

## Representation of Culture and National Identity in Pakistani ESL Textbooks

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### Abstract

The study examined the spectrum of cultures, specifically the representation of source culture in relation to Pakistan's national identity construction in English textbooks. Six locally developed textbooks in Pakistan were analysed qualitatively. We employed Cortazzi & Jin's categories of culture and Shamsi's taxonomy of source culture as an analytical framework to look at the contents of the textbooks. The content of each unit/lesson was thoroughly examined to reveal the representation of cultures that help form the students' national identity. The findings showed the representation of source, target, and international cultures, with the representation of source culture outweighing the other two cultures. It further revealed the incorporation of source cultural values, norms, and roles that disseminate information about Pakistan, its historical and geographical perspectives, and the national and political heroes of the country. The findings also highlighted Islamic teaching, beliefs, traditions, manners, ethics, morality, gender roles, and cultural heritage that contribute to the construction of Pakistan's Islam-based national identity. To sum up, the writers of the textbooks aimed to construct students' national identity by representing source culture materials in the English textbooks that also pave the way for the formation of Pakistani English.

**Keywords:** representation of cultures, Pakistan's national identity, ESL textbooks

### Introduction

Culture is a set of shared convictions, customs, traditions, and lifestyles representing members of a specific society (Wagner, 2016). It inherently transfers from generation to generation through language and other semiotic systems (Hofstede, 2016) to affect people's behaviours within a specific social setup and locality and, in this way, contributes to constructing their identities (Abdul Rahim & Jalalian Daghig, 2020; Cortazzi & Jin, 1999). On the other hand, language provides a linguistic platform through which culture is transmitted. Language, the outcome and carrier of culture, acts as a 'regulatory force' to compel persons to adopt 'socially approved patterns of speech and behaviour' (Baxter, 2010, p. 37). Watson and Wolfel (2015) suggest that language constitutes social reality and forms identities (Aveni, 2005; Han, 2010). As an intricate part of the 'cultural fabric' (Bender & Beller, 2019, p. 1), language can form meanings in the discursive context (Duranti, 2009). Thus, culture and language are interwoven. The tie between them has been a crucial issue for many decades for researchers such as Sibtain, Ali,

& Qasim (2019), Abdul Rahim & Jalalian Daghigh (2020), Baleghizadeh & Shayesteh (2020), Alonso & Ponte (2021), and others, who view culture and language as interdependent and which cannot be divorced without loss.

Currently, the role of culture in English Language Teaching (ELT) has become more crucial due to the emergent concepts of World Englishes (WEs), globalisation, and English as an International Language (EIL). Learning a language does not simply revolve around strengthening linguistic skills but also around intercultural communication skills, which are critical for effective communication between people of diverse cultural backgrounds (Sharifian, 2013, p. 41). According to Sharifian (2013), about 80% of international communication in English occurs between non-native speakers, who may belong to different 'lingua-cultural' backgrounds (Marlina, 2013, p. 3). In such a scenario, the basic cultural knowledge of the diversified cultures becomes pertinent for the learners to enhance intercultural communicative competence (ICC) (Fantini, 2020). As ELT/ESL textbooks represent the 'most widely-used educational material' (Rodríguez, 2011, p. 104), they are instrumental for English language instructors to draw on, with cultural representations in language teaching practices (Weninger and Kiss, 2013). Cultural representation in ELT/ESL textbooks should be an integral part of the four critical functions, i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing (Baker, 2011; Nault, 2006). For this reason, researchers (e.g., Derakhshan, 2021; Davidson & Liu, 2020; Thumvichit, 2018; Weninger & Kiss, 2013) have investigated cultural representations in ELT/ESL textbooks.

Cortazzi and Jin (1999) classified cultural materials in ELT/ESL textbooks into three categories: (i) local/source culture, (ii) target language culture, and (iii) international culture. Here, source culture refers to the culture of the learners (i.e., Pakistani culture in the present context), and target culture signifies the culture of the countries where English is used as a mother tongue (e.g., the U.S.A., U.K., and others), and international target culture denotes the cultures of countries other than the source and target cultural countries (McKay, 2002): for instance, Turkish and Chinese cultural content in the textbooks.

In Pakistan, English is treated as a second language (Pennycook, 2017) and taught as a compulsory subject from the elementary cycle. It also is privileged with official language status: almost all government correspondences and international agreements are made in English. In the social setup of Pakistan, English is associated with 'images of change, modernisation, access and longing' (Pennycook, 2017, p. xi) and social and economic prosperity. It works as an indicator of educated people's intellectuality (Tamim, 2014). In Pakistan, English is learnt formally through academic textbooks, a primary source for English language teaching (ELT). Here, ELT refers to the teaching of the English language to non-native speakers of the 'outer' and 'expanding circle' countries. According to Kachru (1992), the 'outer circle' countries include those where English is taught as a second language, e.g., Pakistan, India and others whereas, in the 'expanding circle' countries, English is taught as a foreign language (an optional subject) e.g., China, Japan and others). There are two types of ELT/ESL textbooks used in Pakistan: imported and local textbooks. The term ESL refers to English textbooks used in the 'outer circle' countries, where English is taught as a second language (Kachru, 1992). Imported textbooks are written by foreign authors based on an international context and published, for instance, by OUP and CUP, e.g., *Step Ahead* and *Oxford Progressive English* (OPE). On the other hand, locally published textbooks are written by local authors specifically for Pakistani learners (Shah, Ahmed, & Mahmood, 2014). Considering the significance of culture in ELT, several studies (i.e., Yaqoob & Zubair, 2012; Shaheen, Nosheen, Bashir & Anjum; 2018; Sibtain, Ali & Qasim, 2019 and others) have examined textbooks used in Pakistan.

For instance, Yaqoob and Zubair (2012) examined the representation of cultures in local and imported textbooks published by OUP, identifying frequent representation of the source culture of Pakistan in

locally published textbooks, whereas imported textbooks were found to be replete with target culture content (Arshad, Shah and Ahmad, 2020). Furthermore, they endorsed the significance of source culture representation in the local textbooks, suggesting that this is primarily to realise language politics in textbooks and set up an equal and symmetrical educational system. By doing so, they highlighted the need for change in curricula and syllabi used in Pakistan. Similarly, Arshad et al. (2020) examined cultural aspects in imported textbooks (*Oxford Progressive English*) used in Pakistan and highlighted the lack of awareness by foreign authors of the cultural background of Pakistani students. As a result, these textbooks' cultural, religious, and pedagogical contents do not match the ESL learners' cultural values and academic needs and objectives in Pakistan (Arshad et al., 2020).

Although these studies highlighted a wide gap between the needs of the learners and the English language textbooks, they did not examine the representation of source culture in the locally developed ESL textbooks for Pakistani identity construction. In fact, far fewer attempts have been made to investigate the essence of source culture for constructing Pakistan's national identity. Therefore, the current study investigated the representation of cultures, more specifically source (Pakistani) culture in selected textbooks, to find out what categories of culture are embedded in the books, which culture is promoted more than the others, and how the source culture is represented to construct Pakistani identity. For this purpose, we selected a series of six English textbooks published by the Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board (PCTB) in Lahore, Pakistan, to carry out this study. We employed Cortazzi's and Jin's (1999) culture categories and Shahsani's (2007) taxonomy of source culture categories as an analytical framework to examine the selected textbooks qualitatively.

## Culture in ESL textbooks

Advocating Risager's (2007) concept of 'languaculture', Kramsch and Zhu (2016) mention that 'there is neither an essentialist language–culture duality nor a radical distinction between the two, but a close connection, an interdependence, a complex relationship between language and culture' (p. 39). This reflects the fact that language and culture are two interdependent concepts that cannot be divorced from each other. Language assists social interactions, while culture facilitates us to understand how to behave and interact with others. In ELT, language teaching signifies not only linguistic knowledge and skills but also cultural values, norms, and roles represented in L2 English textbooks (Derakhshan; 2021). Regarding cultural representation, Byram, Esarte-Sarries, Taylor and Allatt (1991) emphasise the incorporation of the target culture (the cultures of inner-circle countries) in learning English as a second language, mentioning that it enables learners to comprehend and use the target language (L2) in its original context. However, this perspective is later challenged by underlining the representation of source culture (the learners' culture) in the target language, which, as argued, would encourage learners to express their own culture via the target language (Cortazzi and Jin, 1999; Bahrami, 2015). In this context, the essentiality of EFL/ESL textbooks is reinforced in transmitting culture. In Pakistan, ESL textbooks are considered the primary source of information that needs to be investigated and examined to inform learners about cultural representation, to integrate their own culture into the cross- and inter-cultural interactions in the international setup (McKay, 2002), and to help them construct their national identity (Han, 2010).

Studies of cultural content in local English textbooks present different findings in terms of cultural representation. Several studies (e.g., Yaqoob and Zubair, 2012; Shaheen, Nosheen, Bashir and Anjum; 2018; Sibtain, Ali and Qasim, 2019) discovered that source culture is more emphasised in locally published textbooks as compared to the other cultures. Besides, a few studies, such as Çelik and Erbay

(2013) and Silvia (2015), identified a balanced representation of cultures in locally published textbooks. However, one study (e.g., Aliakbari and Jamalvandi, 2012) found more emphasis on the representation of target culture in ELT textbooks that are locally authored.

This discussion illustrates that cultural material in locally developed textbooks is classified into the source (e.g., Pakistani culture in the context of this study), target (e.g., the cultural contents of America, Britain, and others), and international target (e.g., Turkish and Chinese cultural content) cultures (Cortazzi and Jin, 1999). Representing such cultures in ELT textbooks is essential for improving students' linguistic and communicative skills. The previous studies revealed that source culture is represented to transform knowledge and awareness of the learner's socio-cultural identity, which may be negotiated and realised in different contextualised social interactions with people of other cultures, whether target or international. Besides, the target cultural content is embedded in order to expose learners to authentic conversations that can be had with native English speakers (Baker, 2009). Also, exposure to the target culture enables students to reflect on their own culture and, in this way, strengthen their intercultural communicative competence (Fantini, 2020; McKay, 2002). However, international communication in English often occurs between non-native English speakers. Thus, they need to acquire knowledge of the international target culture (McKay, 2002), which highlights the cultures of communities where English is used either as a second or foreign language. The international target culture is incorporated in ESL textbooks to expose learners to intercultural communication. Therefore, the present study looked at the representation of these cultures, specifically focusing on the representation of the source culture to highlight how Pakistani identity is constructed through the representation of local culture in the selected textbooks.

## National identity

This section explains Pakistan's national identity and its links with the source culture of Pakistan. Explaining the link between culture and identity, Han (2010) affirms that, as a manifestation of social attributes of human beings, culture is also an effective means of affecting individuals' and national identities. The notion of national identity refers to the sense of individuals or groups belonging to a country, which signifies a country's cultural and historical traditions, values, norms, beliefs, language, and sovereignty (He and Yan, 2008). In light of this definition, we can say that Pakistan's national identity refers to the identity of Pakistanis who share common historical and cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and languages of Pakistan. In the above definition, language and culture, among others, are highlighted as the two prominent characteristics, and the representation of culture through language can contribute to the construction of cultural, ethnic, and national identities (Liu and Turner, 2018; Han, 2010).

Moreover, national identity is manifested in national culture and viewed as a 'way of constructing meanings that influences both our actions and conception of ourselves' (Hall, 1996, p. 613). Advocating Apple (1999), we believe that ESL textbooks are one of the primary sources for transforming different aspects of Pakistani culture to help Pakistani learners construct their national identity. Therefore, we selected a series of locally published ESL textbooks to look at aspects of the source culture of Pakistan that serve the purpose of Pakistani identity formation.

Furthermore, identity is also formed through the concept of 'otherness'. This concept is an indispensable assumption for national identity formation wherein a collective 'self' is fixed against a collective otherness. Qazi and Shah (2019) advocate that the idea of otherness is intricately associated with national identity and that 'for most national communities, there have been and there probably still are significant others, other nations and/or states, from which the community has tried to liberate and/or

differentiate itself” (Triandafyllidou, 1998, p. 593). Furthermore, the concept of ‘otherness’ depends on ‘the notions of different language, religion, culture, and traditions – precisely the features that are emphasised for the sameness to construct a national identity’ (Qazi and Shah, 2019, p. 5). In this study, the researchers also focused on the concept of otherness while examining the contents of local culture concerning Pakistani identity in the selected textbooks.

## Materials and methods

This study employed a qualitative approach to analyse the representation of cultures incorporated in a series of six English textbooks published by the Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board (PCTB). Each book is taught as a compulsory subject. Four key steps were undertaken: selection of textbooks (step 1); identification and categorisation of cultural content (step 2); categorisation and subcategorisation of source culture contents (step 3); and coding of the data (step 4) to level ground for data analysis.

In the first step, the textbooks were selected based on the number of units representing cultural contents. These textbooks cover texts, glossaries, vocabulary, reading comprehension, grammar, pronunciation keys, oral communication skills, writing skills, followed by a further reading activity.

	Year of publication	No. of units	Main compiler	Publisher
English 4	2017	13	Mashal Imran	Punjab Curriculum and Textbook Board
English 5	2017	14	Iftikhar Salim & Nabila Gul	
English 7	2018	12	Mirza Ghulam M. Baig, Mumtaz Ahmad, Munazza Tajmmal & Tayyaba Sadaf	
English 8	2019	14	Rafiq Mahmood, B.A Chishty, Z.A Farooqui, M. Aslam & Sabiha Saleem	
English 9	2019	12	Ruhi Zaka Malik, Fatima Dar & Zarqa Bashir	
English 10	2016	13	Sobia Kiyani	

**Table 1.** The sampled textbooks

Table 1 shows the six textbooks and the number of units or lessons in each – 13, 14, 12, 14, 12 and 13, respectively – making 78 units in total.

In the second step, the units were categorised into three culture categories: 1) target culture (e.g., American or British), 2) international target culture (e.g., Chinese and Turkish, etc.), and 3) source culture (i.e., Pakistani). In the third step, the contents related to source culture were further classified according to Shahsani’s (2007) categorisation of the source culture. Each content representing the source culture was then categorised into cultural values, norms, and roles.

Cultural Values (CV) refers to the basic standards and principles of a specific society/country. It is also considered a standard of what is acceptable or unacceptable in a society. For instance, ‘belief in the finality of Prophethood of Muhammad’ is an established value in Islam-based Pakistani culture. Shahsani (2007) classifies CV into ten subcategories such as social values, religious values (RV), national and political values (N/PV), theoretical values (TV), ecological and environmental values (EEV), familial values (FV), individual values (IV), aesthetic values (AV), economic values (EV), and values of globalisation (VG).

Furthermore, the contents of source culture that reflect ‘a standard, customary, or ideal form of behaviour to which individuals in a social group conform’ (Burke and Young, 2011, p. 313) were classified as norms, defined as cultural phenomena reflecting ‘collective awareness about the preferred, appropriate behaviours among a certain group of people’ (Chung and Rimal, 2016, p. 3). For instance, extending the right hand in greetings and hugging during cultural festivals are established norms in

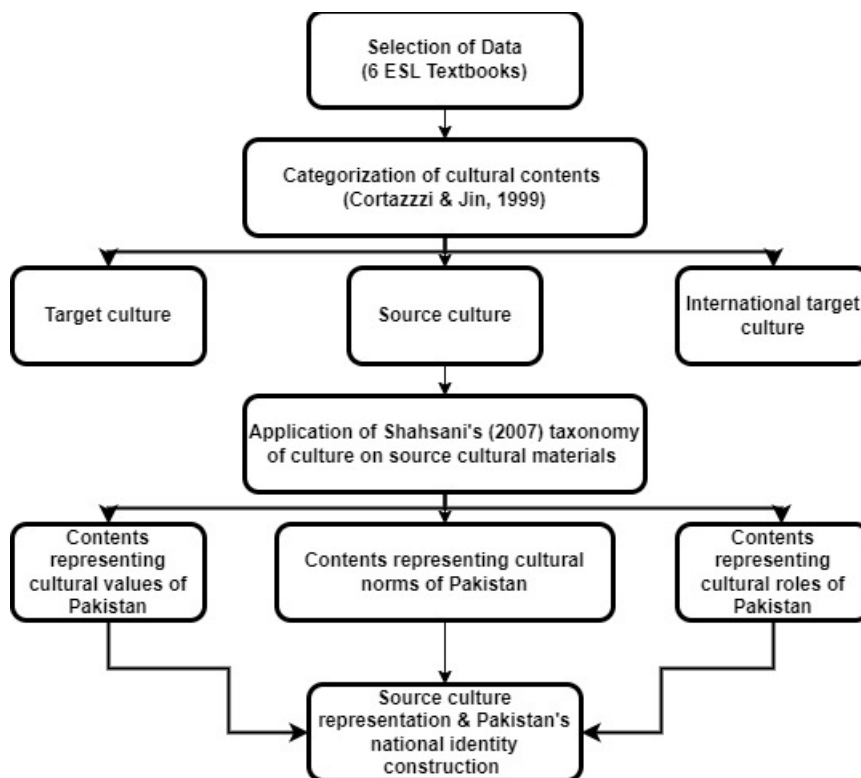


Pakistan. Norms are subcategorised into social manners (SM), social customs (SC), folkways (FW), social ethics (SE), social traditions (ST), social rituals (SR), social laws and regulations (SLR), social conventions (SCon) and social processes (SP) (Shahsani, 2007). Finally, we also classified the source culture materials into the category of 'roles', denoting the part played by social actors/participants as members of the society/country. Social roles can be classified based on age, gender, and profession (Siren, 2018; Shahsani, 2007).

In the fourth step, we coded the data based on nouns/noun phrases and identified emergent themes.

### Analytical framework

During analysis, the data were rigorously organised to elicit and develop themes considering the different perspectives of cultural contents in each lesson. Furthermore, we employed an analytical framework comprised of Cortazzi and Jin's (1999) categories of cultures and Shahsani's (2007) categorisation of the source culture.



**Figure 1.** Analysis procedure of the study

Figure 1 illustrates the steps of selecting textbooks, identifying and categorising cultures (Cortazzi and Jin, 1999), and identifying and categorising source culture (Shahsani, 2007).

### Data analysis

We employed a bi-coding strategy, the Main Categories of Culture and Categories of Source Culture, to codify the data. We developed the first coding scheme, the Main Categories of Culture, according to Cortazzi and Jin (1999). This coding scheme labelled and catalogued the categories of cultures in the selected textbooks. The second scheme of content analysis was employed to thoroughly examine the textbooks' discourses to highlight Shahsani's (2007) categorisation of source culture (e.g., Cultural Values, Norms and Roles) that also contributed to constructing Pakistan's national identity.

In light of Cortazzi's and Jin's (1999) categorisation of cultural materials in English language textbooks, we adopted these culture categories as an evaluation model to locate the tendency of cultural types exhibited in the selected textbooks. Three categories of culture – target, international target, and source – were finalised. To locate culture-loaded references (e.g., nouns/noun phrases) for cultural representations, we thoroughly read the texts in the six textbooks, to assign codes to the relevant references. All content (i.e., nouns and themes) relevant to the cultures (Cortazzi and Jin, 1999) was identified and codified as Target Culture (TC), International Target Culture (ITC), and Source Culture (SC). By juxtaposing the three categories of culture, the frequencies of reference were shown.

We then categorised and subcategorised the source culture materials to outline the aspects of Pakistan's source culture values, norms, and roles (e.g., religious, social, national, and political aspects of Pakistani culture) that also contributed to forming Pakistan's national identity. These sources of learners' (source) culture in the selected textbooks were examined for the initial coding to identify Pakistani cultural elements and national identity. However, being multi-dimensional, national identity cannot be reduced to a single element. Therefore, the second part of the study followed the paragraphs that reflected the aspects of Pakistan's source culture and national identity.

Note that we used Microsoft Office 2016 as a tool to count the frequencies and percentages of cultural references. The data for analysis came from all six textbooks (78 units/lessons), using all paragraphs but excluding visual images, exercises, and grammar sections. Though the word processing was computer-assisted, data coding and categorising were done manually. Thus, to avoid inconsistency and ensure inter-coder reliability of the analysis, we invited a coder (an experienced English language teacher who had been teaching the sampled textbooks for the past seven years) to do the coding. He provided an expert judgment on the initial coding, and apart from some paragraphs that could be coded with multiple themes, he reached over 95% of consistency with the coding.

## Findings

This section shows the findings of the study, including the representation of cultures, particularly the representation of source cultural contents that constitute Pakistan's national identity.

### Representation of cultures

Table 2 presents the analysis of significantly treated and portrayed cultures in the selected textbooks. Reflecting the volatility and diversity of cultures, we found a disproportional representation of cultures (i.e., target, international, and source cultures) in the textbooks, as the representation of source culture outweighed the other two cultures.

	Units & percentages	TC	ITC	SC
English 4	13	4	1	8
		30.8%	7.7%	61.5%
English 5	14	4	0	10
		28.6%	0%	71.4%
English 7	12	2	2	8
		16.7%	16.7%	66.7%
English 8	14	3	2	9
		21.4%	14.3%	64.3%
English 9	12	3	1	8
		25%	8.3%	66.7%
English 10	13	4	3	6
		30.8%	23.1%	46.2%
Total units & percentages	78	20	9	49
		25.6%	11.5%	62.8%

**Table 2.** Representation of cultures and their percentages (by units)

Note: TC = Target culture, ITC = International target culture, SC = Source culture

In Table 2, the contents of the target culture (e.g., the culture of America and Britain) were reflected in 20 out of 78 units, covering approximately 26% of total culture representations. Most of the content representing the target culture was in a poetic form, including *Whole Duty of Children*, *The Rainbow*, *My Mother*, *A Nation's Strength*, *The Blessings of God*, *The Echoing Green*, *Written in March*, *Little Deeds of Kindness*, *Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening*, *Daffodils*, *Try Again*, *The Rain*, and *Peace*. These poems accentuated the aesthetic, natural, social, religious, environmental, and moral values of the target culture. Significantly, while examining the target culture materials, deliberate indigenisation of materials was observed to make them appropriate to the local contexts via local illustrations. Indigenisation here refers to localising (pakistanising) of English as a result of interference (Habib and Ullah, 2017, p. 132) from the local languages of Pakistan. For example, the poem, *Whole Duty of Children* (English 4, Unit 5), representing social manners, was found to have been indigenised through local portrayals (e.g., a boy in shalwar kameez) and phrases, i.e., *Bismillah* ('In the name of Allah') and *Alhamdulillah* ('Gratitude to Allah'), respectively, in the beginning, and end of the poem. Thus, the representation of target culture materials exemplified through local illustrations and phrases is a way of nativising or pakistanising English (Mehboob, 2009), which contributes to Pakistani English and identity formation.

Table 2 also highlights international target culture (ITC) representation but with a limited frequency; only 9 out of 78 units (11.5%) represent international culture materials in the textbooks. They include Greatest Scientific Discoveries, Eight Cultural Festivals around the World, Environmental Pollution, Sultan Ahmad Masjid, Chinese New Year, Population Growth and World Food Supplies, and others. These examples represent global and international communities' socio-cultural, environmental, aesthetic and scientific values, folkways, festivals, and religious architectures. Finally, Table 2 also illustrates the frequent representation of source culture materials, with more than half of the total units (49 out of 78, or approximately 63%). The contents of Pakistani culture (learners' culture) provided information about cultural values, norms, and roles. These are discussed in the next section.



### Representation of source culture

After identifying and categorising cultures embedded in the data, source culture contents were further classified following Shahsani's (2007) taxonomy of source culture categorisation, as shown in Table 3.

	Sub-categorisation of the source culture			Frequency
	Values	Norms	Roles	
English 4	14	7	4	25
English 5	15	12	8	35
English 7	13	5	19	37
English 8	21	9	10	40
English 9	16	11	12	39
English 10	15	6	11	32
Total	94	50	64	208
Percentage (%)	45.20%	24%	30.80%	100%

**Table 3.** Representation of source culture categories (by contents)

Table 3 highlights 208 source culture contents which, according to their perceptible proclivities, were classified into values, norms, and roles (Shahsani, 2007) with the ratio of 94 (45.20%), 50 (24%), and 64 (30.8%) respectively. These three categorisations of source culture were examined as representations of cultural values, norms, and social roles.

### Representation of cultural values (CV)

The category of Cultural Values (CV) refers to the ideas and standards of what is acceptable or unacceptable and just or unjust in a society; for instance, Pakistani society. According to Shahsani (2007), a CV includes ten subcategories: social values, religious values, national and political values, theoretical values, ecological and environmental values, familial values, individual values, aesthetic values, economic values, and values of globalisation. The representations of these values were examined in the 49 units of the textbooks identified as source culture (see Table 2), which found 94 instances that represented culture values, as shown in the following table.

	Subcategorisation of source culture values										Frequency
	RV	SV	N/PV	FV	IV	EEV	EV	TV	AV	VG	
English 4	5	3	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	13
English 5	4	3	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	14
English 7	3	4	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	13
English 8	4	4	3	4	2	1	1	2	1	0	22
English 9	4	4	4	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	15
English 10	3	4	4	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	17
Occurrences	23	22	18	11	7	6	3	2	2	0	94
Percentages	24.5	23.4	19.1	11.7	7.4	6.3	3.1	2.1	2.1	0	100%

**Table 4.** Representation of Cultural Values (by contents)

Note: RV = Religious values, SV = social values, N/PV = National & political values, FV = Familial values, IV = Individual values, EEV = Ecological and environmental values, EV = Economic values, TV = Theoretical values, AV = Aesthetic values, VG = Values of globalisation

Reflecting the subcategorisation of culture values, Table 4 illustrates the number of occurrences in the data. Among them, the category of 'religious values' (RV) was frequently represented; 23 out of 94 (24.5%) source cultural contents reflected the country's religious values, including the singularity (*Tauheed*) and sovereignty of God, and the finality of Muhammad's prophethood (*English 7*, Unit 2; *English 8*, Unit 2; *English 9*, Unit 1, and *English 10*, Unit 1). Likewise, Islamic traits such as justice, faithfulness, trustworthiness, forgiveness, patience, and sacrifice (*English 8*, Unit 1; *English 8*, Unit 4; *English 8*, Unit 5; *English 9*, Unit 9; *English 10*, Unit 1, and *English 10*, Unit 13) were epitomised regarding Prophet Muhammad and his followers (*English 9*, Unit 4). Additionally, Islamic festivals and celebrations such as Eid ul Fitr and Eid ul Azah (*English 4*, Unit 10) were also found. In sum, by representing the religious values and beliefs of Pakistani society, the authors of the textbooks attempted to pakistanise English and create a new linguistic identity for the country.

Secondly, the table also illustrates the projection of Pakistani society's social values (SV), which make up 23.4% of the representation of cultural values. Notably, they were represented metaphorically in the contents such as *Helping Others* (*English 4*, Unit 2), *The Naughty Monkey* (*English 4*, Unit 11), *The Stone Cutter's Dream* (*English 7*, Unit 5), and *The Ants and the Grasshopper* (*English 5*, Unit 7). These represented moral narrative stories such as the cooperative attitudes of fish, the transgression of monkeys, the dreams of the stone cutter, the future of ants, and the poor plans of the grasshopper. The narratives legitimated the moral consequences (the concept of reward and punishment) of good and bad practices, whether physical or mental. While reflecting imperceptible contextual and semantic meanings (Rodriguez, 2015), such metaphoric representations are associated with Pakistani culture that signifies the general social concept of punishment and reward, the way of life, and other social beliefs.

Thirdly, Table 4 highlights national and political values (19.14%) that include information on Pakistan's geographical and cultural heritages (*English 5*, Unit 11; *English 7*, Unit 3), the construction of national identity (*English 8*, Unit 8; *English 9*, Unit 6), patriotism (*English 9*, Unit 2) and the contributions of national heroes to the development and security of the country (*English 4*, Unit 4; *English 5*, Unit 4). While presenting geographical knowledge as a central reality, students were anticipated to acquire sufficient information about their country. Thus, Pakistan was frequently depicted with a diverse cultural heritage including several cultural groups, i.e., Punjabis, Sindhis, the Baloch, Pakhtuns, Gilgiti, Baltis, and Kashmiris (*English 5*, Unit 11), famous cities, such as Islamabad, Lahore, Peshawar, Karachi, Quetta, etc. (*English 5*, Unit 11), rivers, i.e., Indus, Jhelum, Ravi and Chenab, mountain ranges such as the Himalayas, the Karakoram, and the Hindukush, and tourist spots such as Kaghan, Swat, Gilgit-Baltistan, Dir and Chitral (*English 7*, Unit 3). Besides, a thorough representation of Quaid e Azam (the founder of Pakistan) and his efforts, vision, and ideology through his dream of setting up a separate independent country for the Muslims of the sub-continent is embedded (*English 8*, Unit 8 and *English 9*, Unit 6). Similarly, the authors presented patriotism (*English 9*, Unit 2) as an admirable quality that motivated the patriots to protect the country's interests. Such representations indigenised the English language and highlighted deliberate official efforts to construct a distinctly Pakistani identity.

Additionally, the table also illustrates the stereotypical representations of familial values (FV) to overgeneralise the characteristics and roles of the Pakistani family system (Bell, 2007; Hussain, Naz, Khan, Daraz and Khan, 2015), based on loyalty, sincerity, care, and love, to the extent that one family member can sacrifice for the protection of others. For example, a Pakistani mother (Fiza's mother) was typically portrayed as a mentor and caretaker, who advised her daughter, Fiza, to 'eat more fruits and vegetables. They are good for health. Eating too many chocolates and biscuits is not good for health. You must eat healthy food' (*English 4*, Unit 7). Here, the mother's concerns for her daughter's health highlight the familial values and role of the mother, who is responsible for the well-being and health of

the family. The mother’s representation as the primary caregiver within the family might be a part of different other cultures. Still, in the context of this study, the illustration of the mother and her name both associate her with the Pakistani family system and work as a common belief in Pakistani society.

In conclusion, the authors attempted to transform the cultural knowledge of the country through these values. However, some of the values, e.g., the individual (IV), environmental and ecological (EEV), economic (EV), theoretical (TV), and aesthetic values (AV), were less focused; only between 2 to 7 texts in the selected textbooks were found to represent these values (see Table 4). Besides, the values of globalisation were found entirely ignored. This shows that the authors of the textbooks were less concerned with these types of values, which are considered essential for source culture.

### Representation of norms

Norms refer to social practices in a specific society or country. Shamsani (2007) classifies norms into social manners, customs, folkways, ethics, traditions, rituals, laws and regulations, conventions, and social processes.

	Subcategorisation									Frequency
	SM	SC	FW	SE	ST	SR	SLR	SCon	SP	
English 4	5	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	7
English 5	4	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	12
English 7	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	5
English 8	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
English 9	7	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	11
English 10	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6
Frequency	26	10	5	3	2	2	2	0	0	50
Percentage	52%	20%	10%	60%	4%	4%	4%	0	0	100%

**Table 5.** Representation of cultural norms

Note: SM = Social manners, SC = social customs, FW = Folkways, SE = Social ethics, ST = Social traditions, SR = Social rituals, SLR = Social laws & regulations, SCon = Social conventions, SP = Social processes

Table 5 highlights the frequency of norms and the subcategories incorporated in the textbooks. It includes social manners (52%) in the form of greetings, i.e., Aslaam u Alaikum, Wa Alaikum Assalaam (*English 5*, Unit 4); social customs (20%), i.e., hospitality and visiting the sick (*English 7*, Unit 2); folkways (10%) – the way of life of different Pakistani tribes, i.e., Pukhtoons, Punjabis, Sindhi, Balochis, and Gilgiti (*English 5*, Unit 11); social ethics (6%), i.e., respect for elders and experts in the community (*English 4*, Unit 8); social traditions (4%), i.e., Eidein, Nowruz, Jashn-e-Baharan, Jashn e Larkana, and Polo Festival (*English 5*, Unit 11); social rituals (4%), e.g., Independence Day and Eid holidays (*English 5*, Unit 11), social laws and regulations (4%), i.e., traffic rules and regulations (*English 7*, Unit 12); social processes (official formalities such as reception of the Governor General of Pakistan), and social conventions (i.e., revolutions, strikes, protests, etc.). Except for the last two categories, these norms were found in the textbooks to convey local cultural knowledge to the learners. By doing so, the authors attempted to pakistanise or localise English. ‘Let the English chafe and fret and fume. The fact remains that in adapting English to our use, in hammering it sometimes on its head, and in sometimes twisting its tail, we have given it a new shape, substance, and dimension’ (Sidwa, 1993, p. 213) in the form of Pakistani English.

## Representation of social roles

Table 6 presents the social roles classified into age, gender, and professional groups (Siren, 2018; Shahsani, 2007).

Category	Subcategory	Roles/activities	Frequency/Percentage
Age	Roles of children & adolescents	Students, players, friends, tourists, sons, brothers, sisters, daughters, students, patients, celebrators, etc.	11 (15.06%)
	Roles of adults	Teachers, soldiers, national figures, religious figures, doctors, patriots, friends, players, tourists, defenders, patriots, traffic police, brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, wives, officers, patients, celebrators, nurses, etc.	23 (31.50%)
	Roles of the elderly	National leaders, religious leaders, village elders, fathers and mothers etc.	5 (6.8%)
Gender	Common roles	Teachers, students, doctors, religious figures, friends, players & celebrators, etc.	7 (9.6%)
	Women's specific roles	Mothers, sisters, wives, nurses, cooks	5 (6.8%)
	Men's specific roles	Father, brother, son, husband, national leader, patriot, the founder of the country, the head of the family, defenders, police officers etc.	10 (13.7%)
Professional roles		Teachers, doctors, nurses, traffic police officers, soldiers, players, flying officers, captains, majors, air chief, booksellers, drug sellers	12 (16.4%)
Total frequency and percentage			73 (100%)

**Table 6:** Representation of gendered roles

Table 6 presents the representation of social roles classified on the basis of age, gender and profession. In terms of age, the subcategory 'roles of adults' is represented more frequently, making up 32.3% of the total. The characters that perform social roles are students (e.g., Faiza, Salma, Fahad, and others), soldiers (e.g., Major Aziz Bhati, Major Shabir, Marium Mukhtiar, etc.), celebratory (*Jan Sher Khan*), sons (Aliyan), brothers (Mohibullah Khan and Atlas Khan), daughters (Fiza, Samer), and others. Besides, adults' roles are depicted in the form of parents, doctors, teachers, heads of family, and others. The table also shows the representation of the elderly (7%), e.g., *Quaid e Azam*, the Prophet Muhammad, and others.

In terms of gender, we found three subcategories, i.e., common roles (9.8%), women's specific roles (7%), and men's specific roles (13.7%). Importantly, stereotypes are expected apart from some unconventional roles. In most cases, the roles that require physical and mental strength were associated with men, such as patriotism, martyrdom, religious and political leadership, etc. In contrast, women were portrayed in social roles that did not need physical strength, such as mother, teacher, nurse, patient, daughter, and sister. Typically, the representation of men was also found more frequently than women: even in the representation of famous people, men outnumbered women. Also, we found the representation of the Pakistani family system headed by a father who supervises, monitors, and directs family members in all important family matters: he was portrayed as the one who must decide what, when, and how (*English 5*, Unit 12). However, in contrast, a woman was portrayed as a housewife who cooks for family members (*English 4*, Unit 10).

In terms of specific professional roles, Table 6 illustrates the participants who play the roles of teacher, doctor, nurse, traffic police officer, soldier, sportsperson, flying officer, captain, major, air chief, bookseller, and drug seller.

## Discussion

The findings regarding the first research question about the types of culture represented in the textbooks reveal that three kinds of culture (i.e., target, international, and source) were incorporated in the textbooks, albeit to different degrees. Among them, source (Pakistani) culture is the most frequently represented, representing 62.85% of all culture representations. The representation of Pakistani culture, the prevailing social morals and religious beliefs and understandings in the sampled textbooks reflect Pakistan's 'education philosophy', which emphasises 'national integration' (Hajar and Shakila, 2013, p. 168). Understanding learners' own culture while acquiring the English language is substantial in multicultural Pakistan, which includes the cultures of the major ethnic communities, i.e., Pathan, Punjabi, Balochi, Sindhi, Gilgiti cultures (e.g., English 5, Unit 11, p. 106). Therefore, Pakistan's national, political, religious, environmental, and social values were explicitly focused on creating awareness among the learners of its physical, ethnic, cultural, and religious borders, which emphasise the fundamentals of national identity.

Besides, the selected textbooks also presented aspects of target and international cultures that, in total, make up 37% of their cultural contents. These contents highlighted the aesthetic (poetry), scientific (scientific discoveries), rituals (festivals), and architectural (religious architecture of Ottoman Turkey) aspects of culture. However, they had not received sufficient attention, as no specific information on sociopolitical, economic, religious, and environmental issues was given in the textbooks. Thus, the study has endorsed previous studies (i.e., Shaheen, Nosheen, Bashir and Anjum; 2018; Sibtain, Ali and Qasim, 2019, etc.), showing that locally developed textbooks emphasise the representation of source culture more than the others.

Regarding the second research question, the findings highlighted those aspects (e.g., religious, national, political, social, and ecological) of the source culture contributing to Pakistan's national identity formation. Among them, religious values (Islamic values and beliefs) were found central to the formation of Pakistani identity; most of the contents in the sampled textbooks were 'based on the core values of religion and faith' (National Education Policy, 2009, p. 9). The ideology of Islam, including the singularity and sovereignty of God and Muhammad as the last Prophet of God (English 9, Unit 1), was presented in order to form the Islam-based national identity of the learners. For this purpose, Pakistan's ideology was particularised. The ideology of Pakistan was enveloped within the ideology of Islam, maintaining that 'Muslims are an independent nation' (English 9, Unit 5, p. 64).

Regarding this, the view of Jinnah (the founder of Pakistan) that 'Islam is a complete code regulating the whole Muslim society, every department of life collectively and individually' (English 8, Unit 8, p. 69) thus equated Pakistan's national identity categorically with Islamic identity. The discourse of Islam was perceptibly used to promote a specific Pakistani identity and to locate the learners in a particular national group that is Muslim. Besides, the use of Islam for national identity omitted 'minorities from the pale of Pakistani nationhood, as well as giving Pakistani Muslims a specific approach towards viewing non-Muslims and the non-Muslim world' (Qazi and Shah, 2019, p. 11). In this way, the construction of national identity outlined the criteria for other factors of national identity, i.e., cultural norms, language, and gender that were, as given below, coated in an Islamic colour for the learners' national identity.

Also, Pakistani culture was manifest in domestic rituals and festivals. Only Muslims were presented, for instance, Eid-ul-Fitr (English 8, Unit 10, p. 90), Eid-ul-Azha, Shab-e-Barat, Eid-e-Milad-un-Nabi, and Shab-e-Qadar (English 8, Unit 2, p. 20). Minority (e.g., Hindu and Christian) cultures were absolutely excluded, with no mention of their religious festivals. Holli was described as a non-Muslim festival celebrated by Hindus 'mainly in India and Nepal' (English 8, Unit 2, p. 20). Through the exclusion of minorities, the authors of the textbooks strategically presented a 'limited, stereotyped version of reality'



(Rodriguez, 2011, p. 102) in order to form religious attitudes and also to create ‘the religious other’ (Leila Semai, as cited in Naseem, Arshad and Rodriguez, 2016, p. 11). Such representation of non-Muslim minorities excludes them from the Pakistani nation. Thus, the use of Islam to relegate rituals and festivals on religious lines and exclude religious and cultural celebrations of minorities made a distinction between Pakistani Muslims (we) and minorities (they) (Qazi and Shah, 2019).

In the selected textbooks, the concept of otherness is focused on India, which is represented negatively in the construction of Pakistani identity. The Indian-centric Pakistani identity emerged by including phrases such as ‘foreign invasion’, ‘aggression’, and ‘the wars of 1965, 1971 and the Kargil war...’ (*English 9*, Unit 2, p. 13) and others. Such phrases constructed the image of India as the national enemy of Pakistan. It showed the contribution of textbooks to creating Pakistan’s national identity based on ‘anti-India discourses, appropriating insights from meta-narratives of Islam, where India was positioned in opposition to Islam’ (Qazi and Shah, 2019, p. 17). Therefore, India was portrayed as an everlasting enemy and Pakistan’s ‘other’. Predominantly, the findings showed that Islam was the fundamental identity of Pakistan, which guides all other markers of national identity to form Pakistan’s ‘others’, including India in particular and non-Muslims in general.

Lastly, the textbook representations encouraged the formation of gendered national identity, in which males were presented more than females. The materials examined have constructed women as invisible or confined to their domestic role as mother, sister, and daughter (*English 4*, Unit 7, p. 61), with no mention of women as leaders. The gendered identity seemed wrapped up within religious and cultural borders: almost all women were portrayed in *shalwar kameez* and *dupatta* (a shawl covering their heads). Consequently, the invisibility of women and the incorporated discourses led to the formation of a gendered national identity, indicating the parochial approach of the textbooks’ authors which marginalised the representation of females in the development of Pakistani society.

## Conclusion

The study aimed to find the types of culture present in ESL textbooks locally developed in Pakistan, mainly the aspects of source culture that contribute to the formation of national identity. Three types of cultures (target, international, and source) were found in the textbooks. Among them, source culture was emphasised more than the others; various aspects of source culture were embedded frequently to provide a specific lens for viewing the world. These aspects included religious, national, political, social, and environmental values, norms, and roles of Pakistan that inculcate national pride, promote national identity, and indigenise English. Many words and phrases from Pakistani culture were present in the textbooks, relating to religion (i.e., Allah, A’yat, Jabrael, Rasool, Quran, Masjid, Mehrab, Imam, Namaz), Pakistan’s national, regional and religious celebrations (e.g., Jashn-e-Bahar/Spring Festival, Jashn-e-Nawroz, Shab-e-Barat, Shab Qadr, Eid ul Fitre, Eid ul Adha and others), ethnic groups (Pathan, the Punjabi, Sindhi, the Baloch and Gilgiti), the national leader (Quaid-e-Azam), military heroes (Major Tufail Muhammad, Aziz Bhatti, Rashid Minhas, etc.) and others. The inclusion of such words and phrases indicated linguistic changes that occur in English due to interference (Habib and Ullah, 2017) from the local languages of Pakistan. Also, it highlighted the influence of source culture on English and the subsequent linguistic variations that became a source of Pakistani English (Kachru, 1992). In sum, the study’s findings show the frequent representation of Pakistan’s source culture that contributes to the construction of students’ national identity as well as the indigenisation/pakistanisation of English. The findings are based only on the examination of the sampled textbooks and might not be generalised to other content and contexts.




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