people in charge of the governments attained through their political participation and they consider the government accountable to the people. The textbooks utilize Islam, the constitution, and the traditional institution of jirga to define and legitimize democratic values, civic rights, cultural rights, and political rights of subjects in the country.

A strong element of democracy in the textbooks is the constitution. The textbooks construct the democracy in Afghanistan as unique and attempt to prove its compatibility with Islam by representing the former as a political and the latter as an ethical and divine entity. In this context, the textbooks confirm the authority of the constitution as the supreme law of the

nation and concurrently regard sharia as a law that cannot be contracted by any man-made law including the constitution. In fact, by indicating that the constitution is based on sharia, the textbooks exhibit an overlap between the two sources of law. In general, the established hierarchy of the constitution and sharia grants the latter a higher universal and divine status. Besides other rights, the textbooks refer to the constitution to highlight political participation, for both women and men, as their right and allow peaceful political rallies and demonstrations by common people.

The textbooks portray the traditional jirga institution, both in the pre-Islamic Aryan era and in the modern Islamic era, as the basis of political participation and by extension democracy. The textbooks depict the historical progress of previous constitutions each of which is legitimized through jirga. In a historical contextual depiction, some constitutions have more details and are positively represented while others are brief and often neutrally presented without any qualifier. The textbooks perceive the current democratic division of power within the state as the continuation of the traditional practice of jirgas.

The construction of the government as a service delivery entity is strongly present in the textbooks. By framing the government as an authority responsible for attaining order, ensuring sovereignty, and offering services of both political and cultural natures, the text discusses the need for law enforcement and disciplinary institutions, the court, police, and prison. The textbooks recognize the flaws and shortcomings of governments both in their historical and contemporary contexts including top-down policies, familial conflicts, and corruption. The textbooks hold people responsible for abiding by laws but also positively warn them of their responsibility to enhance their political participation because of the threat of power abuse by governments.

The textbooks represent the government as an entity that has always pushed modernization and reform agendas. Each government has embarked on consolidation of power, modernization of administration, and scientific progress. The textbooks also condemn the reactionaries of the top-down democracy initiatives. The textbooks historicize reform and progress through narratives of the country's iconic leaders. By linking progress and reform to democracy the textbooks contextualize democracy as a positive value.

The textbooks present gender equality as a value that is embedded in the culture, laws, religion, and history of the people of Afghanistan. By referring to the constitution and Islamic

values, the textbooks endorse the presentation of women in all spheres of life. To endorse gender equality, the textbooks historicize women's rights commencing with the ancient Aryan era and the 20th century modernization before acknowledging the Bonn Agreement as a historical landmark for women's rights. As such women's rights appear to be a historical social asset. The text does not render this condition mandatory for men. The textbooks position women in traditional roles as mothers, wives, and teachers but also recognize the political participation of women.

From the perspective of the textbooks, a subject (as opposed to a citizen) both male and female, is a 'democrat' who believes in the 'unique' democracy of Afghanistan representing a site that demonstrates the compatibility of Islam and democracy, jirga and consensus building, and the constitution including its historical progressive developments. The political subject has civil, cultural, and political rights including monitoring the government affairs with a 'critical attitude' that denotes activism within the government through vote and nomination. A subject takes pride in the national progress of governments that have historically achieved centralization, power consolidation, and modernization through science and knowledge but have also failed in providing social services. Hence a subject abides by the law and complies with disciplinary institutions for social order as a common good.

Chapter Eight: Representational Strategies of Imagining the Nation

In this chapter, I respond to part 'B' of the first research question of this study by analyzing the representational strategies that the identified textbooks utilize to construct the imagining of the nation and establish the relationship between nationalism and citizenship. In Chapter Two, I discussed the overlap between patriotism and citizenship; hence, the division of these two conceptions in this chapter is for the purpose of precision and clarification in establishing their overlap. Given the arguments in Chapter Two concerning the theoretical formation of nationalism, I apply nationalism and patriotism interchangeably in this chapter. The analysis of this chapter is a revisit of the findings of Chapter Six and Chapter Seven, each of which analyzed the construction of nationalism and the formation of citizenship, respectively. Unlike the previous two chapters and in line with the methodological framework of this study explicated in Chapter Four, this chapter presents a negotiated reading of the textbooks from readers' (my) perspectives. This chapter finds that the imagining of the nation in the textbooks articulates the relationship between nationalism and citizenship with a discursive pyramid: history as the base or foundational element of the pyramid, tradition and democracy as the two side elements, and Islam as the altitude of the pyramid with which all above elements attain meaning. Paradoxically, the common cultural grounds of the discursive pyramid have come together not only through their coherent but also negotiated articulations. Therefore, the reconciliation of patriotism and citizenship constructions is a forged unity of interrupted, disjoined, differed, and negotiated meanings. The rest of this chapter is presented as follows. Under specific headings, I discuss the Historicization of Patriotism and Citizenship, Indigenization of Patriotism and Citizenship, Democratization of Patriotism and Citizenship, Islamization of Patriotism and Citizenship, and the Simultaneous Banality of Nationalism and Citizenship. The Conclusion presents the highlights of findings in light of the research question.

Historicization of Patriotism and Citizenship

The analysis of the textbooks indicates that, in the imagining of the nation in Afghanistan, history serves as the foundational or base element of the discursive pyramid that concurrently constructs patriotism and citizenship. A primordial perspective (Shils, 1995; Gibsly, 2005) highlights the role of history in constructing commonality among people and by extension engendering a sense of communality. Historicization is evident in a wide range of representations

and articulations that construct patriotism. The constructs include five thousand years of existence that is presented chronologically through periodization of events (e.g., Bawari, Jabarkhail, Haqpal, Ahmadzai & Ahmadzai, 2017, henceforth, *HSTB 7, 2017*; Panjshiri, Hotak, Rawnaqi & Babakarkhail, 2017, henceforth *HSTB 9, 2017*; Hotak, Rawnaqi & Babakarkhail, 2017, henceforth, *HSTB 12, 2017*) as opposed to their thematic portrayal. Within this history, the textbooks construct an imagining of the community with a sense of communion among a people who have lived together eternally and ceaselessly in a geography that has always been called 'Afghanistan'. For instance, "[…] from ancient times, Afghanistan has been the cradle of civilizations"[194] (Barwari, Ahmadzai, Haqpal, 2017, p. 3, henceforth, *HSTB 10*, 2017). In another example, "Among the famous historical civilizations that can be recognized in Afghanistan and the region is the Greco-Bactrian civilization." [195] (HSTB 10, p. 29). Such statements are repeated elsewhere too (e.g *HSTB 7, 2017*, pp. 7, 13-15) This allows the textbooks (Ashrafi & Rawan, 2017, henceforth, *PATB 7*, 2017)(Wazeen & Hotak, 2017, henceforth, *PATB 8*, 2017) (Hadaf & Helaman, 2017, henceforth, *PATB 9*, 2017) to portray patriotism as a natural phenomenon. Only on rare occasions, Afghanistan is considered in historical context in light of Aryan civilization "From two to three thousand years BC, ancient Ariana (now Afghanistan) had advanced agriculture and irrigation and a prosperous and populous city." [196] (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 3). This historical depiction of 'Afghanistan' in the textbooks is spatially demarcated and temporally defined for future consumption.

The five-thousands years of historical continuity serves as a reservoir of past elements of patriotism. In the meanwhile, primordial historicization necessitates selectivity to construct a glorified past. The historical depiction of Afghanistan is the cradle and crossroad of science and civilizations (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 29; *PATB 7*, 2017, p. 86), the nurturer of Aryan and Islamic civilizations (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 7, 8; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 14), the "inventors" of the Greek-Bakhatri and Greco-Buddhist civilizations, the bearer of the Vedic and Avastan civilizations, and "home" to such religions as Buddhism and Zoroastrianism (*HSTB 7, 2017*, pp. 17, 20; *HSTB 10, 2017*, pp. 3-7, 43-46). As such, the textbooks render history a site where a common territory, a shared ancient time, and glorified civilizations coincide to imagine a nation worthy of the pride of its patriots.

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[194] افغانستان از دور ههای قدیم تا امروز، گهوارهٔ فرهنگ و تمدن بوده.

[195] از جمله مدنیتهای مشهور تاریخی که در افغانستان و منطقه قابل شناخت است، مدنیت یونانو باختر میباشد

[196] آریانای کهن)فغانستان امروز(از دو تا سه هزار سال قبل از میلاد دارای زراعت و آبیاری پیشرفته و شهر توانگر و پرنفوس بود.

Historicization is also evident in the discursive formation of citizenship. The textbooks historicize citizenship through the articulation of democracy in the ancient pre-Islamic time (Moshfiq, Fazil & Omarkhail, 2017, pp. 93-94, henceforth, *CETB 12*, 2017; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 58), the constitutionalist movement of the 20th century (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 66), the democracy decade of the 1970s (*HSTB 12*, 2017, p. 105; *HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 60; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 65, p. 87), and the Bonn Conference of 2001 (CETB 12, pp. 41, 79, 95, 98), the last of which connects historical citizenship enactment to a more recent past. The textbooks underscore the achievements of past constitutions from the 20th century although more emphasis is given to the post-independence (1919) (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 22) and post-9/11 (2001) constitutions (Mohaqiq, Omarkhail & Hazrati, 2017, p. 8, henceforth, *CETB 9*, 2017) indicating a selective approach to historical narration of citizenship. As such, because from the perspective of the textbooks democracy has ancient pre-Islamic roots in Afghanistan, it inevitably intersects and overlaps with patriotism.

The selective historicization approach in the formation of citizenship is not constrained to constitutional democracy but also constitutes the discursive construction of governments and governance. The textbooks construct pre-Islamic era governments through the glorification of the Aryan era to build a historical context for governments. However, subsequently, the textbooks present those governments as lawless, authoritarian, and barbaric (Ansari, Ghori, Omar, Habid & Ahmadzai, 2017, pp. 3-4, 11-12, henceforth, *HSTB 8, 2017*) to welcome the advent of Islam and the establishment of the first Islamic governments. This allows the acclamation of Islamic era governments. The textbooks yet again present the early Islamic governments as lacking a centralized power establishment and to redress this historical flaw, the textbooks pompously underline the modern mid-18th and 19th centuries' governments and their consolidation of power and centralization of administration as milestones to end two centuries of material and moral decline in society (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 4-6). This glorification is followed yet by another critical perspective when textbooks celebrate power consolidation but reveal the failure of the early modern governments in service delivery. However, the textbooks attributed the failure to contextual circumstances rather than the misconduct of iconic rulers. Through historical narratives, the textbooks exhibit that rivalries of the dynastical male lineages led to prolonged periods of social unrest (e.g., *HSTB 8, 2017*, pp. 10, 13, 15, 24, 28, 54; Ansari, Ghori & Habid, 2017, p. 17, henceforth, *HSTB11*, 2017; *HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 17, 29). This construction does not

shy away from referring to political intermarriages that may be viewed as sexual politics motivated by the political choices of dynastical rulers (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 18; *HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 22). Given this historical portrayal of government and governance, the textbooks claim that Afghanistan's patriotic society has been political from ancient times.

To conclude, historicization in the analyzed textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through a primordial lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the selective historicization of the past and contemporary social common grounds. More specifically, the representational strategies of the textbooks are as follows: representing historical narratives in chronological rather than thematic order, constructing historicized commonalities among people, naturalizing patriotism, glorifying the past through selective portrayal of events, historicizing modern phenomena such as the constitution and the government, and negotiating the glory of one era governments by devaluing its glory to introduce yet a more prideful era government.

Indigenization of Patriotism and Citizenship

Tradition is one of the two side elements of the discursive pyramid that concurrently constructs patriotism and citizenship in the imagining of the nation in Afghanistan. Ingenuity is a primordial stance to nationalism that is embedded in a prideful but selective history. The analyzed textbooks do not lose sight of indigenizing patriotism where the "nativeness" and "originality" of culture in Afghanistan serve as a catalyst in enriching world civilizations before they were returned to the world with "a new face" (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 54). A patriotic example of the construction of such indigeneity and originality is racial nobility. The textbooks construct the Aryans racial nobility defined as noble and virtuous (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 15), pure and noble (*HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 3), noble [by birth] and virtuous, cultivator, farmer (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 9), and the nurturer and originator of civilizations around the world (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 14; *HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 16; *HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 4). This nobility construction resonates with the production of ideals of citizenship for its emphasis on ancient Aryans being democrat (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 93) and respecting women farmers and artists (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 16; *HSTB 10, 2017*, 5-6). This depiction not only features the nobility of Aryans but also their democratic way of life. This depiction constructs the people as indigenous with modern-era qualities. In other words, in this portrayal, both citizenship and patriotism are constituted.

Not only is patriotism articulated with ingenuity through the construction of racial nobility but citizenship is also indigenized by associating democracy with tradition. The textbooks endorse the constitution by the traditional jirga institution (grand national assemblies of elders for consensus building) and shura (community consultation circles) (*PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 12, 58-60; *HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 7-11). Through historical narratives, the textbooks depict jirga as a commonality of the people (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 12) when it is historicized from the Aryan (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 58; *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 93) and Islamic (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 11-15, 25, 80, 91, 106,) to the contemporary era marked by government and constitution making (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 8; *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 11-15, 21-23, 34, 93, 95). Therefore, the constitution is not only historical, as stated above but is also traditional. As such, citizenship value (i.e., the constitution) finds a .patriotic discursive ground through the traditional jirga institution

After having established the historical and traditional context of jirga, the textbooks equate the tradition of jirga with modern-era state-building and legislative authority of the House of People (Wolesi jirga, the parliament) and House of Elders (Meshrano jirga, the upper house) (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 10-13, *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 13). It is within these historicized and indigenized contexts that the textbooks present the post-9/11 two loya jirgas (national/grand assembly), one referring to the Bonne agreement (2001) (that formed an interim government with the presence of the International Security Assistance Forces) and the other to the last constitution in 2004 (ratified with the support of the Western countries' political endorsement) (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 95). Hence, the indigenization of the constitution renders feasible the depiction of contemporary citizenship formation.

In conclusion, indigenization in the analyzed textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through a primordial lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the indigenization of the past and contemporary social common grounds. The representational strategies of the textbooks, on the one hand, constitute the imagining of racial nobility to ensure 'naiveness' and 'originality' as it constructs an indigenous noble people who not only had ancient but also modern-era democracy oriented attributes. On the other hand, the representational strategies of the textbooks apply the traditional jirga institution to participate in the construction of the contemporary government executive authority and the constitution in their modern form legitimizing the discursive formation of citizenship.

Democratization of Patriotism and Citizenship

Democracy is one of the two side elements of the discursive pyramid that concurrently constructs patriotism and citizenship in the imagining of the nation in Afghanistan. The textbooks often represent democracy and reform in a complementary fashion because, despite the allocation of independent lessons to democracy it is often an isolated rather than cross cutting theme. The textbooks imagine Afghanistan more often and at more ease with reform associated with science and knowledge than with democracy. However, it appears that the depictions of reform could conveniently be situated within the discursive construction of democracy if democracy was not a difficult theme in the textbooks of the post-9/11 imagining of the nation. For instance, the textbooks elaborate on democracy but in an apological tone indicating that "if" democracy were mentioned in the book, it is because it refers to a political realm (*CETB 12*, 2012, p. 96). Given this caveat, I deem democracy and reform as identical in the following discussions but discuss them individually for a systematic analysis.

As discussed above, the historicized democracy and constitution allow the discourse of contemporary democratic values to appear accustomed. In a historical context, the textbooks highlight the country's present progressive democracy values including elections (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 21), political participation (e.g., *CETB 9*, 2017, pp. 18, 24; *CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 29-42, 85; *HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 61; *HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 106), political parties (*CETB 9*, 2017, pp. 21, 21; *CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 71, 74, 76, 79, 80, 82; *HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 61), the parliament (*CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 12, 22, 26, 33-34, 95), peaceful demonstrations (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 24; *HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 61), the role of the media in national unity (e.g., *CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 109-114; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 80-82), women's political participation, women-friendly quota system in the parliament and in the upper house (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 41), and human rights (*CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 57; 67-82; *CETB 9*, 2017, p. 42-49). Following the aforementioned historicization of the constitution, textbooks endorse the 2004 constitution of the country (*CETB 9*, 2017, pp. 8-9; *CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 21-25, 36, 41) as "the mother and basis of other laws" (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 8). As such, following the familiarisation of contemporary democracy and the last constitution through their historicization, the textbooks have been able to conveniently paint a detailed imagining of democracy attributes.

The textbooks identify the democracy in Afghanistan as unique and articulate it with Islam claiming the two are compatible (*CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 91-93, 96). The textbooks also represent democracy with ancient cultural practices of the Aryan era (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 93). The

textbooks utilize the constitution, Islamic values, and historical constitutional progress concerning rights to legitimize democracy. These values include civic rights (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 24), cultural rights (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 24), political participation, women's participation, human rights, democracy, and the media (C*ETB 12*, 2017, pp. 29-42, 101-115). The textbooks construct democracy by including the separation of powers, monitoring of the government by people, elections, and transparency in government affairs (*CETB 12*, pp. 85, 89-92). Democracy can be practiced through casting a ballot, party membership and candidacy, and winning a seat (*CETB 9*, 2017, pp. 21-22). As such, the textbooks articulate contemporary democracy with common cultural grounds such as Islam, culture, history, and jirga or characteristics that are conventionally attributed to patriotism. As such, it can be deduced that the textbooks' portrayal of citizenship has its roots in patriotism.

The textbooks articulate the democracy of Afghanistan with reform. The textbooks construct reform through periodization of history into "Reform 1868-1879" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 45-48), "Reform 1921-1928" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 79-82), and "Democracy Decade 1963-1973" (*HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 105-108), to name three examples, each of which indicates government rather than people's progressive initiatives. The textbooks imagine the community in Afghanistan as a science nurturing nation. The textbooks represent progress through the country's historic scientific positionality and achievements (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 8, 41, 43, 86; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 15; *HSTB 8*, p. 12; *HSTB 10*. P. 5; *HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 4). The following statements depict the occurrence of knowledge and science in the textbooks: knowledge and industry are the soul of a country (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 41; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 36-37), the Western countries are powerful due to their science and art (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 22), and heroes of Afghanistan have turned the light of science and knowledge on (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 28; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 54). In this construction of science and knowledge, even in ancient times the people of Afghanistan had access to mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, and were familiar with Greek and Sassanid sciences as well as with Indian philosophy (*HSTB 11*, p. 2017, p. 4). As such, science, by being present in ancient times and today in the life of the people as a form of commonality, renders the nexus of citizenship and patriotism plausible.

The above construction is negotiated when the textbooks portray the pre-Islam period as bleak to state Islam removed obstacles in the way of the acquisition of science and knowledge and took away the knowledge monopoly that was in the hands of the powerful and rich people

and rulers (*HSTB 8*, p. 2017, p. 11). Metaphorically, Islam is *light*, an analogy for science and knowledge and contrary to moral decline, backwardness, and ignorance of the pre-Islamic era (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 8). This coexistence of Islam and science is consistent with human evolution depiction simultaneously from religious and scientific perspectives that construct early humans as both primitive and noble creatures (*HSTB 7, 2017*, pp. 4, 28). However, the method of inquiry remains science. The textbooks legitimize history for contemporary consumption through archeological evidence which the textbooks present as science (*HSTB 7, 2017*, pp. 6, 13). As such, science and religion problematically coexist in the construction of patriotism and citizenship both of which aim to articulate the imagining of the nation.

Upon historicization of democracy and reform, as discussed in detail above, the textbooks transition into an economic determinist stance to represent the contemporary government. According to the economic determinist stance, modern-era governments have come into existence with promises of social services leading to the legitimization of government and governance over otherwise scattered socio-cultural and political societies (Gellner, 2006). Through historical narratives, the textbooks historicize service delivery as a failed objective of the past governments in the 18th (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 10), 19th (*HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 48; *HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 47) and 20th centuries (*HSTB 12*, 2017, 54-55) Afghanistan. In these narratives, while confirming success in power consolidation and administration formation, the textbooks acknowledge the lack and failure of social and cultural services under the reign of those remotely situated rulers who are regarded highly for their contribution to state building. This way, the textbooks represent the contemporary government as a service delivery institution.

Governments in their service delivery role are constituted as a political and cultural institution. Governments are to offer social services from education and health to poverty eradication (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 5)(Bakhtyari, Omarkhail & Moshfiq, 2017, p. 83, henceforth, *CETB 11*, 2017)(Omarkhail & Moshfiq, 2017, pp. 56, 71, henceforth, *CETB 10*, 2017); (Bakhtyari & Mazari, 2017, pp. 36-38, henceforth, *CETB 8*, 2017) (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 56). Services delivery is not apolitical but constitutes the involvement of the government in such arenas as the sponsorship of councils (shuras and jirgas) (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 62), equality between all ethnic groups and tribes, national unity and balanced development across the country from social justice perspective (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 47), and national and legal security for the citizens (*CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 11-15). While these services are more of a political nature, some of the

identified government services fall within cultural (patriotic) realms, more tangible examples of which are the preservation of Afghan culture (*CETB 10*, 2017, pp. 46, 50, 63), national heritage (*PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 39, 51), and social harmony (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 33). Hence, the discourse of governments and their service delivery role in the textbooks is both historical and cultural which means they concurrently construct patriotism and citizenship.

As a service delivery intuition serving across the fuzzy border of patriotism and citizenship, the government sets rules and regulations. Social rules and regulations are to be followed in order to attain order and social harmony (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 4; *CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 24-42). To materialize this objective, the textbooks introduce disciplinary institutions such as prisons, courts, and the police, all of which function through government surveillance)*CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 31-34). Therefore, as a service provider that serves both political and cultural interests, the government becomes the watchdog and guardian of not only citizenship but also patriotism.

One of the recurring themes in the textbooks, relevant to the discursive constitution of democracy, is equality. Normatively, the textbooks acknowledge and regard equality for all ethnic groups from Islamic (*HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 11; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 11, 36-38; *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 96), historical (*CETB 9*, 2017, pp. 24, 47; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 10, 60), and democracy and constitutional (*CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 33-34; *CETB 9*, 2017, pp. 12, 47), perspectives. The textbooks render quality as an obligation of the government (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 90), endorse tolerance for difference (*PATB 8*, 2017, 57-58), condemn racial prejudice (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 9; *PATB 9*, pp. 37, 83-85), and state difference is no justification for privilege (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 11). This construction serves as evidence in the historic post-9/11 state building Bonn Conference (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 47; *HSTB 12*, 2017, p. 95). Hence, the textbooks normatively apply common cultural grounds to endorse equality and rights.

In practice, however, the above imagining of equality among ethnic groups relies on the re-articulation of history and this can often be unjust. In their portrayal of ethnicity, the historical grand narratives of the textbooks construct an implied ‘master ethnicity’ or one with which other ethnicities are identified and defined. An implied master ethnicity emerges covertly in the historically situated events when all rulers are from the same ethnic group identifiable by their tribal names rather than through a direct association to the ethnicity in the text and history consists mostly of their intra-tribal and familial rivalries, wars against world powers, modernization agendas, and their failure in sustaining peace and progress. For instance, intra-

tribal conflict is a common occurrence between frequent power changes (e.g., *HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 4; *HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 7, 9, 17-19, 22-24, 25). Reform efforts mentioned above, are mostly carried out by kings from a single ethnicity. Furthermore, in this historicization 'other ethnic groups' form alliances to sustain the rulers (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 11) and 'ethnic or irregular army forces' who receive tax exemption from 'regular forces' (*HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 14) are stereotypically represented (*HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 89). Despite the historical positioning of the 'other' ethnic groups in an amicable relationship with the implied master ethnicity, their contemporary status is not favourable. The textbooks view ethnic diversity, among other factors, as a threat (*CETB 10*, 2017, pp. 19, 82-83) and a social problem for the stability and prosperity of the country (*CETB 10*, 2017, pp. 82-83; *CETB 11*, 2017, p. 37). As such, the textbooks construct an ethnocentric patriotism whose claim of diversity is defined by a hierarchical periphery and centre relationship bound in a forged unity.

While history participates in othering of ethnic groups, the contemporary stance of the textbooks perpetuates othering of all sub-social categories. Stereotypical representations of tribal and countryside lifestyle (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 19), and nomadic communities and immigrants (The Group of Textbook Authors of the Department of Civic Education, 2017, p. 37, henceforth, *CETB 7*, 2018)(*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 72) are indications of classism in the representation of the people. Overall, the textbooks have an urban centric gaze in which urban architecture addresses homelessness (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 83) or an illustration of stages of life is depicted with a male figure in an urban attire not common in rural areas (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 15). The textbooks associate crime, social deviance, and rebellion not only to validate socio-economic factors such as inequality and discrimination but also to high population, internal displacement, and migration (*CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 31, 37-39). More importantly, the textbooks associate high crime rates and social deviation with cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversities and contrast it to an ideal hypothetical scenario of uniformity across social diversities (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 82). This social uniformity preference of the textbooks, as discussed above, has an urban gaze.

The binary representation of social categories inevitably leads to absence and exclusion. The construction of such binary oppositions as demographic homogeneity against diversity and deviation (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 73; *CETB 11, 2017*, pp. 31, 37-38; *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 114), mainstream culture against small cultures (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 19), communal culture against individualism (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 46), and urban against rural populations (*CETB 10*, 2017, p,

19), wherein each the former is preferred over the latter, excludes national groups based on their ethnicity, socio-economic status, geographical location, and lifestyle. Non-Muslims, non-state members (e.g., migrants and refugees), and the diverse sects of Islam also remain outside national social boundaries. The representation of women in the textbooks is discussed in an independent section later in this chapter. As such, the normative recognition of rights, mostly along ethnic lines, proves to be contrary to the empirical representation of diverse and lower social strata.

In conclusion, democratization in the textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through an economic determinist lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the democratization of ancient and contemporary social common grounds. More specifically, the representational strategies of the textbooks constitute the following approaches: depicting democracy as 'unique' by perceiving it as compatible with Islam and associating it with science, knowledge, and reform, representing a detailed explication of democracy values and practices, articulating democracy with service delivery and the historical failure of governments to deliver social services, and constructing governments as guardians of social values and assets involving both those relating to citizenship and patriotism. The representational strategies of the textbooks also incorporate normative acknowledgement of rights based on Islamic, constitutional, the traditional jirga values while negotiating it empirically when the strategies construct an implied master ethnicity that participates in othering other ethnic groups and when they partake in constructing binary oppositions across identity markers and social-economic statuses culminating in exclusion and discrimination.

Islamization of Patriotism and Citizenship

Islam is the altitude of the discursive pyramid that constructs patriotism and citizenship and with it all other elements of the pyramid attain meaning. Before embarking on a discussion on the representational strategies of the textbooks' discourses, it is important to define the concept of Islamization. Although in political science Islamization denotes a negative connotation, I borrow the definition that states "[…] Islamization means including Islamic disciplines in the curriculum, providing an Islamic perspective on issues in the syllabi and locating, where possible, secularized disciplines within the Islamic weltanschauung" (Dangor,

2005, p. 519). Therefore, Islamization has a neutral undertone in this study. The aforementioned representational strategies of imagining the nation, namely, historicization, indigenization, and democratization, explicated that the discourse that constitutes patriotism and citizenship is a forged unity. However, for an elaborate clarification, I mostly deferred to the Islamization theme of this chapter to demonstrate coherence, ruptures, and negotiations in the discursive formation of imagining the nation. As such, the following presents multiple representations that constitute the construction of the Islamization of patriotism and citizenship. When a wide number of representations and articulations are forged into a narrative their ruptures become more evident and their negotiation more essential.

The crucial role that is assigned to Islam overshadows all elements that construct the discourse of imagining the nation in the textbooks. The textbooks consider Islam as a value that comes before *Afghanyat* or the quality of being an Afghan (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 42-44, 56; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 15), a unifying factor across ethnic and class diversities (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 8; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 15; *HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 11), and national interest (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 24). In sentence structure and ranking of national interest, Islam takes precedence over territorial integrity (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 23). Islam is also historicized by the assertion that it reached the country in the 7th century (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 8). As such, the textbook constructs Islam as the supreme and inclusive identity marker of the people.

The aforementioned construction of Islam is fraught with incoherence. The Islamic identity that the textbooks have constructed is not inclusive but represents only Muslim citizens as it overlooks followers of other religions in Afghanistan. There is only one indication of Hindus quoted in the statement of the 20th-century King Amanullah (*PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 42-43). There is no mention of the presence of non-Muslims in the country despite the historical references in the textbooks to other religions (*HSTB 7, 2017*, pp. 20, 35, 37, 40, 20; *HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 3; *HSTB 10, 2017*, pp. 7, 13, 22, 41-45, 49, 53). Islam's construction as a 7th century phenomenon in Afghanistan faces limitation as the textbooks acknowledge that some parts of the regions like Nuristan were forced to convert to Islam as recently as the 19th century (*HSTB 9*, 2017, p. 48; *HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 56-57). Furthermore, as per a textbook, the promotion of other religions than Islam (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 114) and the formation of political parties based on religion (as well as ethnicity, language, and status) (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 37) are prohibited. However, to open a safe space for other religions, the textbook proclaims insulting other

religions is a crime (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 114). Hence, even within an Islamic-centric gaze, that objectifies inclusion across differences, the textbooks participate in exclusion.

The fixity and permanence of the pre-Islamic Aryan racial nobility and five thousand years of civilizational glory construction ruptures when they are displaced as ignorance and a dark era with "bad morality" and "lack of ethics" (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 5, 8; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 4; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 15, 84; *HSTB 8*, 2017, pp. 3-4; *HSTB 10*, 2017, p. 53-54). The pre-Islamic Aryan racial nobility and five thousand years of civilizational glory are displaced because Islam as a relevant contemporary value calls for more immediate attention. To negotiate the above slippage that culminates in a negative depiction of the self, the textbooks universalize the pre-Islamic era moral crisis beyond Afghanistan to include Saudi Arabia and even the world (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 5, 8; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 84). This way, the textbooks (re)construct a negotiated representation of a nation that has in its history both a glorified pre-Islamic and Islamic pride.

The textbooks problematically construct a forged unity of welcoming the advent of Islam in Afghanistan and commemorating the defending patriots against the Arab army. Conceptual violence occurs when the textbooks rationalize the opposing events of the advent of the Islamic army and the "popular uprisings" (*HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 12) of the iconic individuals from Afghanistan against 'Arabas' rather than 'Muslims' (*HSTB 8, 2017*, pp. 5-9; *HSTB 11, 2017*, pp. 13-14, 17). There is in fact a tension between the introduction of Islamic dynastic divinity in Afghanistan and the nationalist affect. To settle the rupture between welcoming the invading Arabas (as opposed to Muslims) and yet commemorating the defending patriots, the textbooks resort to fabricating the invading Umayyad dynasty as fanatic and corrupt and the rival subsequent victorious Abbasids dynasty as the good believers (*HSTB 8, 2017*, p. 6, 7, 9-10; *HSTB 11, 2017*, pp. 7, 12, 13, 17). By siding with the 'good' believers, the textbooks represent the people as patriots who have made their own ethical choices. The discursive negotiation between constructing an invading Arab army and a patriotic defending people proves inadequate as the textbooks remain silent on the manslaughter of patriots at the hand of the Abbasids and suffice to depict their assassination as an act committed by individual perpetrators (*HSTB 8, 2017*, pp. 6, 7, 9-10; *HSTB 11, 2017*, pp. 7, 13, 17). Islamization in the construction of patriotism and citizenship appears to be a success; however, ruptures appear more vividly and their impermanence more assuredly when the scale of the systems of representation enlarge to include

competing elements such as racial nobility versus Islamic morality and Arab invasion versus patriotic defence.

Islamization is not confined to the construction of patriotism and the incoherence that it entails but it is also a common cultural ground for the incoherent articulation of citizenship. The textbooks claim that democracy and Islam are compatible (*CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 91, 93, 95-96), the first objective of the first Constitutionalist Movement was Islam (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 94), and that Islam is the first of the four characteristics of the current constitution (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 8). Situating Islam and democracy in a compatible relationship is consistent with the moderate portrayal of Islam attained by backgrounding Islamic institutions while naming social institutions (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 3; *CETB 9*, 2017, p. 46) and applying moderate Islamic principles to articulate social values such as environmentalism, literacy, and public consultation (e.g., *CETB 7*, 2018, pp. 3-4; *CETB 8*, 2017, p. 19; *CETB 10*, 2017, pp. 6, 89; *CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 62, 73; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 70-71; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 46-47). Moderate Islam is also evident when textbooks participate in using Quranic text and hadith of the Prophet to promote social values such as literacy, good ethics and benevolence (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 73; *CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 96-97; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 5), forbidding killing, suicide and genocide (*PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 27-29), and avoiding the application of *hudud* (limitations) as *riba* (bank interest) or *zina* (adulty) in relevant debates (*CETB 8*, 2017, p. 19; *CETB 10*, 2017, p. 6). Hence, the articulation of democracy with a moderate Islam appears compelling and convincing in the construction of citizenship.

The compatibility between a moderate Islam and democracy is faced with slippage as multiple representational systems struggle for coherence revealing their incompatibility. The textbooks consider the constitution as "the mother and basis of other laws" (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 8) yet in comparative terms with Islam, the textbooks borrow from the constitution to emphasize that no law can be contrary to sharia (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 23-25, 96) and in sentence structure, the word sharia takes precedence over the word constitution (*PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 11-12). This is mainly because the Quran is the universal legal source (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 23). The textbook acknowledges that Afghanistan has "unique" social, cultural, and economic indicators for democracy (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 93), which may be viewed as a rupture from the construction of a moderate Islam. For example, the textbooks endorse conditioning the free media to not promote other religions (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 114), imposing Islamic principles to only women's social presence (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 39), celebrating martyrdom (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 27-29; *PATB 9*,

2017, p. 62), promoting the public display of punishment (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 27-29; *CETB 11*, 2017, p. 41), endorsing life after death as eternal and fair life (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 55), advocating for *qasaas* (retaliation) (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 28), considering Islam as a divine but the constitution as a man-made document (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 97), and utilizing narratives of the Prophet such as migration to opportunistically promote irrelevant topics such as the enemies of Afghanistan (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 5). As such, like patriotism, citizenship construction through Islamization is a negotiated construction.

The articulation of the imagining of the nation as an Islamic nation is supplemented by the construction of the conception of Islamic brotherhood. Nationally, Islamic brotherhood serves as the melting of differences and dissonance with the aim to promote unity (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 55-56; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 67-68) and peace and security (*PATB 7*, 2017 p. 56). Islamic brotherhood leads to non-discrimination because superiority is based on piety, virtues, and goodness (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 68). The textbooks place Islamic brotherhood above all Afghan identities and justify it in relation to an enemy that remains unidentified in the textbooks (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 56). As such, the textbooks engage in the homogenization of differences through Islam. Internationally, Islamic brotherhood is substituted by the conception of Islamic ummah. Adherence to Islamic ummah or society is a condition of patriotism (*PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 17-19, 68; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 24, 25). The system of representation; Islamic brotherhood and Islamic ummah, is a breeding ground for the construction of confrontation between the ummah and the 'other' in which the Islamic ummah is distinct and has "privilege" over others (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 26). This normative value has pragmatic historical roots; Afghanistan owes to the Islamic ummah for being its member (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 24) and for supporting the country's jihad against the former Soviets (*PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 24-25). Islam, hence, plays a role in both connecting the Islamic world to Afghanistan and to othering the rest.

At a much larger scale, the textbooks participate in othering all Western societies and their schools of thought. The textbooks present the relationship between the Western and Islamic worlds as a civilizational confrontation, perceiving the former in offensive and the latter in defensive mode (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 61). At a much personal construction, the textbooks trace signs of inequality within the rich countries' societies, conceivably claiming that inequality is an inherent Western phenomenon (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 65). Othering also occurs in the conceptual framing of Islam in comparison to other schools of thought. The textbooks find the Middle Ages

Europe and social systems liable for ignoring human freedom, and the post-Middle Ages liberalism for giving up excessive freedom causing adverse effects on humanity (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 52-54). The textbooks view capitalism as an extreme case of individualism, and socialism of communalism and refer to Islam as the religion of moderation between the two (*PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 20-22). Textbooks condemn Marxism and communism for promoting atheism and quantify atheism with the words, 'oppression' and 'bloodiness' in Afghanistan and its consequent jihad for social inequality (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 28) while at the same perceive the head of "communists" to be the "Jewish Karl Marx" who "did not believe in God and the day of judgement" (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 66). The supremacy of Islam is not only a national agenda but one through which all other schools of thought are rendered inferior.

The textbooks articulate its construction of the Western world through the depiction of globalization. Other than some minor positive aspects such as the integration and enhancement of economic products and processes and the elimination of obstacles to the movement of information (*CETB 12*, 2017, 64-65), the textbooks are highly critical of globalization. The textbooks portray the challenges of globalization for Afghanistan and the Islamic world as employment insecurity, a widening world poverty gap, and cultural materialization due to economic, cultural, and religious domination of the Western countries (*CETB 10*, 2017, pp. 24, 80-81; *CETB 11*, 2017, p. 65; *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 64). The textbooks of the post-9/11 refer to the United Nations's intuitions as entities that governments must accept (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 64), however, empirically, they refer to the countries where the institutions have not been successful in bringing peace (*CETB 9*, 2017, p. 38). The textbooks' concern with regard to globalization stems from the reason that it leads to the homogenization of culture and underestimation of national borders (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 63). The textbooks discuss the threats of globalization in the contexts of 'cultural aggression', and 'cultural hegemony', and prejudicially construct 'cultural exchange' as a historically approved ideal alternative (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 65, *CETB 10*, 2017, p. 24). As such, an invading, inequitable, and unjust West is positioned against a victimized Islamic world in a globalizing context.

The stance of the textbooks about Islam vis-à-vis other religions is also notable in demonstrating othering. The textbooks take a covert critical position against other religions. The religious institutions of the Western countries, rather than their religions per se, are overtly perceived as a threat. Although the textbooks do not directly oppose Christianity, Protestantism

defined in the textbooks as a new sect of Christianity is accused of endorsing capitalism and industrialization (*CETB 11*, 2017, p. 50) and the Vatican and Transworld are perceived as threats for the imposition of their values around the world (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 60). A textbook contrasts Islam to any and all other religions in general terms and views Islam as a superior religion for its capacity to promote the rule of law (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 77-79). A textbook (*PATB 8*, 2017) equates communism with atheism and quantifies atheism with the words "oppression", "bloodiness", and "infidelity" by referencing the experiences of the Soviet invasion (p. 28). In a footnote that elaborates on the atrocities of the "communists", a text states that "the Jewish Karl Marx and did not believe in God and the day of judgement"[197] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 66). This way, the textbooks covertly name Judaism. It is evident that there is tension between the construction of Islam and other religions but this contention is not overtly presented.

Pragmatically, however, by calling for jihad the textbooks take an approach to the Western world and Islamic world binary construction that can be accessible to student readers. The textbooks first introduce "absolute jihad" which implies the "protection" of Islam and its values (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 65-67) and a necessity for safeguarding culture, freedom, and honour; and defending and resisting cultural aggression (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 87; *CETB 10*, 2017, p. 24) Jihad is an obligation from Islamic and patriotic perspectives (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 65, 66; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 24, 37; PATB 10, 2017, p. 24). By defining armed jihad within the context of religious and patriotic duty, the textbooks not only legitimize it from a moralistic viewpoint but also render it legally mandatory. The textbooks create a breeding ground for jihad by its historicization. In Afghanistan, jihad has been against oppression, communist atheism, and the invasion of the Russian Red Army (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 65-67; *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 57), and the British (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 38, 40). Historical narratives indicate how jihad has been instrumental in defending the country (*HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 30, 33-35, 53, 72) and in their specific in-class discussion questions (*HSTB 9*, 2017, p. 32; *HSTB 12*, 2017, p. 166). The textbooks confirm that Afghanistan has been labelled worldwide as the "graveyard of world conquerors" for its historical victories against world powers (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 49; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 68). The textbooks also take advantage of jihad in the construction of citizenship education. In most cases, jihad is synonymously used as an 'effort' or 'hard work' to develop the country (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 9), and as the protection of the achievements of ancestors (*PATB 8*,

[197] کمونیست ها گروهی بودند که از افکار و نظریات کارل مارکس یهودی، پیروی می کردند و به خدا و روز آخرت ایمان نداشتند.

2017, p. 39). In its later utilization, the term jihad is normalized. As such, jihad represents the empirical stance of the textbooks against the perceived offensive of the Western world against the Islamic ummah.

When jihad is well embedded into multiple constructions it constructs a violent meaning when it articulates with the conception of martyrdom. The textbooks encourage martyrdom and define a martyr as someone who, for the sake of the obtainment of the will of God, sacrifices their life (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 27; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 62), hence the people of Afghanistan are characterized as a martyr nurturing nation (*PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 27-28). This martyrdom is not only an obligation (as stated above in the case of jihad) but also comes with afterlife rewards. To someone who is killed during jihad, God promises "blessings and rewards", the "highest status in the afterlife", "the title of the martyr" and a "high rank in the heaven" (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 66, 75). Despite a strong emphasis on jihad, the textbooks condemn planning, carrying out and committing suicide (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 53; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 28-29). As such, even the portrayal of jihad lacks coherence when it distinguishes between forms of sacrifice.

In conclusion, Islamization in the textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through a primordial lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the construction of Islam as a supreme identity that surpasses any other patriotic and citizenship values and identity markers. Islam is articulated with such representational strategies as being moderate, inclusive, historical, and people's choice. This articulation, however, is a forged unity that represents a problematic discursive negotiation of ruptures such as welcoming the advent of Islam yet commemorating patriotic defence against Arabs through the negative depiction of the invading Umayyad dynasty and the positive portrayal of the rival subsequent Abbasid dynasty. The other discursive rupture is the construction of Islam as compatible with democracy which competes with the preference given to sharia over the constitution and the harsh interpretation of Islam in relation to justice and retaliation. In yet another instance, rupture is evident in the manner through which Islamic brotherhood and Islamic Ummah are perceived as inclusionary social systems while in fact, Islamic brotherhood participates in the othering of non-Muslim citizens of Afghanistan and Islamic Ummah partakes in othering the Western civilizations, their schools of thought, and religious institutions. The textbooks finally commit textual violence when they preach jihad as a

patriotic duty against an enemy that remains anonymous and glorifies martyrdom as an enactment of resistance in a globalized unequal world.

Genderization of Patriotism and Citizenship

In the aforementioned discussion of representational strategies of the textbooks, under the democratization of patriotism and citizenship, I elaborated on the construction of social identity groups in the textbooks and their exclusion and marginalization. In this section, I exclusively analyze the gender representations. Anne McClintock (1993) articulates that, women in the national agenda have a symbolic role with no national agency (p. 65). Women are also absent in the citizenship sphere because "citizenship is a status invented by men for men" (Heather, 2002, p. 120). It merits attention to recall here from Chapter Four who have partaken in the production of the textbooks. Patriotism textbooks are authored by all-male authors while the history and civic education textbooks' authors are gender inclusive but to a very limited degree (see Annex C). The textbook production team is comprised of male-dominated committees and authors, and this has had an impact on the misrepresentation and stereotypical representation of women that are presented below.

Normatively, the imagining of the nation endorses women's rights and equates to that of men on the basis of common cultural grounds. These commonalities include Islamic (e.g., *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 67; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 80, 84; *CETB 10*, 2017, p. 74; *CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 40-41), historical (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 41), and democratic, constitutional, and human rights (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 80; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 76; *CETB 11*, 2017, p. 67; *CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 14, 39) perspectives. Women are also depicted as mothers and wives in patriotic roles (e.g., *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 25; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 17, 33, 71; *HSTB 11, 2017*, p. 70; *HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 8, 86;). A comparison between men and women contemplates the difference between the two as natural but inequality as unfair and attributes inequality to the social construction of gender roles (*CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 67-68). The textbooks signify the contributions of women in socio-political arenas (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 74; *CETB 11*, 2017, p. 67; *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 39) and represent respect for women as a characteristic of Afghan people (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 44). Women's socio-political participation is portrayed as natural from the ancient era (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 16; *HSTB 10, 2017*, pp. 5-6) or, in the life of rulers through intermarriages as political alliance-making (*HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 23; *HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 18; *HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 22). This indicates the emphasis of the

textbooks on the role of women from a traditional historical perspective. However, the socio-political contribution of women is conditioned to Islamic beliefs, regulations, and values (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 74), and their stereotypical portrayal is represented in language (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 74; *CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 8, 29). This construction of women's rights falls within both the patriotic and citizenship spheres because it is articulated by both common cultural grounds and democratic values.

Women are absent where men are recognized for their social and intellectual contributions. Lists of national heroes poets, and biographies represent only men. Men's only biographical accounts, present only the male family character as a role model. In *PATB 7* (2017), examples include the bibliographies of Khalilullah Khalili (p. 17) and Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal (p. 45). In the exceptional cases, women are misrepresented. For instance, a biography of a male poet reads: "Professor Saljoqi married the educated, literary and poet woman, Humaira Saljuqi. Mrs. Humaira, as his wife and the devoted student, was serving her husband and likewise, Professor Saljuqi was proud of his very faithful and knowledgeable wife"[198] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 71). In this passage, Humaira Saljuqi is not named by her last name in the second sentence, unlike the poet; and the text establishes a hierarchical relation between the two; one as serving her husband and the other as being proud of her faithfulness. The absence of women from the literary bibliography constructs a masculine literary terrain.

Not only the text but also the illustrations of the textbooks are exclusionary. Women's depiction is obvious in patriotic roles. The images of women and girls of different ages appear mostly in ancient times (*HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 17; *HSTB 10, 2017*, p. 3) and patriotic scenes and themes (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 42; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 6; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 89). However, women are often absent from cultural and economic occupations. On the contrary, women's images are present in democracy and politics-related themes (*CETB 9, 2017*, pp. 18; *CETB 12, 2017*, pp. 39, 110;). Men are portrayed in action while women's representation in action is selective. Women are in two active roles; as stated above, in their traditional roles and in their political roles. Women are not present in non-conventional roles. The absence and misrepresentation of women are not only a problem in the text but also in the images of the textbooks.

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[198] استاد سلجوقی با زن دانشمند، ادیب و شاعر حمیرا سلجوقی ازدواج کرد. خانم حمیرا به عنوان همسر و شاگرد مخلص در خدمت شوهر خود بود و بالمقابل استاد سلجوقی بیش از حد به همسر وفادار و فرهیختهٔ خود افتخار می ورزید.

Women are depicted in contexts of war in their traditional roles such as providing military support (*HSTB 9*, 2017, 44; *HSTB 12*, 2017, p. 54), support, water, and food in the battlefield (*PATB 9*, 2017, p, 40; *PATB 7*, 2017, p. 66; *HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 51) as mujahidin women (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 40), 'lionesses' for their jihad (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 66), victims of jihad (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 28), and 'martyrs' in hundreds during the Afghan-Anglo wars (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 29). Legendary women like Malala of the Anglo-Afghan war (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 12; *HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 51), Bibi Haino (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 40), and Bibi Halahi are referenced independently in war contexts (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 40). Hence, the textbooks depict women in male dominated contexts such as war elaboratively.

The textbooks utilize gender-biased terms. Teachers are "intellectual fathers" (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 5), ethnic groups (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 60) and Afghans (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 68) are brothers, Islam is based on 'Islamic brotherhood' (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 55-56; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 66-68), national identity is a 'manly' attribute (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 31, 45), people are invited to hold the hand of brotherhood and unity (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 68), and parenthood is "the right of a father over the child" (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 70). For hard power, such as safeguarding the country or jihad, the adjective 'manly' is a common characterization of the patriotism textbooks (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 41, 43; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 12, 28, 37, 65; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 31, 45). For emotional appeal, the textbooks utilize 'mother' as an analogy in the depiction of 'motherland' (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 13, 20, 21, 22, 35; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 6, 70; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 42, 50, 89, 90). However, mothers are represented less often than fathers. Hence, even when banally represented in analogies, women are selectively portrayed.

In conclusion, genderization in the analyzed textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through a primordial lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the normative, stereotypical and biased representation of women. More specifically, the representational strategies of the textbooks are as follows: normatively and based on common cultural grounds such as Islam, history, and democracy, women's rights are endorsed. However, the representation of women is selective; women are rendered present in their traditional but also political and war context, however, they are rendered absent in non-conventional social arenas such as the economy and culture. Women are also excluded from the literary terrain. Women are preset metaphorically for emotional appeal in patriotic contexts; however, they are excluded through

the utilization of a biased language that qualifies qualities, values, and things with masculinity as a superior adjective.

Simultaneous Banality of Nationalism and Citizenship

Imagining community is not always discursively formed through conscious and deliberate acts and products of nationalism but also through banal encounters with them (Billig, 1995). One of the products of nationalism is artifacts the banal representation of which renders nationalism a commonplace. The textbooks not only consider archeology as science (*HSTB 7, 2017*, pp. 6, 13) and refer to several archaeologists (*HSTB 7*, 2018, p. 13; *HSTB 10,* 2017, p. 29) but also present archeological findings of five thousand years of historical continuity of Afghanistan as an ancient country situated at the intersection of multiple civilizations (e.g., *PATB 7*, 2017, p. 7; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 14; *HSTB 10, 2017*, pp. 3, 5, 7, 15, 17, 21, 25, 35; *HSTB 10*, 2017 lessons are repeated in *HSTB 7*, 2017). The textbooks imagine the nation as ancient, cultural, and Islamic through the introduction of such banally present monuments as the National Museum, the National Archive, and the National Gallery, each representing the cultural heritages of Afghanistan from where people can learn about their past (*HSTB 7, 2017*, 5; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 42-44). The textbooks present images of monuments, historical sites, and mosques in patriotic topics presumably for an emotional appeal (e.g., *PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 7, 8, 38, 48, *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 27, 38, 45, 54, *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 7, 8, 30; *HSTB 7, 2017*, pp. 3, 6, 13, 15, 19, 33; *HSTB 8, 2017*, pp. 10, 13, 18, 20, 28, 29, 30, 40; *HSTB 9, 2017*, p. 51, *HSTB 10, 2017*, pp. 9, 12, 14, 43, 44, 53; *HSTB 11, 2017*, pp. 21, 32, 38, 44, 51, 61; *HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 73). In the act of this construction, the textbooks justify the destruction of objectionable historical objects for being non-Islamic (*HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 56-57). Artifacts, hence, are not only banal objects of nationalism but also selective and political in the depiction of the past.

The imagining of the nation is also plausible through the act of flagging the nation (Billig, 1995). The textbooks utilize the flag figuratively and rhetorically. Figuratively, the national flag appears as a decorative ornament on every page of patriotism textbooks, in some lessons, and for such topics as poetry, national heroes, and allocated patriotic themes for an emotional appeal (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 13, 23, 42; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 6). Rhetorically, the textbooks refer to the flag as a national custom and national pride (*PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 12, p. 31), an object of sacrifice (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 12), an umbrella under which all different identities are united

(*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 8), and a shared value (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 12). Metaphorically, the textbooks see the flag as the flag of jihad (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 28-29) and the flag of monotheism (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 70). In fact, this flagging of the nation participates in the homogenization of national ideals.

Banal nationalism is critical, particularly in times of crisis. The textbooks too, allude to the fact that the national flag is raised, activated, and mobilized at times of crisis such as jihad (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 29). As illustrated in Figure 7, the depiction of the Anglo-Afghan war through the image and narrative of the legendary Malala holding the national flag on a battlefield and her sacrifice for the flag while reciting a patriotic poem encouraging warring men to fight (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 12; *PATB 9*, 2017, cover page) is not only about the past but the portrayal is relevant to the present and an unforeseen future. Flagging the nation acts in the present but connects the disconnected and seemingly irrelevant spatial and temporal spaces.

If the above examples are nationalist representations, the textbooks contain examples of the utilization of the flag as a citizenship representation. The national flag also appears banally in topics related to democracy (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 57; *CETB 12*, 2017, p. 85) and patriotic lessons (*HSTB 9*, 2017, p. 33; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 12; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 6; *PATB 7*, p. 13, 42), and in one of the first pages of every textbook above the national anthem. Metaphorically, the national flag and the constitution are referenced together representing the institution of democracy: "Afghans are a free and unified nation, under the shadow of the national flag and the constitution, [therefore, they should] think deeply to build a common home and rebuild it"[199] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 68). The appearance of the national flag as a decorative ornament on every page of a state-made product of nationalism, that is the textbooks, is evidence of the intersection of patriotic banal construction and citizenry education of state power. In essence, flagging the nation is more a demonstration of the power of institutions than the nation if perceived as a political entity.

The textbooks also banally map the nation (Billig, 1995). The images of maps in the textbooks play a similar role as the flag by appearing in many titles related to patriotic lessons (e.g., *PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 34,37, 58, 74, and cover page; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 14,17, 22, 59, and cover page; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 14, 23, 67, 89, and cover page; *HSTB 7, 2017*, p. 30; *HSTB 8, 2017*, pp. 5, 9, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 43; *HSTB 9, 2017*, pp. 12, 47; *HSTB 10, 2017*, pp. 15, 49; *HSTB 11, 2017*, pp. 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 35, 43, 46, 50, *HSTB 12, 2017*, p. 11). The national map serves as a visual aid in endorsing national defence (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 37; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 89),

[199] افغانها ملت آزاده و یکپارچه است، در سا یهٔ بیرق ملی و قانون اساسی برای ساختن خانهٔ مشترک و باز سازی آن فکرعمیق نمایند

religious homogeneity in Afghanistan and among the Ummah (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 37), and national unity (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 23). Like national flags that are activated at times of jihad or in endorsement of citizenship, the national map is not apolitical either. *HSTB 8* (2017, p. 46) adds arrows on a map to mark invasions of the country toward Esfahan of Iran to eternalize superiority over the western neighbour (p.46); while *HSTB 9* (2017) names the national map 'Pashtunistan' (the land of Pasthusns – the ethnic group) (p. 47), a term that historically proves to be controversial denoting to disputed areas between Afghanistan and Pakistan (Blarel, 2015). Hence, maps not only have sentimental but also political meanings.

Nationalist deixis also plays a representational role in the construction of an imagined community (Billig, 1995). Deixis is not neutral but engages in othering. Representation in textbooks occurs through the utilization of *deixis* such as **we** and **us**. The deixis such as **w*e*** an***d them*** (e.g., *PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 7, 9, 13, 14, 24, 44, 77; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 17, 30, 31, 44; *CETB 12*, 2017, pp. 95-96; *CETB 11*, 2017, p. 41; *HSTB 12, 2017*, pp. 8, 111) not only indicate that the textbook authors speak for the readers but they also portray a positive image of a non-controversial **we** and an othered '**them**'. All these pronouns refer to mullahs and tribal mentioned in a natural context. The covert forms of nationalism and their reiteration in a state-made political product such as the textbooks help the books to reflect the fluidity of the culture and politics in their construction of the imagining of the community. The deixis implies that **we** as a collective have **our** shared identity, values, and unity, hence what our people do is a collective representation of who we are and what we ought to do.

The application of metaphorical signs and symbols participates in the banal meaning-making of citizenship and patriotism. A 'stormbound ship' symbolizes the country as being saved by heroes (*PATB 7*, 2017, 27), 'fist' denotes unity on the one hand and a force against the other (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 23), 'body' refers to unity (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 69; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 16), 'virus' is a metaphorical sign for western foreign element that attacks weaker member countries of the world (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 24), and 'mother' is an affectionate analogy for the homeland (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 13, 20, 21, 22, 35; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 6, p. 70; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 42, 89, 90), and the founder of Afghanistan is a "baba [father]" and key intellectuals are 'fathers' (*CETB 10*, 2017, p. 5). It is evident from the examples that the formation of the nation through banal representations is also a gendered construction. If these are considered nationalist attachments, instances of symbolic representation concerning citizenship also exist in the textbooks. For instance, 'bees'

and ‘ants’ represent the organization and a harmonious life while disobeying authority symbolizes social disorder (*CETB 11*, 2017, pp. 24, 31). Likewise, “light” is an analogy for science and knowledge and against moral decline, backwardness, and ignorance (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 3, 8). Symbolism and metaphorical representations banally present signifiers of patriotism and citizenship.

National heroes also play a role in flagging the nation as one that is worthy of sacrifice for a shared existence. The textbooks imagine Afghanistan as a “hero-nurturing nation” (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 27), who are “honest servants of the country” (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 63) and “anonymous homeland servants” (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 45). Heroes have fought the enemy to either expand the country or defend an invasion by the British or the Russians (e.g., *PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 27, 28, 84; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 25, 31, 40; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 17, 39). Islam has an indigenizing effect in imagining heroes in their sacrificing role. Textbooks reference the country’s ancestors as *ghazis* (one who has killed an enemy on a battlefield), *shahids* (martyrs or those who have been killed on a battlefield), and *qahramanan* (hero or one who has returned from a battlefield victoriously) (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 30). Besides having the credit of martyrdom, national heroes are said to be those who “raised the flag of jihad against the invading British army and waged jihad” (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 28-29). As such, heroes banally represent what patriots should do for their homeland.

If the above is a patriotic representation of heroes, the textbooks construct heroes for citizenship education, too. The textbooks’ representation of heroes underlines those educators, diplomats, writers, historians, news publishers, and intellectuals who have promoted education, science, knowledge, diplomacy, and economic stability in an effort to fight against ignorance and immorality, poverty, and helplessness (e.g., *PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 27, 32, 45, 61; *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 30, 45, 47 54, 55, 63; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 52, 64). The textbooks refer to their inspiration for a modernized Afghanistan. Hence, heroes banally represent what citizens should aspire to become.

Poetry is another genre the textbooks apply in the usage of language and articulation of patriotism. The textbooks historicize recitation of poetry, including by women, as one national characteristic dating back to the pre-Islamic Aryan Avastin and Vedic civilization (*HSTB 10, 2017*, pp. 5-6), although no woman poet is represented in the textbooks and only one poem is presented recited by Malala during Maiwand battle with the British in the 20th century (*PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 12-13, 31). Classical poems serve as an inspirational role for patriotism when they

endorse Islam (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 1, 3, *PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 1, 2, 3-4, 5; *CETB 11*, 2017, p. 41), martyrdom (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 28), defence of the country (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 14), and cohabitation across differences and nationalities (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 50; *PATB 8*, 2017, p. 69; *PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 16, 85). If these are examples of patriotism, citizenship education is achieved through poetry about building the country (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 12) and learning science and knowledge (*PATB 8*, 2017, pp. 22, 24). The presented poems are from the classical era and contain misconceived messages such as the stateless people not having honour (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 20-21) or tolerance being a virtue but strangers being evil (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 35). Textbooks offer interpretation of poems and in doing so manipulate meaning (*PATB 7*, 2017, pp. 20-21, 50). As such, poetry banally renders patriotism and citizenship affect the present.

The national anthem, as detailed in Chapter Five, appears in every textbook as another form of banal nationalism. The national anthem is not only a symbolic representation of nationhood but is also politically crafted for constructing citizenship and in doing so participates in the act of exclusionary and discriminatory representation. All cover pages of the textbooks contain the national anthem, in Pashtu (while the textbooks are in Farsi-Dari) and are placed under the national flag. The *CETB 10* (2017) discusses national symbols as a source of unity among ethnic groups and residents of the country (p. 7). Although the names of ethnic groups in the national anthem banally construct inclusion, the unilingual script in an officially bilingual society is an evident example of an incoherent and unfixed forged unity.

The above discussion indicates that the textbooks participate in the construction of patriotism and citizenship through banally represented national flag, map, and anthem, deixis, symbols, and analogies. The banal production of patriotism and citizenship culminate in imagining the nation through othering and incoherent constructions.

To conclude, banal constructions in the textbooks are representational breeding grounds for the imagining of the nation that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute banal representations of objects and acts of nationalism and citizenship. More specifically, the representational strategies of the textbooks include the utilization of artifacts, flagging the nation, and mapping the nation. The other strategies include metaphorically, figuratively, and rhetorically representing products and acts of nationalism and citizenship. National iconic individuals situated as both martyrs and scientists

depict citizenship and patriotism as banal constructions. Poetry and the national anthem represent the nation and in doing so construct them through their messages and languages.

Conclusion

This chapter finds that the imagining of the nation in the textbooks articulates the relationship between nationalism and citizenship with a discursive pyramid: history as the base or foundational element of the pyramid, tradition and democracy as the two side elements, and Islam as the altitude of the pyramid with which all above elements attain meaning. Paradoxically, the common cultural grounds of the discursive pyramid have come together not only through their coherent but also negotiated articulations. Therefore, the reconciliation of patriotism and citizenship constructions is a forged unity of interrupted, disjoined, differed, and negotiated meanings.

Historicization in the textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through a primordial lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the selective historicization of the past and contemporary social common grounds. Representations and articulations render history a site where a common territory always named ‘Afghanistan’, a shared five thousand years of continuity, and glorified civilizations coincide to imagine a nation worthy of the pride of its patriots. Likewise, the textbooks historicize democracy in the pre-Islamic time, the constitutionalist movement of the 20th century, and the ‘democracy decade’ of the 1970s which connects contemporary citizenship to a more recent past and allows the discourse of contemporary democratic values to appear accustomed. Furthermore, the textbooks’ formation of governments is historically contextualized leading to a series of glorified governments from pre-Islamic to contemporary modern governments but each glorification is punctuated and ruptured by their reappearance as lawless only to construct the subsequent glorified government. The textbooks transition from a primordial stance into economic determinism depicting the modern governments in their role as service delivery institutions. Service delivery is not only political but partakes in acts of nationalism such as safeguarding national heritage, the Afghan culture, and social harmony. As a service provider that encompasses both citizenship and patriotism, the government in its disciplinary role becomes the watchdog and guardian of the two entities.

Hence, the historicized discourses of governments and their service delivery role construct both patriotism and citizenship.

Indigenization in the textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through a primordial lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the indigenization of the past and contemporary social common grounds. Ingenuity is evident in the textbooks' constructions of civilizations, racial nobility, and the Aryan way of life. Ingenuity also defines citizenship when the textbooks indigenize the constitution and democracy through the tradition of jirga. Historicization and indigenization intersect in the construction of citizenship when the textbooks selectively detail seven constitutions of Afghanistan since the 20th century each legitimized through jirga to present the recent Bonne conference that established the first post-9/11 government and its subsequent loya jirga that ratified the 2004 constitution. As such, indigenization and historicization form a system of representation that constructs the imagining of the nation.

Democratization in the textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through an economic determinist lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the democratization of ancient and contemporary social common grounds. With an emphasis on the milestones for centralization and administration, the textbooks present science, progressive reforms, human rights, education, and the media as key elements in the formation of the government and the nation for harmonious cohabitation. This fixity ruptures when textbooks normatively acknowledge ethnic diversity and equality but empirically enact discriminatory and exclusionary constructions of various social groups. Binaries inevitably emerge when textbooks covertly introduce 'other' ethnic groups make alliances with the 'master' ethnic group, or when demographic homogeneity is against diversity, cultural creativity against cultural diversity, mainstream culture against small cultures, communal culture against individualism, urban against rural populations, and an assumed settled people against nomadic and immigrant communities. In each, the former is preferred over the latter. The other form of exclusion is the gendered nature of patriotism and citizenship fraught with absence, misrepresentation, and stereotypical portrayals. Non-Muslims and sects of Islam also remain outside patriotic and citizenship constructions. Hence, reform, even in its progressive performance, is exclusionary.

Islamization in the textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through a primordial lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. Islamization, with a definition that bears no negative connotation in this study (Dangor, 2005, p. 519), is the textbooks' approach to introducing ethical values from tolerance and ethnic diversity to benevolence. Islam constructs the supremacy of national identity against all other identities and consequently homogenizes national identities, particularly through the construction of Islamic brotherhood. Although Islam is a catalyst to construct concepts, it also serves as a cause for their rupture. Aryan nobility ruptures as bad morality when Islamic morality is introduced and the defending national image fractures by welcoming the advent of Islam. To negotiate these slippages, the textbooks portray all world nations in a state of bad morality and construct a 'good' and a 'bad' Islamic caliphate to position the patriots who fought the early wars against the Islamic army on the side of the former. Hence, Islamism in the construction of patriotism plays a role as an element that brings both cohesiveness and causes incoherence.

Like patriotism, Islam plays a role in the discursive formation of citizenship. It perceives democracy as compatible with Islam and establishes an Islamic basis for the constitution of Afghanistan including the first Constitutionalist Movement. While it promotes positive social values from environmentalism to literacy, it also avoids the application of *hudud* in introducing government institutions. The compatibility between this moderate Islam and democracy is faced with slippage as multiple representational systems struggle for coherence. The textbooks' endorsement of the constitution is ruptured when the textbooks perceive sharia as the non-negotiable source of law, freedom of the media is restrained by a ban on promoting other religions, and women's social life is conditioned by Islamic principles. Acts of justice, from *qasaas* to the public display of punishment, endorsing life after death as eternal and fair, and celebrating martyrdom are evidence of the failure of the textbooks to present a coherent compatibility between democracy and Islam.

The constructions of Islamic brotherhood and Islamic ummah also participate in imagining the nation along the fuzzy boundary of patriotism and citizenship. The former's construction of a moderate Islam is in tension with the latter's portrayal of an invading Western civilization against a defending Islamic civilization. This forged unity ruptures further when the textbooks justify jihad and martyrdom to address the 'clash of civilizations' for a just world.

Genderization in the textbooks is a representational breeding ground for imagining the nation through a primordial lens that constructs both patriotism and citizenship. The representational strategies used in the textbooks constitute the normative, stereotypical and biased representations.

The textbooks banally present acts and products of nationalism and citizenship. Artifacts, and rhetorical and figurative representations of the national map, flag, and anthem aim to remind student readers of the existence of the nation. National heroes and poetry banally construct patriotism and nationalism. In their constructions, the textbooks utilize the power of language to stimulate affect. Metaphors and symbolism in the textbooks are ample denoting an attempt at banal representation of the imagining of the nation. These banal representations, however, are gendered and exclusionary.

Chapter Nine: Critical Analysis of Imagining the Nation

In this chapter, I respond to the second research question of this study by analyzing whether the imagining of the Afghan nation in the identified textbooks articulates (with) the common knowledge in society. This chapter builds on Chapter Six and Chapter Seven which answered the first research question's part 'A' through a preferred reading and Chapter Eight which answered its part 'B' with a negotiated reading of the textbooks. In line with the methodological framework of this study, as explicated in Chapter Four, the analysis of this chapter is a negotiated reading of the textbooks from the reader's (my) perspective. The negotiated reading of this chapter is grounded in two elements. First, it represents my positionality in Afghan society through my lived personal, educational, and professional experiences as a born citizen of Afghanistan, which is further elaborated in Chapter One and Chapter Four. Second, it represents my comprehension of the context of education and society in Afghanistan and the intricacies that they entailed as detailed in Chapter Five. These two elements construct my comprehension of common knowledge about Afghanistan. The utilization of common knowledge in this study has a sociocultural explication (van Dijk & Atienza, 2011) that has been presented in Chapter Four. Furthermore, my application of the term Islamization in this chapter, as discussed in Chapter Six, does not denote a negative connotation as in the political science discipline but has a neutral undertone referencing the integration of Islamic principles in secular contexts and locating secular values that are compatible with Islamic values (Dangor, 2005). In Chapter Two, I discussed the overlap between patriotism and citizenship; hence, the division of these two conceptions in this chapter is for the purpose of precision and clarification in establishing their overlap. Given the arguments in Chapter Two concerning the theoretical formation of nationalism, I apply nationalism and patriotism interchangeably in this chapter. Hence, the theoretical underpinning and the primary readings of this chapter have been presented in the preceding chapters.

This chapter finds that the textbooks imagine the nation through three key elements of Anderson's notion of imagined community, First, the textbooks imagine the nation as limited and sovereign represented through primordial representations and articulations with an emphasis on communalization and its consequential homogenization of acts and products of national imagining of Afghanistan. In this primordial imagining of the nation, historical continuity, geographical fixity, and racial purity constructions are forged into a unity defined as

contemporary sovereign Afghanistan. This imagining is problematically in accordance with common knowledge that endorses territorial nationalism and historical nationalism with an association with Aryan racial nobility. These constructions are dominant but nonetheless subject to criticism in Afghan society. Second, the textbooks imagine the nation as a communion constructed with social identity categories that bond them together along Islamic, ethnic, gender, and socio-economic distinctions constituting horizontal comradeship. From the representation and articulations of the horizontal comradeship emerges Islamic ethnocentrism and economic determinism characterization of the community. Common knowledge in the Afghan society perceives political Islam in the country as an often imported phenomenon, ethnocentrism a reality that neglects inter – and intra- ethnic group classism, disparity in gender rights a societal challenge, and socio-economic categories affected by an urban gaze. Third, the textbooks imagine the nation through adaptations and modulations of the conceptions of nation-ness that enable forged unities such as glorified Aryan racial nobility and Islamic morality, historical and indigenous constitutional democracy and Islamic law as the supreme authority, Muslim Arab invasion and national defenders against non-Muslim invaders, and moderate Islam and confrontation against the invading West. The common knowledge of the society in Afghanistan denotes a rich multiplicity of discursive sites in which Islam is constructed by national and international power systems and narratives of history that affirm aspects of the textbooks' constructions. The rest of this chapter is presented as follows. Under specific headings, I discuss the Nation as Limited and Sovereign, Communion and Inequality in the Imagined Community, and Modulation and Adaptation of the Imagined Community. The conclusion presents the highlights of findings in light of the research question.

Nation as Limited and Sovereign

The textbooks imagine the nation in Afghanistan as limited and sovereign. The imagining of the nation in the textbooks commences with primordial representations and articulations of nation-ness. A primordial account of nationalism underscores the significance of history, geography, race, and sovereignty in the construction of a nation (Coakley, 2018; Shils 1995; Gibsly, 2005). In the following discussion, primordial themes, derived from the textbooks, concerning historical eternity, geographical fixity, racial purity, and sovereignty, are individually situated in the common knowledge of the peoples of Afghanistan.

First, historical eternity is one of the key aspects of imagining a nation. For Benedict Anderson (2006), historical existence is the reservoir of cultural acts and products essential for the establishment of historical continuity and consequently the imagining of a nation. It is within this context that the textbooks can present Afghanistan as having five thousand years of uninterrupted continuity. The five thousand years of existence of a country named 'Afghanistan' is critically viewed as a mythical representation of a complex but selective reproduction of the territory's history (Rahimi, 2017; Hanifi, 2004; Lee, 2018). The textbooks present Afghanistan as a 'civilizational state' (Coker, 2019) – a term that I loosely apply to associate the constructions of the textbooks to the origin of the concept that defines political behaviour in China and Russia. In its usage in this analysis, the civilizational state denotes the emphasis of the textbooks on the existence of a rich civilizational existence in Afghanistan. The glorification of the Aryan, Vedic and Avastin, Greek-Bakhatri and Greco-Buddhist, and Islamic civilizations builds a rhetorical civilizational state.

The common knowledge about Afghanistan dictates the social circulation of the notion that in Chapter Five I called *historical nationalism* based on history oriented narratives of the country's existence (Ghobar 1967; Habibi 1966). This nationalism presents a linear, mythical, and glorified five thousand of historical continuity This narrative endorses the notion that Afghanistan in its past existences has been at the crossroads of civilizations as the textbooks claim. However, the peculiarity of this construction in the textbooks is the portrayal of 'Afghanistan' as the 'cradle' of, 'home' to, and, through spreading a more enriched derivative of these cultures and their people around the world, the 'nurturer' of these civilizations. The universal claims in the textbooks that attempt to fit a vast number of ancient civilizations in a limited contemporary demarcated territory culminate in cross-national confrontations over the monopolization of historically shared intellectual properties from the Mawlana Jalaluddin Rumi Balkhi's poetry and *Nawroz* New Year celebration (Mozaffari & Ali, 2023) to the art of miniature painting (UNESCO, 2022a; BBC, 2020). Evidenced by artifacts, historical sites, world archaeologists' quotes, and considered as 'science', the above construction of history in the textbooks is likely to lead to a patriotic affect in student readers, nonetheless, with an intolerant attitude towards sharing the collective past with other nations.

Second, geographical fixity is a crucial construct of imagining the nation. Anderson (2006) emphasized the importance of territorial demarcation in the definition of the nation. The

textbooks present the demarcation of contemporary Afghanistan's borders and their presumed fixity as naturally occurring to the extent that Durani's military invasions are uncritically presented as 'trips' and almost all other wars are portrayed as safeguarding territorial sovereignty and justice. National maps, both old and new, banally present the national borders as ones that have always been fixed and even when maps portray different geographical locations of Afghanistan, the text of the textbooks do not present an explication for the shift in the country's locations over time. As such, the textbooks regard the geographical existence of the country as a crucial aspect of imagining the nation.

The common knowledge in Afghanistan presents the existence of what I called in Chapter Five, *territorial nationalism*. The textbooks' imagining of the fixity of the national borders overlooks the country's borders as sites of territorial disputation between nations in the course of its formation. Due to invasions by the Persians, Alexander the Great, the Maurya Empire, Arab Muslims, the Mongols, the British, the Soviet Union, and most recently, the American-led international coalition, Afghanistan's geography has been in perpetual remaking. References to Afghanistan as a roundabout of the ancient world (Hyman, 2002) and graveyard of empires (Jones, 2010) denote the recurring invasions the country has had to deal with in defence of its territory. According to the historical narratives, Afghanistan, as we know it today, was located in eastern South Asia when part of the Greater Gandhara and under the Gandhara Kingdom (c. 1500 – 535 BCE), in west South Asia, when under Kamboja Kingdom (c. 700 – 200 BCE), and in Western Asia under Achaemenid Empire (550 BC), to name the early geographies. Furthermore, the name of the country has also not been fixed; it has changed from Ariana (the land of Aryans) under the Achaemenid Empire and Khorasan (the land of sunrise) under the Sasanian Empire to its existing name. The changes indicate a shifting geography because these empires neither encompassed all of Afghanistan's geography nor excluded other parts of the once shared region. Hence, the shifting geography of Afghanistan is not reflected in the textbooks' narratives of imagining the nation.

More recently, the borders of this geography were fixed only in 1747 when Ahmad Shah Durrani founded contemporary Afghanistan (Lee, 2018). The Afghanistan-Pakistan territorial dispute of 1893 is absent in the textbooks while in reality, it remains not only a source of cross-national and cross-cultural exchange but also a grave and at times violent tension between the two nations (Barel, 2015). Obscuring the history of geography and borders of Afghanistan as

well as the chronological as opposed to thematic portrayal of the history may prompt student readers to imagine an uninterrupted territorial fixity with the consequent effect of cross-national miscommunication stemming from territorial dispute. Hence, the assumption of territorial fixity and eternity as essential aspects of imagining the nation do not articulate with common knowledge.

Third, imagining a nation as limited requires a defined national identity. Anderson (2006) reminds us that imagining the nation entails the construction of a *limited* nation that excludes anyone beyond its territorial border. The nation has a distinct identity constructed by various ancient and contemporary identity markers. For Anderson ethnicity is a common cultural ground with which imagining of a national (re)articulates rather than being a natural cause for national attachment. The textbooks' representation of the nation in an eternal history and fixed geography engenders nativity and indigeneity based on Aryan racial nobility. The common knowledge in Afghanistan confirms that the construction of Aryan nobility is one of the common identifiers of the Afghan people from the perspective of historians (Habibi, 1967; Kohzad, 1946). However, *Aryanism* is a mythical construction for political means primarily developed in the Western discourse of racial superiority (Ibrahimi, 2011). In Afghanistan, this identification is not commonly approved by claimants of the notion that many of Afghanistan's peoples have come from elsewhere. The myth is not inclusive of the people of Afghanistan if, for instance, such claims are taken into consideration as those that Hazaras (Mousavi, 1997) and Kirghiz and Wakhis (Shahrani, 2002) have origins beyond contemporary Afghanistan borders. Aryan racial nobility construction is not only a falsification of national identity but is also exclusionary. The consequent effect of this construction alienates those student readers who do not self-identify as Aryan race. The Aryan racial nobility of the textbooks does not articulate with common knowledge of certain identity groups despite the adherence of others to this construction.

The exclusionary perspective of Aryanism in the textbooks bears not only national but also cross-border consequences. Across the border, the Pakistani Pashtuns, separated from Afghanistan through British colonial policies, raise the flag of Afghanistan in the capital of their country with claims of historical and systematic ethnic-based discrimination perpetuated by their predominantly Punjabi government (News 18, 2023). However, a referendum on the future of the people at the dawn of Pakistan's secession showed no sign of interest in assimilation into Afghan society but the establishment of an independent Pashtunistan (Blarel, 2015). The textbooks

refrain from utilizing the term Pashtunistan (literally meaning the land of Pashtuns) but only banally add the term in one of the country's maps as a portrayal of a historically situated unfulfilled idealization of regaining the lost land. These borderline people are the subaltern of the Aryan indigeneity construction in the textbooks. Those student readers who have family members across the border may find national indigeneity and border fixity a challenge to their identity construction in the education institution.

Fourth, imagining a nation entails sovereignty. The primordial stance of the textbooks that define the nation through historical continuity, geographic fixity, and racial nobility, takes an economic determinist (Gellner, 2006) position by focusing on the function of the government to establish sovereignty. From Gellner's (2006) perspective, the centralization of power and administration legitimizes the existence of government through the provision of services. The historicized, indigenized, and Islamised governments and governance constructions in the textbooks are an attempt to illustrate the difficult pathways to two nation-building projects. The textbooks articulate the significance of the government with reform and modernization. The emergence of the governments in the textbooks first through a need for power consolidation, then for administration centralization, and last for service delivery highlights the significance of sovereignty to imagining the nation. In its service delivery role, the contemporary government is depicted as a disciplinary institution that demands adherence to the laws in the interest of social harmony although the government is not committed to accountability. As such, the primordial account of imagining the nation shifts to an economic determinist approach through the role of the government in establishing the sovereignty of the nation.

The common knowledge in Afghanistan confirms the construction of what I called in Chapter Five *centralist nationalism* and *modernist nationalism.* The narratives of the textbooks with regard to centralization in the 19th century through Abdul Rahman's institution building efforts (Barfield 2010; Kakar, 1979; Kakar, 2006; Rubin, 2002), are common knowledge in Afghanistan. Modernization and reform too, as argued in the textbooks, are attributed to the government in the literature (Barfield 2010; Farhang 1988; Lee, 2018) and common knowledge of the people. Modernization and reform by governments, often in the absence of development, owe to the returnees exiles and national iconic individuals whose names are recurring sources of national pride in both the textbooks and the common knowledge of the people despite their

intersectional identities that have both a divisive and unifying national effect. This effect has a trickling down impact on student readers from diverse identity groups.

The construction of a central power and administration in the textbooks underscores success and does not shy away from two shortcomings; service delivery and prolonged stability perpetually interrupted by frequent civil wars caused by familial rivalries and foreign interferences. Student readers whose history is shaped by these shortcomings are likely to empathize with the textbooks' call for the rule of law. However, the textbooks' celebratory tone of 'success' rules out a critical discussion about the consolidation of power and centralization of administration that have recently come to the limelight of political critique for its consequent exclusions (Rahimi, 2017; 1986). Furthermore, the textbooks' recognition of failures is not in opposition to power consolidation and administration centralization but in their approval. As such, the student reader is cognitively faced with the impossibility of choice, that is, to be compliant with this dominant discourse. Hence, the economic determinist approach of the textbooks is likely to have an affective impact on student readers.

The textbooks establish a hierarchal relationship between the government and the people through their construction of democracy. Although the textbooks refer to citizenry status as *atbah* (subjects), they normatively acknowledge that *atbah* have political, civil, cultural, and economic rights entailing political participation including women, election, government monitoring, and systems and values of democracy. This normative people centric democracy gaze of the textbooks; however, ruptures when the textbooks enter into the pragmatism of democracy. First, the textbooks position the government in charge of carrying out the constitution rendering civil society absent and democracy at the service of the power establishment. Second, the participatory nature of democracy is an exercise of civil and political rights for working within rather than outside the government apparatus. Third, the textbooks strip the government from accountability with the perception that laws 'oversee' people and 'relate' to 'government performance'. This clarifies the relationship between laws and the people but leaves the relation between government and laws unobvious. Hence, the construction of sovereignty even through democracy is hieratical and in the interest of the power apparatus.

The textbooks also present the government in a disciplinary position. It is likely that the textbook authors and producers encourage discipline among student readers for fear of uprisings. The MoE endorsed the prohibition of political activism in schools (*Education Law of*

Afghanistan, 2008). The post-9/11 surveys of political activism in public schools find high levels of political engagement in public schools particularly among Islamists (Giustozzi & Ali, 2015). Since the establishment of the first public schools in the country, centrally administered public education has been a public sphere for deliberative and participatory political activity (Rasanayagam, 2003). The first public Hibibia School (1903) became home to a students-led underground constitutionalist movement that dissented against the absolute monarch Amir Habibullah (Dupree, 1973; Poullada, 1973). In the next wave of the students' movement, political engagement in the public schools against constitutional monarchy led to the emergence of left-wing and right-wing political formations and consequently to the weakening of the monarchical legitimacy. A branch of students, teachers, and professors of the public educational institutions formed the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and ultimately the first republican government (1978-1992) (Rasanayagam, 2003). Another branch formed the Western-supported fragmented jihadi movement against the ruling PDPA and the Red Army and eventually, the first *de facto* dysfunctional Jihadi government that inflicted a civil war upon people (1992-2001) (Rasanayagam, 2003). As such, sovereignty in the imagining of community construction is limited by the potential threats of its defeating factors.

The emphasis on the provision of services and stability for sovereignty and the consequent legitimacy in the textbooks do not articulate with the political commitments of the government at the time the textbooks were being developed. When the 2011 curriculum was being written, under which the identified textbooks came into existence, the following description was a more realistic portrayal of the bleak side of sovereignty in Afghanistan:

> Grave doubts have arisen from the mismanaged and fraudulent presidential elections of 2009, the persistence of warlords in positions of official authority, and signs that Afghans' fundamental rights may be subject to compromise for the sake of political expediency. Equally disconcerting is the yet-to-be quelled insurgency that, with the ethnic dimensions it possesses, stands to fracture the embryonic sense of national unity glimpsed over the last decade. Combined shortcomings in nationwide infrastructure reconstruction, the spotty provision of basic social services, and the ubiquitous menace of corruption exacerbate Afghans' weakening confidence in their government and its foreign backers (Kraemer, 2010, p. 637).

It appears that the textbooks are oblivious to this reality while this reality gives more meaning to students' lived experiences than the textually constructed Xanadu.

In conclusion, the discourse of the textbooks' imagining the nation problematically articulates with Afghanistan's common knowledge. The nation imagined as limited and sovereign is both a means and an objective; it is a means to safeguard the nation from the conflict threats it has often faced in the public school sphere and an objective to construct future patriots and citizens for the sustenance of the nation. The expansive gap between the present realism and future idealism is a rupture that awaits the reimagining of the nation.

Communion and Inequality in the Imagined Community

The imagining of the nation necessitates a sense of communion. According to Benedict Anderson (2006) despite inequalities, an imagined community holds the perception of horizontal comradeship across diverse social categories and among all citizens to the extent that each is willing to die for the common good. The establishment of such comradeship is crucial, particularly in Afghanistan where illiteracy, limited media, poor infrastructure, and the mountainous landscape exacerbate the already limited face-to-face citizenry interaction. To redress this gap, the textbooks not only imagine a limited and sovereign state, as discussed above but a horizontal comradeship through communalization of acts and products of nationalism and homogenization of social identities – both of which inevitably lead to marginalization and exclusion. This imaging constitutes an ethnocentric (Smith, 1993) conception of nationalism, classism, gender stereotypes, and Islamism. The communalization aspect of the construction of imagining the nation which emphasizes a common history, geography, race, and governance system, was explicated above. The following presents the imagining of the nation as a forged unity of communion and inequality in the articulation and representation of ethnic, gender, linguistic, and Islamic identity formations. In the following, each one is presented individually despite their interconnection, for precision in analysis.

Communion and Inequality in Representation and Articulation of Social Identity Groups

Anderson (2006) does not bring forward the plight of the subaltern in the imagining of the nation (Calhoun, 2016, p. 13). However, Anderson does view inequality in the imagining of the nation as actual (2006, p. 9). Anderson presents a comprehension of imagining the nation that is

paradoxically simultaneously inclusionary and exclusionary rendering the nation a forged unity prone to unimagining and reimagining. The imagining of the nation in the analyzed textbooks paves the ground for inequality through ethnocentric, gendered, and class-based constructions of the people. Each is problematically represented and articulated in an effort to forge a horizontal comradeship. The following explicates the common knowledge about ethnic, gender, and socio-economic identities of Afghanistan.

First, the textbooks construct communion when they normatively historicize, Islamize, indigenize (through jirga), and legalize (through the constitution) equality for all ethnic groups. The obligation of the government to ethnic quality, endorsement of tolerance for difference, and condemnation of racial prejudice and difference, as justification for privilege, are portrayals of normative ethnic equality. This construction of ethnic equality ruptures when the textbooks empirically engage in the historical representation of diverse ethnic groups. An anonymous master ethnicity – the Pashtun ethnicity or one with which other ethnicities are identified and defined through their political and military alliances, emerges out of the historical narratives. The presence of the anonymous master ethnic group in the textbooks dominates historical rulers and events, national heroes and iconic characters, achievements, and, in rare references to social services, failures. Accordingly, history consists mostly of their intra-tribal and familial rivalries politically motivated marriages, and defence against world powers but also centralization of power and administration, reform and modernization agendas, and admission of failures in sustaining prolonged stability. The implied master ethnicity of the textbooks is only identifiable by its diverse tribal name derivatives rather than its ethnic denomination- ‘Pashtun’, and this engenders an illusive representation of diversity throughout history. The ‘other’ ethnic groups are represented by their denominative names – Hazara and Uzbek, leading to their historical presence to loom. Hence, the ‘master’ and the ‘other’ are forged into unity for their simultaneous but hierarchical occurrence in the text, that is, as active ruler and passive alliance makers agents, respectively.

The normative endorsement of equality across ethnic differences does not articulate with common knowledge. An account (Human Rights, 2010) of the state of human rights in 2009 portrays the dire equality condition compromised by those in positions of authority:

> In many areas of the country, local strongmen and former warlords continue to exert significant power over communities, using intimidation and violence to maintain their control. The Afghan government has continued to lose public legitimacy because of these abuses, widespread corruption, failure to improve living standards, and lack of progress in establishing the rule of law even in areas under its control. […] Human rights abusers continued to enjoy almost complete impunity. President Karzai attempted to secure his re-election in 2009 through a series of deals with former warlords from all the main ethnic factions. The choice of Mohammad Qasim Fahim as Karzai's vice presidential running mate was emblematic of this trend; Fahim has long been implicated in possible war crimes from the 1990s and is widely perceived by many Afghans to be connected to criminal gangs (para 9 & 10).

Student readers of the textbooks are likely to perform as affective subjects when oriented to the normative construction of equality. However, their lived experiences of inequality, as explicated in Chapter Five, by the same administration that violates rules and rights and nourishes 'ghost figures' at its MoE leading to the shortage of those resources that directly and adversely affect students' interaction with public education (Adili, 2017), will have an alienating impact. With this perspective, the normative portrayal of equality in the textbooks may not construct a cohesive horizontal comradeship when equality does not empirically articulate with lived experiences. The rupture between the normative and empirical accounts of equality carries the potential of reimagining the nation.

Critics of Afghanistan's historical power dominance by Pashtun ethnicity maintain that the dominance has led to the marginalization and discrimination of non-Pashtun ethnic groups (Rahimi, 2017, Lee, 2018). These views often lack a class-based analysis of the ingroup distribution of power and privilege in the Pashtun ethnic community and overlook the abuse of power and privilege by elites of non-Pashtun ethnic communities. The construction of the implied master ethnicity does not directly present a resemblance to white supremacy historical and social structure as the former's access to resources of power required to construct a universal systemic social structure such as 'racism' has often been limited and confined to a relatively small circle of privileged mostly men. As such, while some analyze the social terrain of 'comradeship' in Afghanistan along ethnic lines, others favour an intersectional approach that adds class-based approaches to the analysis. The likely impact of the implied master ethnicity

construction on student readers is the ethnic singularity of historical narratives and players culminating in both pride and alienation depending on the ethnic and social location of student readers and their critical history reading command.

Second, the textbooks problematically forge social and economic classes into the imagining of the nation. Beyond the above marginalization and exclusion constructions, the textbooks view social diversity as a threat to social stability and prosperity. The textbooks construct such binaries as demographic homogeneity against diversity, cultural creativity against cultural diversity, mainstream culture against small cultures, communal culture against individualism, and urban against rural populations. In each of the dichotomous pairs, the former is preferred over the latter excluding identity groups based on their ethnicity, socio-economic status, geographical location and lifestyle. In addition, the textbooks associate crime, social deviance, and rebellion not only with valid socio-economic factors such as inequality and discrimination but also with population density, internal displacement, and migration but more importantly, with cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversities.

The common knowledge in Afghanistan denotes preference to what I called in Chapter Five *modernist nationalism*, *urbanized nationalism*, and *secular nationalism* in Afghanistan. These nationalisms, portrayed in the textbooks as stereotypical representations of tribal and countryside lifestyles, nomadic communities, and immigrants imagine the nation as what Gellner (2006) describes as a high (literate) culture and a low (folk) culture. In this relationship, the former is threatened by the latter. The textbooks too, view the latter as a threat to social cohesion and harmony. In Afghanistan, a more modernized, urbanized, and secular approach to lifestyle among educated elites is a common social asset with which they identify success. As explicated in Chapter Five, urbanized nationalism is driven by the availability of resources in urban centres hence it includes rural people who have adapted to urban life (Barfield, 2010; Gubar, 1967; Lee 2018). Likewise, as discussed, secular nationalism has been historically initiated by the state and enacted upon the nation (Barfield 2010; Hyman 2002). Common knowledge among non-Pashtun identity groups claims Afghan nationalism has been constructed outside the social realities of the diverse people and as such has been discriminatory (Ahady, 1995; Rahimi, 2017; Shahrani, 1986; Mousavi, 1997). The stereotypical representation of social categories goes beyond ethnic discrimination leading to the negation of the purpose of the textbooks for a cohesive imagined nation. Student readers of the textbooks with profiles of the stereotypically presented social strata

are likely to experience alienation, reproduce the marginalization and discrimination of the textbooks through (sub)conscious cognitive processes, or seek the validation of their identities beyond the textbook in more politicized arenas. Hence, the textbooks participate in the criminalization of deviance along natural and acquired identities while it may lead to social disharmony.

Third, the horizontal comradeship in the textbooks imagines a gendered society. The imagining of the nation is a gendered phenomenon. The absence of women in the grand narrative of patriotism and citizenship construction in such areas as abuse, their stereotypical representation in political and traditional roles, and their biased construction in language demonstrate the discriminatory position of women in the imagining of women in the nation construction of the textbooks. Exclusionary gendered construction of the nation is a common practice. The nation and citizenship agenda is inherently gendered (Webly, 1990; Tobler, 2003; Heater, 2022) even in its banal portrayal (McClintock, 1993) because public patriarchy is an extension of private patriarchy (McClintock, 1993). The textbooks do however stereotypically refer to patriotism toward the 'motherland' for national affect. This construction is in line with the notion that women are both biological and ethnic nurturers of the nation and economic and cultural producers of the society (Yuval-Davis, Anthias & Campling, 1989). The textbooks' portrayal of everyday nationalism *masculine fetishism* (McClintock, 1993, p. 74) represents the imagining of the nation through gendered *fetish objects* (e.g., in maps) and gendered *fetish spectacle* (e.g., a row of men in uniform or men holding weapons in defence of the country). As such, the imagining of the nation in the textbooks is gendered.

The identified textbooks are partly a byproduct of their authors and their perspectives. The textbook authors are mostly comprised of men. Both the textbook production team and content are highly gender biased leading to an *epistemic injustice* consisting of *testimonial injustice* or deflated credibility to the knower and *hermeneutical injustice* or the prevention of the development of interpretive frameworks in social groups through their prolonged marginalization (Fricker, 2007). Women in their capacity as knowers, and qualified textbook authors, have not been granted an opportunity to create concepts, meanings, and tools for female (male and gender diverse) readers to acquire interpretive tools for the articulation of their position, needs, rights, and interests. The textbooks, hence, remain a male-dominated site where only the engagement of male readers is welcomed.

The common knowledge about women in Afghanistan is contrary to the textbooks' representations and articulations. The textbooks overlook the presence of women in non-conventional roles such as engineering, military, police, and the air force that were rendered possible in the post-9/11 era. Women are also absent from the literary work except on a couple of occasions despite the existence of prominent classical women poets such as Rabih Balkhi, Nazo Anna, Zarghna Anna, and Mokhfi Badakhshi, and contemporary poets such as Homaira Neghat, Laila Sarahat, and Nadia Anjoman. Islam defines the public sphere for women alone and tends to offer restrictions to women in social arenas. Despite this, the textbooks make references to women's role in democracy, their equal rights to men, and their political participation rights. It is due to the post-9/11 realities that granted women political rights that non-conventional professions are backgrounded but the political rights of women are foregrounded. In other words, the overall political context in which the Western countries were key players allowed for the recognition of women's political rights but not their cultural rights. Backgrounding the peculiarities of the hardship women face overshadowed non-conventional gender roles in Afghan society.

The textbooks assume the existence of merely two genders in Afghan society in line with its socio-religious positioning. In reality, however, the classroom is a site for the presence of anonymous diverse genders who are coded into binary gender categories to refrain from cultural stigma and legal prosecution. The LGBTQ community members of the Afghan society often find comfort and safety outside public spaces (Emadi, 2019). The limited presence of women and girls particularly in illustrations, their stereotypical presentation, and the absence of issues pertinent to women and girls in public and private spheres such as discriminatory codes of honour and gender-based discrimination in the workplace strip the textbooks from relevance to the interest and needs of women and girl readers of the textbooks. It takes away an educational opportunity for both genders to learn about gender equality.

Communion and Inequality in Linguistic Nationalism

Language is the crucial building block of a nation's discursive formation of nation. Anderson (2006) maintains that power in and the power of language at the disposal of cultural elites constructs the nation as an unconscious yet political imagining. The textbooks construct

communion when they recognize linguistic diversity, present it as one of the commonalities of the people, and identify its role as a unifying element in combating the Soviets. The textbooks confirm that language is a way to know one another rather than a source of privilege. This normative acknowledgment dissolves when the textbooks view language diversity as a source of social disharmony and ban political party formation based on language. The construction of language in the textbooks remains a site fraught with incoherent meanings.

The importance of language in imagining the nation is its potential to banally construct the nation through acts and products of nationalism (Billig, 1995). The textbooks' utilization of metaphorical concepts, analogy, symbolism, poetry, and the national anthem banally construct national imagining. In the textbooks, light is an analogy for science and knowledge, virus for weaker member states, bees and ants for obeying social structures, the fist and the body for Islamic Ummah's cohesiveness and unity against an un-Islamic enemy, and stormbound ship for crisis-ridden Afghanistan saved by heroes. These examples indicate 'power in' language (Anderson, 2006) that is employed in the banal construction of the imagined nation. Rhetorical devices even when banally presented are gendered through the representation of gendered fetish objects and gendered fetish spectacle (McClintock, 1993). Mother, for instance, is an affectionate analogy for the land while the founder of the country is baba (father), teacher is an intellectual father, parenthood is the right of a father over the child, ethnic groups live brotherly, Islamic brotherhood is the supreme identity, people join the hand of brotherhood and unity, every Afghan considers themselves as brothers, and defence of the country is a sign of freedom and chivalry (i.e., manhood). Language lags the nation as feminine.

When language is also presented in the form of poetry it constructs communion. Anderson (2006) asserts, "[…] there is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests – above all in the form of poetry and songs" (p. 145). Poetry and national anthem in the analyzed textbooks have played a role not only in building contemporaneous community but also in constructing an 'other' that is either an unidentified enemy or an inferior nation 'without a status'. The textbooks' poetry does not only neutrally inspire affect but also through the manipulation of its interpretation. The identified textbooks are for Faris-Dari speakers, however, as detailed in Chapter Five, the national anthem is unilingually presented in Pashtu due to a constitutional making compromise in 2004 (Adeney, 2008) leading to the stipulation of Article 16 and Article 20 that legalized the unilingual nature of the national anthem (Afghanistan

Constitution, 2004). The national anthem is one of the key language-based symbols of imaging nation as cohesive. On this, Anderson (2006) states: “No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this signing [of the national anthem] an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verse to the same melody” (p. 145). In Afghanistan and its textbooks, however, student readers speaking tens of languages of the country do not experience simultaneity or national affect because the anthem is unilingually presented. Both poetry and the national anthem are linguistic devices that are applied to imagine the nation and their discriminatory and exclusionary nature hinder student readers from experiencing simultaneity.

The common knowledge on language policies is a controversial discursive site. The context of language policies in Afghanistan determines the officialization of education and national imagining. According to Anderson (2006), a nation imagines its past and current existence through discriminatory language policies. The textbooks are likely to lose the opportunity to form a contemporaneous community due to the overall language policies of the GoA (Afghanistan Constitution, 2004; Adeney, 2008; Barfield, 2010; Hanifi, 2011; Lee, 2018), as discussed in Chapter Five. More specifically, according to the officialization of language in the education sector by the MoE the medium of instruction in public schools is determined by the percentage of the population of the community. In this case, even speakers of the two official languages do not receive education in their native language if their community falls short of fifty percent population and third-language speakers receive one subject in their language only when they form the majority (Bahry, 2013). These statements do not articulate with the constitution’s (Afghanistan Constitution, 2004) Article 16 and Article 43, and the national strategic plans as well as curricula of the MoE that stipulate the state is responsible for providing opportunities for the education of all languages of the country. Therefore, students with diverse linguistic profiles read the textbooks in a language that is not theirs. This may communicate the unintended message that school is not for them.

The textbooks had the potential to produce communion and experiences of simultaneity. Anderson (2006) expounds how official nationalism emerged out of linguistic nationalism as a result of the mass production of print material culminating in a sense of commonality shared simultaneity of time, sameness of lifestyle, and coincidence of places far apart (Calhoun, 2016). The textbooks in question, too, were mass-produced and circulated compared to any other print

material as data show only between September 2017 when the identified textbooks were printed (except one in 2018) and December 2019, 135 million textbooks (and 530,000 teachers' guide) valued at $75 million were funded by USAID (USAID, 2019 in UNESCO, 2022b, p. 37). Hence, the post-9/11 textbooks had an exceptional potential to participate in the process of imagining the nation and impact the world's youngest population in Afghanistan. The impact of the textbooks in constructing communion is hindered by the official linguistic policies of the MoE.

Communion and Inequality in the Representation and Articulation of Islam

The textbooks construct communion through the Islamization of all representations and articulations of the imagining of the nation. Islamization, unlike the political science discipline and as detailed in Chapter Eight, has a neutral utilization in this study. Domestically, according to the textbooks, Islam is the primary identity marker of all Afghans, a unifying and homogenizing element across social diversities through the concept of Islamic brotherhood, a national interest, and a key patriotism condition mandated by Islamic laws. The textbooks also have a secular inclination. The textbooks claim Islam is compatible with democracy and is the first of the four characteristics of the current constitution. The textbooks also participate in using the Quranic text and the hadith of the Prophet to promote social values such as literacy, good ethics and benevolence; to forbid killing, suicide, and genocide. As such, Islam is the supreme identity marker of the imagined community in the textbooks.

Overall, the textbooks promote a moderate Islam. Anderson (2006) asserts that imagined community was engendered following the demise of religion-oriented hierarchical dynasties and the advent of the enlightenment. This factor is comparable with the textbooks. The textbooks do offer a more scientific than Islamic account of the genesis, and background Islamic institutions while naming social institutions by avoiding *hudud* (limitations) such as *riba* (usury) and *zina* (adulty) and apply Islamic principles to articulate social values such as environmentalism, equality, literacy, and public consultation. The textbooks 'construction of a moderate Islam for domestic consumption ruptures at times. The restoration of justice through *qassas* (retaliation) and public display of punishment for teaching the public a lesson exhibits an internally incoherent moderate Islam. Furthermore, according to the textbooks no law

can be contrary to Islamic law because *sharia* is divine but the constitution is a man-made document, no free media can promote other religions, and only women's political participation is conditioned to Islamic principles– all of which annul democracy claims of the textbooks. Likewise, narratives of the Prophet such as migration opportunistically promote irrelevant topics such as the enemies of Afghanistan. Despite these references, the textbooks generally articulate Islam with moderate and secular values.

The moderate construction of Islam for domestic consumption is in tension with the Islam constructed for interaction with the non-Islamic world. This construction of Islam necessitates sacrifice. Anderson (2006) underscores the significance of sacrifice despite inequality for the common good in an imagined nation. With a position against world ideologies and systems such as capitalism, socialism, communism, Marxism, liberalism, and globalization, the United Nations, religious broadcasting corporations, and 'inherent' inequality in the 'rich countries', the textbooks other all non-Islamic nations. The textbooks perceive the economic, cultural, and religious challenges of globalization as excuses for military and cultural aggression of the 'Western civilization' against 'Islamic civilization'. The textbooks perceive resistance against the West normatively as an Islamic obligation and empirically through the sacrifice of *jihad.* Consequently, *s*tudent readers are encouraged to partake in *mujahidat* (the act of *jihad),* to become *ghazi* (who kills an enemy during *jihad), shahid* (martyr who is killed during *jihad),* and *qahramanan* (a hero who has died or have a victoriously returned alive from a *jihad)* because life after dead in these contexts promised the highest status in heaven. Furthermore, these individuals are national heroes who raised the flag of jihad. As such, Islam is a rich discursive site that constitutes other national values.

The above incoherent construction of moderate Islam is a manifestation of common knowledge and experiences in Afghanistan. The displacement of Islam from its harmonious to violent place reflects the discursive social realities on the ground. Traditionally, Afghanistan practices the Hanafi school of Islam which is widely considered moderate. Radical Islam is indeed a new phenomenon in the discursive history of Afghanistan. The common knowledge of Afghanistan confirms that Islamists halted the course of modernization and dismantled its education system on three occasions. The first interruption was caused by Habibullah Kalakani (1928) who ended the progressive constitutional monarchy of King Amanullah, abolished all progressive laws such as universal free education for all including women and girls, banned

girls' education altogether, and reinstalled the Emirate (Farhang, 1988). The reign of King Amanullah had weakened not only due to opposition to his progressive reforms but also to his promotion of independence sentiments across the border with British India and proclamation of Afghanistan's independence in 1919 (Lee, 2018; Ghobar, 1963). Hence, resistance to the king's progressive reform was partly politically motivated. The second interruption was under Burhanuddin Rabbani's Islamic presidency (1992-1996) whose rule was marked by armed conflict with various other competing jihadists demanding power sharing on an ethnic rather than merit basis (Giustozzi, 2009). Rabbani could only partially open schools due to the ongoing civil war but the radicalization of mujahidin's curriculum in refugee camps, as discussed in Chapter Five, offers a glimpse of their vision for education in Afghanistan. The third interruption was the Taliban's regime (1996-2001) which resembled the ruling of Habibullah Kalakani in terms of Islamist orientation and closure of schools for women and girls. It is within this context that the discourses of the textbooks contain strict interpretations of Islam.

In the recent history of Afghanistan, radical Islam penetrated the society during the Cold War (1980s-1990s) and as a result of Western country's endorsement of political and military support to mujaheddin fighting the Red Army in the country. For the first time, Islam was systematically politicized and institutionalized in the social life of people. Above all, the education sector and textbooks in the refugee camps in Pakistan and parts of Afghanistan under the control of the mujahidin were radicalized (Spink, 2005, 2007). Rabbani's civil war-inflicted rule was followed by the Taliban (1996-2001) whose radical regime and views knocked on the door of the world's superpower in 2001. Both the mujahidin of the Cold War and the Taliban who perpetuated civil war gained their radical Islamic views beyond the borders of Afghanistan (Gerges, 2011). These references indicate that the spread of radicalism in Afghanistan is more an imported politically motivated than an indigenous phenomenon. The differentiation between Islam as a religion and as a political means is the reality that the textbooks reflect.

The construction of Islam in the textbooks even in its moderate sense is exclusionary. Islam as a supreme identity marker overlooks the presence of non-Muslim identities such as Hindus and Sikhs (Kumar, 2017), and Jews (Asharon, 2016) in Afghanistan. The textbooks also refrain from identifying the different sects of Islam in the country and because Sunni adherents form the majority, this backgrounding may be viewed as a political motivation. These excluded identities are not discussed neither in the three five-year National Education Strategic Plans

(henceforth *NESPs*) from 2006 to 2021, nor in the curriculum frameworks of 2003 and 2011 of the MoE of Afghanistan. Hence, even with a moderate Islamic gaze, the textbooks participate in constructing subalterns, and it adversely affect comradeship in the imagining of the nation.

This representation of a moderate Islam is likely to construct horizontal comradeship among student readers as on the one hand it is taken from students' common cultural ground, and on the other, it encourages common recurring social practices that may not be contested widely. The above representation of Islam is likely to have a positive impact on students because they are readily accessible in their social environment. As such, a moderate Islam may serve as a catalyst to articulate and legitimize other progressive values and principles. However, the othering of the Western powers and their schools of thought coupled with the call for jihad and martyrdom will have a profound negative impact on student leaders including an inevitable violence option.

In conclusion, the imagining of the nation constructs both communion and inequality. Normative endorsements of rights across social differences and gender equality are likely to lead to 'horizontal comradeship', however, the stereotypical portrayals, misrepresentations, and binary constructions of the textbook coupled with contextual social realities produce discrimination and marginalization both in the object (the text) and the subject (the student reader). The differentiation between the normative and empirical stances of the textbooks can culminate in the rupture of the communion that the textbooks intend to construct.

Modulation and Adaptation of the Imagined Nation

Any imagined nation is a reflection and evidence of the fluidity of the representations and articulations that constitute it. More specifically, the imagined community is a conceptualization of the process of modulation and adaption of a common cultural ground over spatial and temporal spaces (Anderson, 2006). The imagining of the nation is a selective historicization of the nation's discursive constructions. In other words, imagining is a process that forms "[…] a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history" (Anderson, 2006, p. 39). The following presents the key adaptations and modulations that the textbooks apply to negotiate rupture in the forged unity of the imagining of the nation. The four modulations and adaptations presented below indicate that Islam as a contentious discursive site is their commonality.

The first modulation and adaptation occur in history construction as a site that negotiates race and religion. The textbooks articulate the five thousand of history around Aryan racial

nobility and the Aryan pre-Islamic civilization. It is a patriotic construction of indigeneity and originality in the identity of the people. Aryan nobility and the glorified lifestyle of the Aryan people rupture and are depicted as 'bad morality' when the textbooks introduce Islamic morality in the 7th-century history of the people. To negotiate this slippage, the textbooks portray not only the people of Afghanistan but also the Arab people and all world nations in a state of ignorance and 'bad morality'. This modulation appears subtle because of the chronological arrangement of history as opposed to a thematic discussion. In the end, the textbooks unite racial nobility, pre-Islamic civilizational glory, and Islamic morality into one system of representation of an imagined nation. These meanings, however, are perpetually negotiated, displaced, and differed, paradoxically, to sustain.

The second modulation and adaptation occur in democracy construction as a site where a moderate interpretation of Islam for domestic consumption is in tension with the Islam that confronts the West. The identified textbooks refer to democracy as a 'unique' phenomenon is a more recent negotiated construction in the discursive space of a society that its textbooks' historical reference to democracy is as remotely inaccessible as the pre-Islamic Aryan era and as short-lived as the 'decade of democracy' in the 20th century. As discussed in detail in Chapter Eight, the textbooks historicize citizenship through the articulation of democracy in the ancient pre-Islamic time, the constitutionalist movement of the 20th century, and the 'democracy decade' of the 1970s which connects contemporary citizenship to a more recent past. The textbooks praise and selectively underscore the achievements of past constitutions from the 20th century although more emphasis is given to the post-independence (1919) and post-9/11 (2001) constitutions. The historicized democracy and constitution allow the discourse of contemporary democratic values to appear accustomed. Against this backdrop, the textbooks highlight the country's present progressive democratic values including elections, political participation, political party formation, the power of the parliament, the right to peaceful demonstrations, the role of the media in national unity, women's political participation and women-friendly quota system in the parliament and the upper house, and respect for human rights. It is evident that the textbooks attempt to construct a progressive democracy. However, this construction ruptures when the textbooks limit democratic rights to citizenry duties and refrain from government accountability. According to the textbooks, laws restrict citizens but they are *about* the government and the latter is the implementor of the constitution. When the textbooks refer to

shortcomings in service delivery of contemporary governments the matter is either contextualized in historical narratives or individualized rather than institutionalized. The textbooks' construction of political participation and peaceful demonstration is meant to be within the power system rather than from outside in the context of civil society organizations. To negotiate this opening, the textbooks present normative statements from the constitution and the jirga to emphasize that the people have the right to observe the function of the government. However, this normative endorsement is not empirically applied in the discussion of the textbooks. Furthermore, the textbooks resort to fixing the rupture to constructing the government as a service delivery institution the absence of which leads to chaos and an eventual civil war. The pre-Islamic governments' glorification, their adaptation into Islamic governments for their ability to attain administrative centralization and power consolidation, and yet their modulation into modern governments capable of providing social and disciplinary services depict how textbooks participate in a perpetual process of adaption of positive representations of governments. As such democracy construction ruptures evident through an evasive approach toward government accountability is negotiated and fixed by an emphasis on the need for social and disciplinary services offered by the governments.

The third modulation and adaptation occur in the glorification of national defence construction as a site where the rupture between welcoming invasion by Muslim Arabs and condemning invasion by non-Muslims requires negotiation. In the textbooks jihad against the British and the Russian forces is a recurring source of pride and at times prejudice, when for instance people with no state are portrayed as weak. However, the victorious national defence representational system fractures when the textbooks detail the welcoming of the Arab invaders to introduce the people to Islam. To maintain a patriotic gaze while not losing sight of the immediate relevance of Islam to the construction of the imagining of the nation in the Muslim majority society, the textbooks distinguish between invading 'Arabs' and 'Muslims' and utilize these terms strategically to portray two parallel scenarios: fighting the invading 'Arabs' and welcoming 'Muslims'. Furthermore, the textbooks construct 'bad' Umayyad and 'good' Abbasid Islamic caliphates to position the defending patriots on the side of the succeeding good caliphate. This negotiation between invading Arabs and defending patriotists together with the Abbasids proves inadequate as the textbooks remain silent on the manslaughter of the former at the hands

of the latter. The fixation tactic of the textbooks is to depict their assassination as an act committed by individual perpetrators other than the Abbasid caliphate.

The fourth modulation and adaptation occur in Islam's construction as a site where a moderate interpretation of Islam for domestic consumption is in tension with the Islam that confronts the West. The textbooks produce two competing constructions of Islam. As discussed above, on the one hand, they represent Islam as moderate, compatible with democracy, and pro-human and women's rights. This depiction of domestic consumption, however, demonstrates incoherence when the textbooks endorse sharia as the supreme source of law and *qassas* and public display of punishment as Islamic justice. On the other hand, a major rupture occurs when the textbooks construct the relationship between the Western and Islamic worlds as a civilizational clash. The textbooks construct Islamic brotherhood nationally as the 'melting of differences and dissonance' and internationally, construct the Islamic ummah as a breeding ground for the confrontation between the superior Islamic ummah and the 'other' inferior West. To negotiate the rupture, the textbooks present cultural exchange as a harmonious form of interaction compared to the West's cultural hegemony. As such, a moderate Islam ruptures not only through its incoherence but also when articulated with the relation between the ummah and the Western world.

To comprehend the common knowledge of people concerning the above adaptations and modulations it is helpful to identify Islam as their common ground. Concerning the first negotiation of imagining related to Araya nobility, the above discussion on communion and inequality in the representational and articulation of social identity groups, shed light. In that discussion, it was explained that the Aryan myth exists in the social belief system although not every ethnic identity category adheres to it. As such, socially, the Muslim-majority people of Afghanistan do not perceive Aryan nobility and Islamic ethics as incompatible.

Concerning the second to fourth adaptation and modulation, that relates to the positionality of Islam versus democracy and Muslims versus Western societies, the discursive train enjoys multiplicity. Islamists negatively represented democracy as a Western ideology in opposition to the Islamic value system including women's rights and civic liberties, during the Cold War (1980s–1990s) mostly in refugee camps in Pakistan and during their civil war (1992–2001) within the country (Giustozzi, 2009). Second, in the collective memory of the public the susceptibility of democracy to backlash from people is evident in two key historical events; first,

in the manner through which King Amanullah's twenty years of hasty progressive reforms led to a power vacuum and the abolishment of his reforms in 1929; second, Soviet-backed republican government's progressive reforms were dismantled by Islamists in 1992. On the contrary, under the reign of King Zahir Afghanistan had a prolonged and incrementally enacted modernization, progress, and stability (1930s–1970s) due to its ability to render the cohabitation of modernization, a moderate Islam, and traditional values reasonably feasible (Barfield, 2010; Lee, 2018). The textbooks, however, represent these historical events with distortion, and prominent examples are as follows. First, they depict the constitutionalist movement of King Amanullah as Islamic, while there is a consensus that it was secular (Barfield, 2010). Second, they associate the decade of democracy with the Prime Minister of the time rather than the progressive King Zahir in line with backgrounding him in the rest of the narratives including his constitutional progressive reforms compared to details of Islamist mujahidin's failed constitution-making processes. Third, they refer to the glorified 'decade of democracy' in support of post-9/11 democracy initiatives, however, they also qualify the era as an 'anarchy'. The reason for these discrepancies is that these articulations are connected to other articulations that together demonstrate contemporary complexity. One example of this complexity is the point that under King Zahir's reign, all right-wing and left-wing political movements were formed whose activism led to forty years of stability and civil liberties. However, such a revelation will cast doubt on the legitimacy of the movements that were unsuccessfully present on the political scene from the Cold War to the Civil War and to the time the textbooks were written in the post-9/11 era. Hence, the process of modulation and adaptation in the textbooks is not a fixation on the past for future consumption but may cause further ruptures.

The negative representation of the 'Western civilization' in the textbooks comes with a limitation that relates to the realities on the ground. The textbooks are open about jihad against the British and Russia in their historical context. However, the MoE that was technically and financially supported by Americans and NATO allies to produce and circulate textbooks was unable to utter the names of individual countries. The textbooks construct the people of Afghanistan as victorious and in a state of defence by referring to the invasions of world power – although overlooking the presence of an American-led coalition at the time the textbooks were funded and circulated by the USAID (United States Assistance to International Development) (Spink, 2005; Woo & Simmons, 2008). However, the complexity of the presence of the Western

countries that are detailed in Chapter Five, including civilian causalities, may have been grounds for an anti-Western stance and a call for jihad in the textbooks. Furthermore, as detailed in Chapter Five, the Jihadi textbooks' circulation in education had an impact on the construction of the textbooks of this era as well. The imagining of the nation in the textbooks is reinforced through the non-availability of critical thinking. Lesson questions, rather than endorsing rich critique, reinforce the existing narratives of the lessons. Therefore, the student reader is cognitively faced with the 'impossibility of choice' (Davies, 1991).

In conclusion, in the absence of a negotiated reading of history, the modulations appear deceitful while they could be worthy of empathy with authors of the textbooks of the society in which its diverse strong and often armed identity communities are ambivalent about the settlement between their historical past and the promises of a progressive future. This ambivalence has often threatened the governments' stability and has led to grave adverse social consequences. From the perspective of textbook authors, these constructions represent a process of modulation and adaptation while from the perspective of student readers, they may illustrate a process of undulation of the nation-ness.

Conclusion

The textbooks imagine the nation in Afghanistan as limited and sovereign. The imagining of the nation in the textbooks commences with the communalization of primordial representations and articulations of nation-ness. The textbooks consciously and banally historicize, indigenize, democratize, and Islamize patriotism by assuming a naturally occurring historical continuity, geographical fixity, and racial nobility. Historical continuity portrayal of the textbooks does not articulate with common knowledge as it attempts to claim the existence of multiple civilizations into the current confinements of the country overlooking the magnitude of the civilizations that surpassed what we know as Afghanistan today. This claim engenders a positive affective influence on student readers, nonetheless, with an intolerant attitude towards sharing the collective past with other nations. Likewise, geographical fixity does not articulate with common knowledge about the previous existences of the country both for its shifting borders in the past and disputed land in the present. This stance may prompt student readers to imagine an uninterrupted territorial fixity with the consequent effect of cross-national miscommunication over the history of the previous common territories. Last, racial nobility in

the imagining of the textbooks partly fails to be in accordance with common knowledge of the people because while some believe in an Aryan identity, others hold the notion that most of the people of the country have come from elsewhere. This perspective statement can have an alienating effect on student readers who do not self-identify with the Aryan identity.

The textbooks imagine the nation as sovereign and this construction is built on a historicized, indigenized, and Islamised account of governments and governance. Governments are represented through the centralization of administration and consolidation of power in their past existences and through social and disciplinary services presently. The mission of governments is portrayed as social harmony and chaos is associated with their absence. Any student reader who has experienced conflict and inadequate social services is likely to emphasize with sovereignty construction of the textbooks.

The textbooks attempt to construct communion although it often leads to inequality. Communalization of acts and products of nationalism and homogenization of social identities through Islamic brotherhood and ummah excludes a wide number of identities from non-Muslims to minority sects of Islam whose identities are not distinctly emphasized. The implied master ethnicity constructed against 'other' ethnicities and the treatment of various social groups from nomads to internally displaced people and from rural to tribal people reveal the exclusionary constructions of the nation's imagining in the textbooks. Various linguistic groups are outside the imagining of the textbooks and women are stereotypically presented in their social roles and discriminatorily underrepresented. These marginalizations are taken from the discursive realities of the society and as such partially reflect the dominant common knowledge. These margeanlizations have a serious effect on student readers from many communities who are absent in the imagining of the nation. This presents a missed opportunity for creating comradeship among one of the youngest and largest populations of the country who read the textbooks.

The representations and articulations form a forged unity that has come into existence through processes of modulation and adaptation. The textbooks are faced with a number of ruptures in the meanings that render imagining the nation plausible. Racial nobility is in tension with Islamic morality construction but is adapted through the generalization of immorality in the world. Patriotic defence construction is contrary to welcoming the Muslim invaders in the 7th century nonetheless is negotiated through the formation of a bad and a good caliphate and siding

by the latter. A moderate Islam for domestic consumption does not only internally fractures but also when compared with its position against the West and in favour of jihad and martyrdom. Democracy values are not consistent with governments as merely disciplinary institutions rather than being accountable to the public but this incoherence is substituted by an emphasis on governments' role in service delivery and rule of law maintenance. These intricacies and conflicting constructions represent the discursive realities that make up common knowledge in the society of Afghanistan. Student readers are likely to notice the ruptures and modulations in the textbooks given the tactics the textbooks apply to disguise their fixations such as the chronological presentation of history and the measures that were discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

This thesis applies *critical discourse analysis* (CDA) to analyze the discursive construction of the *imagining of community* in secondary patriotism, civic education, and history public school textbooks of Afghanistan as a forged unity of a banal system of *representations* and *articulations*. The imagining of the community in the textbooks depicts the officialization of education between the demise of the Taliban in 2001 and their return to power in 2021, a period of two decades that marks the life cycle of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. In the absence of an indigenous textbook analysis method in Afghanistan, this study strived to frame a methodological approach that ensures the indegenuity of the analyzed text. Above all, the conception of imagined community provided a solid foundation for the analysis of the textbooks and its susceptibility to modulation and adaptation allowed the peculiarities of the primary text to be articulated with other complementary nationalism and citizenship conceptual frameworks.

In particular, this study first analyzed nationalism and citizenship representations and their representational strategies in the discursive construction of imagining the community, and second, participated in a debate on whether the textbooks' imagining articulate (with) the negotiated reading of common knowledge in the society. As such, the primary text source of this study consists of both the textbooks in question and the education officialization policies of the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan. CDA's three-dimensional framework, namely, text, discourse practice, and social practice, enabled this study to embark on a theoretically situated analysis of contextual circumstances in which the primary text was produced, circulated, and consumed. Consequently, this study offers a scenario of the already imagined community in the discourse practice and social practice of the primary text and an analysis of a community imagining at play in the textbooks. These two complementary constructions are situated in the two reading method of this study. The first dominant reading of the textbooks constitutes the analysis of the imagining of the community in the textbooks and the second negotiated reading signifies the relationship between the already imagined community and the textbooks' imagining of the community.

The imagined community in the context of Afghanistan and the imagining of the nation in the textbooks are fraught with intricacy. This renders the comprehension of the imagining and the selection of the appropriate framework for analysis complicated. In this study, Anderson's (2006) conception of imagined community allowed for the peculiarities of Afghanistan and its

imagining to persist because its conceptual nationalism boundaries are flexible. As discussed in Chapter Two in detail, Anderson connects the past and the present through problematization and deconstruction of those historical and socio-cultural acts and products of nationalism that can be catered to any contextual realities, including Afghanistan.

As a medium between power and people, the textbook serves as a political and cultural artifact (Apple, 1991). In this role, the textbook performs as a site for the construction of dominant discourse, ideology, and, at times, alternative perspectives that sustain hegemonic systems of power (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Crawford, 2003). One of the key discussions of power and ideology is the discursive construction of nationalism that seeks its legitimacy in the textbook (Hein & Selden, 1998). The textbooks construct official knowledge leading to either social cohesion (Schissler, 2009; Lässig, 2009) or exclusion (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Apple 1991). Circumstantial conditions, particularly a change in the grand official narrative, amplify the significance of the textbook as a political object that bonds or breaks nation and state relation (Williams, 2014). This role of the textbook is critical because dependency on textbooks despite technological advancement is inevitable in not only resource deprived (Greaney, 2006) but also in resourceful (Lässig, 2009) societies. Given this contextual significance, the idealization of the nation through the textbook is a convoluted discursive practice that presents itself in every stage of its cycle of production, distribution, and consumption. Hence, the discourse of the textbook is representative of societal complexities governed by power apparatus.

The identified textbooks in this study are significant for understanding the education and society nexus in Afghanistan because they reached the largest and youngest population of the society. Only between September 2017 when the identified textbooks were printed and December 2019, 135 million textbooks (and 530,000 teachers' guidebooks) valued at $75 million were funded by USAID (USAID, 2019 in UNESCO, 2022b, p. 37). Given the presented discussions in Chapter Five, it is plausible that not all enrolled and present students read the analyzed textbooks. It merits attention, however, that as the only medium of knowledge in the resource deprived classrooms of Afghanistan where teaching competency was significantly low and supplementary resources almost nonexistent, the textbooks were widely read by millions of enrolled and present students.

Society's approval of education in the studied period was high. The findings of this study revealed the disparity of education supply and demand, despite conflict and attack on schools,

poverty and child labour, and restrictive cultural norms for girls, defying the misperceptions of education unpopularity in Afghan society particularly for female students. Hence, this study brings to the limelight the point that in spite of the complex socio-political and security terrain of education in Afghan society, the analyzed textbooks were widely valued by educationalists and communities and were utilized by the vast young student population of Afghanistan.

The analyzed textbooks of this study participated in imagining the nation as both an act and a product of the imagining. The textbooks performed as a product of imagining the nation for the sheer reason of their mode of knowledge transfer from the state to the citizens and as an act of imagining the nation for the complex political and social conditions of education officialization under which the textbooks came into existence. The analysis of the production, circulation, and consumption of the textbooks in this study finds that this object of imaging the nation embeds acts of nationalism rooted in historical, political, social, cultural, and economic processes that rendered the textbooks' existence and discourse possible. For instance, the findings of this study in Chapter Five illustrate that the Afghan society and the identified textbooks' nexus was temporally and problematically situated in national discursive sites, such as in history. The analyzed textbooks of 2017 and 2018 were influenced by the violent content of textbooks produced in 1980 in refugee camps. Poverty, conflict, shortage of human resources, and ghost figures in the MoE denoting corruption in school, teacher, and student registration, are other national political, social, and economic circumstances that impacted the discourse of the identified textbooks as products of imagining the nation. This study also finds that the nexus of society and textbooks spatially went beyond the national context to include such foreign elements as a national security interest, military advancement against terrorism objective, and financial gain by American academic institutions. This context had an impact on the content of the textbooks as products of imagining the nation.

Acts and products of nationalism are not mutually exclusive as one employs the other to achieve their common interest of imaging the nation. The analysis of this thesis sheds light on the education officialization act of national imagining under which the analyzed textbooks were produced, circulated, and consumed. The aftermath of 9/11, 2001, which marked the discursive end of communism (1992) and subsequently of Islamism (2001) in Afghanistan, had engendered optimism for a modern era education that would benefit the exceptionally young nation of the world. The Bonn Conference (2001), following the fall of the Cold War era (1970s-1992) and

Islamists' civil wars (1992-2001), sealed the pledge of the international community to return peace and security to Afghanistan where prior to the commencement of the Cold War long decades of peace and progress for men and women were pervasive. Within the context of this new prospect, the Ministry of Education (henceforth, MoE) initiated the officialization of national education in key strategic documents that can be viewed as an act of imagining the nation leading to the production of the analyzed textbooks. In the reviewed period, as detailed in Chapter Five, the MoE embarked on officializing education by producing three five-year *NESP*s which detailed educational vision, objectives, approaches, and implementation strategies for periods of 2006-2010; 2010-2014; and 2017-2021. The MoE also legalized education by applying the Ministry of Justice's Law of Education (2008) which stipulated, among others, the scope and limits of the education society nexus. Finally, the MoE nationalized education by producing two Curriculum Frameworks (henceforth *NCFs*) published in 2003, revised in 2006, and published in 2011 out of which the analyzed textbooks emerged. The analysis of this study indicates that the documents officialized a centralized, standardized, and uniformed education across the country denoting nation building inception in the post-conflict society. A comparative analysis of these policies represents incoherence and ruptures in the meanings that they attempt to produce. The *NESP*s became more progressive and inclusive over time while the curriculum became regressive and radical, particularly in relation to Islam and girls' inclusion. Officialization of education that also offered context for the production of textbooks was indeed an act of the imaging of the nation *per se* both in the education sector in general and in the social terrain in particular.

Despite their significance in imagining the nation as the only learning material in the classroom and as the only device through which the MoE reached millions of the youngest population of the society to communicate its post-9/11 2001 change of official grand narrative, the analyzed textbooks of this study received little scholarly attention in the past two decades. Chapter Five of this study illustrates the limited scholarly work on imagining the nation in the identified textbooks. The existing scholarly work on the content of textbooks of this period is inadequate and thematically spread. Identifying this gap in the literature, I embarked on the analysis of the MoE textbooks. It is anecdotally confirmed that presently, under the Taliban regime, the textbooks are still circulated in public schools across the country except for the civic education textbooks presumably due to their references to such themes as democracy,

constitutionalism, and gender rights. Presently, the Taliban have suspended democracy and the constatation in favour of sharia (Islamic law) and have banned education for girls above grade six. The resurgence of the Taliban renders the study of the textbooks crucial as both national and international bodies assess the reasons for the Taliban's return to power. Education is one of the least explored areas.

The analysis of the identified textbooks was enacted with a multifaceted analytical approach. As presented in Chapters Two to Four, *imagined community* (Anderson, 2007) constituted my theory of choice for the application of nationalism in this study. The methodology of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) (Fairclough, 1996; Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2001) offered a number of analytical approaches; namely, *intertextual analysis* (Fairclough, 1996; Fairclough, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, 2001), *double deconstructive reading* of the text (Fairclough, 1996, van Dijk, 2006; Glaser, 1992), and *ideology formation* or 'ideological square' also known as 'Other-negative presentation' (van Dijk, 2006). Furthermore, given the multidisciplinary nature of CDA, *discourse* (Hall, 1992), *banal emblems and deixis of nationalism* (Billig, 1995), *representational systems* (Hall, 1997), and *articulation (Hall, 1988; 1985)* served as a conceptual framework and analytical and interpretive device. The findings of this thesis are the consequent result of the application of these interdisciplinary analytical and interpretive approaches.

The analysis of imagining community construction of this study is an empirical contribution to the dichotomous discourse of nationalism and citizenship. Situating nationalism in close proximity to citizenship is theoretically subject to controversy. Literature has confirmed that in the scholarly treatment of the two conceptions, the former is viewed as Eastern and backward and the latter as Western and progressive (McCrone & Kiely, 2000). As discussed in Chapter Two, this binary has been problematized by enriching the debate through the incorporation of other dimensions to nationalism and citizenship constructions. Critical studies emphasize the importance of the following factors in the dichotomous view of the nation; identity as a product of not only political but also economic and cultural processes (Miller, 2011; Turner, 1990), citizenship bifurcation into ethnic and civic forms (Reeskens & Hooghe, 2010), exclusion as a commonality between nationalism and citizenship (Heather, 2002) particularly when rendered gendered (Welby, 1990; Tobler, 2003; Fortier, 2010), and affect as an element of the cultural (Gibsly, 2005, Hutchinson & Smith, 1993; Anderson, 2006) and the political (Gellner, 2006) realms. If nation is a collective of the political and cultural, and everything else

that comes between and beyond this binary, as affirmatively argued in Chapter Two, imaging the nation not only occurs through discursive acts and products of nationalism but also discursive formations of citizenship. The analyzed Afghanistan textbooks of this study enrich the literature that problematizes the nationalism and citizenship binary by presenting the problematic coexistence of the two conceptions.

It merits attention to revisit the research questions that governed the study. The first research question asks: *How do the Afghanistan public school history, citizenship, and patriotism textbooks construct the imagining of the nation?* Part 'A' of this question specifies the inquiry: *How do the textbooks represent nationalism and citizenship?* This study finds that imagining the nation in post-9/11, 2001 Afghanistan was constituted of natural, cultural, social, historical, and ethnic elements of nation-ness as reflected in the MoE documents and the identified textbooks. The mass production of the analyzed textbooks of this study and their performance in Afghanistan society as a discursive product and act of imaging the nation, render them relevant to the conception of nationalism from Benedict Anderson's (2006) perspective. Anderson focused on print capitalism and language policies, among others, for the conceptualization of an imagined community. Print material such as newspapers engendered simultaneity across diverse lifestyles and the content of such productions as novels offered a shared idealization of the future. This identified textbooks expectedly performed a similar role as it was the only medium of learning among a vast young population. Textbooks, through their usage in scheduled learning hours of public schools, offer simultaneity of lifestyles and through their content, presumably construct a homogenized idealization of the future. Imagined community, conceptualized in capitalist societies is relevant to the study of textbooks in Afghanistan. Given the presented arguments in Chapter Two, Anderson's social constructivist approach to nationalism does not sway away from primordial (Shils, 1995; Gibsly, 2005) and ethnocentric (Smith, 1993) theorizations of nationalism, both of which are strongly at play in the social sphere of the Afghan society. Given its theoretical underpinnings, imagining community is ordained to be constructed on these natural, cultural, social, historical, and ethnic elements of the society that preceded Aderson's theorization of nationalism. As such, primordial and ethnocentric notions of nationalism helped bridge the social constructivist notion of nationalism to the context of Afghanistan's social fabric.

The analysis of this study finds that the identified textbooks do not make a distinction between citizenship and nationalism as distinct constructions, nor do they use these terms. The textbooks define nationalism as patriotism and citizenship as subjecthood. The imagining of the nation in the identified textbooks is constituted by problematically overlapping incoherent and negotiated formations of nationalism and citizenship. The imagining is articulated with a discursive pyramid of conceptions consisting of such common temporally, spatially, socially, culturally, historically and politically situated properties as history as the base or foundational element of the pyramid, tradition and democracy as the two side elements, and Islam as the altitude of the pyramid with which all above elements attain meaning. These constructions are constituted by representational systems situated in articulations. The analysis finds that as the representational system complexifies through the addition of more representations, intricacies emerge and incoherent articulations are negotiated, hence, forged more vulnerably into unities of meanings. Hence, paradoxically, the fragments of the discursive pyramid are mutually inclusive and have come together through the construction of patriotism and citizenship to imagine community not only through their coherence but also through incoherences, fluidity, and negotiations. As such, the overall forged unity of the imagining of the nation in the textbooks is a pyramidal system of representation and articulation of citizenship and nationalism that is neither fixed nor permanent.

Despite the above similarities between the conceptions of patriotism and citizenship, distinctions were drawn about how each was represented. The analysis of the identified textbooks demonstrates the imagining of the nation in Afghanistan in the context of patriotism construction. The findings denote a primordial conception of patriotism with its emphasis on natural affect and commonalities from a territory that has always existed as Afghanistan, Aryan racial nobility, five thousand years of historical continuity, and Islam as the unifying religion of the people. Rather than being hollow, this depiction is enriched with the glorification of the nation as a civilizational state, nurturer of science, and strong in defence of the land against world invaders. The textbooks' construction of patriotism struggles to maintain conceptual coherence which appears in all textbooks' passages as an unsettled predicament. On the one hand, the textbooks endorse historical continuity, social diversity, and a moderate Islam for national consumption, on the other, they selectivity historicize the nation's existence, partake in the exclusion of social and economic groups including ethnic identities, engage in negative other

portrayal of the Western schools of thought, and preach for Islamic jihad and martyrdom in a civilization clash between a presumed invading West and defending Islamic ummah. The latter Islam is in tension with the domestic Islam construction. As such, the imagining of the nation in Afghanistan has a primordial and ethnocentric approach.

The analysis of the identified textbooks finds that the imagining of the nation in Afghanistan also entails citizenship formation. In this depiction, citizenship is defined along with democracy, human and gender rights, constitutionalism, and political participation including peaceful demonstration for women and men. The textbooks position citizenship in the context of patriotism construction to produce a 'unique' democracy that is Islamized, endogenized, and historicized. The textbooks present the problem of democracy attainment. Democracy is historicized as one that has advanced over time, nonetheless, has also fluctuated between regression and progression for both national and external reasons. The government is depicted as a historical institution in search of administrative centralization and power consolidation both of which have been acquired without success in service delivery. The textbooks attempt to encourage empathy and underscore the need for social service institutions. These depictions of citizenship, however, present a forged unity when the axis of citizenship; democracy, tradition, and Islam triangle fail to align. The textbooks struggle to reconcile opposing values such as democracy and Islam, a glorified past and perpetual failures in maintaining stability, and the promise of service delivery in return for respect for the rule of law while overlooking government accountability. This construction of the imagining of the nation indicates an economic determinist approach. The findings of this study denote the convenient enabling discursive context in which nationalism and citizenship problematically coexist in imaging the nation although through recurring ruptures and negotiations.

Part (B) of the first research question asks: *What specific representational strategies do the textbooks use to construct the relationship between the two (i.e., patriotism and citizenship)?* The textbooks utilize rhetorical devices such as analogy and metaphors, banal acts and products of nationalism including the national map, anthem and flag, dead artifacts, deixis, poetry, national heroes, biographies, images, frequent references to sources of national pride, and negative othering ideology to construct an imagining of the nation. The textbooks historized, indigenized, Islamized, and genderized both patriotism and nationalism in such a manner that one often becomes the building block of the other. For instance, democracy (citizenship) is historically

situated (patriotism), while the tradition of jirga (patriotism) is a symbolic representation of democracy (citizenship). In other examples, social diversity is normatively ensured by both Islam (patriotism) and the constitution (citizenship). However, this construction is simultaneously exclusionary through the conceptions of Islamic brotherhood and Islamic umma (patriotism), historical narratives that construct an anonymous exclusionary master ethnicity (patriotism), and a government system that stratifies its economic groups such as internally displaced people or small cultures, hierarchically (citizenship). When forged unities show signs of incoherence and rupture the textbooks resort to certain strategies such as a chronological rather than thematic portrayal of history which helps textbooks to glorify an era such as the pre-Islam Aryan era and unglorify it to introduce yet another glorified Islamic epoch. Furthermore, the textbooks adopt individualization rather than institutionalization of government shortcomings such as corruption. Moreover, the textbooks partake in the universalization of pre-Islamic immorality to justify the welcoming of the Arab Muslim invaders despite the construction of a defending hero nurturing nation. To remedy the ruptures in the construction of knowledge about Afghanistan, the textbooks apply rhetorical devices, social assets, and common cultural grounds both banally and deliberately and participate in othering attained nationally by the unification of diverse peoples which consequently leads to their nuanced and covert homogenization and internationally by a narrative of an invading West. Hence, the discourse of the textbooks constructs a fractured forged unity of imagining of the nation along patriotism and citizenship construction that is sustained through linguistic strategies.

The second research question asks: *How does this imagining of the nation articulate (with) the negotiated reading of common knowledge in society?* The imagining of the nation partially articulates (with) the negotiated reading of common knowledge in society. First, the textbooks imagine the nation as being limited and sovereign. Chapter Eight, however, indicates that the territory, nation, civilization history, and sovereignty in Afghanistan have not been fixed and inclusive but changing and exclusionary throughout its construction. Second, the textbooks imagine the nation through communion and comradeship among diverse social identity categories from ethnicity and class to gender. This comradeship is fraught with inequality yet it endorses sacrifice that selects ‘jihad’ and ‘martyrdom’ over carrying out suicide bombings – a strategy adopted by the anti-government Taliban. The common knowledge is in accordance with the textbooks’ representation of social identity groups for their urban centric gaze, call for ethnic

equality, and endorsement of stereotypical gender parity. Third, the textbooks' construction of the imagining of the community undergoes a number of adaptation and modulation that require negotiation between Aryan nobility and Islamic morality, acceptance of Muslim invaders and defence against non-Muslim invaders, democracy and Islamic law, and a moderate Islam for domestic consumption and a confrontational Islam against the West. Islam as the commonality in all these adaptations is a controversial discursive site in the common knowledge of the people. Its moderate interpretation is perceived as indigenous and its confrontational stance against the West is an imported phenomenon of the Cold War.

The findings of this study indicate that the analyzed textbooks maintained a traditionalist and a limited degree of progressive approach to citizenship education. The textbooks' traditionalist education of citizenship encouraged ideals of patriotism through linear and chronological narratives with limited critical thinking orientation. This approach appropriated such common cultural ground as Islam, the tradition of jirga, and history. The findings also illustrate that the textbooks adopted a limited degree of progressive citizenship through an emphasis on democracy, political participation, and constitutionalism for women and men. This approach was articulated with democratic elements such as a reformist government, human rights, and gender equality. The textbooks did not, however, participate in justice orientated education. The findings of this study exhibit the construction of an implied master ethnicity, normative recognition of ethnic groups, and exclusion or stereotypical representations of socio-economic, cultural, and identity groups including women. Furthermore, ideals of justice as constructed in the textbooks focused more on strict Islamic justice restoration such as public display of corporal punishment and exhibited rule of law institutions as disciplinary entities for social harmony as opposed to institutions in the service and interest of social justice. Despite an emphasis on the equal importance of nationalism and citizenship constructions, education is confined to *citizenship education* rather than encompassing *nationalism education*. As discussed in Chapter Two, the dichotomous positioning of citizenship education within traditionalist education (Parker, 1996; Ceaser & McGuinn, 1998) and progressive education (Dewey, 1961; Barber, 1992) does not adequately respond to the contemporary era needs because the former is limiting and the later is difficult to achieve in instances, for example, when it attempts to bridge between an exclusionary past and an inclusionary future or when knowledge is produced in the system of dominance (Kennedy, 2019; Euben, 10997; Apple 1990). Consequently, transformative

education transcends the traditionalist and progressive binary by calling for the implementation of the existing policies and changing the status quo even when it violates laws (Banks, 2020). More precisely, transformative education is justice-oriented (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Given the above discussion with regard to traditionalist and progressive citizenship education, it can be argued that the textbooks produce *personally responsible citizen* and to a limited degree *participatory citizen*. Each of the citizenship educations produces distinct citizens. Traditional education produces *personally responsible citizens* while progressive education produces *participatory citizens*, and transformative education produces *social justice-oriented citizens* (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This debate indicates the complexity of citizenship education and the respective ramifications of its derivatives. The findings of this study depict how more than one approach to education may simultaneously be present in the textbooks.

Incoherence in the imagining of the nation is partly due to the differentiated orientations of the textbooks and the discrepancies that this entails. Textbooks are reflective of multiple regimes of truth. Each textbook set had overarching objectives as mirrored in their names, patriotism, civic education, and history. According to the established codes, due to major similarities and despite minor differences in thematic orientation, the textbooks construct the imagining of the nation. Thematic orientation is fluid and appears contradictory. For instance, while Islam, plays a crucial role in the construction of patriotism in the patriotism textbooks, democracy is the central theme of citizenship construction in the civic education textbooks. Even this differentiation is trivial as the othering of the 'invading Western civilization' against the 'defending Islamic civilization' is unexpectedly situated in the civic education textbooks while the ideals of tolerance, social diversity, and environmentalism are in the patriotism textbooks. Furthermore, representational strategies of the textbooks including, but are limited to, historicization, indigenization, democratization, Islamization, and genderization of patriotism and citizenship across all textbooks foreground their similarities and background their differences. These representational strategies govern the manner through which text is presented; for instance, historical narratives are chronologically than thematically presented regardless of the presence of the content in any of the textbook sets. Likewise, the othering of Western societies does not prevent the theme from appearing in civic education textbooks governments are encouraged to operate within the world order.

Textbooks are not only a product of institution but also agency. As discussed in Chapter Five, there existed a joint effort by multiple actors that believed in the textbook as a device for engineering/imagining a better society. The ruptures and negotiations of representations and articulations of the textbooks denote diversity in the positionality of textbooks' authors and production teams. My references to the textbook authors and committee members in no way referred to their positionality nor did I mean their disparagement. This study illustrated that individuals and communities in the education sector and in society, including school administers, teachers, parents, and students, valued the analyzed textbooks despite an awareness of their flaws, safeguarded them with their personal financial resources, shared them with one another when they were scarce, and purchased them from the black market when they were not legally accessible. National and international authors and facilitators of textbook content production teams at the MoE worked under dire national circumstances of resource scarcity and under an overall broken system of international assistance.

In this study, I have taken the liberty to hypothesize the impact of the textbooks on diverse student readers. I do not claim my impression is tested or accurate. I also trust my hypothesis is not inclusive of all potential impacts on each identity group and does not reflect the multitude of experiences that the complex history of Afghanistan has engendered in the lives of each of its citizens. The actual reception of the textbooks can be complex. Terrie Epstein and Carla Peck (2018) assert that "Defined as representations of past violence and oppression, difficult histories are contested and can evoke emotional, often painful, responses in the present. " (p. 1). For Epstein (2018), this is an inevitable context due to "intersections between difficult histories and contemporary identities that are at best marginalized and at worst the subjects of tremendous violence" (p. 248). Therefore, my hypothesis of the impact of the textbooks as per common knowledge is limited in scope. Furthermore, we often measure the impact of textbooks by considering their present content rather than the impact of the absent knowledge and opportunities for critical thinking. The null curriculum, defined here as absent knowledge, is reminiscent of the fact that absent information is not irrelevant, on the contrary, it presents itself by adversely manipulating learning (Eisner, 1994). The absence of the histories of diverse identity groups such as ethnic and linguistic as well as gender groups from their own perspectives and the absence of the marginalized social groups from a wide spectrum of socio-economic strata including the rural communities, nomads, and internally displaced people cannot

coexist in an education nationalization agenda that is homogenizing in the interest of unification. The effect of absence is as wide-ranging as the effect of the present content in the textbooks.

I am cognizant of the fact that my study leaves more openings than closures. In my analysis, it merits further inquiry as to why the nationalization agenda has gone opposite ways, an exceedingly progressive *NESP*s (2006-2010; 2010-2014) have diverged from an exceedingly regressive Curricula (2003; 2006) and the *Education Law of Afghanistan* (Ministry of Justice, 2008). Furthermore, it is important to establish the nuances of the textbook production and consumption circulation cycle; more importantly, the question of how many students have in fact read the textbooks given the discrepancies of data provided by the MoE in different times and allegations of ghost figures. Furthermore, it is important to return to some findings of the textbook and uncover the foundational basis of those claims. For instance, such qualities as '*Afghanyat*', 'citizenship', and '*atbah*' (subject) require decoding and dislocating from their historical, social, and identity positions. Last, in my discussions I have demonstrated the selectivity of the textbooks (e.g., *shahada*t over suicide and normative over empirical statements particularly in relation to government responsibility and women's rights) without scrutinizing the underlying reasons behind these choices. These concepts have contentious historical roots rendering their deconstruction in this study almost implausible. Hence, my study of imagining the nation in the textbooks is one that opens the discursive space for future initiatives.

This study offers a point of departure from the above analysis of imaging the nation in the post-9/11, 2001 textbooks of Afghanistan into other potential scholarly inquiries. The meanings that I have derived from the textbooks' constructions may be expanded, deconstructed, and problematized. Other meanings of the textbooks are possible if more systems of representations and articulations of the textbooks that I have not reviewed, for instance, the portrayal of other countries and the construction of peace and war, are taken into consideration. Future studies on the construction of citizenship and patriotism and imagining the nation may build on the findings of this study by drawing upon the construction of patriotism and citizenship in those textual locations that are least expected, such as science textbooks. Likewise, the findings of this study may be contrasted by the construction of citizenship and patriotism in the Pashtu textbooks as well as in single-language textbooks allocated to third national languages. This study may be advanced by a comparative analysis of these textbooks with their preceding version to identify acts of modulation and adaptation on the part of the MoE over time. Last, the expansion of this

study is plausible by carrying out contextual and social discursive practice analysis. After all, the textbook is an unfinished project and so is its analysis.

Every study has its own limitation and this thesis is not an exception. In the course of my study, I observed two key limitations relating to methodology and language. From a methodological viewpoint, it was beyond the scope of this study to assess the reception of the textbooks by student readers, educators, parents, and the society at large. This information would have enriched my study by shedding light on the questions: (1) how and to what extent were the textbooks read and discussed in the classroom; (2) how was knowledge constructed out of the textbooks in the classroom, particularly by marginalized and excluded student readers; (3) how did the constructed knowledge differently impacted each of social identity groups? These questions offer potential for future research.

From a linguistic perspective, two languages were at play in this study: English as the language of interpretation and Farsi-Dari as the language of text source. The provision of the original text in footnotes and systematic analysis of text, which allowed reviewing translation at multiple phases of coding and thematizing concepts, ensured the accuracy of the translation. There remained, however, the challenge of translating contextual and indigenous conceptions such as ‘brotherhood’, ‘jirga’, ‘jihad’, ‘mujahiddin’, ‘shahadat’ (martyrdom), and ‘Afghan’, that needed more supplementary elaboration as their direct translation was insufficient. The elaborations are subjective preferences of meanings, even when references are rendered available because such social systems are subject to controversy and scrutiny. Readers will have to have contextual knowledge of such conceptions in order to render their constructions in this study accessible. Furthermore, because, unlike English, the third single person pronoun in Farsi-Dari is neutral, and like French, the subject is present in the verb, gender distinction was prone to compromise. In order to remedy this, I either rendered the third single person plural or specified its neutrality depending on the context and importance of the analyzed text (e.g., for identification of gender equality). This study referred to the presence of women in the political sphere and their absence in the economic sphere based on textual analysis. A contextual analysis would have required more elaboration on why women have political representation but their professional affiliation in non-traditional domains is absent. To establish this fact, an extensive literature review and investigation of the intricacies of women in professional positions was required, which would have taken this study beyond its scope and research questions.

Certain conceptions in this study have rich historical, cultural, and political contexts often marked by exclusion and controversy. This study did not embark on analyzing intersecting identities of individuals, for instance, of women; the shifting positions of marginalized groups, for instance, political and economic elites within marginalized groups; and the subordination of subaltern groups among the dominant ethnic groups nationally or in their own locality. As such, this study is not representational of the intricacies of ethnic relations in a historical context but focuses on representations and articulations in the textbooks *per se*.

Certain terms used in this study have rich historical roots. Such terms as 'constitutionalism', particularly when the textbooks claim that this movement's demand was to establish Islam. This statement required investigation in this study but given its intricacies a rich literature review would have taken this study out of its scope. The promotion of jihad versus suicide necessitated an exploration of jihadi narratives and the Islmaic Republic of Afghanistan's narrative of what they considered as violence. This scrutiny was not possible within the scope of this study. English text also contained specific terminologies, such as nationalism and citizenship, that do not directly translate into Farsi-Dari. The later language defines the term 'nationalism' as '*meli-gerahi'*, which literary means 'national orientation'. The emphasis is less on the suffix 'ism' denoting 'ideological structure' but more on the suffix 'orientation' denoting affect at personal, societal, or national levels. Likewise, citizenship is a relatively new and controversial term in Afghanistan's socio-linguistic arena translated in Farsi-Dari as 'shahrwand' implying city inhabitation and problematizes citizenship discourse in a predominantly rural landscape.

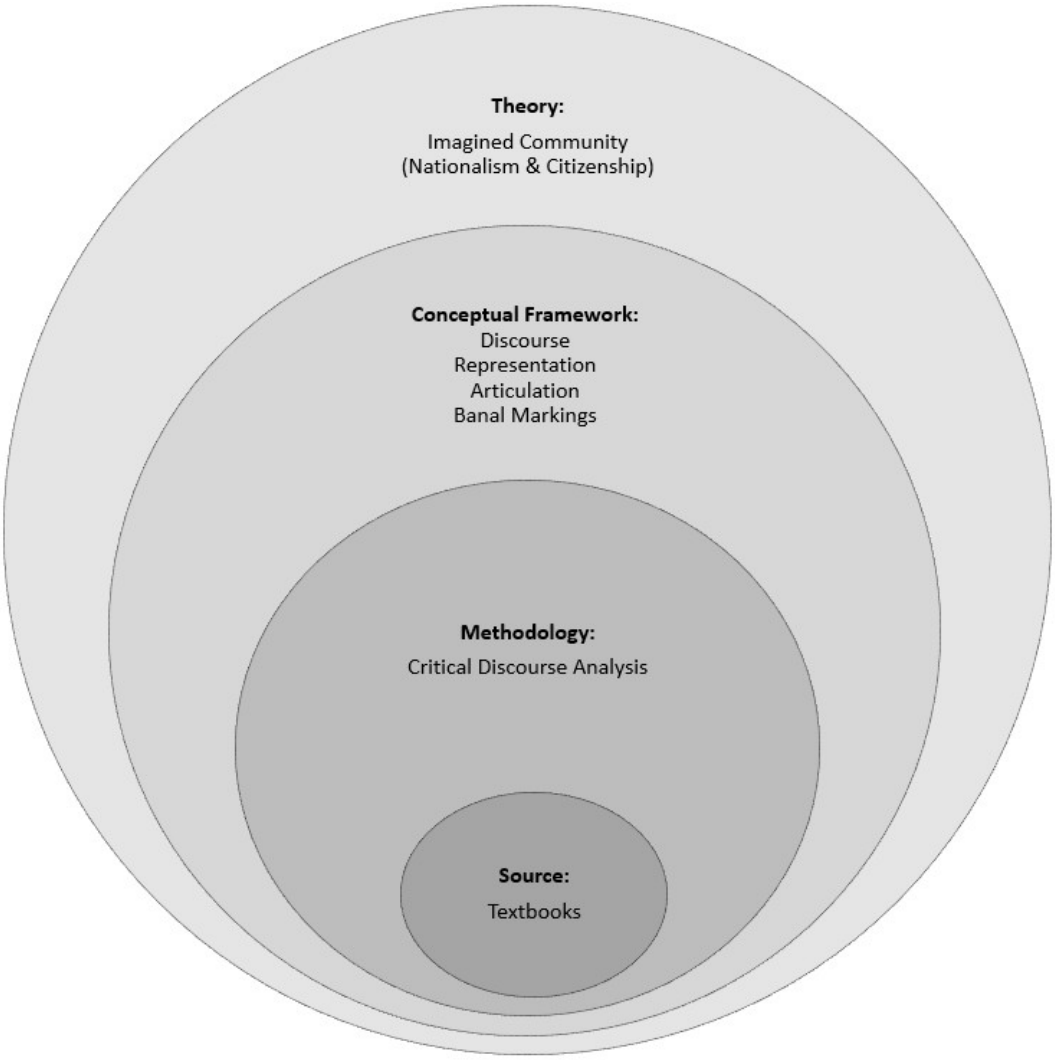
At a personal level, this scholarly journey was a learning experience and an emotional endeavour. I often sympathized with the burden the textbook authors and committee members carried in balancing indigeneity and modernity, tradition and democracy, a moderate Islami for domestic consumption and a motivating Islam against the enemy, moderation and decisiveness, a violent past and a peaceful future, public responsibility and government authority, dependency on the world outside and legitimacy with the nation, making peace with international organizations and conventions and remaining alert to invasion at a time NATO forces had a widespread presence, to name a few. My attempt in this study was not affirmation or falsification of nationalism and patriotism, or the acts and products that render their existence possible. I adhere to the assertion that scholars need to examine nationalism's different forms and their

impact on people rather than its falsification (Calhoun, 2016). My attempt in this study was to identify the type of nationhood the textbooks imagined rather than to examine its existence.

In the course of this analysis, Afghanistan fell into the hands of the Taliban (2021) who embarked on revisiting the curriculum and, more importantly, banned education for women and girls beyond grade six. Apart from the emotional bearing of seeing uniformed tearful school girls behind their closed school doors, this event had two impacts on my reading of the identified textbooks. First, I grew more appreciative of the textbooks' producers and their attempt to flag the nation with democracy and progressive values in spite of the vulnerabilities that proved to be ensuing. Second, I became more committed to researching the education-society nexus in contexts in which imagining community is confined to fixity and rigidity.

I present my concluding remarks by stating how the identified textbooks could reimagine the nation for just and equitable patriotism and citizenship constructions. Anderson contends that to *denaturalize* and *demythologize* a nation, it is crucial to reimagine the nation by revisiting the elements that rendered imagining possible. Therefore, a community is a social unit in a perpetual state of imagining, unimagining, and reimagining in order to ensure its existence. Reimagining nation-ness is not indicative of the demise of nationalism (Anderson, 2006). The reimagining of the nation in the textbooks needs to believe in the multiplicity of histories from the perspective of diverse peoples along ethnic, gender, cultural, and class lines, to name a few. The reimagining of the nation needs to represent and articulate the past and present existences of the nation through thematic portrayal of events and social phenomena so that a more systematic analysis of their intricacies is feasible for textbook student readers. The reimagining of the nation needs to ensure an open safe space for student readers to question the constructions of the textbooks and have a multiplicity of choices to make their own decisions with respect to their individual and collective identities. Last, the reimagining of the nation needs to take into account the fragility of imagining constructed through forged unities and the potential of an inevitable regressive reimagining.

Annex A: Theoretical, Conceptual, and Methodological Framework



Annex B: Double Deconstructive Reading of Text for Islam

The following table exhibits examples of how the theoretical memos (i.e., concepts) emerged from first (i.e., dominant) and second (i.e., critical) reading of the textbooks. The table only elaborates on the construction of patriotism, acts of nationalism, social homogenization, social equality despite homogenization, and social values through Islamic principles. This partial representation of coding, due to space limitation, does not incorporate other theoretical memos with respect to Islam representations and articulation.

First (dominant) reading *(*Interpretation of meaning from author perspective)		***Second (critical) reading*** *(*Reconstruction of meaning from reader perspective)		***Theoretical memos*** (Concepts)
Substantive coding	*Secondary coding*	*Substantive coding*	*Secondary coding*	
A. Only in patriotism textbooks specific lesson are allocated to Islam and patriotism; for example, "Patriotism from an Islamic Perspective" (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 17).	Patriotism contains Islam.	Patriotism and Islam are interlinked.	Patriotism is more convincing through an Islamic lens.	**1. Patriotism is an Islamic phenomenon.**
B. A lesson on patriotism, references the Prophet's love for his birthplace during migration from Macca to Medina city (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 13).	Sacred sources show patriotism as an Islamic quality.	Patriotism is historicized through an Islamic lens.	Islam promotes patriotism.	A.B. C. The Islamic patriotism partly represents the people and
C. "**We** are religious and patriotic children of Afghanistan […]"[200] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 67). In Patriotism	Islam is as important in the construction of	In sentence structures, the word 'Islam'	Islam is not one of social values but it is the primary source with which	

[200] - ما فرزندان متدین و وطندوست افغانستان، […]

Textbook Eight (Wazeen & Hotak, 2017), "After Islam, historical, cultural, social, civilization, geographical location, and social conditions also play a role in the formation of our national identity"[201] (p. 15), and "After Islam, *Afghanyat* is the second element of the national identity of Afghanistan"[202] (p. 15).	patriotism as other values.	precedes patriotic qualities, national values and identity markers signifying the importance of Islam over other values.	patriotism is articulated.	social processes as an indigenous asset and patriotism's Islamic aspect is superior to other aspects.
D. "National interest is comprised of religion, intellectual values, independence, territorial integrity, economic prosperity, power, status, national pride, history, culture, etc."[203] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 23).	Religion is a national interest.	Islam precedes 'territorial integrity' and 'national pride', among others in the sentence signifying its superiority.	When Islam becomes national interest, Islam itself becomes both an act and an object of patriotism/nationalism. Patriotism becomes double-layered; an object and act of patriotism and of Islam.	D. Islamic patriotism is a double-edge concept and it is both

[201] پس از اسلام، مشترکات تاریخی، فرهنگی، اجتماعی، تمدنی، موقعیت جغرافیایی و اوضاع اجتماعی نیز در ساختار هویت ملی مردم ما نقش دارند، زیرا مشابهتهای یاد شده مقام ملت افغانستان را در میان ملتهای جهان مشخص و برازنده میسازد.

[202] پس ازا سلام، افغانیت دومین عنصر هویت ملی افغانستان است.

[203] منافع ملی عبارت از دین، ارزش های معنوی، استقلال، تمامیت ارضی، امنیت، رفاه اقتصادی، قدرت، مقام، افتخارات ملی، تاریخ، فرهنگ و غیره میباشد

				an act and object of patriotism/nationalism.
A. The C*haracteristics of Afghans* lesson (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 42-44) identifies Afghan's acceptance and contribution to Islamic civilization as a key national characteristic.	Afghans have contributed to Islamic civilization.	Islam is not a foreign phenomenon; Afghans own it through their contribution.	Islam as a patriotism icon makes sense because it is as much an Afghan phenomenon (through contribution) as other patriotic assets (e.g., the history or the people). The advent of Islam in Afghanistan only dates to the 7th century.	**2. Islam is an indigenous phenomenon to Afghan people.**
A. Text praises commonalities for having served such purposes as accepting Islam (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 43, 56).	Islam has been accepted through commonalities of the people.	Commonality binds people together.	Islam has been accepted widely through commonalities of divers people.	**3. Islam as a commonality leads to social homogenization.**
B. Afghans are characterized as being 'one unit' (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 43).	Unity and sameness are the character of Afghans.	Emphasis on unity and sameness decentralizes difference.	Homogenization through Islamic patriotism requires the construction of harmony and unity so that it convinces differences that there is a greater cause – the existence of the 'unity'.	A. B. Commonality and unity are constructed

C. Text elaborates Islam as a unification means and highlights that nations who have prioritized characteristics such as race, ethnicity, or tribe as the basis of their unity and claim superiority over other ethnicities, have in the past committed racial wars (Patriotism Textbook Seven, Ashrafi & Rawan, 2017, p. 56).	Unity on the basis of Islam is better than unity based on social or natural characteristics.	Islam is promoted as the main cause for unity and vise versa. Text is biased in its selection of causes of unity leaving out other unity institutions such as democracy. It others non-Islamic	Islam and unity interdepend. However, the text engages in Othering by being biased and selective. It is likely that the text refers to racial apartheid in Africa but it refrains from naming a specific race as perpetuator. In Afghanistan, this is a convincing claim as it erases diversity in the name of Islam where 99% of the people are Muslim. It also perpetuates inequality for its exclusion of non-Muslims and those who question the national 'unity' narrative.	as a valuable quality for the existence of a nation. C. Islamic national unity strengthens patriotism construction but remains exclusionary. D. The

		societies.		Islamic
D. “The Islamic element of the national identity of the Afghan people is such a comprehensive and broad umbrella that all strata of our nation have gathered under it and as a vast human population, with historical, cultural, social and geographical common antiquity, manifest themselves in the formation of a single and united nation” [204] (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 15).	Islam is a uniting element in nation building despite differences and because of similarities.	Islam confirms differences to promote itself as a unifying factor and takes advantage of commonalities to reinforce its effect of homogenization.	Islam brings sameness and unity in the diverse society of Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, this narrative does not appear as an anomaly but it is in line with the belief systems of the 99% Muslim population. However, this statement leads to homogenization of diverse people.	homogeni-zation of the people is based on both difference and commonality.
A. “**<u>They</u>** [ethnic groups], as per the Islamic verses, view ethnic diversity and languages as a means to know one another and not as a reason for privilege and superiority against others” [205] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 11). “[…] God Almighty in the Qur'an and	All ethnic groups and linguistic communities are equal from an Islamic perspective.	There is no privilege and reward in homogenization through Islam. Equality in Islam is not an	No ethnic group may have a superiority claim. It is based on Islamic versus. Given the civil war decades (1992-2002) among the jihadi leaders divided along ethnic and linguistic lines, this Islamic call for equality is both a backward and	**4. Homogeni-zation is problemat-icaly articulated with the**

[204] عنصر اسلامی هویت ملی مردم افغانستان چنان چتر فراگیر و وسیع است که تمام اقشار ملت ما در زیر آن گرد آمده و بحیث کی کتلهٔ بشری دارای قدامت تاریخی، فرهنگی، اجتماعی و جغرافیایی مشترک در تشکل کی ملت واحد و یکپارچه تبارز می کند.

[205] آنها بر اساس آیات قرآنی تنوع اقوام و زبانها را وسیلهٔ شناخت یکدیگر می دانند؛ نه سبب امتیاز و برتری بر یکدیگر.

Sunnah has not obligated a particular ethnicity to carry out political affairs and advance the political power of Muslims, forbidden to others"[206] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 94).	Islamic key sources endorse equality among diverse social groups. Hence, no ethnic group has more rights than others.	open interpretation but it exists in the original sources of Islam.	forward gaze at unity. This unity is exclusionary as it does not include those who do not identify with ethnic groups and Islam.	**forged unity of equality and exclusion.** A. Islamic homogeni-zation not only brings unity and addresses superiority but is also exclusionary. B. Exclusion is historicized.
B. "**We** do not have Hindu, Hazara, Shia, Sunni, Ahmadzai and Popalzai but we are all one nation, and that is the Afghan nation. For me all Afghans are brothers"[207] (*PATB 9*, 2017, pp. 42-43). The only reference in the Patriotism Textbooks to non-Muslim people is in the biography of King Amanullah, in a historical statement. This statement is not discussed in the textbook but rather shared as one of the speeches of the King.	Text constructs the nation by removing sub-identities. This construction is situated in a historical context.	In this paragraph, rather than naming all ethnic groups, tribal Pashtun names are mentioned. It also only refers to Islamic sects overlooking other religions.	Homogenization in the construction of the nation and imagining the people is selective and biased; it overlooks diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious identity groups in a historical context.	

[206] خداوند جلَّ جلَالَهُ در قرآن و سنت قوم خاصی را برای اجرای امور سیاسی و پیشبرد قدرت سیاسی مسلمانان مکلف نکرده که به دیگران حرام بوده باشد

[207] هندو، هزاره، شیعه، سنی، احمد زایی و پوپلزایی نداریم؛ بلکه همه یک ملت هستیم که آن ملت افغان است. برای من همة افغان ها برادر هستند.

A. A lesson, "Safeguarding National Property*",* condemns taking others' rights from an Islamic perspective (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 61), and another lesson, "Environment Protection*",* presents safeguarding natural resources as a "religious, ethical and humane responsibility"[208] (*PATB 8*, 2017), p. 70-71). In a lesson on literacy (*CETB 11*, 2017), the first word revealed in the Quran, *Iqra*, meaning 'read' or 'recite', is discussed to endorse literacy (p. 73).	Text endorses such social assets as public property, environmental-ism, and literacy on Islamic grounds.	The textbooks articulate social values with Islamic principles and by doing so represent Islam as a religion relevant to all social themes.	Islam is applied to articulate contemporary social values and through this articulation Islam itself is represented as a progressive religion.	**5. Islam endorses social values and democracy.** A. Social values and Islam reproduce one another for a progressive represent-tation of both. B. The text struggles to articulate
B. "Different people of nations have various understandings and interpretations of democracy. However, we Afghans as a Muslim nation, in all our affairs, follow the teachings of the sacred religion of Islam. So, given this understanding, our intention to praise or endorse	The unique democracy of Afghanistan is compatible with Islam.	The compatibility of Islam and democracy is accomplished with caution and in an apologetic tone and by	Of all social values, the approval of democracy through Islam appears to be apologetic as if constructed against a counter argument. It appears that the establishment of this compatibility has been difficult. This is in line with the political sensitivity of the term at the time when the	

[208] وجیبه دینی، اخلاقی و انسانی

democracy, if carried out in some statements, is that people can freely participate in political affairs; elect, monitor, and fire their representatives and leaders in accordance with the principle of merit and faith, and give them authority to act in those affairs that Islam requires of the nation. Of course, this interpretation of democracy is not incompatible with the principles of Islam" (Moshfiq, Fazil & Omarkhail, 2017, p. 96, p. 95-96)[209].		using rhetorical devices such as portraying Islam as 'unique', and using conjunctions such as 'if' and 'so'. And rather than saying Islam and democracy are compatible it is stated that they are not incompatible as if it is making this statement against a counter argument.	Taliban's Islamic counter argument focused on the narrative of perceiving the NATO as invaders.	democracy with Islam and resorts to rhetorical devices.
C. "Islam considers freedom of	Freedom of	In its struggle to	Because there is no Islamic original	

[209] از دموکراسی، در میان ملت های مختلف، به فهم و تعبیرات گوناگون صورت می گیرد؛ امّا، ما افغان ها به عنوان یک ملت مسلمان، در تمام امور خویش پیرو احکام دین مقدس اسلام هستیم. پس با درنظرداشت این فهم، مراد ما از تمجید و یا تأیید دموکراسی در بعضی از یاد آوریها اگر صورت گرفته باشد، آن است که مردم بتوانند در امور سیاسی، آزادانه سهیم گردند، نماینده گان و حاکمان خویش را بر اساس اصل شایسته گی و ایمان داری، انتخاب، مراقبت و برکنار نمایند، و به آنها در اموری صلاحیت عمل بدهند که اسلام انجام آن را به دوش ملت گذاشته است. البته این گونه تعبیر از دموکراسی، با مبادی اسلام منافاتی ندارد.

expression not only a human right but also a symbol of religiosity and religious compulsion"[210], from the lesson on Islam and democracy that references *hadith* (the acts and sayings of the Prophet) to endorse values of democracy" (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 97).	speech is present in the original sources of Islamic value systems hence democracy is compatible with Islam.	exhibit the compatibility of Islam and democracy, the text refers to original sources of Islam.	source that refers to Islam, the text finds a way to portray a saying of the Prophet as an enactment of democracy.	C. The usage of original sources of Islam denotes an attempt to portray democracy as a non-negotiable Islamic value. D. The portrayal of democracy as a historical phenomenon is a fabrication.
D. "The first political party of Afghanistan was formed by the Constitutionalist Movement of the 20th century with "progressive and libertarian goals"[211] including adherence to the religion of Islam (Civic Education Textbook Nine, (Mohaqiq, Omarkhail, Hazrati, 2017, p. 94.) assigns four characteristics to the constitution: 1) being Islamic, 2) being a republic and popular, 3) respecting human rights, and 4)	Islam, politics, and democracy have historically been intertwined.	Islam, constitutional-ism, progress, human rights, and social justice are all historicized to construct a system of representation that appear natural and	The indigenization of Islam, constitutional-ism, progress, human rights, and social justice is a historical distortion. The constitutional movement of Afghanistan was secular and later became a source of division between Islamists (the jihadi movement that fought the Russians and the Taliban movement who fought Americans) and the liberal secular elements who with the support of the Russians and	

[210] اسلام آزادی بیان را نه تنها از حقوق انسان می داند بلکه آن را سمبول دینداری و واجب دینی می خواند.

[211] اهداف مترقی آزادی خواهانه و استقلال طلبانه

implementing social justice and the elimination of any type of discrimination" (*CETB 8,* 2017) p. 8).		indigenous.	Americans took part in the constructing of the government.	
A distinct title, "Islam and Democracy" elaborates the Bonn agreement, a *Loya jirga* (grand assembly), the ratification of a new constitution, and some rights and freedoms enshrined in the constitution (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 96).	The textbooks represent the enactment of post-9/11 democracy through Islam.	The current government is Islamic and its democracy processes is not contrary to Islam.	After established the above theoretical memos (i.e., concepts) (#5), the student readers are convinced that Islam and democracy are compatible. This normalizes and naturalizes this statement which bring the Bonn agreement that formed a government in Germany closer to concept of democracy and Islam. As such, and together with the tradition of jirga, the formation of the government outside the national borders fades away and Islam and democracy are foregrounded.	**6. The commitment of the government to democracy (although stipulated outside national borders) is Islamic, hence, acceptable.**
"According to the constitution, "In Afghanistan, no law can be contrary to the beliefs and principles of the holy religion of Islam. By stating the above, the Islamic nature of the	The constitution is Islamic. No law is above the principles of Islam.	Islam is above the constitution. The constitution and the Islamic principles are	The above theoretical memos (i.e., concepts) (#5 and #6), are ruptured when a forged unity is formed between the constitution and Islamic principles. Claims of democracy is	**7. Democracy and Islam compat-ibility**

country's legal system in various legal fields has been ensured and the eternal will of this nation has been realised"[212] (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 23-24).		assumed to be coherent. And since constitutional-ism is constructed as an act of democracy, the constitution and Islamic principles appear to be in harmony.	faced with and threatened by Islamic interpretations. Islam and democracy are not compatible in the textbooks. For example; free media is not supposed to promote other religions (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 114), Islamic principles only apply to women's public presence (*CETB 12*, 2017, p. 39), and martyrdom is glorified (*PATB 8*, 2017, p. 27; *PATB 9*, 2017, p. 62).	**ruptures when constitutiona l law and Islamic principles form a forged unity.**
A. "National unity is one of the characteristics of Afghans. Sometimes Afghans may have problems and controversy among themselves, which is a necessity of shared life; but **they** unite against the enemy. The pages of history are a good proof of this claim"[213] (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 11).	National unity across differences have helped the people fight enemies and conquerors.	Unity among Afghans appears to be more an outward-looking than inward approach against invaders.	Homogenization is constructed through Othering – an unidentified enemy. In the context of enemy construction, problem among social units is recognized. Afghanistan is a conflict-affected society and its conflict	8. **Comrad-ship through unity is for the sake of national interest**. A. National

[212] در افغانستان هیچ قانون نمیتواند مخالف معتقدات و احکام دین مقدس اسلام باشد. که با تصریح فوق، اسلامی بودن نظام قانونی کشور را در عرصه های مختلف حقوقی تأمین نموده و خواست همیشه گی این ملت را لبیک گفته است.

"By having diverse ethnic and tribal groups, cultures, languages, and customs, the people of this land have always united against the world conquerors […]"[214] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 37).			become involved in identity politics over time. However, these diverse conflicting groups were at the same time were fighting external forces (the British, the Russians, and the Americans), hence, this sentence is reflective of the recent history. The text overlooks the presence of NATO forces under the leadership of the American forces that had vanished an Islamic Afghan ruling group (the Taliban, 1996-2001).	unity is for the defense of the country against enemies and conquers through jihad and martyrdom. B. Unity for nation's defense has a historical context (the jihad against the Soviets.
B. Reasons for the defeat of the Soviets is listed as; "The strong faith of the *mujahidin* in God and the day of judgement; National unity and solidarity; A passionate love for the homeland and the desire for independence and freedom"[215] (*PATB*	Faith, mujahidin (i.e., holy war worriers), God, day of judgement, all Islamic qualities, are the	Acts of nationalism are interpreted on Islamic ground.	All Islamic qualities listed here are homogenized (they do not have ethnicity or language). Unity comes through homogenization that is shaped through Islamic principles. Islamic patriotism (through unity and	

[213] وحدت ملی یکی از خصوصیتهای افغانها است. شاید گاهی افغانها در میان خود مشکلات و جنجال داشته باشند، که لازمهٔ زند هگی مشترک م بیاشد؛ اما در برابر دشمن یکپارچه م یشوند. اوراق تاریخ گواه خوب این مدعاست.

[214] مردم این سرزمین با داشتن اقوام و قبایل مختلف، فرهنگ، زبان و کلتور متنوع و رسم و رواج های گوناگون همیشه در مقابل جهان گشایان و اشغالگران متحد گردیده

7, 2017, p. 67).	first motivators in gaining independence.		sameness) is the defense of the country.	C. Unity, nation's defense, and jihad, is constructed around Islamic patriotism.
C. "Armed *jihad* for God is both a faith and a patriotic duty" for which God promises "blessings and rewards", "the highest status in the afterlife", "the title of a martyr" and "a high rank in the heaven"[216] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 66).	Faith and patriotism are a duty and are embodied in armed *jihad*.	A patriotic person may receive rewards in this life, an Islamic patriot receives reward in the afterlife.	Islamic patriotism requires comradeship and self-sacrifice for the sake of safeguarding the country and they are guaranteed reward.	
A. "Beloved Afghanistan is the land of martyrs, and our people is a martyr-nurturing nation. The nation of Afghanistan, in order to protect its religion, honour, territory, freedom, and independence, has always made sacrifices and has given thousands of colourful-shroud martyrs for achieving these noble ideals" [217] (*PATB 8*, 2017,	The people of Afghanistan is characterized as a 'martyr nurturing nation'.	Martyrdom is both Islamic and cultural. There are many values worthy of martyrdom.	One may proudly be martyred for their country. While jihad is an open to interpretation (can be violent and non-violent), martyrdom is certainly a military stance that is often mobilized outside an Islamic government's respective institutions.	**9. Islamic patriotism becomes radical.** A. Islamic patriotism promotes not only jihad but also

[215] عواملی که باعث پیروزی مجاهدان و شکست کفار متجاوز گردید، عبارت بود از: - ایمان قوی مجاهدان به خدا و روز آخرت. - وحدت و یکپارچه گی ملی. - عشق آتشین به وطن و حب استقلال و آزادی.

[216] جهاد مسلحانه در راه خدا، از نظر اسلام یک فریضهٔ دینی و ایمانی محسوب شده، ثواب و پاداش خیلی فراوان دارد خداوند متعال در قرآن کریم مجاهدان را به پیروزی در دنیا و به مقام والا و درجهٔ بلند در آخرت و عده کرده و کسانی را که در راه جهاد کشته میشوند، به نام شهید یاد نموده، آنان را به عالیترین مرتبه در بهشت مژده داده است.

[217] افغانستان عزیز، سرزمین شهدا و ملت ما ملت شهید پرور اسـت. ملت افغانستان بخاطر حفظ دین، ناموس، خاک، استقلال و آزادی خود در هر وقت قربانی داده و هزاران شهید گلگون کفن را برای به دست آوردن این آرمانهای مقدس تقدیم کرده است.

p. 27-28).				martyrdom.
B. “No one has the right to harm themselves in the name of freedom, which is why suicide [bombing], suicide [of the self] or physical punishment is forbidden in Islam”[218] (*PATB 7*, 2017, p. 53). Text references *sharia* to forbid the killing of others and the self, managing for the murder of others, planning for murder, and abortion (*PATB 9*, 2017, p. 29).	Islam forbids suicide and corporal punishment.	Despite a strong emphasis on *jihad* and martyrdom, the textbooks condemn suicide and killing including an unborn infant.	Martyrdom is a large term and means sacrifice (through material or non-material means) and as such can also mean suicide. However, suicide and suicide bombing were acts of the Taliban often in places where civilian presence was high while ‘martyrdom’ was a tactic of the mujahidin in the form of fighting in the battlefields. In essence, there is little difference in the act but big difference in the rhetoric.	B. However, the martyrdom is selective and preaches the manner that is historically practiced (by mujahidin) but condemn the manner that is adopted by opposition Islamist groups (the Taliban).

[218] هیچ کسی حق ندارد به نام آزادی به خودش ضرر برساند، به همین سبب انتحار و خودکشی و یا تعذیب جسم در اسلام حرام قرار داده شده است.

Annex C: Textbook Authors and Textbook Development Teams

All textbooks are published in 2017/18 (1396, solar calendar), except the Civic Education 8 published in 2018/2019 (1398). All female author names (four in total) are distinguished in bold text format. The order of names and titles are presented intactly from the original text.	
Textbooks	**Author Names**
میهن دوستی ۷ [Patriotism 7]	سید احمد اشرفي [Said Ahmad Ashrafi] عبدالهادي روان [Abudl Hadi Rawan]
میهن دوستی ۸ [Patriotism 8]	پوهندوی دکتورفضل الهادي وزین [Associate Prof. Dr. Fazil Hadi Wazeen] پوهنمل زلمي هوتك [Assistant Prof. Zalmai Hotak]
میهن دوستی ۹ [Patriotism 9]	کتور عنایت الله خلیل هدف [Dr. Henayatullah Khalil Hadaf] محمد قاسم هیله من [Mohammad Qasim Helaman]
تعلیمات مدنی ۷ [Civic Education 7]	گروه مؤلفان کتا بهای درسی دیپارتمنت تعلیمات مدنی [The Group of Textbook Authors of the Department of Civic Education]
تعلمیات مدنی ۸ [Civic Education 8]	محمد عزیز بختیاری [Mohammad Azia Bakhtyari] **صفورا مزاری [Safora Mazari]**
تعلیمات مدنی ۹ [Civic Education 9]	**کاظمیه محقق [Kazema Mohaqiq]** پوهنیار محمد فاروق عمرخیل [Adjunct Prof. Mohammad Faruq Omarkhail] سرمؤلف محمد افضل حضرتی [Lead Writer Mohmmad Afzal Hazarati]
تعلیمات مدنی ۱۰ [Civic Education 10]	پوهنیار محمد فاروق عمرخیل [Adjunct Prof. Mohammad Faruq Omarkhail] مؤلف محمد انور مشفق [Author Mohammad Anwar Moshfiq]
تعلیمات مدنی ۱۱ [Civic Education 11]	محمد عزیزبختیاری [Mohammad Aziz Bakhtyari]

پوهنیار محمد فاروق عمرخیل [Adjunct Prof. Mohammad Faruq Omarkhail] مؤلف محمد انور مشفق [Author Mohammad Anwar Moshfiq]	
مؤلف محمد انور مشفق [Author Mohammad Anwar Moshift] سرمؤلف میر عبیدالله فاضل [Lead Author Mir Obaidullah] پوهنیار محمد فاروق عمرخیل [Adjunct Prof. Mohammad Faruq Omarkhail]	تعلیمات مدنی ۱۲[Civic Education 12]
پوهنوال محمد رسول باوری [Prof. Mohammad Rasoul Bawari] **پوهنمل شاه صنم عمری جبارخیل [Assistant Professor Shah Sanam Omari Jabarkhail]** مؤلف محمد ابراهیم حقپال [Author Mohammad Ibrahim Haqpal] معاون مؤلف الحاج وحیدالله احمدزی [Author Assistant Alhaj Wahidullah Ahmadzai] معاون مؤلف محمد حسین احمدزی [Author Assistant Mohammad Husain Ahmadzai]	تاریخ ۷ [History 7]
دکتور فاروق انصاری [Doctor Faruq Ansari] سر مؤلف عبدالغیاث غوری [Head Author Abdul Gheyas Ghori] **پوهنیار انیسه محمود عمر [Adjuct Prof. Anisa Mohamood Omar]** معاون مؤلف عبدالمالک عابد [Author Assistant Abdul Malik Habid] معاون مؤلف محمد حسین احمدزی [Author Assistant Mohammad Hussain Ahmadzai]	تاریخ ۸ [History 8]
پوهنمل داکترغلام حبیب پنجشیري [Assistant Prof. Dr. Gholam Habib Panjshiri] پوهنمل زلمی هوتک [Assistant Prof. Zalmai Hotak] معاون سرمؤلف شیر محمد رونقی [Head Writer Assistant Shir Mohammad Rawnaqi] مؤلف قدیم شیرزی بابکرخیل [Former Author Shirzai Babakarkhail]	تاریخ ۹ [History 9]
پوهنوال محمدرسول باوري [Prof. Mohammad Rasoul Bawari] مؤلف محمدحسین احمدزی [Author Mohammad Hussain Ahmadzai]	تاریخ ۱۰ [History 10]

مؤلف محمدابراهیم حقپال [Author Mohammad Ibrahim Haqpal]	
دکتور فاروق انصاری [Dr. Faruq Ansari] سرمؤلف عبدالغیاث غوری [Lead Author Abdul Ghiyas Ghori] مؤلف عبدالمالک عابد [Author Abul Malik Habid]	تاریخ ۱۱ [History 11]
پوهنمل زلمی هوتک [Assistant Prof. Zalmai Hotak] معاون سرمؤلف شیرمحمد رونقی [Lead Author Assistant Shir Mohammad Rawnaqi] مؤلف قدیم شیرزی بابکرخیل [Former Author Shirzai Babakarkhail]	تاریخ ۱۲ [History 12]

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