EDUCATION POLICY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEO-LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF MUSHARRAF ERA (1999-2008)

Researcher:
Shafiq Qurban
Reg. No. 02-FSS/PHDPS/S14

Supervisor:
Dr. Husnul Amin
Associate Professor
Department of Politics & I.R, IIUI

Co- Supervisor:
Dr. Hazirullah
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology, IIUI

Department of Politics and International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

EDUCATION POLICY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEO-LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF MUSHARRAF ERA (1999-2008)

Shafiq Qurban
Reg No. 02-FSS/PHDPS/S14

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. Degree in Discipline of Political Science at the Faculty of Social Sciences International Islamic University Islamabad.

December 29th, 2019

Supervisor
Associate Professor Dr Husnul Amin
Co- Supervisor
Associate Professor Dr. Hazirullah

Dedication

*I dedicate this Ph.D. thesis to my beloved **Parents** for their kindness, unparalleled inspiration and endless support throughout my studies.*

Dear Ami and Abu Ji, your selflessness will always be remembered.

Thank you for enabling me to achieve this feat.

Abstract

This research aims to investigate the overall impact of General Pervez Musharraf's education policy changes upon curriculum and the construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship in Pakistan. The Musharraf government introduced an education sector reform to streamline the existing education structure in Pakistan in the wake of 9/11 incident. The incident of 9/11 has engendered political shift in constructing a world that ingresses new social and political trends which affect education sector globally, particularly in the Muslim world scenario where education has been scrutinized for being the root cause of inculcating extremism and conservation. This research unfolds the Musharraf Regime Strategy for a comprehensive education reform which not only re-established the curriculum at the primary and tertiary levels but also in the Madrassa context so as to make the curriculum compatible with the global trends of education. The Musharraf government introduced curriculum reforms by keeping in view the global trends in the educational market to construct a Pakistan identity in the context of Neo-Liberal Citizenship that has stimulated the establishment of a new discourse on the ideology of Pakistan based on enlightened moderation and tolerance. This study has revealed that through the Musharraf Regime Strategy, the major aim was to construct a Pakistani citizen who possessed competitive knowledge and life skills, self-sufficiency, compatibility towards social and political dynamics of the world as well as a critical perspective to think beyond religious, ethnic and sectarian sentiments. This study was based on a qualitative research using both primary and secondary data. This research has

used a Discourse Analysis approach to examine policy texts and the curricula of English, Pakistan Studies and Social Studies. This study concludes that the Musharraf government has not only changed the discourse of Pakistani ideology but also encouraged modern contents to promote critical thinking and scientific knowledge at school level. Musharraf government initiatives discarded biased and outdated contents from the existing curricula of madrasas and schools to construct Pakistani identity in the context of neo-liberal citizenship in Pakistan.

Acknowledgements

All praises to Allah who gave me strength to accomplish this great milestone of my academic journey, I cannot thank Him enough.

In a special way, I would like to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to Associate Professor Dr. Husnul Amin, my first supervisor, and to Dr. Hazirullah, my second supervisor, for giving me all the support that I needed during my research at the International Islamic University, Islamabad.

I want to extend deep gratitude from the core of my heart to my external supervisor Professor Dr. Ulrich Brand at University of Vienna, whose continuous support, both academic and moral, led me through different phases of this research. No words would suffice to thank him for keeping my spirits high to complete the conduct and write-up of this research. This thesis would not have been possible without his help, support and patience.

I would like to acknowledge the excellent support provided by Dr. Langthaler Margarita from University of Vienna, Dr. Mariam Chughtai from Lahore University of Management Sciences and Dr Amina Mehmood from International Islamic University, Islamabad throughout my research work.

I am also thankful to Dr. Muhammad Zubair Sharif from University of Balochistan, Barrister Sohail Ahmed, Suhaib Riaz, Muhammad Imran, Muhammad Adeel Butt, Mustansir Qurban, Ijaz Ahmed, Sajid Shah and Syed Mansoor Ali Shah for their support and help in research work.

This thesis is a product of kind consideration of many individuals and organizations who deserve special thanks for their help. Many thanks to officers in the National Documentation Centre, Islamabad for their ever-ready help in allowing access to the archival data. I am also grateful to library officer of AEPAM, Islamabad for his very kind help in finding relevant material in the library. Thanks to library staff in LUMS, Lahore for their support in collecting data in Lahore. I am also grateful to Zehra Khushhal, assistant education officer at national curriculum council secretariat, Islamabad for providing curriculum data and help in finding relevant curricula. For research support in data collection, I thank Abdul Rasheed librarian at the Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore.

I am indebted to the Department of Politics and International Relations for their material and nonmaterial support since the very time of starting my PhD studies. My thanks to all friends in the university and in social life who were always forthcoming to make my life enjoyable and especially fulfilled.

Finally, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my parents for their support in any possible way for years.

Table of contents

Dedication iii

Abstract iv

Acknowledgements vi

Table of contents viii

List of Tables xiv

List of Diagrams xv

Abbreviations xvi

Chapter 1 1

Education Policy and the Construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship in Pakistan: A Case Study of Musharraf Era (1999-2008) 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2 Statement of the Problem 14
1.3 Objectives of the Study 14
1.4 Research Questions 15
1.5 Significance of the Study 16
1.6 Delimitation of the Study 16
1.7 Literature Review 17
1.8 The Existing Literature Gap 29
1.9 Research Methodology 30
1.10 Roadmap of the study 34

Chapter 2 40

Theoretical Framework 40

2.1 Introduction 40

2.2 Narrative of Social Constructionism 41
2.3 Governmentality: Paradigm Shift in Notion of Power 43
2.4 Education under the Prism of Governmentality 48
2.5 Education and the Changing Narrative of Citizenship 50
2.6 Governmentality and the Narrative of Education in Pakistan 57
2.7 Conclusion 63

Chapter 3 65

Education Policies and the Quest for Pakistani Citizenship: 65

A Historical Perspective 65

3.1 Introduction 65
3.2 Education Policy: An Overview 66
3.3 Education and Changing Narrative of Knowledge and Citizenship in the World: Historical Context 68
3.4 Foundation of Education Policy Making in the World: An Overview 70
3.5 Education Policy Formulation in Sub-Continent: Historical Perspective 70
3.5.1 Education Policy and Construction of Identity in Sub-Continent: A Perspective 74
3.6 Education Policy Formulation in Pakistan: Perspective of Approach 77
3.7 Education Policies in Pakistan: A Socio-Political Context 81
3.8 Education Policy Making in Pakistan: A Context of Constitution 87
3.9 Education Policy and Construction of Pakistani Identity and Citizenship 89
3.9.1 Education Policy and the Construction of Pakistani identity and Citizenship in South Asian Context *90*
3.9.1.1 Sharif Commission Report in 1959 and Re-Orientation of Pakistani Identity and citizenship 91
3.9.1.2 Nur Khan Report on Education in 1969 and Changing Narrative of Pakistani Identity 93
3.9.1.3 Education Policy of 1970 and Construction of Pakistani identity in Muslim context 93
3.9.1.4 Education Policy 1972 and the restructuring of Pakistani Identity 95
3.9.2 Education Policy and Construction of Pakistani identity in Muslim Ummah context 99
3.9.2.1 The National Education Policy and Implementation Programme and construction of identity under Islamization *99*
3.9.2.2 Education Policy of 1992 and Construction of Pakistani Identity 101
3.9.2.3 Education Policy 1998 and Construction of Pakistani Identity *101*
3.10 Impact of Regimes' Agenda on Education Policy making in Pakistan 102
3.11 Impact of Education Policy Changes upon Curriculum Reform in Pakistan 104
3.12 Education Policies: Paradigm Shift in the Notion of Ideology of Pakistan 108
3.13 Situation of Education in Pakistan 110
3.14 Notion of Silencing in Education Policies of Pakistan 114
3.15 Politics of Exclusion in Education Policies of Pakistan 114

CHAPTER 4 118

Musharraf's Education Policy, Impact on Curriculum Reform and Construction of Neo Liberal Citizenship 118

4.1 Introduction 118

4.2 Global Governance: A Paradigm Shift in World Politics 119
4.2.1 Discourse of Neo Liberalism and Promotion of Neo Liberal Citizenship 121
4.2.2 Perspective of Neo-Liberalism and Global framework for Education 123
4.3 The Destitute Situation of Education in Pakistan: A Quest for Education Reforms 126
4.4 Education Sector Reform Action Plan: An Agenda of Restructuring of Education 131
4.4.1 Universal primary education: Break Through for Development 133
4.4.2 Promotion of Technical and Vocational Education: A strategy for Poverty Reduction 136
4.4.3 Education Sector: Factor for Economic Development and Promotion of Scientific Education 139
4.4.4 Ensure Gender Parity in Education: Gateway to Development 141
4.4.5 Public-Private Partnership: Bridge to Increase Literacy 143
4.4.6 Quality Education Reform: Discourse of Real Change 144
4.5 Education System Reform Under Patronage of Zubeida Jalal 145
4.5.1 Introduction of Early Childhood Education 146
4.5.2 Introducing English as Compulsory Subject at Primary Level 148
4.5.3 Introduction of Computer as Subject at School Level 150
4.5.4 New Scheme Study in Education at High School Level 152
4.5.5 Curriculum Reform and Discourse of Change in Quality of Education 153
4.5.6 Construction of Teacher Resource Centers 158
4.6 Education Sector Reform Under Javed Ashraf Qazi 158
4.6.1 Curriculum Reform and Paradigm Shift in Narrative of Ideology 159
4.6.2 Narrative of Integrated Curricula for Grade 1-3 169
4.6.3 Bifurcation of Social Studies 170
4.6.4 Introduction of Ethics at Primary Level 170
4.6.5 Paradigm Shift in Curriculum of Islamic Studies 171
4.6.6 Computer Education at Elementary Level 171
4.6.7 New Trend in Examination System 171
4.7 Decentralization of Education Management at District Level 172
4.8 National Education Census 2005: A New Way to Measurement 173
4.9 Doctrine of Free Education and Textbooks up to Matriculation 174
4.10 National Textbook and Learning Material Policy 2006 175
4.11 Impact of Curriculum Reform Upon Construction of Pakistani Identity 177
4.12 Global Prerequisite for Education and Need for New Education Policy 178
4.13 Pakistan People Party Government and Education Policy of 2009 182

4.14 Education Policy and Construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship 184
4.15 Eighteenth Amendment and Status of National Curriculum 186
4.16 Socio-Political Context of Education Sector Reform 187
4.17 Discourse of Curriculum Reform and Role of International Organizations 193
4.18 Conclusion 194
Chapter 5 198
Education Policy and Quest for Madrasa Reforms in Pakistan 198
5.1 Introduction 198
5.2 Madrasa: A Discourse 200
5.3 Madrasa: Place of Education in Islam 201
5.4 The Role of Madrasa in Promotion of Education in Reign of Caliphate 202
5.5 Umayyad Dynasty and Role of Madrasa in Promotion of Education 203
5.6 Role of Madrasa in Promotion of Education: Perspective of Abbasid Dynasty 204
5.7 Education in Non-Arab World: The Role of Madrasa 206
5.8 Education in Sub Continent through Madrasas 207
5.8.1 Education through Madrasas in Mughal Era 208
5.9 Narrative of Bifurcation in Education under British Rule 211
5.9.1 Discourse of Madrasas Reforms under British Rule 213
5.9.2 Bifurcation of Education in Madrasas: A Perspective 214
5.10 Narrative of Education through Madrasas in Pakistan 215
5.11 Socio-Political Perspective of Madrasas Reform in Pakistan 219
5.12 Role of Madrasas Education Reforms in Construction of Pakistani Identity 228
5.13 Education Policies and Discourse of Madrasas Reform in Pakistan 230
5.13.1 Madrasas Reforms under Sharif Commission Report 231
5.13.2 Noor Khan Report's Narrative on Madrasas Education 234
5.13.3 Education Policy of 1970 and Madrasas Reforms Therein 235
5.13.4 Education Policy of 1972 and Narrative of Status Quo for Madrasas Education 236
5.13.5 Discourse of Madrasas Reforms under Education Policy of 1979 236
5.13.6 Madrasas Reforms Guideline in Education Policy of 1998 237
5.13.7 Madrasas Reforms and Paradigm Shift in White Paper of 2007 238
5.13.8 Education Policy of 2009 and Madrasas Reform 239
5.14 Musharraf's Regime: A Paradigm Shift in Madrasa Reform 241
5.14.1 Establishment of Pakistan Madrasas Education Board 243

5.14.2 Launch of Model Madrassas 244
5.14.3 Introduction of Secular Subjects 245
5.14.4 Provision of Computer and Science Laboratories 246
5.14.5 Provision of Teachers for Secular subjects 246
5.14.6 Proscription of Hate Material 246
5.14.7 Provision of Government Financial Assistance 247
5.14.8 Annual Report on Educational Activities 248
5.14.9 Annual Audit Report 249
5.14.10 Recognition of Madrasas Degree by Higher Education Commission 249

5.15 Madrasa Reform and the Response of Madrasa Boards 250

5.16 Madrasa Reform under PPP Government 250

CHAPTER 6 255

Education Policy and Construction of Knowledge Economy for Neo Liberal Citizenship in Pakistan 255

6.1 Introduction 255

6.2 Discourse of Knowledge Economy: A Perspective of Higher Education 256

6.3 Destitute Situation of Higher Education in Pakistan 259

6.4 Narrative of Higher Education in Pakistan: A Socio-Political Context 260

6.5 Discourse of Knowledge Economy in Pakistan; A Time for Higher Education Reform 267

6.5.1 Inception of Higher Education Commission in Pakistan: A Gateway to Knowledge Economy 268

6.5.2 Curriculum Reform: A Need of Time 269
6.5.3 Launch of Semester System in Higher Education: A Reform in Real Sense 271
6.5.4 Paradigm Shift in Bachelor's Degree through Initiation of Four Year Programme 272
6.5.5 Narrative of Digital Library Facility 272
6.5.6 Discourse of Plagiarism in Research 273
6.5.7 Introduction of New Grading Scheme 274
6.5.8 Discourse of English in Higher Education 275
6.5.9 Narrative of Entrance Test for Admission in Higher Education 275
6.5.10 Conception of Quality Enhancement Cells 276
6.5.11 Mechanism of Universities Ranking in Pakistan 277
6.5.12 Establishment of New Institution for Higher Education 279
6.5.13 Growth of Enrolment in Higher Education Since 2002 280
6.5.14 Scheme of Faculty Development for Promotion of Knowledge Economy 281
6.5.15 Scheme of Hiring of Foreign Faculty 282

6.5.16 Policy of Brain Gain from Foreign Universities 283
6.5.17 Scheme of Employing Eminent Professors 283
6.5.18 Faculty Exchange Programme in Pakistan 283
6.5.19 Introduction of Tenure Track System for Research Development 284
6.5.20 Foundation of Indigenous Research Programmes by Universities 284
6.6. Initiation of PhD Scholarship Programme for Promotion of Knowledge Economy 285
6.6.1 Perspective of Indigenous Scholarship 286
6.6.2 Agenda of Foreign Scholarship 286
6.6.3 Split PhD Program in Science and Technology 287
6.6.4 Doctrine of International Research Support Initiative Program 287
6.7 Narrative of International Collaboration in Research 288
6.8 Narrative of Social Science Promotion: A New way of Socio-Economic Development 288
6.9 Promotion of Natural Science and Engineering 290
6.10 Narrative of Information and Communication Technology 291
6.11 Perspective of Budget Allocation for Higher Education 292
6.12 Perspective of Higher Education Policy Making: A Historical Context 293
6.13 Narrative of Higher Education in Education Policies of Pakistan 297
6.14 Narrative of Pakistan People Party Government on Higher Education Promotion 304
6.14.1 Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Baluchistan Project 305
6.14.2 Prime Minister Fee Re-Imbursement Scheme for Least Developed Areas 306
6.14.3 18th Amendment and Status of Higher Education Commission 306
6.14.4 Expansion of Knowledge Economy under Realm of Higher Education Commission 307
Chapter 7 312
Conclusion 312
7.1 School Reforms 316
7.2 Madrasa Reform 321
7.3 Higher Education Reform 323
7.4 Education Reform and Successive Regime of Pakistan People Party 325
7.5 Key Findings 325
Bibliography 331
Appendix: Interview Guide 350

List of Tables

Table: 1.1 Discourse Analysis of Pakistani Identity in Curricula of English, Pakistan Studies and Social Studies 34
Table:3.1 Changing Discourse of Identity in Education Policies of Pakistan 96
Table: 3.2 Changing Notion of Pakistani Identity in Global Context 102
Table: 4.1 Enrollment Rate at Primary Level 135
Table: 4.2 Number of Schools Under Education Sector Reform 136
Table: 4.3 Number of Boys and Girls in Polytechnic, Monotechnic and Vocational colleges 139
Table: 4.4 Literacy Rate in Pakistan 1972-2004 142
Table: 4.5 Primary School Enrollment Rate 142
Table: 4.6 Comparison of Gender based Literacy Rate in Pakistan 142
Table: 4.7 New Scheme of Study for High School under ESR 152
Table: 4.8 Comparison of Social Studies' Curricula 156
Table: 4.9 Comparison of English Curriculum 157
Table: 4.10 Comparison of Pakistan Studies Curriculum 157
Table: 4.11 Comparison of Social Studies Curricula 162
Table: 4.12 Introduction of New Chapters in Social Studies Curriculum of 2006 165
Table: 4.13 Comparison of English Curriculum 166
Table: 4.14 Introduction of New Themes in English Curriculum of 2006 166
Table: 4.15 Comparison of Pakistan Studies Curriculum 167
Table: 4.16. Introduction of New Contents in Pakistan Studies Curriculum of 2006 168
Table :4.17 Comparison of Examination System Before 2006 Curriculum and After 2006 Curriculum 172
Table: 4.18 Comparison of Education Policy 2009 with Previous Education Policy Documents 183
Table: 4.19 Education Policy and Construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship 184
Table: 5.1 Boards of Madrasas 218
Table: 5.2 Independent Madrasas 219
Table: 5.3 Changing Narrative of Madrasa Education in Education Policies of Pakistan 239
Table: 6.1 Number of Universities Established in Musharraf Era 280
Table: 6.2 Number of Students Enrolled in Universities from 2002 to 2010 280
Table 6.3 Number of PhDs Produced in Pakistan from 2000 to 2010 285
Table 6.4 Budget Allocation for Higher Education from 2005 to 2010 292
Table: 6.5 Changing Narrative of Education Policies for Higher Education with Changing Regime 302
Table: 6.6 Number of universities in global ranking 308
Table 6.7 Asian ranking of the Pakistani universities 309
Table 6.8 Increase in Universities and Students Enrolment 309

List of Diagrams

DIAGRAM: 2.1 _____ 62
DIAGRAM:7.1_____ 330

Abbreviations

AEPAM	Academy of Educational Planning and Management
BoE	Board of Education
CEF	Commonwealth Education Fund
DA	Discourse Analysis
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EFA	Education For All
ESR	Education Sector Reforms
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
GoP	Government of Pakistan
HE	Higher Education
HEC	Higher Education Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IT	Information Technology
KE	Knowledge Economy
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NEP	National Education Policy
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
PEF	Punjab Education Foundation
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SEF	Sindh Education Foundation
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
UNO	United Nations Organization
US	United States
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER 1

EDUCATION POLICY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEO-LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF MUSHARRAF ERA (1999-2008)

1.1 Introduction

Education Policy plays a crucial role in "State Building" as well as "Nation Building" (Kazi, 1987). Being the ladder of State Building, education policy imparts a frame for the formation of human capital so as to run the affairs of state machinery and other relevant societal spheres for a viable socio-economic prosperity of society. Being a channel of Nation Buildings, education policy provides guidelines to promote shared values on the construction of identity and citizenship for socio-political development of State. Education policy rheostats both "State Building" and "Nation Building" through the mechanism of curricula which produces a discourse of shared values and ideologies suitable for the governments to shape national identity and citizenship in order to constitute a comprehensive environment for a smooth establishment of society. Therefore, every government has focused on the formulation of education policy to hearten shared values in constructing the required identity and citizenship according to the exigencies of the time through the development of national curricula. National curricula, being the carrier of shared values, are discourses imbued with ideologies that essentially work for the promotion of specific knowledge so as to manoeuvre students' perceptions and association in the society where they live in (Green, 1990). National

curriculum is thus the main instrument for the construction of loyalty and affiliation towards society. It is generally believed to be the medium of indoctrinating a certain ideology to future generations.

Keeping in view the significance of education policy, the Government of Pakistan has used education policy for "State Building" and "Nation Building" as being ethnically diverse along-with 80% illiterate population (Bengali, 1999). In 1947, the government had produced a document of "First Educational Conference" to develop curricula to promote the Ideology of Pakistan so as to nurture a common identity by eradicating ethnic differences for the construction of a unified Pakistani citizenship (Kazi, 1987). The First Educational Conference had set pattern of ideology of shared values informed with larger notions of brotherhood, social justice and democracy to be transferred to the future generation according to the need of the time. Since 1947, the "Ideology of Pakistan", which is an essential component for curriculum development, has changed according to the exigencies of the contemporary time particularly with a change in the governments at the center (Ali, 2016). This changing narrative of ideology has impacted on the curriculum which imparts required knowledge and information for the construction of Pakistani identity and citizenship. The development of curricula informed from specific narrative of ideology promoted specific information and knowledge for the construction of Pakistani citizenship as required by government of the time. The curriculum in Pakistan has been witnessing the history of systemic changes in ideological narrative of Pakistan therein due to the changing agendas of the produced education policies 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998. The education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972 have produced shared values for the construction of Pakistani

identity in South Asian context inspired from the values of universal brotherhood, equality, social justice, democracy and teaching of Islam (Siddiqui, 2016). The entire education policies have provided guidelines for the curriculum that has produced a real picture of the government discourse of Pakistani identity based on liberal ideological narrative through an integrative approach wherein all citizens are included in the sphere of Pakistani identity and citizenship. While education policies of 1979, 1992 and 1998 constructed the Pakistani identity in the context of "Muslim Ummah" to develop abiding and loyal Muslim citizens.

This trend of changing the discourse of Pakistani ideology is a consequence of the domestic and international situations of the time. In 1947, the First Educational Conference developed a discourse of ideology of Pakistan informed by Islam which provided broader perspectives values of universal brotherhood, equality, social justice and democracy for forming loyal and patriotic citizenry in Pakistan. The discourse of ideology, however, was influenced by Pakistan's war with India in 1948, and the subsequent death of the founding father, Muhammad Ali Jinnah as well as the "Objective Resolution" of Pakistan in 1949. The Objective Resolution recognized Islam as a guiding principle for future policy making which particularly influenced the proceeding of Education Conference held in 1951. Therefore, the educational conference of 1951 recognized Islam as an integral part of the Pakistani ideology. The Islamic ideology had promoted social democracy to emancipate intolerance and obscurantism through education (Pakistan, 1951:13). Following the educational agenda of 1951 conference, Ayyub's government had produced a new education policy document which encouraged Islamic ideology for social cohesion and integration. The Education policy document of

1959 introduced Islamic studies as a compulsory subject and enshrined values for democratic, modest, tolerant and informed citizenry to ensure a positive development of Pakistan (Saigol, 2003). The Islamic ideology has certainly provided common values for the construction of Pakistani identity and citizenship (Center, 2003; Lall, 2008). The narrative of Islamic ideology further got intensified in the education policy of 1969, 1970 and 1972. The education policy documents of 1969 and 1970 had focused on the promotion of Islamic values and the removal of contents repugnant to Islam. While the education policy of 1972 went further ahead to include contents on Muslim culture, Muslim heroes and a national language to build a Pakistani citizenship and establish loyalty to Pakistan as a homeland (Ahmad, 2004). This pattern of focus on more Islamic principles was in consequence of 1965 and 1971 Wars especially with the disintegration of East Pakistan from the West Pakistan. However, education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972 sustained the narrative of Pakistani identity in South Asian Context despite the changing discourses of Islamic ideology and their impacts on the contents of curricula which were essentially focused on the construction of citizenship.

In 1977, Zia took the charge of government as martial law administrator after toppling the government of Zulfiqar Bhutto due to the emerging political turmoil in Pakistan (Haqqani, 2005). The devastating turmoil was a consequence of the "Pakistan National Alliance" protest launched against Zulfiqar Bhutto due to rigging in election as well as the popular "Nizam-e-Mustafa Movement" that demanded a transformation of Pakistani society according to the principles of Islamic teachings and "Shariah Law" (Haqqani, 2005; Siddiqa, 2010). Zia, after taking charge, initiated a scheme of Islamization to fulfil the demand of Nizam-e-Mustafa Movement and to prolong his reign. The demand of

Islamization further attained high momentum due to the influential Islamic Revolution in Iran and Afghan Jihad. This scheme of Islamization largely impacted the society wherein "Hadood Ordinance" as well as "Salat Ordinance" were implemented (Siddiqa, 2010). The Zia Islamization scheme had severely impacted the education especially the curricula wherein Islamic contents were integrated in almost every subject. The curricula reformation agenda under the Islamization movement ingrained Islamic ideologies, yet, with distorted historical facts, inaccuracies and outdated contents in textbooks (Aziz, 1993; Nayyar, 2002). Thus, the Curricula grounded in the Islamic ideology (Islamic Curricula) essentially constructed identity as "Muslim Pakistani". Furthermore, the Islamic curricula developed a line of distinction between "OUR" from "OTHERS" influenced by religious antagonism which consequently led to heated wave of hatred for the "Non-Muslims" (Durani, 2010). The curricula of English had also incorporated Versus of the Holy Quran right after every fifteen pages (Shami, 2005). The Zia policy of Islamization was followed by successive governments in the formulation of education policies of 1992 and 1998. The overemphasis on the Islamic curricula in textbooks created strong implications for a social cohesion and tolerance in the shape of polarization in society (Zaidi, 2011).

Nevertheless, these policy documents (1979, 1992 and 1998) constructed "Muslim Pakistani" wherein the discourse of Pakistani identity was based on conservative ideologies through integrating an inclusive approach of "Muslim Ummah" while excluding the role of minorities in curricula and in the context of Pakistani identity. Consequently, the conservative approach of exclusiveness in curricula created a polarized discourse (Zaidi, 2011) and a violent identity within the Pakistani society (Durani, 2010).

The trend of Islamic ideology under the banner of Muslim Ummah discourse prescribed content for Islamic knowledge in curricula including natural sciences which were not compatible with the global world's trends being ignorant of world views and the changing narratives in the knowledge of the contemporary world (Hoodbhoy, 1998; Saigol, 2003).

However, with the rise of Musharraf's government, it alternatively introduced an "Education Sector Reform" in 2001 with a fundamental aim of reforming the existing deprived situation of education and backwardness of curriculum that was ignorant of modern knowledge. The shift in policy directions undoubtedly impacted the curriculum and became the aim of this research to overhauled the curriculum by discarding irrelevant contents and inserting new themes inspired by cultural diversification, environmental problems and solutions, dignity of labour, gender equality, health safety, human rights, knowledge of historical problem, peaceful-co-existence, participatory citizenship, rights and duties of citizens, role of governments, simplicity and tolerance to develop a sense of cohesion and coherence within the state. This newly reformed curriculum is designed to introduce the stark change in the discourse of "Ideology of Pakistan" based on the South Asian context by enervating the concept of Muslim Ummah under the banner of "Enlightened Moderation" (Ghauri, 2007). The Musharraf government had certainly supported the discourse of Pakistani ideology to construct enlightened, moderate and tolerant citizenry so as to be loyal and patriotic Pakistani citizens. This new vision of ideology has unquestionably provided an impetus to reform the existing curriculum to engender a Pakistani identity in the context of Neo-liberal citizenship. Wherein every citizen has competitive knowledge and life skills, self-

sufficiency, compatibility towards social and political dynamics of the world as being tolerant and disciplined citizen of Pakistan who may think beyond religious, ethnic and sectarian sentiments.

This research is intended to explore the General Pervez Musharraf education reforms which were initially characterized by backwardness and conservatism as well as an impetus for spreading intolerance, extremism and hatred against other human beings who shared heterogeneous diversity of ideological beliefs and norms. He alternatively introduced a comprehensive education reform in Pakistan to ensure the effectiveness of education in order to meet the global challenges in the education sector. As witnessed, the decade of 1990s had perceived stark shift in the dynamics of global politics wherein the world's political system was shifted from Bi-Polar to Uni-Polar after the disintegration of Soviet Union that ended the "Cold War". The change in the dynamics of world politics provided a space for international organizations (IMF, World Bank and UNO) to play their role in global politics (McGrew, 2002). It opened a new chapter under the banner of globalization which influenced states to change their existing socio-economic structures from the old Keynesian to a contemporary neo-liberal wherein states adopt de-structured and de-regulated economic structures (Free-Market). The emerging trend of globalization under the auspices of free market, technological advancement and free media has developed a guideline to reduce the sphere of policy making of State (Mann, 1997) by developing framework of check and balance at global level. It has encouraged the discourse of "Knowledge Economy" instead of "Industrial Economy". The discourse of "Knowledge Economy" emphasizes on the standardization and quality of education by reforming education at all levels. Thus, knowledge economy has upsurge significance of

education for state building and nation building. Prior to the emergence of globalization, education policy has been the sole domain of national governments, yet, globalization has influenced this domain for developed states generally and underdeveloped states specifically (Reich, 1993; Spring, 2008). Globalization has minimized the state authority in education policy through introducing Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by the United Nations (UN) and Education for All (EFA) as proposed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) by providing global framework for "Universal Primary Education" to eradicate illiteracy and promote quality of education. Both MDGs and EFA provided timeframe and assistance for the eradication of illiteracy around the globe with a key tool of check and balance (King, 2005).

This research also provides the overall impact of Musharraf government policy changes upon curriculum and the construction of neoliberal citizenship. His government launched a comprehensive plan for education reform under the title of Education Sector Reform so as to improve both quality and quantity of education to overcome extremism, sectarian violence, hatred against heterogeneous human beings, poverty and illiteracy. The largest emphasis of this education reform was based on curriculum as it promoted literary knowledge with nominal skills rather than being stagnant with having orthodox contents which were irrelevant to the modern trends. The Musharraf government introduced complete overhaul schemes at all levels by removing irrelevant knowledge and replacing it with modern contents to give an impetus to the development of society. The basic purpose of reforming curricula was to insert scientific and life skills knowledge to build Pakistani citizens as agents of social cohesion, harmony and accountable for societal development.

This reform initiative has taken more momentums after the tragic event of 9/11. The incident of 9/11 has shifted the paradigm of world politics and introduced new social and political trends/concepts which massively affected the nations across the world particularly the Muslim world wherein a wave of extremism and terrorism was seen to be set in. The education of Pakistan went under severe criticism by the US Congress as being drastically conservative and was labelled as a factory of extremism and terrorism (Kronstadt, 2004). In consequence, Pakistan embarked upon to make reforms in curriculum so as to avoid the wave of extremism and terrorism. The Musharraf regime then aimed to counter extremism and terrorism by engendering curricula that emphasized on the promotion of shared values of cultural diversity, equality, justice, participatory citizenship, peaceful co-existence and tolerance for the establishment of a pluralistic society. The government took a shift in the ideological discourse by reverting the conservative notion of the Muslim Ummah that had caused antagonism for the non-Muslim to be more exclusive and established a tolerant version of Islam under the "Enlightened Moderation". Furthermore, the discourse of ideology shifted the religious narrative to a social one wherein the creation of Pakistan was recognized as a cause of societal deprivation of the Muslim in the Sub-Continent (Ghauri, 2007). The federal government introduced stark changes in curricula of schools wherein Islamic contents were removed from all other subjects except Islamic studies (J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018). The most meaningful change was in the primary schools wherein Early Childhood Education and English were introduced for first time in the educational history of Pakistan. Computer was introduced at high school level (Z. Jalal, perssonal communication, March 21, 2018) and the subject of ethics was

introduced at primary school level for minorities. The curricula of social studies and English for primary school was designed to impart basic competencies and life skills based on communication, critical thinking, acceptance of difference in opinion, motivation for solving problems and character building to construct responsible and loyal citizens (J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018). The direction of curricula was shifted from an Islamic to societal base by using education as an instrument of creating awareness to grasp issues of sectarianism, ethnicity, intolerance, democratic deficit, inequality, wise use of resources and violence on the priority of smoothing the development of society (Alvi, 2007).

The Musharraf regime took concrete measures to regulate madrasas education which was also criticized by the US congress report (Kronstadt, 2004). The government passed an ordinance named "Model Deeni Madaaris and Madrassa" to lay the foundation of Pakistan Madrasas Education Board in order to modernize the traditional education system of madrasas (Zaidi, 2013). This board was given the responsibility of overhauling madrasas by revising the curricula, examination and most importantly, by providing trainings to madrasas teachers in order to generate a standardized regulation for the uniformity and coherence among all madrasas (Ali, 2009). This board gave a new scheme of study by adding subjects other than religion such as English, General Science, Mathematics and Pakistan Studies as well as Social Studies, however, the priority was mainly given to the teachings of religious contents (Zaidi, 2013). The mechanism of madrasas education mainstreaming by including modern subjects also had government sponsorship of financial aids worth of 5727.395 which was allocated to modernize 8000 within a time span of five years (Dogar, 2010). In 2005, Musharraf introduced

amendments in Societies Registration Act 1860 and gave new ordinance for madrasas registration. According to ordinance of 2005, it became mandatory for all madrasas to get registered under this ordinance as no madrasas was authorized to run its affairs without being officially registered (Iqbal, 2015). Every newly established madrasa had to be registered under this ordinance. All madrasas were bound to submit their report of educational activities annually. It was made obligatory for all madrasas to provide information about their income and expenditure on annual basis. The main feature of this ordinance was to completely proscribe all madrasas to publish any kind of hatred material that prompted violence and terrorism within society. The more vigilant step in madrassa reform was the establishment of three Model Madrassas with a new scheme of study including Islamic subjects as well as modern subjects such as economic, English, general science, mathematics, Pakistan studies and social studies were implemented in true essence (Haq, 2018).

The Musharraf government launched reforms in Higher Education (HE) by recognizing its significance in producing human capital for economic development. The Federal Government through HE reform advocated the discourse of knowledge economy by declaring HE as an integral part of economy. His regime-initiated reforms in HE to encourage culture of research through establishing an autonomous institution to regulate activities of HE named as Higher Education Commission (HEC). HEC was created to improve the quality of education and quality of research by hiring qualified foreign professors and Pakistani professors as well as establishing modern laboratories. Furthermore, the HEC awarded foreign scholarship for higher education in world top class universities as well as indigenous PhD program for the sole purpose of establishing

knowledge economy (Pakistan, 2001). It launched Quality Insurance Cells in every university to maintain quality of research by implementing anti-plagiarism policy to promote genuine research for the creation of knowledge that addressed indigenous problems. In pursuance of global standards, HEC implemented English as a medium of instruction in all higher education institutions along-with computer as a compulsory subject to increase computer literacy. The disciplines of Information Technology (IT) and Computer Science were established to produce IT experts and computer literate (Rehman, 2018). The Musharraf government was intended to encourage the culture of research in Natural Sciences and Social Sciences by producing PhDs and research experts to develop knowledge economy in Pakistan (Ali, 2009). This narrative of reform in higher education did not only boost the quality of research, but also produced PhDs and IT experts with competitive knowledge and skills to be active citizens and active participants of the discourse of knowledge economy by competing in the global market.

The education reform agenda of Musharraf was informed by Neo-Liberal notions of decentralization, privatization and vocationalization of education to meet the standards of global education. His government restructured the existing centralized structure of education by devolving the education control from provincial government to district government so as to increase efficiency and effectiveness of monitoring in improving the backward situation of education. The regime adopted a scheme of privatization to increase literacy rate as well as to overcome the weak infrastructure of the education sector. Through this initiative, the role of private sectors in provisions of education services increased to 33% in Pakistan (Pakistan, 2005). In addition to the private sector services, the government established Public-Private partnership in the shape of “Punjab

Education Foundation" and "Sindh Education Foundation" to deal with the existing weak public-sector infrastructure to improve literacy rate to a 100% (Rehman, 2013). The process of vocationalization was launched through the promotion of English and IT to increase competitive skills for international market and to reorient the notion of citizenship on global trends (Pakistan, 2009). The Musharraf government took those measures (decentralization, privatization and vocationalization) to construct a Pakistani citizenship in the context of neo-liberal citizenship wherein every citizen has competitive knowledge and skills, self-sufficiency, compatibility to social and political dynamics of world as being tolerant and disciplined citizen of Pakistan.

After the Musharraf regime, successive parliament passed historic 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 to ensure power distribution by granting more provincial autonomy to the provinces. The Federal government devolved several ministries including Education (Siddiqui, 2010). After the devolution of ministry of education to provincial government federal curriculum developed in 2006, it became obsolete with no longer binding to provinces. Provincial governments are currently free to develop, approve and implement their own curricula but due to the lacking capacity of experts for curriculum development and related equipment, it had led provincial governments to follow the old curricula of 2006 as interim curricula (Shaukat, 2013). Furthermore, the successive government followed liberal political agendas of Musharraf in the education policy of 2009 except the chapter that centred on the Islamic values and teachings.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Education Policy plays a vital role in the construction of national identities and national integration. Therefore, every Government in Pakistan adopted education policy as a tool to construct Pakistani nationalism to meet the needs of time. In the same way, Musharraf government used education policy as an instrument to construct Pakistani nationalism in the context of Neo-Liberal Citizenship under the banner of Enlightened Moderation to meet the challenges of that time. This study, thus, is an attempt to critically examine the inclusion and exclusion of contents in the curriculum of schools and madrasas to promote Neo Liberal Citizenship in Pakistan. It also focuses on the structural changes in all educational institutions to make Pakistani society compatible to global trends.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The central research objective of the study is:

- To explore the overall impact of Musharraf's policy changes upon curriculum and in the construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship

The specific research objectives of the study are:

1. To highlight the role of governments in Pakistan in promoting specific norms and values through education policies for the construction of Pakistani identity
2. To understand the Musharraf's government role in the promotion of education policy based on Neo-Liberal Citizenship
3. To examine Musharraf's policy of Madrassa Education Reform

4. To study the agenda of Musharraf's higher education reform for the promotion of Knowledge Economy in Pakistan
5. To analyse successive government' priorities in education policy aligned with the political needs of particular government for the construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship

1.4 Research Questions

The central research question of the study is:

- What are the overall impacts of Musharraf's policy changes upon curriculum and in the construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship?

The specific research questions of the study are:

1. How did the governments in Pakistan promote specific norms and values through education policies for the construction of Pakistani identity?
2. How did Musharraf's government pursue an education policy based on Neo-Liberal Citizenship?
3. What role did Musharraf's government play in Reforming Madrassa Education?
4. How did Musharraf's government reform higher education to advocate the notion of knowledge economy in Pakistan?
5. To what extent were Musharraf's Policies continued by the successive government.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Keeping in view the political shifts in the wake of 9/11 incident, new social and political trends/concepts have emerged which certainly affected the nations across the world particularly the Muslim world wherein a wave of extremism and conservatism was seen to be set in. In consequence, Pakistan embarked upon to make reforms in curriculum so as to avoid the wave of extremism and conservatism. To meet the objectives, Musharraf's government adopted a comprehensive reform scheme for education under the banner of enlightened moderation. His government reformed curricula at all education levels including madrassa to make the education system of Pakistan compatible with the global education standards. This study is crucial as it has analysed the initiatives taken by Musharraf's regime to adopt a viable education policy based on enlightened moderation to develop social cohesion and peace for the development of society in the shape of constructing Pakistani identity in a neo-liberal citizenship context. It has also examined the successive government's priorities to continue Musharraf's education policy to meet the political needs of governments for the construction of neo-liberal citizenship. Therefore, Musharraf 's era is an excellent case study to understand the changes in the agenda of education policy in Pakistan (1998-2010) in Pakistan.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This study is particularly delimited to the changes in education policy adopted by Musharraf's government (1999-2008) to reform curricula (Schools, Colleges, Universities and Madrassa) so as to formulate neo-liberal citizenship under the banner of

enlightened moderations to curtail sensitive issues like illiteracy, intolerance, biasness and extremism which breed polarized discourses in a unified Pakistani society.

1.7 Literature Review

The question of governments' role in influencing national curriculum through agendas of education policy is not a contemporary phenomenon in Pakistan. Governments have been using national curriculum as an instrument to achieve socio-economic developments in general while changing the mind sets in particular. Various scholars have documented the role of Pakistani Governments in influencing the national curriculum for the construction of Pakistani citizenship as required by the government of the time.

Abdul Hameed Nayyar (2013) has explored the inaccuracies in the curriculum of 2006 which was produced under Musharraf's education scheme while acknowledging the positive changes in curricula at various levels. He identified the new curriculum as reflecting global educational trends in the subjects of English, geography, history and Urdu textbooks which are relevant to the local and global issues at primary, middle and high school levels respectively. However, the textbooks produced under directions of 2006 curriculum still contain Islamic contents in various compulsory subjects which serve as a transparent medium for violation and fundamental rights. He raised the idea of distorted contents in textbooks of Pakistan studies creating bigotry on religious bases. According to him, history is still being distorted and containing factual mistakes therein (Nayyar, 2013).

Amina Ansari (2013) has provided an analytical view of educational institutions and their role in the construction of Pakistani citizenship. She has highlighted the existing divisions

in education systems due to the social stratification within Pakistani wherein English medium schools, Urdu medium schools and religious schools have been constructing unequal and cohort individuals due to their socio-economic backgrounds within society. According her, these three education institutions are unequal due to their curriculum contents, environments, methods of teaching and students learning. These institutions construct exclusionary citizenship with passive attitudes due to the social stratification within society. She has emphasized on the development of a unified and equal education system for all citizens by reforming the existing three distinct education systems in Pakistan (Ansari, 2013).

Aftab Ahmed Kazi (1987) has presented another content analysis of textbooks of Social Studies from 1947 to 1985 by highlighting their role in social cohesion and integration. He has presented the impact of governments upon curricula of social representation of ethnic nationalities in the textbook. He mentioned the impact of socio-political situations and their impacts upon curricula particularly in context of ethnic representation. The creation of One Unit led the scheme of marginalized representation of ethnic nationalities and their role in the creation of Pakistan in textbooks. According to him, Zia thoroughly abolished the content of ethno-national identity under the banner of Muslim Ummah. He pointed out that the curricula of social studies were overloaded with contents on the representation of migrants from central India. He found curricula deficient on the ground of local people representation which was a cause of the unbalanced distribution of power. According to him, unequal power distribution had impacted contents of curricula in representation of Pakistani identity. This deficient representation had created problem of ethnicity with serious implication for social integration (Kazi, 1987).

Bernadette L. Dean (2005) has given a critical review of citizenship education in Pakistan. He has opined that the role of education is there to develop a sense of citizenship among students and for the construction of citizenship, Social Studies had been used as a medium to inculcate civic norms and values among the students at schools. She pointed out that instead of having citizenship relevant contents, the curricula of Social Studies were overburdened by Islamic contents. This overburdened curriculum of Social Studies with the Islamic contents was due to the differentiation between citizenship education and Islamic studies. She has highlighted the role of education in Pakistan in imparting knowledge and learning to students which lacked tactics to play an active role in the democratic process of Pakistan. Therefore, Social Studies curriculum has constructed docile citizenship in Pakistan which is a cause of exclusion within society (Dean, 2005).

David J. Roof (2015) has discussed the problem of education created due to the policy directive in Pakistan. He has pointed out that education in Pakistan has never been treated as common interest for the development of society; rather every regime had promoted its own directives according to the needs of its time. He opined that a lacking agenda of common interest in education policies from 1970 to 2014 has developed elusive education system in Pakistan and weakened the fabric of society. Due to this disconnected agenda of government in education entangled with low education has created problems of illiteracy, gender disparities, religious bigotry, ethnicity and fragile democratic norms within society (Roof, 2015).

Hameed-ur-Rehman (2013) has studied education policies and the changing trends in education policies due to shift in governments since its inception. His research has raised

the point that every government in Pakistan has produced an education policy under prism of socio-political situation. He has emphasized that education policy of 2009 was produced by keeping in view global trends in fields of education. Though the Education policy of 2009 was a product of the white paper on education formulated by Musharraf's government in 2007. The white paper on education has focused on decentralization, privatization and vocationalization to meet challenges of the global market. He has mentioned that although the government has initiated global agenda in Pakistan which further needed policy guidelines and implementation strategies to meet the changing trends of global education Standards (Rehman, 2013).

Kaiser Bengali (1999) has exposed government experimentalizing stagey in the formulation of education policies. The governments adopted stark shifts in all domains of education particularly in setting targets to achieve enrolments and literacy. He has mentioned the example of exclusion of non-formal education as part of education to improve literacy in seventh five plans whereas this exclusion directive was reverted in the education policy of 1992. On the other hand, education policy of 1998 had taken a surprising stance by using non-formal education as a mean at primary level. According to him, governments have been formulating education with unqualified optimism in setting targets for improving literacy. However, every government has fail in achieving those targets. Every government, either democratic or military, had made loud promises for quality of education without considering the practical situation of education in Pakistan. The main problem in the rising failure of education policies was the lack of political commitment to achieve the set goals. He has recognized that poor policy planning and lack of political commitment had made our education system fragile and ineffective

which created negative and futile implications for the development of Pakistan (Bengali, 1999).

Iftekhar Ahmed (2004) has explored the contexts of social studies curricula with a focus on Islamic society. Social Studies had contents from the notion of Islamic society for the construction of Muslim Pakistan. The contexts of Social Studies had been informed by the Islamic ideology based on the Holy Quran as well as Sunnah so as to construct citizenship based on loyalty to theoretic state. However, the basic purpose of Social Studies curricula is to spread national building among students. According to the author, social studies has had contents informed by democracy and tolerance to develop active citizenship among students. While the Islamization trends have given frames to develop Muslim Citizenship among students wherein the curricula were nurturing Islamic citizenship. The writer has proposed that curricula produced under the banner of Enlightened moderation would provide guidelines to construct caring, democratic, knowledgeable, peace-loving, tolerance and active citizens for nation building as well as state building within Pakistan (Ahmad, 2004).

Khursheed Kamal Aziz (1993) has conducted content analysis of textbooks of history, Pakistan Studies and Social Studies taught from class 1 to 14. He has noticed distorted historical contents existing in the books which were inserted by the government of Pakistan to construct Pakistani identity. He pointed out that the agenda of Islamization had inserted more inaccuracies in the historical events which create implication for intolerance and hate for non-Muslims among the Pakistani students. Furthermore, the contents of history had changed by removing the role of non-Muslim rulers in the development of local culture to only Muslim heroes. This changing narrative of history

texts has created bigotry and enmity for non-Muslim. He has thoroughly discussed the trend of Islamization of curricula by spotting verses of the Holy Quran in subjects of languages as well as in natural sciences subjects. Furthermore, he pointed out that the curricula of natural sciences were laden with contents of Muslim scientists respectively (Aziz, 1993).

Muhammad Ashraf (2012) has explored the changing discourse of ideology informed from religion, socialism, regional as well as global trends in education policies of Pakistan. He has pointed that the tragic event of 9/11 has put global criticism on the education system of Pakistan as being a force of engendering extremism. According to him, the Education policy of 2009 was formulated under the auspices of globalization that promoted idea of knowledge economy in Pakistan. Government has devised policy to ensure equity and equal access to education under the prism of MDGs and EFA. He has noticed that the enrolment in primary schools has increased under the government initiative while the drop-out rate was still high at all levels of education. He has concluded that the government has shown meager capacity in the provisions of infrastructure development and availability teachers which led to a poor performance of government in the context of access and equity in education in Pakistan (Ashraf, 2012).

Nuareen Durani (2010) has investigated the role of curricula in the development of conflict in Pakistan. She has exposed the role of government in adjoining education with Islam in curricula to overcome ethnic differences for the construction of national identity with a creation of social cohesion and integration in Pakistan. She has examined the role of curricula developed under Islamic ideology in the construction of Muslim Pakistani to distinguish between the Our and Others dichotomy. This differentiation in curricula based

on Islam has created polarization in society with violent identity. According to her, Islamic ideology has created the problem of intolerance and social integration rather than constructing unified identity (Durani, 2010).

Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998) has discussed education problems existing in Pakistan. He explained that education system in Pakistan has produced accountants, bankers, doctors, engineers, managers, teachers and technicians. Hoodbhoy has criticized education system of Pakistan as being vague and ineffective due to having outdated curricula and examination along-with teaching methods which were only promoting root learning with textbook oriented knowledge. According to him, cramming is a crucial problem in the development of critical thinking and innovative ideas and this practice of cramming generated ineffective teaching methods and examination system. The existing education system created a human capital and served the interests of ruling elite. However, it is producing docile bodies due to the lacking originality and innovation among students (Hoodbhoy, 1998).

Rubina Saigol (1995) has comprehensively examined the curricula of Civics, History and Social studies by pointing out the existing issues in the curricula of these subjects. She has noticed that the respective government that has used curricula of these subjects was more concerned with state security while ignoring the essential root of nation building. Even the curricula of Civics contained more contents on security of state than creating a sense of citizenship. The characteristics of Good Citizen are consequently entailed to be responsible to the security of State. She also opined that the curricula of these subjects were gender biased. The curricula emphasized that the basic responsibility of good women was to be at home and obedient to their male family members. She blamed the

contents of the curricula to be cause of women exclusion from the ambit of citizenship in Pakistan (Saigol, 1995).

Rubina Saigol (2003) has also studied the educational discourse developed by Ayub's government for the construction of Pakistani citizenship on modern pattern. The Ayub government encouraged liberal contents in the curricula to make the Pakistani society moderate and developed. His government emphasized on the promotion of research to make Pakistani society compatible with the modern societies. She also highlighted that education agenda developed by Ayub was based on the promotion of democratic values, citizenship norms to construct responsible and loyal Pakistani citizens. Education discourse was designed to obliterate backward, uncivilized and immoral behaviours within the society by making modern and scientific knowledge oriented for development. She declared Ayub's educational initiative as the magna carta of the Pakistani education (Saigol, 2003).

Saleem Ahmed and A.H. Nayar (2002) have produced a survey report on the textbooks of Civics, English, Social Studies and Urdu taught at school level. They mentioned the distorted knowledge and historical inaccuracies especially the role of ideology of Pakistan in developing bigotry against Hindu as well as non-Muslims. They raised the issue of militarized contents in those subjects. The subject of Social Studies had portrayed Hindu in very negative terms by declaring them backward and superstitious. These textbooks promoted a perspective of zero cultural commonality between the Hindu and Muslim of the Sub-Continent. They also raised the issue of women biasness in textbooks. They mentioned the Jihad laden texts which promoted biasness against

minorities. These textbooks lacked capacity to develop understanding about religious diversity existing in Pakistan. They also pointed out the prevailing ambiguity about the notion of civil society and gender relations in these textbooks. According to report, the curricula were lacking narrative of human rights in the shape of minority and gender insensitivity (Ahmed & Nayyar, 2002).

Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi (2011) has critically examined the curricula of Social Studies by noting the lapses existing in the curricula. He started his debate on the role of social studies in creating awareness about global issues to develop general worldview among students. But the contents of social studies in Pakistan were only promoting specific discourse of ideology that was leading to a division in the society. He raised the point that Social Studies in Pakistan was spreading specific historiography that constructed extremist views with vacuum in leadership. According to his estimation, social studies curriculum was only forming a polarized society with radicalized views which needed complete transformation in the existing curricula (Zaidi, 2011).

Sarwat Nauman has studied the impact of foreign players' directives on formulating education policies in Pakistan. She has discussed that Pakistan's education policy had taken stark shift after the incident of 9/11 by reforming the education field. The government has reverted Islamization discourse in education with modern contents. This reform scheme was sponsored by foreign funding to integrate modern cum western content in the curricula of Pakistan. However, these modern trends have not influenced the traditional culture of Pakistan (Nauman, 2015).

Pervez Aslam Shami has studied education policy making in Pakistan and pointed the deviant interest prevailing in education due to the government narratives. He also discussed the culture of the elite education introduced by Ayub by establishing cadet colleges to serve the interest of elite. He raised the impact of nationalization policy on education in Pakistan which only encouraged ineffectiveness of education sector due to the lack of competition as well as check and balance. He critically explained the Islamization trends in education especially in the construction of Muslim Pakistani which created problems of integration. The educational backwardness in Pakistan was thus considered the root cause of experimentalization of various regimes without considering the real problems of education sector (Shami, 2005).

Shahid Siddiqui has produced a comprehensive content analysis of education policies and their changing discourse of ideology due to the socio-economic situation of Pakistan. He has recognized that the socio-political changes play prominent role in developing a discourse of specific ideology on education. Education policies in Pakistan were thus only strengthening illiteracy due to the gap in policy formulation and implementation. He has pointed out that the process of education policy making is not viable due to the lacking insights from stakeholders. The policy makers lacked authentic data and research skills to formulate realistic goals to achieve. It is due to the unrealistic policy measure that women in Pakistan are lagging behind men in the society. He noticed that the government had adopted tactics of changing definition of a literate person to increase the numbers of literacy. Language is discussed in detail and the role of education in the construction of Pakistani identity and disintegration of Pakistan. Urdu was also being used as a national language for the promotion of common norms by ignoring Bangla as a

national language which created deprivation among Bengali people. This research also criticized the Bhutto and Zia policy of encouraging an Urdu medium of instruction within education that made the society incompatible with the global world. He raised the concern over the changing narrative of Islamic ideology in the texts of policy paper. The author has presented dismal position of education in Pakistan by making government responsible for this position (Siddiqui, 2016)

In the above mentioned literature review, most of authors such as Ahmed (2004), Aziz (1993), Dean (2005), Durani (2010), Kazi (1987), Saigol (2003) and Zaidi (2010) have provided their researches by criticizing the impact of islamization policy on the curriculum as well as the construction of exclusive Pakistani identity in the context of "Muslim Pakistani". They have pointed out the role of regime in the promotion of Islamic ideology through education policies that had only disturbed the social fabric of society by developing intolerance, extremism and ethical difference which ultimately deteriorated the social integration of society. Saigol (2003) has pointed out that gender biased texts in curricula and text books that were produced for imparting certain fabrics within education.

Moreover, Shami (2005) has given a critical analysis of education policies and the impact of regimes in the changing narrative of education policies for the development of curricula. He has pointed out the role of Ayub's government in the promotion of elite education by creating cadet colleges to serve the interest of Elites. His arguments were supported by Siddiqui (2016) in his research who provided the socio-political reasons of changing narratives of Pakistani ideology in Pakistan. He has elaborated the education

policies changes due to the shift in his regime. He has also noticed the impact of Musharraf's governments on the changing narratives of educations. Additionally, he elaborated the role of language in the creation of national identity as well as being the cause of disintegration in Pakistan. His research has visualized the role of Urdu as a language in marginalizing the role of regional languages to impart education and emphasized on the implications of Urdu for national cohesion. He found out that unrealistic policy measures and gaps in formulation and implementation have put education in backward position. In addition, Rehman (2010) has mentioned the impact of Neo Liberalism on education policy reforms of Pakistan whereas Musharraf's government encouraged the decentralization, privatization and vocationalization in the education sector.

Ahmed and Nayar (2002) have mentioned the continuity of Islamic ideology in curricula reform of 2001 under the patronage of Zubeida Jalal. They mentioned the distorted knowledge and historical inaccuracies especially the role of ideology of Pakistan in developing bigotry against Hindu as well as non-Muslims which was still present in the teaching books. Furthermore, there existed an ambiguity regarding the notion of civil society and gender relations in textbooks. According to the report, the curriculum lacked narrative of human rights in the shape of minority and gender insensitivity. Subsequently, in 2013, Nayar explored the inaccuracies within the curriculum of 2006 which was produced under Musharraf's education scheme. Although he has acknowledged the positive changes in the curricula of at different levels, however, the textbooks produced under the directions of 2006 curriculum still contained Islamic contents in various compulsory subjects. He raised the notion of distorted contents in textbooks of Pakistan

Studies that only manifested bigotry on religious bases. According to him, history was still being distorted and contained factual mistakes therein. He emphasized on the curricula of 2006 in the context of bigotry against minorities and pointed out the sensitive areas that needed right eradication.

1.8 The Existing Literature Gap

Text is always ideologically instrumental. It serves the interest of those who design, write and create it. In same way, most of the scholars in above-mentioned literature have pointed out the prevalence of distorted knowledge and historical inaccuracies in textbooks. Many authors have criticized curricula as being biased, irrelevant, stagnant and being source of promoting extremism within society. A few writers have exposed the role of curricula in developing bigotry against non-Muslims particularly for Hindus. All of the above-mentioned literature has discussed the impact of islamization upon the curriculum and construction of exclusive Pakistani identity in context of Muslim Ummah. The existing literature has not produced a document relevant on the impact of Musharraf's policy changes on curriculum except that of Nayar's in 2013 who strictly focused on the new curricula of 2006 from the minority rights perspective. He has pointed out the existing inaccuracies and distorted contents against the non-Muslim.

This research on the other hand has intended to fill the existing literature gap by conducting a critical study on the impact of Musharraf's Policy reforms on the curricula and the construction of neo-liberal citizenship particularly the stark shift in reverting the Islamization trend of curricula as well as ideology. The Musharraf agenda of education reform under Enlightened Moderation has certainly produced a curriculum compatible

with the global trends which have discarded the Islamic contents including the imbedded verses of the Holy Quran from all subjects except Islamic Studies. Even the direction of curricula of Islamic studies was shifted from the perspective of Haqooq-ul-Allah to Haqooq-ul-Ibad. His government also introduced English and computer as compulsory subjects in schools to construct human capital according to the requirement of the neo-liberal economy.

This research has comprehensively studied the impact of Musharraf's policy reform on educational curricula by producing comparative studies of policy statement as well as curricula of English, Social Studies, and Pakistan Studies at school level. It has also elaborated the scheme of Madrassa reforms in policy texts wherein modern subjects like English, Social Studies, General Science and Pakistan studies have become part of curriculum in madrasas. This study has unveiled Musharraf's government strategy to promote the notion of knowledge by producing PhDs and IT workers which led to the creation of Neo-Liberal Citizenship.

1.9 Research Methodology

This research has used both descriptive and analytical types of research. It was based on the social-political context of education policies and its impact upon curricula which needed to be described within historical contexts so as to analyse the role of regimes' agendas in formulating education policies in Pakistan.

Education policies in Pakistan have reflexively represented the ideological discourse of governments through curricula to construct a Pakistani identity in a particular context.

This study has taken a qualitative research as it provided a framework of analysis in a natural setting. It has facilitated the researcher to build his research from a holistic view by analysing the existing social problem within the society (Creswell, 1998). As known, a qualitative research focuses on the detailed perception of a problem in the shape of a case study. A case study on the other hand has provided this research with guidelines for an in-depth knowledge of the subject matter. The significance of the case study is that it provides a delimitation scheme for relevant research. It has put the researcher at ease to focus on a specific social problem. This research is thus based on education policy initiative of Musharraf government to reform curricula to make it compatible to global trends in response of Neo Liberal policy and tragic event of 9/11.

This research was based on primary and secondary data. The primary was collected from Ministers of relevant ministries (Ministry of Education, Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Science and Technology). A purpose sampling technique was used for the selection of a study population to collect the primary data. Purpose sampling technique was used because the study population was primarily fixed on the basis of this research. The population of study consisted of Zubeida Jalal, General Javed Ashraf Qazi, Atta-ur-Rehman, and Ijaz-ul-Haq from the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Science and Technology and Ministry of Religious Affairs respectively. Un-Structured interview technique was applied for the collection of primary data from the relevant federal ministers. Secondary data, being part of this research, was also crucial as it generated a variety of supportive arguments for this research. The secondary data of this research was based on education policy documents produced in 1947, 1951, 1959, 1969, 1970, 1972,1979, 1992, 1998 and 2009 and other related education policy documents such as

Green Papers and White Paper 2007. It also included the curriculum documents of 1995, 2002 and 2006 of social studies, Pakistan studies and English. It has used social studies textbooks for grade 3rd published in 1965 and 1999 as well as Social Studies textbooks for grade 4th published in 1965, 19981, 2002 and 2012. It has also used Education Sector Reform 2001-2003 and Education Sector Reform 2004-2007. The reports on education produced by various organizations are part of secondary data. This research was also based on research articles and books to develop broader understanding of existed problem within particular socio-political context.

This research was primarily informed by the official statements presented in education policies and official documents of the curriculum which were developed under the impact of the changing social-political dynamics. For the purpose of analysis of these policy statements in education policies and curriculum document, this research has used Discourse Analysis (DA) as is main frame of analysis. Discourse Analysis is a most suitable technique for this research because as it provided a frame on the identification of particular discourse, as this research had its focus on the changing nature of discourse in shaping ideologies within the education policies texts. It gave the notion that social reality was constructed rather than being considered as natural.

DA describes that every discourse is created to serve a particular purpose by influencing a specific set of the masses. It is also a fact that the ideology of Pakistan was constructed for the purpose of Pakistani identity and nation building. It provided a broader picture of the ideological structures dominating in texts as well as the reflexive discourse of hegemonic power operating behind the narrative of the text. It also exposed the technique

of language used in texts for the assertion on a particular narrative. DA is helpful in analysing policy language within texts of policy documents as well as the direction of power assertion for a particular ideological discourse. This research has used DA particularly to analyse education policy directives and curriculum documents framed within a particular regime in the context of the socio-political scenario of Pakistan. It provided an account of understanding of policy reform under the Enlightened Moderation so as to reform the existing education structure and the decisions taken by Musharraf's Government. It also clarified the opinion about the decision of Musharraf's government educational reform especially in introducing new narratives of ideology for the development of curriculum which had been a consequence of the socio-political turmoil in Pakistan, not to forget the conflict of 9/11 and its aftermaths. The Musharraf's education reform which was designed with a specific agenda of bringing forth reforms in curricula has reflected the discourse of power scripted therein. Tables # 1 was designed to provide a broader picture of the changing discourses in the curriculum of Pakistan Studies and Social Studies for the construction of Pakistani citizenship by apprehending the role of governments in the socio-political dynamics of society according to the exigencies of the time.

Table: 1.1 Discourse Analysis of Pakistani Identity in Curricula of English, Pakistan Studies and Social Studies

Category	Islamization by Zia and Successors	Enlightened Moderation by Musharraf
Pakistani identity	Muslim national identity in context of Muslim Ummah	Pluralist View of national Identity
Cultural Diversity	Promote Nationalist view based on Muslim history by negating history ethnic diversity	Provided wider understanding of cultural diversity
Religious Diversity	Provide inclusive view of citizenship based on Muslim Ummah which excluded minorities in sphere of citizenship	Emphasis on religious diversity by ensuring citizenship right for all despite of religious affiliation
Global Identity	Encourage Notion of Muslim Ummah and Relations with Muslim State	Pluralist understanding of relations with other states despite of their religious orientation
Type of knowledge	Provide literary knowledge based on Quran and Hadith	Promote scientific and productive knowledge

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies for Classes IX-X, 1995; Pakistan, National Curriculum for Social Studies for Classes I-V, 1995; Pakistan, National Curriculum Pakistan Studies for Grades IX-X, 2006; Pakistan, National Curriculum for Social Studies for Grades I-V, 2007; Pakistan, National Curriculum for English for Classes IX-X, 1995; Pakistan, National Curriculum for English for Grades I-XII, 2006).

1.10 Roadmap of the study

This research comprised of seven chapters. Chapter 1 has provided a brief introduction about the research topic along-with problem statement, research questions and research objectives. It has also discussed the existing literature regarding the research topic while pointing out the gaps that existed therein providing critical insights to this research. Chapter one has also covered the methodology narrative of research to be used in collecting and analysing the data for research findings.

Chapter 2 was based on the theoretical foundation of the research. This research has used Constructionism and Governmentality theories to support the research argument that

identity was being constructed rather a being a natural product. Additionally, the society and government have certainly provided norms and values to control the behaviour of individuals by educating them to act according to the requirement or discipline of a particular setting. This process of controlling the minds through education has given birth to particular identity to be recognized distinctively. Furthermore, both of the theories have supported the argument that identity was not a fixed phenomenon; rather subjected to change according to the exigencies of the time. This chapter has given the justification about the role of government in the construction of Pakistani identity and citizenship by promoting ideology of Pakistan through education. It has explained that the narrative in ideology of Pakistan has changed due to the witnessed shift in regimes.

Chapter 3 has illustrated the historical background of education to be used as a medium of providing trainings for the development of society under different regimes. It has described the mechanism of education policy under the patronage of nation states which used education as a medium of indoctrinating specific ideologies for the construction of particular identity to develop common characteristics among people to be governed easily. This chapter has elaborated the mechanism of education in the sub-continent especially the development of the education sector on western grounds under the British rule. The British government has used education as an instrument to produce human capital required for running state machinery within the sub-continent. Chapter 3 has also highlighted the fact that British government had once promoted neutral ideology to construct governable subjects for assisting the rulers to maintain governance in the sub-continent.

This chapter has explained the role of the government of Pakistan in inheriting education system from the colonial government with attempts to overhaul it so as to promote the Pakistani ideology for the construction of Pakistani identity and citizenship. The narrative of ideology of Pakistan has certainly changed from a South Asian to Muslim ummah context with changes in regimes therein. This changing narrative of ideology has evidently impacted on the curriculum making and its manifestations on constructing identity and citizenship. The Islamization trend of education initiated by Zia has thoroughly reformed the curriculum by inculcating the Muslim history and Muslim knowledge while removing repugnant knowledge on Islam. The successive governments followed the regime narrative of education to construct Pakistani identity in a Muslim Ummah context. The education under the prism of Islamization had made curriculum stagnant, outdated, irrelevant and a source of promoting intolerance, hatred and extremism within society. This idea has led to the conclusion that the education sector of Pakistan has become inappropriate for the development of society as it consisted of Muslim knowledge while lacking in the establishment of modern knowledge making the education of Pakistan incompatible with the global education requirement.

Chapter 4 concerns the education reform introduced by Musharraf's to make education of Pakistan compatible to global trends. Musharraf's government has thoroughly overhauled the education sector which not only changed the ideological narrative of Pakistan but also promoted liberal orientation of Islam under the enlightened moderation. The Musharraf government was marked by the establishment of scientific and technical knowledge in contrary to the literary knowledge promoted by previous governments. His government developed new schemes for the teaching curriculum which inculcated themes based on

participatory citizenship, types of governments, rights and duties of citizens, rights of minorities and women, self-respect, dignity of labour, tolerance, environmental issues, crisis management and most importantly, respect for others to be indoctrinated among the future generation for constructing Pakistani citizenship in the context of neo-liberal citizenship. Chapter four has produced an analysis of the various document of curriculum about Social Studies, Pakistan Studies and English developed under different governments. This chapter has also provided an analysis of the changing narrative Islamic Studies from Haqooq-Ullah to Haqooq-ul-Abad for the sole purpose of promoting the rights of others so as to ensure a positive nourishment of society. The chapter has explored the subjects of English and computer as compulsory subjects at school levels to construct human capital according to the global needs- the education reform has introduced ethics as compulsory subject for minorities from grade four. Musharraf's education scheme has adopted decentralization and privatization in education to meet challenges of neo-liberal paradigm. District education officer has been given an authority to regulate education activities at district level while also developing public-private to shape the Punjab education foundation and Sindh education foundation to increase literacy rate up to 100%. However, Musharraf accidentally became successful in increasing the literacy rate up to 65%. Musharraf developed a new document for education in 2007 according to the requirement of his time. This education policy document was developed through thorough consultations of stakeholder and was based on theme rather than sector oriented plans.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the madrassas education which entails history of development of madrassas education at global level. It has further elaborated the dynamic

madrasas education in the sub-continent especially in the reign of British Empire. The British government bifurcated Madrasas education from public education by introducing school system on western grounds. This bifurcation of education has forced madrasas to be focused on religious education by removing contents of worldly knowledge. The British government started regulating the madrasas education society's registration act 1860 as private organizations wherein madrasas education was quite distinct from school education. The government of Pakistan inherited the madrassas education concept from the British government and tried to mainstream madrasas education by producing various education policies 1947, 1959, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998 in different regimes. These education policy directions could not bear the fruitful results due to the low priority assigned by the government of its time. Even the madrasas education started its working on sectarian grounds and became a medium of sectarian violence. Chapter 5 has provided an in-depth analysis of policy statements while also elaborating the reform scheme of Musharraf's government. Musharraf established Pakistan's madrasas education board for the sole reason of regulating educational activities to ensure uniformity in curriculum and standard of examination. His government introduced schemes of secular subjects in madrasas, however, the priority was assigned to the Islamic education. Model madrasas were established to impart secular and religious education at the same time. The government provided financial assistance to streamline madrasas education and became partially successful in modernizing 499 madrasas.

Chapter 6 is based on the higher education reform initiated by Musharraf's government. It has explained the initiatives taken by the government in modernizing higher education through introducing four years bachelor's degree, semester system, making English and

computer as compulsory in four bachelor's degree programmes. It also made English as a medium of instruction to meet the challenges of global education. New universities were established and old ones were upgraded with modern equipment. The information communication technology and PhD were encouraged to produce PhD workers and IT professional to have a trained human capital to compete in the global market. Musharraf's regime created an autonomous organization called the Higher Education Commission to regulate the activities of higher education in Pakistan. Higher education Commission has promoted a research culture to indoctrinate critical thinking and lifelong learning skill to students to be the agents of change for sustainable development. It has contributed in shifting Pakistan from agrarian economy to knowledge economy by increasing enrolment in universities, making higher education easily accessible and developing a culture of indigenous research to address the problems which have paved the way for enhancing quality of education as well as improving universities ranking in the world. Musharraf's government also granted handsome budget to encourage higher education in Pakistan. The chapter concludes that the pace HEC reform had maintained by successive government wherein PPP followed the ladder of knowledge economy initiated by Musharraf. The PPP went further ahead to its ancestors by targeting the least developed areas in stream of knowledge to award scholarships. Pakistan is hence on its way to build knowledge economy as a strategy for the development of Pakistan.

Chapter 7 is concerned with conclusion and findings of the research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The basic purpose of this chapter is two-folds. The first purpose is to elaborate the theoretical foundation of the study that is informed by social constructionism which states that societal reality and knowledge are human made and are not prioritized or originated by nature. Human beings create and transform specific reality in the shape of norms and values to construct behaviours of individuals suitable for development of society as well as to maintain distinct identity for their social recognition. In a similar way, the theory of governmentality advocated by Foucault provides the ruling mechanism of government in modern societies. In modern societies, governments tend to control education as instrument of constructing and reconstructing national identities for sustaining continuity of identity from one generation to another to meet the exigencies of time. The governments formulate education policies as flag carrying a standard ideology to transmit standard knowledge for the construction of national identity and particular type of citizenship.

The second purpose is to give a broader picture of education as an instrument under the Foucauldian theoretical framework, where modern governments use education as an instrument to construct and reconstruct nation identity for the purpose of governing nation and to control the behaviours of individuals and society at length. National

Governments control education as a middling factor for the creation of an ideology as a channel of discipline for normalizing the conduct of people and a strategy for getting control over bodies. Education thus plays a crucial role in legitimatizing social institution as per the direction of governments. In education, curriculum is an appropriate place to legitimize some voices by including these voices as official truths while negating other voices to validate the knowledge as standard norms. The Narrative of Pakistani Identity and Citizenship is suitably explained under prism of governmentality which promotes the idea of modern government afar from previous prevailing concepts of governments in the seventeen and eighteen centuries. Modern governments construct more trained and skilled citizens to compete in the capitalist market. Furthermore, modern governments pursue standard knowledge to inculcate common public subjectivity among citizens so as to enhance productivity. The paradigm of governmentality is also interwoven in neoliberalism wherein modern government is encouraged to construct neo-liberal citizenship among people.

2.2 Narrative of Social Constructionism

The theory of social constructionism lays foundation of this research by describing that reality or knowledge are produced by human being and not by nature (Schwandt, 2003). There exists no ultimate reality; rather a socially constructed reality is produced by the social interaction of human beings. This process of human interactions produces reality or knowledge using language to assign specific meanings to socially constructed reality or knowledge within a society (Galbin, 2014). These social realities or knowledge are

nurtured within suitable social structures and institutionalized socio-political environment. As institutionalized socio-political environment is mandatory to regulate social structures and maintain human interactions for the production of common norms and values to live-by (Berger, 1996). Therefore, these common norms and values are transmitted through language in the shape of ideology for the construction of identity. This means that common norms and values or reality itself is a by-product of human interactions which certainly plays a fundamental role in the construction of identity (Burr, 2003). It further elaborates that identity is not a natural trait rather is being made by human beings within a specific socio-political environment of society (Berger, 1996). The identity of a human being is a product of a socio-political environment and can be degenerated and recreated with the changing circumstances in a socio-political environment. The changing patterns in the socio-political environment have not only controlled the knowledge creation but also the beliefs developed by the social structures within a society (Galbin, 2014). Social structures have become essential actors in shaping identity and have gained significant importance in the formation of behaviour. These social structures are indispensable in shaping the political and social behaviours of individual and states (Smit, 2005:198).

However, Social Constructionists are of the view that human interactions and everyday experiences of individuals provide patterns to define reality and construction of knowledge in a social world (Hammersley, 1992). Where knowledge is historically produced under the influence of cultural practices wherein these cultural practices alter their account due to human interactions which has made knowledge fluid in character. The fluid knowledge produced within an institutionalized frame does not possess fixed

meanings but rather plays its role in the construction of fluid identity (Gergen, 1999). This process of fluid identity is flexible and changes with the changing social environment and becomes more sensitive to political dynamics in which different actors attain an authority to create official truths for the construction of identity. The context of Pakistani identity does not exist in reality but is socially constructed. Government has been promoting the narrative of Pakistani identity through institutionalized values in the shape of public schools and controlled curriculum.

It is pertinent to mention here that social constructionism has been criticized as being deficient on following grounds. Construction has emphasized on public institutions and actors by ignoring the private institution's role in engendering its distinctive manifestations. The other lapse of constructionism is primarily concerned with the social institutions and values by ignoring the role of the agent of change who causes the change and provides initiation pattern. It is also deficient in making difference between positive and negative conceptions (Checkel, 1998:324).

2.3 Governmentality: Paradigm Shift in Notion of Power

This research has also drawn its theoretical foundation lending from the theory of governmentality introduced Michel Foucault. In the Governmentality Theory, Foucault has reasserted the notion of power in the context of soft power to control minds by negating concept of power as exertion of physical punishment. In introducing narrative of soft-power to disciplining the minds, Foucault has emphasized that power can be used in a positive way by constructing subjects of disciplined characters without lodging corporal punishments. Power in the modern states is a mechanism of encouraging individuals to

act according to the required directions of the state. The State on the other hand has shifted the notion of power to rationalize the requirement of disciplining masses and this shift is acknowledged by Foucault in these words,

> "Nothing will be changed if the mechanisms of power that function outside, below and alongside the State apparatuses, on a much more minute and everyday level, are not also changed" (1980, p. 60).

In the context of modern states, power does not exist solely in the hand of government or rulers, rather exists in dispersed ways which is intricately knit at every level of society ranging from individual to state. Now, power has become a complex phenomenon with the combination of power at various levels that holds its own effect within its domain without being directly linked to state power. Ultimately, the impact of these various power cycles exists at individual, local, regional and state levels which provide an apparatus of governance structure for effective and smooth functioning of State.

The Foucauldian perspective has taken the apparatus of modern government in different orientations where the purpose of government is to control or regulate minds rather than governing bodies as witnessed in the past regimes of monarchies and feudalistic societies. Under the paradigm of governmentality, governments have taken unique steps of using technologies or apparatus to control the minds within the frame of modern government. Foucault has exposed the rationality of modern government to utilize specific technique to govern mind set in character and discipline.

Prior to advocating the power of government in modern and positive way, Foucault has remained a proponent of power in the negative and repressive modes. He has documented the repressive mode used in constructing subjectivities, suppression and complete control

of bodies under the instrument of physical punishment (Foucault, 1988). He has exposed the negative use of power in the context of repression and subjugation by the prism of pessimism. Foucault in his early writing has given a pessimistic view of power and declared it as the prophet of doom and pessimism by Sarup (Sarup, 1993).

Foucault in his early writing has provided a brief picture of power during the feudalistic and monarchist societies which were pessimistic in nature and were used as tools of subjugation and confinement. He has provided an idea of systematic change in the concept of power in the world. According to him, in the feudalistic and monarchist societies, the ruler is supreme with an authority to generate a subjective reality with their will (Foucault, 1988). However, the demise of feudalistic societies in the 16th century has given rise to a territorial state under the prism of nationalism where power was used as a disciplining instrument to develop character and identity. In territorial state design, the power of state is counted in terms of wealth and prestige of ruler of the time. It was a time when the king was the sole authority of regulating population by creating and de-creating reality under his supreme authority and the population had to accept his power as being disciplined subjects. This notion of power was severely fabricated bringing a stark shift in the power discourse when power was exercised in terms of armies, prisons and mental institutions in the seventeen and eighteen centuries (Foucault, 1979:170). Foucault has presented this account of change in narrative power conception to develop an understanding on the power of state in constructing disciplining individuals with the role of state in controlling characters to make individuals responsible for self-governance with minimal role of state.

Foucault has promoted the idea of government with the intention that modern government had adopted a new apparatus of governance in which the consent of subjects was only taken for being part of the governance structure of a state. The narrative of taking consent for being active participants is quite contrary to the previous notion of power used for disciplining the character of individuals. The theory of governmentality negated the previous concepts of power to be used negatively for means of suppression with a new paradigm of viewing power as a positive mean to construct the conduct of people (Huff, 2018). Modern governments in regulating the conduct of people have used soft power in the shape of education as an instrument to encourage people to adopt the practice of being self-governed and responsible citizen. Modern governments have used education to develop conduct to regulate the behaviour of community and individuals for the development of society (Dean, 1999).

The idea of governmentality is thus informed from the positive notion of disciplining power as a normalizing force in the context of education to construct required citizens by modern government. Modern governments use normalizing force as a tool to develop specific knowledge to be transmitted through education for developing awareness regarding the good and bad or sane and insane to ensure deviance in character of individuals. Education and the constructed knowledge by government have been used as mediums of constructing citizen from informed values of morality, self-sufficiency and responsibility to become civilized members who could not only examine their own activities but also play an active role in the community for the development of society (Mitchell, 2006).

The basic purpose of modern government is to provide quality of life through imparting modern techniques and skills to citizens in the shape of quality education for being agents of change for the development of society. Modern government therefore construct knowledge to develop a sense of "conduct of Self" to generate more efficient and self-responsible citizens who are not only able to take care of themselves without being dependent on the government but also be responsible for the collective gain of the society. It is due to the influence of modernization of society that the place of knowledge creation in modern world has been shifted to universities, research institutions, media and administration. Currently, knowledge is used for reforming the character of students, people and workers to active members of society (Naseem, 2010:17).

Governmentality has provided education as a medium of normalizing force wherein power is invisible. Modern government uses tactics of invisible power to control the minds of individuals with rationality to regulate their lives activities efficiently. The element of invisible power through education is one type of surveillance. Wherein modern government has been using education as a technique of surveillance under several apparatuses of education such as curriculum, standards of education, examination, degrees, institution environment, teaching methods and most record of students. This surveillance tactic is used in developing a sense of self-realization and self-correction among students as being responsible and loyal citizens.

Although Foucault has laid the foundation of governmentality and discussed his idea at length, however, the scholars of various disciplined used governmentality in their analyses and developed it later after Foucault's death (Foucault, 1991). The modern

trends of government studies have applied governmentality theory to understand recent changes in political system and relationship between state and citizens. This increased utility of governmentality studies in understanding the emergence of neo liberal government in the world. It is interesting to mention that the discourse of governmentality is inspired from the narrative of neo liberalism. Modern government through its quality education has been trying to develop more competitive and skill oriented human capital to survive in a competitive market. The idea of "conduct of self" has promoted knowledge where individuals are transformed to modern subject. Education has become an instrument of transforming neo-liberal values as normalizing force for the construction of desirable citizenship. Modern government through employing factor of normalizing force has tried to construct individuals who are self-responsible for being efficient in regulating their activities without depending on any external force even on state level and have a sense of being responsible towards the development of society (Dean, 2002). Modern governments, after demise of welfare state, adopted the scheme of neo liberal values through the medium of education to create skilled and competent workers with a sense of neo-liberal subjects as desired by the modern government within a state. The basic purpose of using education in a neo liberal age is to develop rational subjects with a sense of motivation to be regulated as well as be responsible for their wellbeing (Schecter, 2010).

2.4 Education under the Prism of Governmentality

Mitchell Foucault has raised the importance of education as a modern technology for controlling and regulating the minds so as to establish loyal citizens for the sole

development of society. He has taken into consideration two purposes of education as being instrument of government. On one hand, government uses education as a viable tool to construct passive citizens and flexible workers who could simply adopt changing circumstances within market. While on other hand education is used to develop a sense of collective responsibility among individuals to be responsible members of a larger community. Thus, in modern state, education has been playing a significant role in developing awareness about oneself as being an individual member of a large society as well as an agent of collective responsibility in the shape of nation. Foucault in his theory of governmentality has analysed that the main purpose of education to produce educated citizens for the development for society. Foucault has laid emphasize on education as a medium of political vision for the construction of governable subjects within a modern state. According to Him,

> "Any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and powers which they carry….What, after all, is an education system, other than a ritualization of speech, a qualification and a fixing of the roles for speaking subjects, the constitution of a doctrinal group, however diffuse, a distribution and an appropriation of discourse with its powers and knowledge" (2004, p. 1469).

Education is therefore a viable tool for understanding the phenomenon of power exertion on individuals by government of a state. It is a crucial technology for soft power exertion on individuals. In the paradigm of education under lenses of governmentality theory, government has been employing invisible power in the shape of developing curriculum, environment in educational institutions and patterns of examination to control students' minds to produce trained and educated citizens for the wellbeing of society. Education

institutions are best sites of producing identities for individuals wherein students learn to differentiate between the 'Us' and the 'Others'.

In education, national curriculum is a key component of soft power exertion which not only transforms constructed ideologies to student but also exposes the changing narrative of the vision of political elite within a state. The political elites of a state tend to use curricula as a mechanism of transmitting their political visions and updating the contents of curricula according to their desired pattern with the exigencies of the time (Benavot, 1991). National curricula as being technology of modern government controls the public schools and ultimately promotes political mobilization of national elites so as to mould students' mindsets to educate them as governable subjects. These elites manipulate education especially the curricula under the banner of standardization of education. There is clear shift of education especially in higher education under the slogan of neo liberalism wherein societies are moulded to knowledgeable societies and universities produce knowledge workers for the establishment of new knowledge. Universities in the modern world inculcate neo liberal values of lifelong learning, skills, competency and flexibility among students to be active citizens and rational members of the state (Mitchell, 2006).

2.5 Education and the Changing Narrative of Citizenship

Education plays a prime role in providing training and knowledge among people to be active members of society. Education, through specific attributes, develops a sense of citizenship among individuals of the society. It is a medium of socialization wherein

individuals are educated with specific attributes and a sense responsibility to interact within society. Education provides frameworks of societal development and prosperity through imparting attributes of socialization and learning behaviours of people. Keeping in view the worth of education, states manipulate education as an instrument of socialization to promote specific attributes among students for a specific interaction within society. States utilize schools as a medium of education wherein students are imparted with norms and values to develop a sense of appropriate interaction to be followed in interacting within the society. This pattern of interaction learned from school among students is a way towards the construction of citizenship. Furthermore, schools play a prime role in imparting attributes of rights and duties to construct responsible and active members of society (Looney, 2007). Therefore, schools are places wherein states control the minds of pupils and construct citizenship as suitable to the political vision of the ruling elite. Although education is foremost a factor of constructing citizenship within a state, nevertheless, there is need to elaborate the conception of citizenship to develop an understanding on the quest of state in the construction of citizenship.

The conception of citizenship is reflected in the association of an individual with specific state wherein he/she has some rights and responsibilities to live therein. Citizenship is an ideological framework of affiliation between state and individuals in which individuals are facilitated with rights to have privileged life within a specific state and in return have to fulfil assigned duties for the development of state. The citizenship of one state has provided a status of a privileged life and the right to participate in the affairs of

government to individuals which is not entertained in any other state except where a specific citizen is confined.

The notion of citizenship was introduced by Aristotle in the Greek city state where certain people had the right to participate in governmental affairs. The Aristotle conception of citizenship has limited the dimension which was confined to a few individuals by not including the masses especially women and slaves. The conception of citizenship introduced was not only confined to a few privileged people of the society but also informed from a perspective of ethnocentrism (Hindess, 2002). The Roman state system had romanticized the concept of citizenship as propagated by the Greek city States. However, the modern concept of citizenship was developed in the western states which had expanded the status of citizenship to all individuals having larger areas than City States and to be based on culturally diverse population therein. The construction of citizenship under the western democracies was considered to be more civilized than rest of the other systems of citizenship. Because the Western states were defined as more advanced societies with more sovereign status and granting rights and duties to develop a full sense of citizenship among their people. People living in other states of the world had a less developed sense of citizenship in comparison to the western states. Furthermore, people living in the tribal systems without state system had no sense of citizenship therein.

The treaty of Westphalia changed the dynamics of citizenship and gave birth to the modern concept of citizenship in the European societies. It was the main element of Westphalian treaty that it had created a system of non-interference in the domestic affairs

of a state (Hindess, 2002). It had also given rise to the narrative of sovereignty for state wherein every state had full authority to regulate its affairs within a defined territory. According to the social contractarian framework, the structure of modern state system in the European world is by-product of agreement among individuals to be the subjects of a state by accepting the sovereignty of state. The element of sovereignty in the modern state system had defined supremacy of government and its relationship with its citizenship. The European States adopted a sense of constructing citizenship among their people to manage their activities by regulating their behaviours within borders. Citizenship is hence an art of managing populations by the government within a state (Hindess, 2001).

The modern system of state in Europe granted power of sovereignty to regulate internal and external affairs without interference from any state. The element of sovereignty in the shape of freedom of regulating all activities gave rise to a new system of governance at international level. The European system of state emerged quite unique in character to being fully sovereign across the world. This system of government within state in Europe created a dichotomy between the European and non-European states. This dichotomy within state structure also influenced the character of citizenship in the context of Europeans to be fully developed while the non-European having a less developed sense of citizenship. The difference in character of citizenship among European citizenship, non-European citizenship and subjects of tribal areas has become a viable phenomenon. The most significant variance in state system was that the European state system was not taking into account the non-European states as part of their state system (Gong, 1984).

European states as being sovereign states and superior in traits of citizenship initiated a scheme of using their supremacy on rest of the world by putting infringes of imperialism to civilize other states. The beginning of imperialism saw its major aim in aligning the non-European states with the Westphalian system. The European culture of imperialism had subordinated activities of clear majority of people under their control in the name civilizing behaviours as good citizens of state system. The basic purpose of expanding imperialism was to put all humans in the ambit of European state system to develop universal traits of citizenship so as to eliminate the difference of orientation in citizenship (Hindess, 2002). Consequently, there emerged a change in the system of direct to indirect control under the process of decolonization informed by liberalism to grant independence to colonies which had extended membership of states in an existing state system introduced by the Europeans. It put the population of these newly independent states in the spectrum of modern citizenship under the common traits of humanity for all populations across the world (Seth, 2000). Although the newly independent states gained the membership of state system wherein everyone acted as an independent member and could survive without a central authority as existed in the colonized governance system. The dependency of newly independent states has given rise to a system of control in the shape of indirect control where the Western developed democracies were still superior in development and character of citizenship. This new system of indirect control is informed by the notion of liberalism which provides a system of market to trade goods and services without having central authority. It was assumed that the market was place wherein individuals interact peaceful without any authority and that every individual regulated their behaviour for a common wellbeing in the market. In the same way, liberal

government was based on the agenda of self-regulation wherein individuals were considered to be civilized in interacting within the society with central authority (Hindess, 2002). The purpose of liberal government was therefore to address the issues of population management. The liberal ideology was to civilize the states according to the pattern of western state system and by putting new member state on the pattern of market to regulate their conduct as well as interaction of their people to make them suitable members in the system of state.

The idea of liberal government is informed by market wherein activities of individuals are regulated peacefully without any central authority because the conduct of one individual influences the conduct of other individuals whereas interaction and socialization have developed a system of free coordination. Thus, market becomes a symbolic system of free interaction and lotus of controlling the conduct of states and their individuals within an international market. International market, as being an emblem of regulating conduct of states wherein sovereignty of governments is controlled on the basis of interaction within market. International market is thus a driving force of controlling under-decentralization and regulating the conducts of states and consequently individuals so as to make them civilized populations for better interaction across the globe.

Neo-liberalism has further put a new mechanism as a driving force of civilizing the character of post-colonial states as well as the dynamic of modern citizenship under the regulation of international market. The international system state has added influence of international organizations in global governance particularly monetary organizations

which provide financial assistance for the development of states. These international organizations (UNO, WB, IMF and etc) have set patterns of common traits for universal human conditions wherein every state has to comply with the directions of the organizations in order to boost the living standards of their residents. The set pattern of common traits for human development in term of good governances has given a mechanism of supervisory role to influence the western states and others including the post-colonial states as well as those that were not part of the colonies.

Neo-liberalism has encouraged a system of free market at international level which has constrained the sovereignty of states through international treaties and agreements. These agreements have promoted a culture of corporatism under free trade which propagates decentralization and privatization within states structures. The privatization and decentralization have influenced the character of citizenship as it saw a reduction of the social rights of citizens due to the market intervention. It on the other hand promoted a new conception of citizenship within western societies under the banner of neo-liberalism wherein currently, citizens are responsible for their social rights which are provided under the welfare state. The individuals in western societies are responsible to regulate their activities and life on their own rather than being dependent on state.

While the post-colonial states have advanced their conception of citizenship under banner of good governance wherein international organizations provide direction to boost human rights as well as the right to participate in government by encouraging a culture of democracy. The post-colonial states, after becoming independent were still following the frame of subjects with minimal rights and the population were also labelled as less

civilized compared to their rulers. However, under the slogan of good governance, these states have been impetus to strengthen democracy and human rights to develop a sense of citizenship among their people. It is worth mentioning that the ideology of neo-liberalism has given rise to a super-national structure in which the involvement of international organization has provided supervisory role in reducing sovereignty of state governments and enhancing individual freedom and a positive culture of good governance to encourage democracy and human rights in the post-colonial states. The factors of democracy and human freedom have changed individual status from dependent subjects to individuals having their rights to participate in government along-with the protection of those rights. Neo-liberalism has set a pattern of advancement in citizenship values within the underdeveloped states (Hindess, 2002).

2.6 Governmentality and the Narrative of Education in Pakistan

Foucault developed a theory of governmentality to analyse the changing pattern of government power operation in regulating the behaviour of individuals in a modern western world. It is also crucial to analyse the changing narrative of government power exertion on individuals in the under-developed world countries. Therefore, governmentality theory is also suitable for developing an understanding on the use of government power through education in Pakistan with certain lapses therein. Pakistan, as being a member of the postcolonial states is not much sovereign as the Western States where the modern governments in developed states are autonomous and can freely develop or adopt an independent discourse of education for the construction of their

citizenship. While governments in Pakistan, like other post-colonial governments, are influenced by the development of local education based on an imposition of external discourses (Abraham, 1995) through financial aid from UNO, IMF, WB and other developed worlds. The governmentality has demarcated a clear difference between the physical and disciplinary powers in the modern world where governments pursue a disciplining power as a normalizing force in shaping education. However, Pakistan like other post-colonial states has been using a mixture of both notions of power (physical and disciplinary) to ensure political legitimacy by controlling the behaviour of citizens for a smooth governance of society. The stark difference between the Western World and Pakistan is based on the democratic stability within society. Modern governments in Western world are products of democratic progress in contrary to Pakistan which had been ruled by four dictators (Ayub, Yahya, Zia and Musharraf) for more than thirty years since its creation in 1947.

Despite being deficient of the above stated grounds, governmentality is still helpful in analysing the role of Pakistani government in employing education as an instrument for the construction of citizenship or subjects as required by the government of the time. This research, embedded in the theory of governmentality, has provided systematic analysis of the role various governments in Pakistan in exploiting education policies by inculcating their political visions to be transmitted to students through updating the curricula of educational institutions especially the public domains of education. The ruling elites of the time have inserted their political visions which not only influenced the individuals but the society at large.

The basic motive of Pakistani government is to articulate education policy to control the curriculum which is a medium of official knowledge among students. Through the mechanism of curriculum development, governments promote and indoctrinate official knowledge in educational institutions to create a required constructed nation identity suitable for smooth progress of government of the time. Thus, governments having been using curriculum as a medium to create official truth or knowledge for the construction of desired thinking and behaviour among individuals. The scope of official truth or knowledge for the construction of Pakistani identity has changed with the change in regime as every regime had provided its distinct narrative of ideology to the Pakistani identity and citizenship. The education policy documents have vividly conceded the changing narratives of truth for Pakistani identity informed by the South Asian context in education policies of 1947,1959,1969,1970 and 1972 to Muslim Ummah context in policies of 1979,1992 and 1998. The Muslim Ummah narrative was later reversed to the South Asian context under the education reform scheme of Musharraf regime.

Zia-ul-Haq, being the president of Pakistan had used education as an instrument to transform the local society according to his political vision which can be vividly understood by the framework of governmentality. As Zia expounded his political motive of islamization by inserting and updating the curriculum with Islamic knowledge, his regime had adopted a scheme of Islamized education to develop individuals learned by the Islamic teachings who could be suitable for the development of government. His successors had maintained the momentum of Islamized education for their own political motives to govern the society smoothly. It was due to the political visions of 1979, 1992 and 1998 that the education documents inserted more Islamic knowledge in the curricula

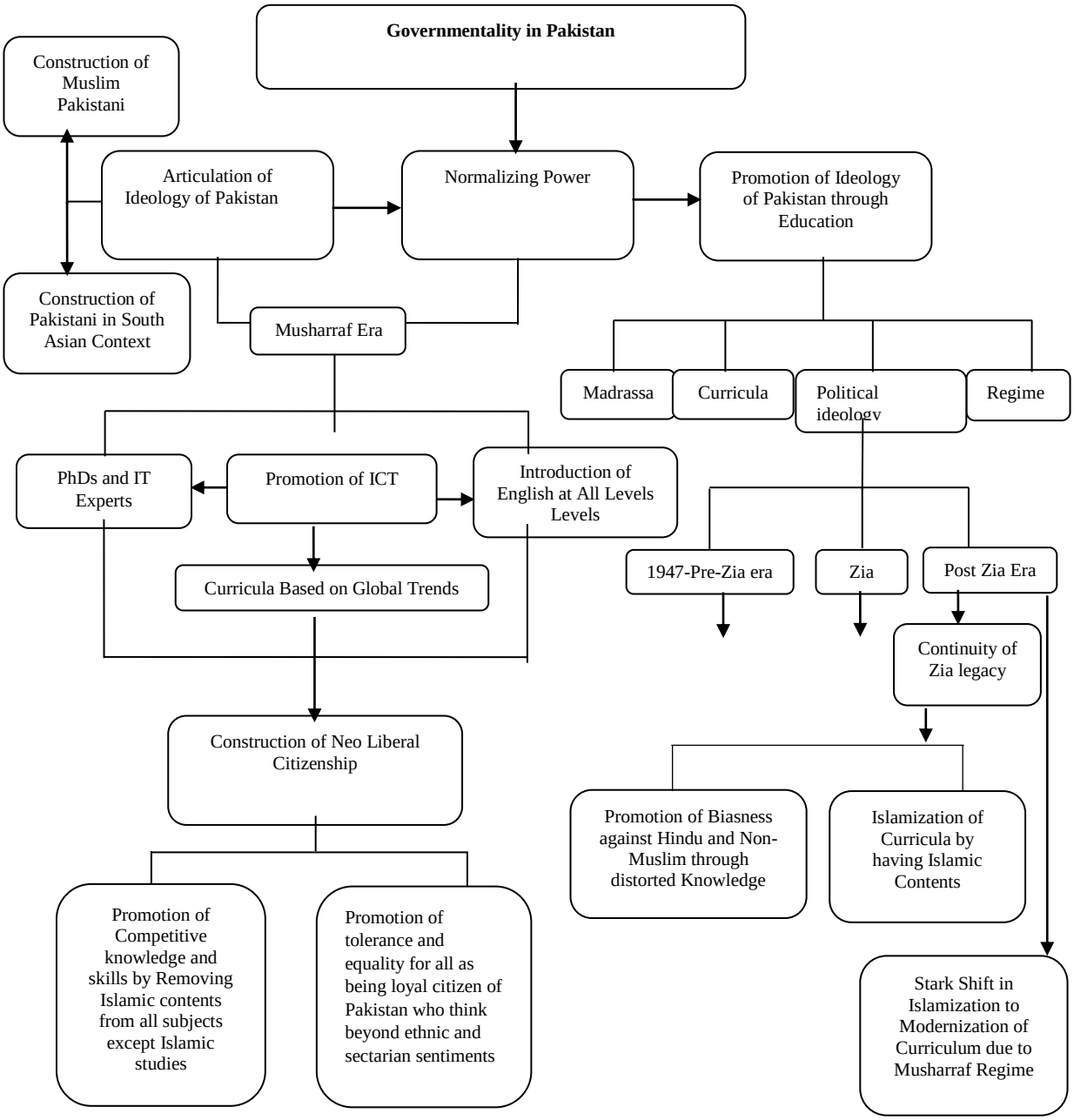
at all levels which then became a source of spread hatred, extremism and intolerance within the society. The emergence of hatred, intolerance, extremism and illiteracy on societal scenes severely affected the peaceful co-existence of diversity within Pakistan.

In contrary, the Musharraf government launched a new scheme of education reform to transform the stagnant curricula from literary knowledge to scientific and technical by inculcating critical contents based on life skills, human rights, cultural diversity, critical thinking, respect for difference in opinion and for other religions so as to construct a Pakistani identity and citizenship as per the need of time. The newly reformed curriculum was designed to construct a Pakistani identity in the context of neo-liberal citizenship where every citizen had competitive knowledge and life skills, self-sufficiency, compatibility towards social and political dynamics of the world as being tolerant to thinks beyond religious, ethnic and sectarian sentiments.

The impetus of IMF and WB to promote privatization and decentralization has given momentum to the development of citizenship values under Musharraf's regime. It was due to the supervisory role of international organizations that Musharraf had linked education with poverty alleviation. His regime promoted the notion that illiteracy was a cause of poverty. Musharraf's government took the initiative to increase the literacy rate under the prism of universal primary education so as to alleviate poverty by promoting technical education. It was due to the direction of the prevailing neo-liberal paradigm that had infused neo-liberal values for the promotion of newly developed curricula to inculcate life skills, lifelong learning, competency and critical thinking so as to construct rational citizens who could overcome, extremism, terrorism, poverty and ethnic

complexities existing within the Pakistani society. His regime introduced scientific knowledge and computer literacy from the middle to higher education institutions. The regime of Musharraf focused on the promotion of IT, computer literacy and English to make Pakistani workforces more competitive in a global market. Musharraf encouraged the establishment of a higher education in Pakistan to construct a knowledge economy society. The diagram 2.1 explains Pakistani citizenship in the context of neo-liberal citizenship as desirable by the government of the time.

Diagram: 2.1



- Arrows indicate Causative Relationship
- Straight Lines indicate Componential and Explanatory Relationship

2.7 Conclusion

Embedded in the theory of Constructionism, this chapter has demonstrated that identities and citizenship are not natural phenomena, rather are ideologically constructed. As every society provides a set of norms and values to construct a specific identity and a certain type of citizenship, it ensures it to be fluid in nature to change in accordance with the exigencies of times. The constructionism theory elaborates that identities are not fixed but rather change with the shift of needs of societies that only remain restricted to a specific time. The lens of governmentality theory has further strengthened the argument of constructionism that governments construct specific identities and types of citizenship as required by the regime. Regimes or governments manipulate education as a soft power instrument to promote specific narrative to be utilized for educating citizens to behave in certain way. The narrative of government in shaping ideology through education is the main instrument to control minds and to regulate behaviours of citizenship so as to maintain the required discipline within society for a smooth running of governance and development of society. In the same way, the government of Pakistan has been promoting specific narratives of ideology to control the minds and regulate the behaviours through a construction of Pakistani identity and citizenship as required by the regime of the time for a smooth governance of the society.

The next chapter has elaborated on the history of education policy development especially in the context of Pakistan wherein ideological narrative for the construction of Pakistani identity and citizenship had changed with the shift of government. The change in policy narrative had consequently impacted the process of curriculum development.

Hence, it has explained the shift in the narrative of curriculum discourse in which contents especially about Muslim history and heroes were induced in textbooks for the construction Muslim Pakistani identity within a Muslim Ummah context.

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION POLICIES AND THE QUEST FOR PAKISTANI CITIZENSHIP: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate on four major sections of educational policy which includes historical background of education policy, education policy making in British-India, education policies in Pakistan and the impact of education policies on curriculum making and its construction of Pakistani identity. The first section provides a historical background of education policy for a better understating of the changing role of education in the construction of citizenship and the establishment of literate people ranging from city state towards the construction of national identity and human capital for the development of Nations State.

The second section of the chapter gives proper information about education policy of British government in the Sub-Continent to fulfil its political motives of strengthening rule by constructing loyal subjects with neutral identity for the maximization of profit of its own State.

The third section of this chapter covers education policy making in Pakistan for nation building and state building. As the basic agenda of education policy making in Pakistan was to promote the ideology of Pakistan for the construction national identity and citizenship for nation building. It covers the impacts socio-political changes due to the change in regime on the formulation of education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998. It provides changing narratives of ideology in the education

policies and their impact on the construction of Pakistani citizenship which influences the society at large. It divides education policies on the basis of ideology informed from the "South Asian Context" (1947, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972) and "Muslim Ummah Context" (1979, 1992 and 1998) which directly influence the construction of citizenship as the South Asian context tends to support an inclusive narrative of citizenship wherein minorities are covered as part of citizenship at large while the Muslim Ummah context accentuates exclusive citizenships through negating minorities at nation building. The ephemeral view of education policy is a human capital formation for economic development of Pakistan by emphasizing vocational, agro-economy and scientific education in policy papers.

The fourth section deals with the impact of education policies on curriculum development which transports an ideology of constructing Pakistani identity in a particular context of citizenship. This section explains the role of Islamization in curriculum for constructing a citizenship influenced by bigotry against minorities including women which ultimately breeds intolerance and extremism within society. The basic aim of this part is to develop a proper understanding of the political vision of governments in promoting literary knowledge for the construction of loyal citizenship and Muslim society.

3.2 Education Policy: An Overview

Education policy is a scheme of presenting particular political vision of government to introduce the changes within state for the development according to the need of the time (Kogan, 1986). States have been using education policies as a solution seeking

mechanism to address the indigenous problems (Illiteracy, Citizenry Role and National Identity) and to ensure the societal development (Rein, 1983). Mostly, national governments have been formulating education policies to raise the literacy rate by overcoming the evil of illiteracy and also to provide human capital for the economic prosperity of respective State (Olssen, 2004). Education policy is thus a platform where states try to achieve their socio-political goals by making people aware of their citizenry role in state development (Adolino, 2010). Education policies are the array of political visions of national governments where the education system transforms the political visions into a reality through curriculum as it indoctrinates these visions into the mind of the future generations for reforming society according to the political visions of governments (Ball, 1994).

Education policy is a collection of four objects (curriculum, infrastructure, resources and assessment) where each object has its own role in the development of society. However, the most historic object in education policy is curriculum as it plays its role in the construction of nation building and state building. Education policy (curriculum) is a living document and has to be influenced by the socio-political orientation of society especially its normative ideologies (Trowler, 1998). It is a framework for promoting national ideology to impart norms and values for the construction of citizenship according to the needs of the political system (Warin, 2009). The vision of education policies has, however, changed with the exigencies of the time and according to the political requirements of governments. The paradigm shift in governments' patterns has changed the ideological narrative of education policies which ultimately impact the construction of national identity and citizenship within a state (Apple, 1990).

3.3 Education and Changing Narrative of Knowledge and Citizenship in the World: Historical Context

The chronological role of educational policies in societies will depict to us the changing discourse of citizenry values with the changing narratives of governments. The role of education in the construction of citizenship within a state is not a new phenomenon in the history of the world as it continues since the inception of "Humanity". Education's role in the social, political and economic development of society has properly been recognized by Philosophers (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle) of "Greek City States". Socrates viewed education as the only means for making people aware of their rights and duties. He adopted a dialectical method for constructing citizenry values among the people of State. He accentuated knowledge as the foundation of a virtuous society. According to Socrates, no society could achieve the milestone of progress and development without education. By following the footprints of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle recognized the pinnacle relationship between education and citizenship in their famous books *Republic* and *Politics* respectively (Turan, 2011). These philosophers had taken education as the only relic for the development of society. Even Plato classified the state's populace (Worker, Warrior and Philosopher King) on educational bases. Plato and Aristotle propagated the idea of education as a socialization mechanism to developed loyalty and citizenry values among the people of the state.

The discourse of education changed in the "Middle Ages" where theocratic states were established, and education was exploited for the promotion of loyal subjects who possessed minimal rights. Religion was then considered as the soul domain of knowledge

and the masses were propelled to follow it blindly. The masses were asked to follow the instructions of monarch as divine rule.

Nevertheless, there came a change in the narrative of theocratic state and knowledge when revolutionary philosophers (Copernicus, Galen, Ptolemy, Machiavelli and Dante) challenged the theocratic state and knowledge the by presenting new horizons of discoveries and contribution in knowledge generation. These Philosophers put the foundation of new ages of knowledge defined as "Renaissance" and transformed the notion of status quo by harmonizing societal variation and imparting scientific knowledge. The new age of knowledge ultimately changed the narrative of citizenship and identity where people became familiarized with their rights and citizenship role in the society. People began to learn new knowledge by setting aside the religiosity tone of heritage. This pace of societal development entered a new phase called "Enlightenment" as Francis Beacon, Hobbs, Lock and Voltaire popularized the notion of an egalitarian society based on social justice, equality, fraternity and progress. They promoted the conception of sovereignty, legitimacy and popular authority. The concept of "knowledge is power" was popularized and people started attaining scientific methods and rationalism in the age of enlightenment. Education became a source of disseminating values of political, social and civic rights. Citizens were then given the right to rule according to the societal demands. Moreover, there was no systematic way of formulating education policies for the patronage of knowledge and identity at state level.

3.4 Foundation of Education Policy Making in the World: An Overview

The conception of "Nationalism" under the banner of "Treaty of Westphalia" had opened a chapter of new insights for national government to construct national identities by transmitting their ideology through means of education. Nationalism introduced the notion of territorial boundary wherein national identities were constructed for undivided citizenship and loyalty. National governments became the sole authority in taking decision on education policy making including the nature of ideology for the development of nationalism.

Since then, states have been manipulating education for the construction of specific identity, citizenship and national development of society (Patrick, 1999). Keeping in view the significance of education for state building and national identity, States introduced education as a separate domain in the governing structure of national governments for economic and social developments. Thus, education policy became a suitable structure to promote state ideology by forging national identities according to the changing trends in the political dynamics of the world.

3.5 Education Policy Formulation in Sub-Continent: Historical Perspective

In the Sub-Continent, the trend of formulating education policy for the development society had not been noticed prior to the advent of East India Company on the political scene of the Sub-Continent. The East India Company started the process of Education

Policy making by setting the pattern of an act famously known as Charter Act in 1813. Charter Act was the first piece of legislation to regulate the system of education to serve the interests of the British-Indian government (Shami, 2005). This act was followed by a number of other acts among which was the Macaulay's Minutes. The Macaulay's Minutes was passed in 1835 and was distinct from other acts as it brought a paradigm shift in the educational domain by introducing a new system of education based on English. The new system of education based on "Western Values" and English as a medium of instruction was introduced to uplift the morals of local Indians. According to Lord Macaulay, the indigenous education system especially the local languages (Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit) used as medium of instruction were labelled as consisting of poor vocabulary for education in literature and science. It then promoted the services of missionaries in spreading western education. The minutes made the English education mandatory because English was the only language enriched with rich vocabulary of literature and science (Dobbin, 1970).

In 1854, the government of British-Indian introduced another piece of legislation for the development of education sector under the name of "Wood's Dispatch". This act initiated a comprehensive system of education by dividing education system into Primary, Middle, High, College and University levels on the basis of education achievement. A policy of the construction of mass level schools for Primary, Middle and High levels started to develop intellectual capacity of the local people and also to enhance the quality of education. Three universities were established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. These universities were given the status of the regulator of quality for high school education (Peshkin, 1963). The Dispatch Act introduced a department of

education for school inspection with a director as the head of department in every province and every state of British-India (Nurullah, 1953). This act advocated women education and maintained the element of neutrality for religious education. A.R Jame, declared the Dispatch Act as "Magna Carat of education in India" by keeping in view its comprehensive recommendations in education (Malik, 1992).

There came a drastic change in education when regional languages were declared as the medium of instructions at the primary level under direction of Hunter commission in 1882. The commission had taken visionary step by categorizing education into vocational and university education. It advocated university education for literary purposes and for the sole development of society. It also provided arrangements for universities to administer quality education in colleges (Shami, 2005).

In 1917, the higher education reforms were approved by the Sadlar commission to revise he admission policy for university education and made intermediate education as compulsory for university admission. The duration of university was extended to three years and new fields such as agriculture, engineering, law and medicine were added in the sphere of university education. This commission recognized the role of regional languages in the development of education. The foremost step of this commission was to set up a department of teachers' training in universities (Nurullah, 1953).

A commission known as Harttog commission was set up in 1929 to address the existing problems in education especially favouritism in universities and teachers' services structures in schools. It recommended meritocracy in the admission in universities as well as an improvement in teachers' service structures (Shami, 2005).

During the role of British-Indian government, girls' education came in limelight and suggestions were made for special provision for the promotion of girls' education under Abbot and Wood Report in 1937. The Sargent Report focused on the dimension of education policy making by broadening the sphere of education to handicapped children by establishing special education schools in different regions. It recognized the provision of universal education by making it compulsory and free for every child in British-India (Malik, 1992).

The above-mentioned pieces of legislation in education had set the pattern of policy making in British-India. These legislations provided changing narratives and trends with changing regimes which ultimately impacted the societal development at large. However, the education structure introduced by the British government paved the way to societal division into different classes damaging the local culture.

The government of British-Indian introduced the education policy in the Sub-Continent by adopting a "top–down" approach of policy making where decision were made at apex level. The Government, with a "top-down" method started making education policy to fulfil its political means by ignoring the socio-economic situation of people and development of society. The "top-down" approach in policy making especially in education had always been adopted to introduce government sponsored agenda for the fulfilment of political motives and goals of a specific government. The British government had initiated the process of education policy making to develop human capital for maximizing its profit. The agenda of education informed by the English norms and values was anchored for following objectives:

a) To construct loyal subjects for smooth functioning of government,

b) To provide human capital to fill position of lower ranks to run administration,
c) To fill existing gap between government and indigenous people through recruiting local people in administration,
d) To anchor English taste in local people to capture local market,
e) To develop neutralized identity for sturdy administration.

It is worth mentioning that the British government began using education informed by the English culture to strengthen its colonial rule and to gain the market of the sub-continent, however, lacking the notion of a socio-economic wellbeing of the local society at large.

3.5.1 Education Policy and Construction of Identity in Sub-Continent: A Perspective

Education has been playing a due role in the development of the Sub-Continent which not only aimed at providing human capital with socio-economic development of society but also constructing indigenous identities for a fluid governance of society. It is worth to mention here that there existed two distinct educational systems based on the religious trends of communities. Those educational systems used different languages (Sanskrit and Arabic, Persian) as mediums of instructions as well as for the construction of communal identities. Muslim educational institutions (Madrasa and Maktab) used the "Arabic, Persian and Urdu" as mediums of instruction for imparting knowledge for the social development of society and also the construction of Muslim identity. While the "Non-Muslim" communities' educational institutions (Patshala and Tol) used "Sanskrit" as its medium of instruction for imparting knowledge for human capital formation and the construction of Hindu identity respectively (Ali, 2009). The indigenous education system

of the Sub-Continent was so inclusive and moderate that all communities had lived peacefully and freely by maintaining their distinct identities. It then became transparent that the indigenous education system was leading the society towards development and prosperity.

There came a stark shift in the education system with the advent of East India Company as the sole power in subcontinent. The East India Company introduced new education system to fulfil the political needs of British government (Shami, 2005). As mentioned earlier, the New education system was based on the western education with English as its medium of instructions which not only destroyed the social fabric of the indigenous society but also formed new classes within the Indian society which had been more English in taste than Indian (Kumar, 1988). The British government initiated the agenda of English education to construct obedient and loyal subjects for a smooth governance of the Indian society. English education was used to provide professional people to fill the lower ranked position in the administration of the British government where indigenous lower officers had to play the role of mediators between the government and the local people (Yechury, 1986). The foremost goal of English education was to capture the local market by constructing neutral identity which was characterized as English in taste and Indian in colour (Dobbin, 1970). Education based on the English educational system set up patterns of class delineation (English schools for rich, Anglo- Vernacular schools for middle class and Vernacular schools for poor) which ultimately perturbed the social harmony of the society (Farah, 2007). The British government became successful in constructing a neutral identity and docile citizenship in the Indian society (Ali, 2009).

Nevertheless, the English education saw a remarkable distortion of the Muslim heritage by diminishing the Islamic teaching and indigenous languages of Urdu and Persian from the education system thus creating a neutral identity in India. The shift of educational agenda developed a sense of insecurity among the Muslims leaders. The Muslim leaders made a tireless effort to preserve their distinct identity which was based on the teaching of Islam by making Urdu and Persian the mediums of instructions. In the pursuance of preservation of the Muslim heritage and identity, they introduced an alternative education system for the Muslim populace. However, the narrative of this alternative education system was based on three different discourses which were not aligned with each other. Muslim discourses of education system promoted the narratives of orthodoxy in Madrasa, Liberal mindset in Aligrah schools and Moderate in the mixed education under the movement of Nadva (Malik, 1992).

Muslim Religious scholars (Mulana Qasim Nanutvi) took a defensive position to preserve the Islamic norms and values by establishing Madrasa in Deoband in 1866. The Madrasa was established to educate the future generations of Muslims about their heritages and the teachings of Islam to resist the secularism trend promoted by the English education system. The Madrasa system primarily focused on the Islamic teaching by introducing Dars-e-Nazami. The curriculum of Dars-e-Nazami was based on Quran, Hadith and Fiqah while completely excluding knowledge on science and innovation. The Madrasa education imparted Islamic thinking and created identity based on Islamic norms and values.

While some progressive-minded Muslim leaders (Sir Syed Ahmed) set patterns of modern education system (Aligarh movement) to endorse modern knowledge based on

innovation and scientific reasoning for the social uplift of the Muslims of India. These two-education systems alternatively created diversity and division within the Muslim community as the Madrasa witnessed a promotion of knowledge that had no relevance with the modern trends while the Aligrah movement imparted knowledge compatible with modern trends and thus was key to social development. Both education systems had developed an ideological rift for the Muslim community which ultimately bifurcated the Muslim society in India. Muslims consequently faced problems of identity crux due to the changing operational definition of the educational ideology. It is worth to mention here that both of the education systems were working at their extremes and opposite to each other which then created conflicts within the Indian Muslims.

A policy of joint venture of both education systems was also taken into practical shape under the movement of Nadva where a curriculum was designed by an amalgamation of religious and modern science (Sindh Madras-tul- Islam) to create Muslim active member in a modern world by having sufficient knowledge of Islam to preserve the Islamic values for future generations. A mechanism of diversity was there in the system of education for Muslims which specifically promoted different narratives of identity for the Muslim community that developed the seeds of confusion and segregation within the Muslim society (Ahmad, 1970).

3.6 Education Policy Formulation in Pakistan: Perspective of Approach

After being independent, Pakistan adopted a top down approach in all domain of policy making particularly for education. In the top down approach, the government had its

legitimacy and authority to formulate policy for providing future guidelines to avoid conflicts without considering the perception of people who were a target of this policy. Following a top down approach, the government organized conferences and established commissions for addressing the issues by considering the insights of policy directions from higher government officials. The foremost point of this approach of policy making was that the government started its agenda formation of policy by avoiding the previous history of conflicts. The first educational conference was held after four months of independence by keeping in view the crucial role of education in the formation of human capital and also the construction of Pakistani identity. Characteristically, there was no specialized department such as the planning commission and education department. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, being the Governor General of Pakistan requested the Interior and education ministry to hold an educational conference for "Nation and State building". It was then the need of time to adopt a top down approach for a better development of the Pakistani society (Siddiqui, 2016).

In 1959, the President of Pakistan Ayub khan established a commission to address the issues of the education system which came to be known as the Sharif commission which set a new pattern in formulating education policy in Pakistan by having meeting with various educational experts and staff members in different institutions (Pakistan, 1959). The commission visited both Karachi and Dhaka universities to consider the problems of students and faculty members by having a critical discussion on the prevailing situation of education in Pakistan (Siddiqui, 2016). It was first a venture for policy making in education sector where international institutions such as Ford Foundation, UNESCO and Indiana University played a crucial role in planning the establishment of citizenship in

Pakistan. These institutions provided information, material and technical assistance for education policy formulation (Pakistan, 1959:9). It was only the commission who had hired services of foreign experts (Dr Herman Well and Dr John Warner) for the formulation of education policy while encouraging social sciences especially education department in Pakistan (Siddiqui, 2016). Though the commission had taken into consideration the opinions of foreign experts and institutions, however, the most important aspect for the commission were the directions provided by the appointing authority.

The education policy of 1969 was formulated under the advice of the president Yahya Khan. This policy document was research-oriented in which all previous documents were reviewed, and recommendations were improved in education quality (Pakistan, 1969:1). The education policy formulation process started off after a massive protest by students across Pakistan. There were various educational experts and organization involved in policy making and a proposal for feedback was floated through which suggestion for improvements were received. The policy was formulated by keeping these suggestions into reflection of policy document approved by the cabinet in 1970 (Pakistan, 1970:i).

The education policy of 1972 is unique in character that had not acknowledged policy formulation process (Shami, 2005). However, the education policy of 1979 was formulated through a consultation of various stakeholders including educational experts, religious experts, Ulemas, faculty members from different universities, students across Pakistan, secretaries and vice chancellors. The document of policy was finally completed with technical and financial assistance of UNICEF, UNESCO and UNDP (Pakistan, 1979:11). The education policies of 1992 and 1998 were formulated by convening

educational conference where various experts of education, law, administration and non-governmental organizations provided their suggestion in compilation of policy document. International organizations assisted the process of policy formulation process (Pakistan, 1992:iii; Pakistan, 1998:i). The most distinct facet of 1998 education policy was the role of the Prime Minister in presenting the policy document in national conference (Siddiqui, 2016).

It is to be mentioned here that education policy making process in Pakistan is based on adhocism. There is no permanent institute to tackle the problems within education policy making at interval base. It is mandatory to revise education policy goals and especially curricula to create human capital according to the requirement of market. The education policy of 1972 established a permanent institute called "National Education Council" (Shami, 2005) to facilitate convenient and easy processes of education policy making. The National Education Council had proper infrastructure and mechanism for reviewing the existing situation of education and underscored the implementation lapses of education by making recommendations for improvement in policy processes and the education system. The National Education Council had a hierarchy of position for assuring check and balance in the education policy making. It was chaired by the President and co-chaired by the education minister at federal level while in the provincial setting, it was chaired by the Chief Minister and co-chaired by provincial education minister. There was a proper system of reviewing the education system by conducting research on various aspects of the main problem and providing suitable solutions to the problem. It thus provided a research-oriented process for education policy (Shami, 2005). However, all education policies (1947, 1959, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998)

had followed sporadic means based on personal insights rather than research-based prescriptions. It is noticed here that head of the state in Pakistan easily amended and modified the education policy agenda by considering it an important to all institutional procedures. Every education policy had to follow three phases for its final approval. These stages are following;

A) Diagnostics Stage,

B) Prescriptive Stage,

C) Policy Development stage.

These three stages are mandatory for an education policy to be recognized as a high-quality education policy with all its means and outlook. However, all education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998 had skipped both of the primary diagnostic and policy development stages policy making. In Pakistan, most of the education policies were framed under the highly centralized framework where bureaucracy had more influence in framing educational agenda than the parliament of Pakistan (Noman, 1998).

3.7 Education Policies in Pakistan: A Socio-Political Context

Education policy does not exist in isolation and is rather influenced by the socio-political environment of the state. Education is generally called the ambassador of transmitting political agenda of governments to the future generations by passing on the required information for constructing citizenry feasible to the changing environment of the state. Pakistan, after becoming an independent state, had to tackle various problems to be part

of the developed nations. Pakistan inherited a bulk of problems as its legacy which included low human capital with only hundred lower ranked officers to run the government machinery (Waterson, 1963) that had consisted of ethnically diverse population with 85% of it being illiterate (Bengali, 1999).There were limited educational institutes especially for the higher education including three universities in Punjab, Karachi and Dhaka in both of the Eastern and Western wings of Pakistan (Siddiqui, 2016).

The founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah had to lift Pakistan from its scratches and provide major solutions to all its challenges within the existing meager capacity of the government. It was all due to the vision of Muhammad Ali Jinnah on improvising the education system that within four months of independence, he advised the education minister Fazal-ur-Rehman to organize a conference of education in Karachi to address the foremost challenges of illiteracy and ethnicity by constructing Pakistani identity and human capital for a prosperous economic development of society (Kazi, 1987). The agenda of the educational conference was to create a Pakistani society based on a prime significance of brotherhood, equality, social justice and foremost on tolerance and harmony despite of all differences that existed within population (Chughtai, 2015).

However, the incident of the Indo-Pak war as well as the death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1948 in conjunction to the Objective Resolution of Pakistan in 1949 had consequently changed the dynamics of Pakistani political scene which influenced the fundamental ideology of Pakistan in general and the education policy in particular. Education policy was also influenced from 22 points of Ulema who focused on the creation of a Muslim

State. The education conference of 1951 had recognized the impact of Objective Resolution by making the statement that

> "Prior to the Objectives Resolution 1949, however, is the resolution of Pakistan Educational Conference 1947 recommending the adoption of Islamic Ideology as the basis of education. Implicit in this resolution is recognition that education cannot exist in a vacuum and that it must be an instrument of the kind of ideological transformation which Pakistan stands for" (Pakistan, 1951, p. 360).

The assassination of Liaquat Ali in 1951 had created a political instability and particularly the leadership vacuum in Pakistan (Ziring, 2003). The descendant of Liaquat Ali was incapable in overcoming the leadership vacuum and provided a space to the bureaucracy to occupy the political clan of Pakistan. Ghulam Muhammad, a senior bureaucrat took the charge of governor general of Pakistan and set pattern of unsteady political climate in Pakistan. The religious riots in Lahore in 1953 had provided a political space for the military by imposing a Martial law to overcome the prevalent riots (Khan, 2004). The political landscape started deteriorating where six prime ministers had to face the removal from their premiership due to the prevailing political insecurity after the religious riots inscription. This instable political situation created developmental problems and severely affected the education policy making. Education policy had faced a doom of negligence during an epoch of political instability. The negligence in education policy making severely impacted the process of nation building in the context of identity formation.

Political governments met the fate of culmination after the imposition of martial law in 1958 when Ayub Khan took power to run the state affairs of Pakistan. Ayub Khan undertook the education policy as a medium and established commission (Sharif Commission) on education to address the prevailing problems of ethnic and religious

diversities to construct unity, loyalty and patriotism for the development of Pakistan. The Sharif report was a detailed document and provided insights about the improvements in every sphere of education. The report gave a new scheme of study by introducing Islamic studies and social studies for the construction of Pakistan identity in a broader perspective (Faiz, 2012).

The decade of 1950s had witnessed the influences of international players in the domain of education policy making in Pakistan. The Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali officially visited the USA and accepted Pakistan as being a party of the "Western Bloc". The venture of security partnership after joining military alliance with the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) respectively in 1954 and 1955 had made Pakistan capable of receiving sufficient assistance in terms of policy planning and resources for the development of the education sector (Siddiqui, 2016). This partnership led to the development of a strategy for promoting western knowledge based on science and capitalistic economy.

The year of 1965 had opened up a new chapter in the Political culture of Pakistan where people started an anti Ayub campaign by demanding a resignation from Ayub soon after the Election and War with India. This instability was further aggrandized through students' protests as students were protesting to reform the education system in the true spirit of Quran and Sunnah. Alternatively, Ayub khan devised a new strategy to maintain political stability in the society and took measures to address students' problems on urgent basis. A commission was established for education reforms and curricula were reformed by incorporating the contributions of Muslim Philosophers in different discipline (Zia, 2010).

In 1969, Ayub resigned and handed over the government to General Yahya Khan. A commission was created to address the issue of identity discourse. The commission criticized the existing education system and declared education as futile based on secular orientations. It provided a framework based on the Islamic ideology and Indian enmity as a binding force to develop national cohesion (Khan, 2004).

There came a turning point in the political history of Pakistan after the general election of 1970 which led to a disintegration of the East Pakistan from the West Pakistan through the outburst of Indo-Pak war in 1971. The incident of disintegration had changed the narrative of the society and declared Islam as the only force for social and national cohesion. This changing narrative of society had influenced the discourse of education to adopt an ideology of Pakistan based on the notion of Islamic ideals to construct a Pakistani identity to overcome ethnic conflicts. The Government of Bhutto took a step ahead and declared Islam as a state religion in the constitution of 1973. The constitution of 1973 had promised to develop a framework for the implementation of Islamic law by providing an environment where people could easily spend their lives according to the teaching of Islam. It was the government of Bhutto that arranged a second meeting of the Organization Islamic Conference in Lahore where 34 leaders of Muslim states collectively decided to work on the development of the Muslim community. The most important step of Bhutto's government was the insertion of a second amendment which declared Ahamdis as a minority group in Pakistan. This tendency of government towards Islam had reoriented the Pakistani ideology and the construction of Pakistani identity in the context of Islamic norms and values to get a distinct place in world at large. However, the government of Bhutto was incapable of providing an environment for the

transformation of indigenous society into a true spirit of Islamic society. This meager capacity of the government had led to the beginning of the movement of "Nazim-e-Mustafa Tehrik" against Bhutto for not being truthful in his promises in making Pakistan a pragmatic Islamic society. In 1977, Bhutto announced the elections and won to it, however, the opposition parties did not accept the declared results of the election and labelled it as rigged elections. The discrepancy between the government and the opposition parties over the election results created an instable political environment which ultimately mended a way for the imposition of martial law (Ziring, 1997).

In 1977, Zia-ul-Haq came into power and agreed in developing a suitable design to mould the indigenous society into an Islamic society. In 1979, He initiated the Islamization policy to pave the way for Islamic patterns within the Pakistani society. The Islamization policy of Zia received high momentum after the Iranian revolution which fully transformed the Iranian society from a secular to an Islamic society. The Holy war of Afghanistan prompted the movement of afghan jihad in Pakistan and further strengthened the demand of Islamization of society (Haqqani, 2006). The conception of Islamization had impacted the society at a broader level and also instated the process of reforming the existing education system by indoctrinating Islamic contents in the curricula of different subjects while removing un-Islamic contents (Asharf, 2009). The process Islamizing curricula in Pakistan was sponsored by the University of Nebraska and the USAID (Mandani, 2004). The curricula were designed to promote jihad in the mind of the young generation to achieve political goals during the Cold War time period. The Zia government introduced the discourse of Muslim Ummah for the construction of Pakistani identity in the education policy of 1979 (Siddiqui, 2016).

In 1988, the account of democratic governance was revived when Benazir Bhutto was elected as the first women Prime Minister of Pakistan after the death of Zia in a plane crash. In 1990, her government was dismissed by the president of Pakistan on the charge of corruption. Consequently, Nawaz Sharif won the election under the banner of Islami Jamhoor Ittehad. He introduced an education policy to promote Islamic norms and values to construct Pakistani identity in the context of Muslim Ummah in 1992 (Zia, 2010). Nawaz Sharif was also dismissed by the president of Pakistan on the charge of corruption. Alternatively, Benazir Bhutto was elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1993, yet, could not move further and was ended in 1996. The education policy was the most neglected sphere of government during the Benazir Bhutto era (1988-1990 and 1993-1996) because her government was immobilized to produce a piece of legislation on education. Nawaz Sharif took the charge of premiership again in 1997 and introduced a new education system in 1998 without keeping in view the time span of the previous education policy (1992-2002) given by his own government. The education policy of 1998 followed the footprints of the previous education policies of 1979 and 1992 in the promotion of an ideology of the Muslim Ummah.

3.8 Education Policy Making in Pakistan: A Context of Constitution

The Constitution of a State fundamentally provides a guideline for the governance structure of a state as well as insights for the Public Policy legislation to facilitate its citizens in every sphere especially in the domain of education so as to establish its citizens as agents of societal development (Isani, 2001). The government of Pakistan has

produced three constitutions to run the affairs of state and a framework for formulating public policies specifically education. The history of constitutional development in Pakistan provides the role of government in promoting education for the development of Pakistan. Objective Resolution, being the ladder of constitution was passed by the first constituent assembly and acted as the primer of all constitutions (1956, 1962 and 1973) of Pakistan, however, was lacking in its provision about education and its promotion in Pakistan. Even the documents containing provisions about fundamental rights did not encapsulate education in the fundamental rights. However, the constitution of 1956 broke the silence about education provision and presented a doctrine of education promotion in article 29, yet, within a limited context by emphasizing on educating those citizens who were unable to earn a livelihood for by making this factor a fundamental right of all citizens of Pakistan. The constitution of 1956 had made education as a provincial subject under the article 22 and 23 in the provincial list while neglecting the role of central government in the education development and making the central government ignorant about of its role in the economic development of state and the construction of Pakistani identity (Jahangir, 2008).

The constitution of 1962 provided more concrete measures under articles 12 and 6 respectively in chapter 1 and 2 by emphasizing on the provision of compulsory and free education at primary level to eradicate illiteracy and to develop informed citizenry for the purpose of educational development of Pakistan (Ahmed, 2016). The constitution of 1973 provided a space for the promotion of compulsory and free secondary education with a bright vision of making the society more prosperous and free of illiteracy under the provision of article 37 of chapter 2. It is worth to mention here that the constitution of

1962 and 1973 have respectively promised to eradicate illiteracy from the society, yet, without delineating on any timeframe to achieve its milestone. The most significant concern for education policy makers was the government stand on education as both of the constitutions of 1962 and 1973 had categorized education in the section of "Policy Principles" rather than the domain of "Fundamental Right" which provides us with a critical sight towards the neglecting tone of the government (Jahangir, 2008). Education policy making in Pakistan thus lacks a serious attention of the government.

3.9 Education Policy and Construction of Pakistani Identity and Citizenship

The discourse of Pakistani identity and citizenship has been continuously changing with the exigencies of the time including the political agendas of the established governments. Each government attempts to formulate an education policy to dissimilate its political vision in the construction of a future generation to make them suitable citizens for their governance structure. The Education policies have been divided into two categories by keeping their political agendas and role aligned with the construction of a certain type of citizenship. The first category includes the education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972 that acknowledges the role of Islam in identity formation and focuses on the construction of Pakistani citizens in South Asian context to develop a national cohesion for the development of society. While the second category of education policies (1979, 1992 and 1998) emphasizes on the construction of Pakistani identity in the context of Muslim Ummah and attempts to link the Pakistani culture with the culture of Holy Places.

3.9.1 Education Policy and the Construction of Pakistani identity and Citizenship in South Asian Context

The First Educational conference occupied a distinct place in the construction of Pakistani identity as it used the Islamic ideology as a means of indoctrinating the values of social democracy, equality, social justice and universal brotherhood to construct undivided and loyal citizenship (Pakistan, 1947:20). It emphasized that all citizens were equal despite of all differences including caste, ethnicity and religion (Pakistan, 1947:8). The policy made a clear direction that religious education was compulsory for every citizen and should be taught in school as a subject (Pakistan, 1947:40). The policy document provided a layout for teaching Islamic values to inculcate tolerance, equality, social justice, self-sacrifice, respect, affection and most importantly to help the weak. (Pakistan, 1947:8). This education policy recognizes that the notion of pride lies in undivided citizenship and loyalty to Pakistan to ensure equal status of citizenship for minorities. It emphasizes that equality and social democracy are the main instruments of societal progress. However, this policy document has also recognized that Pakistan should not be considered as a theoretic state (Pakistan, 1947:6). The government has rather used Islam as an instrument of developing welfare state with the prevailing custom of law. The government emphasized on vocational education to have enough human capital to run all spheres of state machinery for the development of society. It assimilated spiritual and social education to develop social harmony for peace co-existence. The conference recommended Urdu as the lingua franca for the construction of identity. It is worth to note that the first national conference maintained religious neutrality by using the term religion rather than Islam. However, the educational conference of 1947 used the

catchphrase of Islamic socialism for creating equality on the basis of political, social and economic spheres for all citizens of Pakistan (Pakistan, 1947). The policy document tried to construct Pakistani citizenship by considering all religious differences within Pakistan. The prime aspect of 1947 educational conference was to construct Pakistani citizenship not on the basis of religious association. It instead maintained a space between the Pakistani citizenship and religious identity rather than merging the Pakistani citizenship and religious identity into one band.

3.9.1.1 Sharif Commission Report in 1959 and Re-Orientation of Pakistani Identity and citizenship

It was Ayub khan who established a commission to address the problem of the existing education system. This commission is known as the Sharif Commission in the history of education policies. The commission thoroughly analysed the existing education system and provided recommendations to overcome the loopholes within the prevalent education system. The policy was immensely significant as it provided an operational definition of the ideology of Pakistan in the context of Islamic ideology while taking Islam as a means of national cohesion. This policy presented a systematic way of constructing Pakistani identity based on the Islamic teachings by introducing Islamic studies as a compulsory subject in the middle school level (Pakistan, 1959:212). According to the policy document, Islam as religion teaches honesty, equality and social justice which influences society's progression and prosperity to ultimately overcome the societal problems of poverty and distress. Social studies as a subject was introduced by assimilating history, geography and civics at school level for developing consciousness of being Pakistani citizens among future the generation. The report recognized that Islam could encourage

active participation of the masses in all spheres of life. Education policy would be a more viable method for inducting Islamic values among men and women to foster responsibilities of being good neighbours and citizens for the construction of Pakistani nationhood and true patriotism (Pakistan, 1959:114). The policy focused on the construction of Pakistani citizenship in a global context by bridging cultural and historical ties with Asia, Europe, Middle East and United States to assert a heritage enriched with multicultural values and pride of having worthy national assets. The foremost point of this policy was to foster indigenous social and cultural patterns to reform the social inequalities for establishing a prosperous society. This piece of legislation had banned on repugnant material in religious courses that caused division within citizenship (Pakistan, 1959:209). The report recommended establishing University Grant Commission and that degree duration should be extended from 2 to 3 years. According to the directions of the report, universities should focus on research skills especially in natural sciences (Pakistan, 1959). It also emphasized on technical and scientific education. This commission considered English as the language of higher education especially for natural sciences. Additionally, the policy was informed by liberal narrative of Islamic education to demonstrate Islam as a modern and rational religion (Pakistan, 1959:210). This policy document provided a prototype of integrating Pakistani citizenship within the Muslim identity. The policy set a pattern for the representations of religious differences and adjusted the role of religion in education for national cohesion and citizenship (Zia, 2010).

The Sharif report was very detailed and comprehensive that it provided insights on improving all spheres of education. Due to being comprehensive in nature, Rubina Saigol

considered the Sharif commission report as the Magna Carta of education in Pakistan (Saigol, 1995; Saigol, 2003).

3.9.1.2 Nur Khan Report on Education in 1969 and Changing Narrative of Pakistani Identity

In 1969, Yahya khan took the decision to address the problem of education for the construction of Pakistani citizenship by establishing a commission under the chairmanship of Nur Khan. The Nur Khan commission submitted a report by criticizing the existing education system being secular in nature and inadequate to deal with the dilemma of national identity. The report focused on the construction of citizenship of Pakistan based on unified norms based on the teachings of Islam (Pakistan, 1969:13). Education system would use the pattern of Islamic values for constructing a unified identity as well as national cohesion. It developed outlines of using Pakistani ideology informed from Islamic values and Indian enmity as a framework of developing national cohesion. Islamic education narrative was then employed by the education policy of 1969 in the creation of universal brotherhood based on benevolence, justice and affectionate human relationship for the construction of Pakistani citizenship (Pakistan, 1969:14). Education policy of 1969 had declared Islamic studies as a compulsory subject from class I-X. The role of language in the construction of national identity was acknowledged and Urdu was declared as the lingua franca for Pakistani identity (Rahman, 1996).

3.9.1.3 Education Policy of 1970 and Construction of Pakistani identity in Muslim context

Education policy was quite unique in character as it pursued a decentralized agenda to settle the education problem. The Nur Khan Report had given insights in the formulation

of new education policy. The policy document asserted the role of Islamic ideology in the preservation of values for unified identity and social progress (Pakistan, 1970:1). The tent of Islamic values was to be more suitable in constructing citizenship universal in character by inculcating equality, democratic values and social justice for best nationhood in Pakistan (Pakistan, 1970:2). This policy accepted that Islamic values could only develop virtues of unity, tolerance and progress (Pakistan, 1970:15). Education policy familiarized with the Islamic morals would be the basis of informed and educated citizenship in Pakistan (Pakistan, 1970:3).

The policy focused on the promotion of women education by raising women schools and colleges separately as co-education did not to suit the cultural traits of Islam (Zia, 2010). In addition, it promoted elementary and secondary education (Shami, 2010). The policy also accentuated on scientific and vocational education. It adopted a plan for the promotion of education through native language at primary focusing on Urdu as the medium of education at elementary, secondary, college and university levels (Rahman, 1996). It made Islamic Studies a compulsory subject up to the secondary level. There was a limited scope of Islamic Studies at university level which was later expended through the education policy of 1970 which opened up new "Islamic Studies Departments" in various universities to encourage the learning of Islam to construct responsive and well-educated citizenry so as to meet the standards of the contemporary world education (Pakistan, 1970:15).

3.9.1.4 Education Policy 1972 and the restructuring of Pakistani Identity

The education policy of 1972 took an inclusive narrative of merging the Pakistan ideology with the Islamic ideology. Islam was used only as a factor of national cohesion and pursing Islamic values in instructing Pakistan citizenship informed by social democracy and social harmony (Pakistan, 1972:2). Education system was therefore a system to provide a platform for individuals to reform their lives in accordance with the Islamic ideology (Pakistan, 1972:1). The foremost and distinct character of the 1972 policy was utilizing television and radio as means to broadcast educational programmes to train people for the recitation of Holy Quran so as to foster harmony and cohesion among the Muslim of Pakistan (Pakistan, 1972:20). The policy employed a unified education system by nationalizing all private institutions including Missionaries and Anjumans schools and colleges (Kazi, 1987). The policy, keeping in view the agricultural domain of society, focused on the promotion of agro-technical education (Shami, 2005). It also granted the right of union and academic freedom. The pattern of curricula was planned flexibly according to the standards of economic and social needs. The policy promised to eliminate illiteracy by establishing universal elementary and secondary education.

Table:3.1 Changing Discourse of Identity in Education Policies of Pakistan

Category	Policy Statement
Ideology and Pakistani Identity	**1947** Education Should be based on the concept of Universal brotherhood of man, social democracy and social Justice (Pakistan, 1947, p. 20). An Islamic conception of universal brotherhood, justice, and social democracy; an essential requirement to understand the fundamentals of one's religion for every student; and the assimilation of spiritual, social, and vocational aspects of education (Pakistan, 1947, p. 21). **1959** To provide a form of education which has its roots in the national culture and in Islamic values (Pakistan, 1959, p. 117). Indeed Pakistan, to be true to her soul, should take inspiration from Islam, its principles and ideology (Pakistan, 1959, p. 212). **1969** It must aim at providing a uniform and integrated system of education which seeks to impart a common set of cultural values based on the percepts of Islam (Pakistan, 1969, p. 13). To argue, therefore, that the set of cultural values to be imparted through education system should be only secular in character is unrealistic. It must be recognized therefore that the unified system of education in Pakistan should be Islamic one (Pakistan, 1969, p. 13). **1970** Role of education in preservation and inculcation of Islamic values as an instrument of national unity and progress (Pakistan, 1970, p. 1). The ideological framework is provided by the basic values stressed in Islam including those of social justice, equality and a democratic way of life, which are universal in character and also integral to the concept of Pakistan (Pakistan, 1970, p. 2). **1972** Ensuring the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life (Pakistan, 1972, p. 1). Building up national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with our basic ideology through conscious use of the education process (Pakistan, 1972, p. 2). **1979** To foster in the hearts and minds of people of Pakistan in general and students in particular a deep abiding loyalty to Islam and Pakistan and living consciousness of their spiritual and ideological identity… (Pakistan, 1979, p. 1). To create awareness in every student that he, as a member of Pakistani nation is also a part of the Universal Muslim Ummah and that it is expected of him to help spread the message of Islam throughout the world on other (Pakistan, 1979, p. 1). Recognizing the entire content around Islamic thought and giving education and ideological orientation so that Islamic ideology permeates the thinking of younger generation and help them with necessary conviction and ability

	to refashion society according to Islamic tenets (Pakistan, 1979, p. 2). **1992** Leaven the educational system with Islamic ethos and allow it to run through all its tributaries (Pakistan, 1992, p. iii). Enable the students to understand the Islamic worldview and to strengthen their cultural moorings as members of the Muslim Ummah (Pakistan, 1992, p. 11). To defend the ideology of Pakistan at the interface of international, social, political and economic (Pakistan, 1992, p. 11). To restructure the existing educational system on modern lines in principles of Islam so as to create a healthy forward looking and enlightened Muslim society (Pakistan, 1992, p. 11). **1998** Today, we must resolve to be Muslims and Pakistanis and nothing else (Pakistan, 1998, p. vii). To make the Quranic principles and Islamic practices as an integral part of curricula so that message of Holy Quran could be disseminated in the process of education as well as training (Pakistan, 1998, p. 6). Pakistan has a unique position on the map of the world. We are not a country founded on its territorial, linguistic, ethnic or racial identity. The only justification for our existence is our total commitment to Islam as our sole identity (Pakistan, 1998, p. 9).
Islamic Education and Better Pakistan	**1947** Where but in Islam could we find the democratic virtues of tolerance, self-help, self-sacrifice, human kindness, the protection and succour of weak and oppressed (Pakistan, 1947, p. 6). **1959** Islam teaches honesty in thought, indeed, and in purpose; it lays emphasize on social justice and active participation in the removal of distress and poverty (Pakistan, 1959, p. 11). **1969** Islam promotes the principles of truth, justice and benevolence where human relationship is based on the ideal of universal brotherhood (Pakistan, 1969, p. 13). **1970** Islam is a dynamic force of unity and progress and an inspiration for building a democratic, tolerant and just society (Pakistan, 1970, p. 15). **1972** Islam is an instrument of development and as a factor in the creation democratic social order by ensuring an equal access to opportunities and social justice (Pakistan, 1972, p. 4). **1979** Islam escalates the unity of outlook of people of Pakistan on the basis of justice and fair play (Pakistan, 1979, p. 11). **1992** Islam so as to create a healthy forward looking and enlightened Muslim society (Pakistan, 1992, p. 11). **1998** Islam provides socially well-developed, politically united, economically

	prosperous, morally sound and spiritually elevated nation (Pakistan, 1998, p. 5).
Education and Religious Studies	**1947** It should be compulsory to learn the fundamental Principles of their Religion (Pakistan, 1947, p. 20). **1959** A "knowledge of comparative religion and world history" and research on the "original liberal and rational Islam" are considered essential to demonstrate the critical place of religion in various domains of progress in human society (Pakistan, 1959, p. 210). Islamic studies should be taught as a compulsory subject to all Muslim students at Primary and Middle level (Pakistan, 1959, p. 212). **1969** Islamic studies should be taught as a compulsory subject to all Muslim students from class I-X (Pakistan, 1969). **1970** The study of Islam should reflect its inherent creativity and dynamism. The cultural system should also emphasize attitudes of social responsibility and commitment as the cornerstone of the Islamic way of life (Pakistan, 1970, p. 2). **1972** It will also be ensured that the study of Islamiyat does not remain an isolated item in the school curriculum but that the values and the spirit of Islam are woven into the entire warp and woof of our educational fabric (Pakistan, 1972, p. 23). **1979** Muslim nationhood can be achieved by propagating the message of Islam and proper emphasis on the teaching of Islamiyat and Arabic (Pakistan, 1979, p. 48). Class: 1 to degree level including Profession Education. Arabic was made compulsory from V-VIII (Pakistan, 1979). **1992** Class: 1 to degree level including Profession Education. Arabic was made compulsory from V-VIII (Pakistan, 1992, p. 5). **1998** Class: 1 to degree level including Profession Education. Arabic was made compulsory from V-VIII. Nazira Quran from I-VIII (Pakistan, 1998, p. 11).
Minority Rights and Social Harmony	**1947** There cannot be a greater source of pride and better object of undivided loyalty than the citizenship of Pakistan, no matter what political, religious or provincial label one may possess (Pakistan, 1947, p. 8). **1959** Religious education should do nothing which would impair social and political unity in the country (Pakistan, 1959, p. 209). Religion is not to be presented as a dogma, superstition, or ritual. Sectional and sectarian differences which are likely to impair national unity should find no place in the teaching of religion in schools (Pakistan, 1959, p. 209). **1970**

	The creation of a just society in Pakistan, with every Muslim man and woman forming an educated and informed citizenry (Pakistan, 1970, p. 3).

Source: Education Policies, Government of Pakistan

3.9.2 Education Policy and Construction of Pakistani identity in Muslim Ummah context

Education policies of 1979, 1992 and 1998 had followed the political agenda of Islamization. These education policies were interconnected and followed the trajectory of similar ideological narrative for the construction of Pakistani identity. The pattern pursuing the notion of Muslim Ummah made these education policies (1979, 1992 and 1998) distinct and unique in comparison to the previous education policies (1947, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972). The foremost common features of the education policies (1979, 1992 and 1998) were mushroom growth of madrasas and propagation of Arabian version of Islam to construct Pakistani identity in the discourse of Arab Muslim.

3.9.2.1 The National Education Policy and Implementation Programme and construction of identity under Islamization

This policy document introduced a paradigm shift in the discourse of Pakistani identity pursuing the narrative of constructing Pakistani nationhood under the perspective of universal Muslim brotherhood. It certainly was a turning point distinctively contrastive to the previous education policies' ideological narratives of using Islam as a medium for national cohesion. The education policy of 1979 sponsored the narrative of Muslim Ummah to be inculcated in students' activities to make them aware of their responsibilities to help other Muslims and spread the sole message of Allah around the globe (Pakistan, 1979:1). The policy focused on spreading the Islamic values to make

students' perspectives regarding Islam as faithful, and that consequently led to the integration of Arabic as a compulsory subject to forge the notion of Muslim Ummah (Pakistan, 1979:48). The policy provided a framework of introducing Shariah faculty in Quaid-e-Azam University for improving the higher education research embedded in the realm of Islamic education. The education policy of 1979 devised a plan of increasing primary education by declaring mosques as schools (Pakistan, 1979). The advantage of this scheme of schools was that there was no need of developing infrastructure in the shape of buildings and additional staff especially in rural areas (Pakistan, 1979:8). Mosque schools were allocated a PTC teacher along with an imam who taught the Quran and Islamic studies. The government took this step to streamline the madrasas and enhance literacy rate by using madrasas space for schooling. It would also be helpful in creating committed and faithful Muslims. This step of government had increased primary schools surprisingly and enrollment rose to 35%.

This piece of legislation had a separate chapter for female education which was titled as Education of Female. The detailed chapter entailed state responsibility to encourage female education for development of society (Pakistan, 1979:20). The government adopted a plan to increase female education through Mollaha schools. These schools system were familiar to mosque schools system where additional infrastructure like buildings and teachers were not required as much as for the public schools. The Mollaha schools were introduced where purdah observing teacher who taught home economic Quran and Islamic studies to female students to make loyal and faithful female Muslims (Pakistan, 1979:14).

3.9.2.2 Education Policy of 1992 and Construction of Pakistani Identity

The education policy of 1992 followed the imprints of the previous policy and emphasized on the construction of Pakistani identity in the context of Muslim Ummah (Pakistan, 1992:11). It focused on the idea that Islamic ethos would be employed in moral character building of citizens. Islamic moral values were the basis of Pakistani citizenship rather than western ones (Pakistan, 1992:14).

3.9.2.3 Education Policy 1998 and Construction of Pakistani Identity

This piece of legislation is quite unique and distinct in contrast to all previous education policies (1947, 1959, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1979 and 1992). The foremost uniqueness of this policy was the word IQRA written on the main page of the policy document. It was the only policy document which contained the verses of Holy Quran cited as reference to support the policy statements (Faiz, 2012). The forward of policy argued to be Muslim first and then Pakistani citizens (Pakistan, 1998:ii). The policy of 1998 was the only document where the justification for identity formation was exclusively based on Islam (Pakistan, 1998:9). The citizenship of Pakistan is exclusively constructed in the context of Muslim Ummah.

Table: 3.2 Changing Notion of Pakistani Identity in Global Context

Year	Tile Page Format	Type of Education Emphasize	Compulsory Islamic Education	Identity Connection in the World
1947	Just Ministry Name is Written	Technical Education	Class: I-VIII	Universal Citizenship
1959	Just Ministry Name is Written	Vocational and Technical	Class: I-VIII	Universal Citizenship
1969	Just Ministry Name is Written	Scientific and Technical	Class: I-VIII	Universal Citizenship
1970	Just Ministry Name is Written	Scientific and Technical	Class: I-VIII	Universal Citizenship
1972	Just Ministry Name is Written	Agro-Technical	Class: I-X	Universal Citizenship
1979	Just Ministry Name is Written	Scientific and Technical	Class: 1 to degree level including Profession Education. Arabic was made compulsory from V-VIII.	Universal Muslim Ummah
1992	Just Ministry Name is Written	Scientific and Technical	Class: 1 to degree level including Profession Education. Arabic was made compulsory from V-VIII.	Universal Muslim Ummah
1998	IQRA in Arabic is Written and Ministry Name	Scientific and Technical	Class: 1 to degree level including Profession Education. Arabic was made compulsory from V-VIII. Nazira Quran from I-VIII	Universal Muslim Ummah

Source: Education Policies, Government of Pakistan

3.10 Impact of Regimes' Agenda on Education Policy making in Pakistan

Every education setup is a new invention of a certain regime and is alternatively changed with change of regime. The first education policy was formulated considering inadequate

human capital, poverty and the most massacre of partition. Thus, the first educational conference document propagated tolerance and Islamic socialism to create social equality and harmony for peaceful co-existence.

The Ayub regime came into power due to the instable political culture and leadership vacuum in the governance structure. He then introduced the industrialization scheme in Pakistan and ensured economic development within the society. He established cadet colleges with the aim of imparting leadership skills among students to overcome problems of leadership vacuum in Pakistan. It was the government that laid foundation to the private education culture in Pakistan especially for serving the interests of the elites (Sidiqui, 2012).

When Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had come into power, he initiated the nationalization scheme. All private institutions including Missionaries and Anjumans schools and colleges were nationalized to ensure equal opportunity of education (Siddiqui, 2016). The nationalization was a step taken to spell out the unified education system so as to provide equal opportunities for education despite of all differences including religion, sex, caste and creed. Bhutto's government thus discouraged the privatization of education sector.

When Zia-ul-Haq came into power, he started the Islamization process within the existing education system (Siddiqui, 2010). He initiated the denationalization process and encouraged private sector in education. He introduced Arabic as a compulsory subject at the intermediate level (Faiz, 2012). The Zia regime additionally introduced Urdu as a medium of instruction in the public education institutions and declared it as a compulsory subject in English medium schools as well (Rahman, 1996).

3.11 Impact of Education Policy Changes upon Curriculum Reform in Pakistan

Pakistan inherited the education system from the British colonial government that used the education system (English, Vernacular, Madrassa) as a tool for creating division within the society following its policy of divide and rule. Furthermore, the colonial government used the school education system particularly curricula as an instrument for constructing loyal subjects by neutralizing local identities for a smooth running of government affairs. The government of Pakistan in contrary to the colonial master had to use school education for the construction of Pakistani identity by keeping in mind the ethnic differences for nation building. In the pursuance of Pakistani identity and citizenship, the government produced policy documents on education for providing guidelines to use education especially subject of history as a medium of constructing Pakistani identity by integrating the discourse of ideology of Pakistan inspired from Islam. However, the subject of history was adopted with no changes (Chughtai, 2015). It made Urdu as a compulsory subject for constructing Pakistani identity (Siddiqui, 2016). There was no subject specifically like Islamic studies to portray Islam as a predominant religion for the education system. The Ayub government in the following narrative of Pakistani identity for nation building produced a policy document for education known as the Sharif Commission Report which provided a direction for introducing social studies as a compulsory subject at the primary and elementary schools. The content of the subject mainly relied on the ancient civilization and history of Muslims and Islamic studies having basic knowledge about Islam as well as contents from Quran and Sunnah (Khan, 2004; Faiz, 2012). The textbook of social studies comprised of contents on cultural

diversity even it had explained places of worship of different religions such as mosques, temples and gurdwara of Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. Furthermore, the textbook also mentioned the conquest of Muhammad Bin Qasim, yet, without labelling it as the conquest of Islam (Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 3, 1965). The contents of social studies for grade 4 entailed chapters on the four Muslim caliphs, four emperors from Mughals dynasty, one on Sher Shah and one on women emperor Razia Sultana of Sub-continent. The book had separate chapters on the Indus civilization and the arrival of Aryans (Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 4, 1965).

This liberal narrative of history was changed on the recommendation of Nur khan report which gave an idea of introducing a contemporary ideology of Pakistan based on Two Nation Theory. This report had declared Islamic Studies as a compulsory subject at the intermediate level (Khan, 2004; Zia, 2010). The education policy of 1972 went further ahead by integrating the ideology of Pakistan on the basis of Two Nation Theory, Islamic personalities (Holy Prophets and Caliph Omer) and Muslim history in social studies at the primary level. The Bhutto government introduced Pakistan studies as a compulsory subject at high school level which covered chapters on Two Nation Theory, Kashmir dispute, Muslim culture, war heroes as well as the role of Hindus against Muslims in contents of Pakistan Studies. The government also added chapters on Pakistan ideology, Islamic culture in social studies at the primary level. His government provided a mechanism of removing repugnant contents against Islam by producing a new piece of legislation in 1976 by name of "Federal Supervision of Curricula, Textbooks and Maintenance of Standard of Education". The basic theme of this piece of legislation was to empower federal curriculum wing to develop and scrutinize curricula and textbooks

according to the ideology of Pakistan as well as to ensure quality of education by supervising mechanism of curriculum development (Jamil, 2009). This act had also authorized to remove contexts against the ideology of Pakistan as well as Islam.

The education policy of 1979 initiated the process of Islamization and reformed curricula of all subjects, especially Social Studies, Pakistan Studies, Islamic Studies and Urdu (Rahman, 1996). This reform scheme completely removed the contents of ancient history and civilization with Muslim heroes' stories and Muslim history. The new curriculum of social studies abruptly skipped the ancient history while introducing the history of Muhammad Bin Qasim. It consisted of seven chapters on personalities including the Holy Prophet, Four Caliph, Father of Nation Jinnah and Muhammad Iqbal. The book also had a separate chapter on Aziz Bhatti - a war hero of the 1965 war. The book also had information on enmity against Hindus by projecting their negative roles against Muslims.

It is interesting to note that instead of mentioning the ancient history about Muslim arrival, the book had thoroughly discussed the differences between Hindu Muslim and Hindu inimical relations with Muslim (Yasmin, 1981). The changing narratives of contents about historical knowledge by various regimes particularly by Zia in textbooks of social studies have been explained in the best way by developing a comparison of contents in table 4.8 and table 4.10.

The textbooks for English subject were developed by inserting Quranic verses at interval of fifteen pages (Shami, 2005). As Zia established a commission to reform the curricula of science subjects to make them compatible by removing repugnant material about Islam (Zia, 2010). His government also inculcated verses of the Holy Quran in science subjects particularly in biology (Aziz, 1993). It is to be mentioned here that the national assembly

of Pakistan had called University Grant Commission on the Islamization of natural science subject at the university level (Shami, 2005). Zia's regime had declared Islamic studies as a compulsory subjected to be taught up to the graduation level. Further, his education policy had encouraged the narrative of jihad in the curriculum of Islamic Studies to developed anti-Muslimism understanding especially on the Hindu sentiments. The content about jihad was introduced as a requirement of Afghan jihad. In the promotion of jihad narrative, the government integrated Surah Tubah and Surah Anfal in the curriculum of Islamic Studies for 9^{th} and 10^{th} classes (Chughtai, 2015). As the two surahs contain material on jihad and antagonistic sentiments against the non-Muslim (Sidiqui, 2012).

Textbooks for Urdu language at primary school levels were also changed to construct a mindset according to the requirements of Afghan Jihad wherein Urdu Aphetic Bey was associated with Bomb (Abadi, 2005). While Mamdani has provided broader picture on the impact of Afghan Jihad on the curriculum of Urdu Language in which "Urdu Alphabet Tey was associated Toop, Jeem for Jihad, Khay for Khoon, Kaaf for Kalashnikove" (Mandani, 2004, p. 138).

The education policy of 1992 propagated the idea of Islamic social studies (Pakistan, 1992:41). The policy recommended the integration of chapters on Muslim philosophers in different subjects at different levels especially in sciences subjects. The education policy of 1998 thus followed a scheme of the Islamization trend of previous policies (1979 and 1992) and focused on the insertion of Islamic teachings and Quranic verses to foster moral values in the young generation based on Islamic tenets (Faiz, 2012).

3.12 Education Policies: Paradigm Shift in the Notion of Ideology of Pakistan

Ideology is the basic tenet of education policy and it changes with various trends inclinations. According to Apple, in the education system, apart from other influential factors ideology cannot live in isolation and have to be influenced by surrounding circumstances. It depicts the agenda formation of the identity construction within a society (Apple, 1990). In Pakistan, education policies have seen the changing notion of ideology with the changing governments. The ideology of Pakistan has been facing serious challenges, with its construction in the educational sector and likewise its maintenance. These educational policies have been ideologically constructed. The education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972, had maintained ideological spectrum of Pakistan in progressive and liberal way by indoctrinating concept of Pakistani identity, in the context of indigenous culture and history. These education policies had the acclaimed notion of the Pakistani identity as being Muslim but devoted to the indigenous culture and civilization, feeling elevated on being "South Asian Muslim". Textbooks were inculcating local symbols such as civilization, language, culture, mountains and rivers. The curricula of all subjects including science, social science and humanities were promoting modern and innovative knowledge to construct citizenship for the competitive market.

Then a paradigm shift was observed in operational definition of Pakistani ideology under the slogan of Islamization. The ideology of Pakistan was in pattern with the Islamic ideology, considering all citizens as equal and dismantling the racial differences. The government of Zia ul Haq introduced the concept of Islamization, therefore constructing

Pakistani identity under the banner of the Muslim Ummah (Faiz, 2012). The textbooks produced under the Zia regime diminished the notion of Pakistani identity as South Asian and introduced a discourse of Ummah in which the Pakistani identity had to be constructed in broader context of the One Muslim Nation. In 1979, Education policy paved way for Islamic trends to be followed as observed in the Holy places. This helped people to keep aside their local differences based on cultures and history. The policy took a strong step of reforming curricula by eliminating un-Islamic and scientific knowledge from different subjects. It inculcated Muslim sciences and scholars in every textbook. Zia's government introduced Arabic as a language at elementary school level and Islamic studies at graduation as compulsory subjects. Education policies of 1992 and 1998 had extended the paradigm of Zia's government in the curriculum and tried to promote Muslim social studies for Muslim Ummah. Islamic studies were made compulsory for professional colleges and Nazira Quran was made compulsory from 1 - VIII grade (Shami, 2005). The education policies of 1992 and 1998, following the realm of 1979: maintained the discourse of Pakistani identity based on the conception of Muslim Ummah. These all education policies (1979, 1992 and 1998) had maintained a narrative of encouraging Holy Places Culture and Norm in their true essence in the Pakistani society by subliming the impact of indigenous culture on the society. Textbooks including Urdu, English and some science subjects were laden with "verses of Holy Quran". It created problem of identity crisis for non-Muslims, especially as they had been excluded from sphere of Pakistani identity (Zia, 2010).

These changing trends and patterns in operational definition of ideology had left perplexed impact on textbooks which led to the construction of bewildered identity in the

society. Education policies had made ideology of Pakistan as oscillating sphere of uneven interpretation between governments' interests which halted the progressive and smooth construction of Pakistani identity.

3.13 Situation of Education in Pakistan.

Since the creation of Pakistan, every education policy document had promised to overcome existing illiteracy issues by increasing the number of educated citizens through equitable access to education in Pakistan. However, literacy rate has depicted bleak picture of low educational attainment along with other problems such as the inequitable distribution of education facilities between urban and rural areas, low enrolment of girls in educational institutions and a low availability of the basic educational infrastructure in Pakistan. It is to be mentioned here that all educational policies had promised to elevate the literacy rate within the society, but policies were confined within policy papers with a dire lacking intent of implementation.

Although, the literacy rate had been improving with a passage of time but this increase in literacy was adopted through tactics of a redefining concept of literate in policy papers. Despite of this on board government tactics, the literacy rate could not mount to level of 100% and was confined to rate of 43% with 67% illiterate population till 1999 (Iqbal, 2003). The issue of girls' education has presented an alarming situation due to low enrolment of girls in educational institutions particularly in the rural areas wherein girl's education was compromised due to the lack of schools in their areas, particularly in rural Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Sindh (Naveed, 2016). It is to be mentioned that

all education policies formulated by the previous governments had showed their quest to chase their promised agenda for the promotion of education, as vividly shown in Table 3.3

Table 3.3 Situation of Quantity Education

Year of Census	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	Total	Definition
1951			21.4%	13.9%	17.9%	One who can read a clear print in any language.
1961	34.8%	10.6%	26.1%	6.7%	16.9%	One who is able to read with understanding a simple letter in any language.
1972	41.5%	14.3%	30.2%	11.6%	21.7%	One who is able to read and write in some language with understanding.
1981	47.1%	17.3%	35.1%	16.0%	26.2%	One who can read newspaper and write a simple letter.
1998	63.08%	33.64%	54.81%	32.0%	43.92%	One who can read newspaper and write a simple letter, in any language.

Source: (Prof. Dr. Zafar Iqbal, 2003)

The quality education is based on the elements of curriculum, system of examination and the availability of trained and qualified teachers. Education system in Pakistan is too weak to meet the global standards because the curricula is supposedly Islam oriented with minimum global content. The examination system or assessment was thoroughly based on the notion of "Supremacy of Textbook" which promoted culture of material memorization and root learning which ruined the critical thinking in Pakistan (Afzal, 2016). The question papers comprised of eloquent questions which only judged the students' memory and thus promoting culture of cramming as well as gaining knowledge without understanding. This mechanism of "Supremacy of Textbook" was established in

the consequence to act of "Federal Supervision of Curricula, Textbooks and Maintenance of Standard of Education" which made textbooks as a soul agent of knowledge transmission and being a standard of quality. This act had authorized federal curriculum wing to directly control provincial textbook boards to maintain the quality of education. These provincial textbook boards were solely responsible for publishing textbooks and their publications were considered as the emblem of standard and quality of education. Therefore, question papers were set from textbooks prescribed by these boards which ultimately established the practice of material memorization without understanding of knowledge. So, teachers were entailed to teach paper-oriented knowledge rather than giving a broader picture of the subject. This practice of paper-oriented knowledge debarred students from critical thinking and an outcome-oriented learning.

Pakistan had been facing an acute shortage of qualified and trained teachers particularly female teachers in the public educational institutions. The situation of teachers working in public sector institutions was quite depressing because teachers were underpaid, poorly trained and even their services were not recognized within the society. The teacher's training programme was not progressing as planned and initiated, teachers were provided training through short workshops and lectures. This system of teacher training was unplanned being dependent only on the mechanism of workshops which were producing poorly trained teachers (Ali, 2011). It is worthy to note that a qualified and trained teacher occupies a core position in the domain of quality education because teacher is an agent of change who can make a lesson easier to understand and the classroom environment conducive through interactive activities to nourish students' skills especially their critical thinking. Despite knowing the importance of a qualified teacher, education

policy makers in Pakistan had not taken concrete steps to ensure the availability of a qualified staff in educational institutions.

Every education policy document except the education policy of 1972, promised to integrate madrasas education system with modern schooling. But again, policy promises for integration of madrassa education was only confined to the policy texts without meeting the destiny of implementation. As Madrasas education institutions were solely imparting education based on the juncture of Islam. It is worth to note that the madrassas system in Pakistan is diverse, based on their sectarian affiliation and following their curricula, informed from respective sectarian interpretations of Islam respectively (Zaidi, 2013). The common feature of all madrasas system is that their curricula are religious: education centric, lacking the notion of modern education and scientific knowledge. This feature of curricula had put madrasas in isolation from the mainstream education system. Being distinct from the mainstream education system, the graduates of madrasas were having limited employment opportunities, mostly appointed as imams and khatibs in mosques. This feature of market, in the shape of limited employment opportunities for graduates of madrasas has become source of resentment and exclusion within the society. Madrasas are the factories of societal division based on sectarian and likewise promotion of sectarian violence within a society, due to following the curricula having sectarian interpretation of Islam. This systemic gap within the policy texts and its implementation has created turmoil in the education sector of Pakistan.

3.14 Notion of Silencing in Education Policies of Pakistan.

It is another way of exclusion in which a certain group of society is debarred from opportunities and their voices are not considered as equal. The notion of silencing is also prevalent in the education policy perceptive. The government has been using curriculum to make the women of society reside in seclusion, not being designated as active members (Saigol, 2000). Almost all education policies adopted a tone of silence in the promotion of women rights and had not given them equal opportunities in the society (Naseem, 2010). Women were walled and even the curriculum was promoting masculinity being placed at a disadvantageous position. The curriculum was promoting only male rights and fostering male oriented society. The education was constructing the mental maps as male members being dominant and active members of society and females being passive and subordinate. (Saigol, 2003).

3.15 Politics of Exclusion in Education Policies of Pakistan.

In the politic of exclusion, a state adopts measures to exclude a certain group of people from governess structure or the mainstream system by categorizing as a second-class citizen. This categorization of citizens can be easily constructed through education policy by utilizing curriculum as a tool. In the perspective of construction of identity as second-class citizens, the curriculum plays a significant role through imparting ideology, to defy the status of certain group on the bases of their religion (Khan, 2004). In Pakistan, the process of relegating minorities as second-class citizen started after the education policy of 1969, which recommended the merger of the Pakistani identity with the Islamic

identity. The process of Islamization further strengthened it by promoting the idea of Muslim Ummah which not only excluded the minorities from Pakistani citizenship sphere but also put them on an inferior status within the society (Siddiqui, 2010; Zia, 2010). During the phase of Islamization, inculcation of the sentiment of intolerance, impatience, hostility and extremism were observed. The sectarian clash between two sects of Islam in Gilgit is the best example of the result produced from Islamized curricula. In Pakistan, Minorities (Christian, Sikh, Hindu, and Mirzai) are not enjoying the equal status within the society and they have to face ridiculed behaviour of the people (Khan, 2004).

3.16 Conclusion.

In Pakistan, the education policies have been revealing the story of an altered narrative in ideological discourse for the construction of Pakistani identity and citizenship. Every regime has produced education policy with the agenda of constructing an ideal citizenship for nation building according to need of time. This change in ideological narrative of education policies had set a pattern of political vision to introduce certain type of contents in curricula, especially in the social studies and Pakistan studies, to promote national history and heritage for the construction of a particular national identity and citizenship in Pakistan. The education policies had presented variance in promotion of the ideology of Pakistan from the south Asian context to the Muslim Ummah context which ultimately influenced the process of citizenship in constructing a discrepant citizenry that affects country in the overall. The first educational conference in 1947, as

being premiere has set pattern of constructing Pakistani identity and citizenship besides considering religious affiliations of people. This policy document has maintained space between citizenship and religious identity. However, the education policies of 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972, have attempted to systematically bridge connection between Pakistani citizenship and the Muslim identity. These policies have encouraged a narrative of Pakistani identity in context of Islam by declaring Islam as a predominant religion and a facet of identity formation. These policies of education have sponsored the discourse of Pakistani identity and citizenship based on the South Asian narrative. The paradigm shift in ideological narrative of education policies comes after the popular notion of Islamization in governance structure of Pakistan. The education policies of 1979, 1992 and 1998 have been produced under the influence of Islamization and have tried to redefine Pakistani identity and citizenship based on the notion of Muslim Ummah. This discourse of the Muslim Ummah carries a narrative of identity and citizenship only confined to a Muslim Pakistani. This shift in ideological narrative had impacted on curricula wherein Islamic knowledge and verses of Holy Quran had been made part of almost every subject. This process of ideological narrative has severely influenced the contents of social studies and Pakistan studies which were confined to Muslim heroes, Muslim history and a prejudice against Hindus. These three education policies have introduced Arabic as an additional language at middle schools to develop affiliation with Muslim world. The curriculum developed under auspices of Islamization had become the source of bigotry, violence and extremism which fabricated the peaceful co-existence within society. Despite of spreading biasness, hatred and division within society, these three education policies 1979, 1992 and 1998, in following the footprints of previous

policies of 1947, 1959, 1969 and 1972, were being deficient on ground of encouraging literary knowledge in contrary to scientific knowledge at the secondary school level. This promotion of literary knowledge at school level had created problem of technical or trained human capital to run the state affairs. Furthermore, all education policies had promoted scheme of 'Supremacy of Textbook' which strengthened the practice of textbook oriented examination that ultimately entailed teachers to teach paper-oriented knowledge in the shape of rote learning and memorization of a limited knowledge. It is easy to conclude that all education policies till date had promised to increase the literacy rate up to 100% and made subsequent claims for educational reforms but all these vows have been just contained in the policy documents and government could only achieve up to 40% literacy rate due to lack of commitment in implementing those education policies. The next chapter will discuss the education sector reform introduced by Musharraf to the improve quality and quantity of education. The next section will explain the thorough reform process especially curriculum reform in which Musharraf's government introduced modern knowledge in all subjects by removing Islamic contents from all subjects except Islamic studies to shift narrative of ideology to construct Pakistani identity and citizenship in context of neo liberal citizenship, to meet global challenges of the time.

CHAPTER 4

MUSHARRAF'S EDUCATION POLICY, IMPACT ON CURRICULUM REFORM AND CONSTRUCTION OF NEO LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is focused to elaborate the changing structure of global education standards, the discordant situation of education in Pakistan and initiative of curriculum reform to meet the global education standards, into four-fold. The first part gives a brief view of changing global politics and its influences on the requirements of education. It explains the causes of decentralization, vocationalization and privatization of education, to improve the quality of education, equating it with the economy of state structure. The second part provides information about the destitute situation of education, being inclined and far behind the global standards. It includes the criticisms of academic writers and social activists who pointed out gaps in existing curriculum by providing way-forwards. The third part is about education reform taken under Musharraf's government. This part gives broader perspective of Musharraf's initiative of restructuring curricula and taking out the nations posing Islam as conservative and promoting the ideology of extremism, further encompassing the expertise and contributions given by two education ministers i.e., Zubeida Jalal and Javed Ashraf Qazi respectively. Zubeida Jalal, being an education minster though elevated the status of curriculum but somehow lacked in presenting the definite narrative of ideology. Javed Qazi on the other hand altered the ideological narrative prevailing at the time, under the educational curriculum by taking out all

Islamic contents from the considered subjects, making it moderate and sublime. He focused on global perspectives and welcomed internationally sound education. The third part gives a broader perspective of the enhanced education curriculum and discusses about the formulation of white paper that informed enlightened moderation. The fourth part is about the role of successive government which followed curriculum of 2006 thoroughly. This government produced education policy of 2009 with separate chapter on the Islamic teaching. This further informs about role of the 18th amendment in devolving education ministry from center to provincial government, along-with making education a fundamental right of every individual. This chapter is generally encompassing the role of developing new curricula to construct of more tolerant, enlightened, honest, responsible and skilled citizenry, who can compete in the international, believing in peaceful co-existence.

4.2 Global Governance: A Paradigm Shift in World Politics

1990s as an era has been marked with stark shift in the dynamics of world politics from Bipolar to Unipolar due to disintegration of Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). This shift from Bipolar to Unipolar World ended the long-term balance of power in the international domain. This shift in dynamics of international system opened a new chapter by providing a definite space to international organizations to play their role in management of the world affairs (Held, 2002). This rise of international organizations such as the World Bank, International Monetary Funds, United Nations and World Trade Organization, with limited power of compliance in management of world affairs reduced

the state authority in socio-economic sphere of the society (Rosenau, 1999). Rosenau (1992) has recognized the role of international organizations in global management as "Global Governance". Rosenau has defined global governance as "governance without government" (Rosenau, 1992). In global governance framework, state's prerogative of being a sole representative of national policy has been abridged and state has to consider the directions of international organizations in the process of national policy making (Rosenau, 1999). These international organizations have given rise the phenomenon of global policy framework wherein states are independent, but their activities is regulated in absence of supreme political authority (Reinicke, 1998). This transformation in state structure at global level has developed "Multi-Level Network of Managers" wherein state actors along-with international organizations and non-governmental organizations play their roles at various levels to develop an effective treatment, to tackle the global crisis at any stage. Brand has defined Global governance as a political discourse which provides appropriate directions to regulate international relations, to ensure global competition for economic development by maintaining crisis free environment to deal the problems created by globalization. Thus, global governance is the reducing of global problems including poverty, political instability and economic crisis by politically regulating globalization (Brand, 2005:160).

Globalization has changed the international dynamics and has integrated the world populace socially, politically and culturally. It has developed interconnectedness amongst the states and people, due to technological connection. Information technology has not only reduced the distance but also has implanted English as a medium of communication. English being a lingua franca has opened communication channels globally. States have

been globally connected and this communication break through has developed the concept of global governance. Globalization has reduced the distance both culturally and technologically among the states and numerous states have initiated joint ventures against poverty, illiteracy, peace, economic stability and environmental issues, involving international organizations (Brand, 2005:161). The gesture of state seeking assistance from international organizations in managing and solving problems has given room to international organizations in governing framework, to share power in the sphere of policy making of a state. Thus, globalization has reduced the state authority in the sphere of policy making (Mann, 1997). This shift in the pattern of policy making in states sphere is being informed from ideology of Neo-liberalism, which prevails at global scale (Bourdieu, 2001).

4.2.1 Discourse of Neo Liberalism and Promotion of Neo Liberal Citizenship

Neo-liberalism emerged as a new paradigm for state transformation, through the notion of de-structured and de-regulated economy in the shape of "Free Market or Open Market". In the domain of Free Market, a state has to compete in an open international market by dismantling the interventionist policy adopted under auspices of a welfare state. The role of a state in market has been changed from regulator to facilitator under the banner of neo liberalism. Now, state has been acting as a guarantor of rights of private property and smooth functioning of market without any interference in the market regulation. The narrative of privatization comes under auspice of neo liberalism, encourages the state to privatize state owned organizations by reducing authority in social

service sector (Brown, 2006). This mechanism of privatization has built frame of public-private partnership in social sector for prosperity of state. Neo liberalism has also influenced socio-political dynamics of a state, thus reducing the governmental authority in social services by pursuing directions of neo liberalism, to augment the economic development of state. Neo-Liberalism has reinforced the idea of decentralized governance structure and spread it around corner to devolve the centralized power structure. The most significant feature of neo-liberalism is the culture of international free trade for free competition in global market which ultimately becomes propelling factor for process of global governance (Kotz, 2002). Neo Liberalism has replaced Keynesian concepts and has emerged as an ideology of development and prosperity in the entire world.

This major shift from Keynesianism to Neo-Liberalism has not only changed the state structure but also influenced the notion and core concepts of citizenship. Welfare state, under auspices of Keynesianism was responsible for protection of social and economic rights of citizens. The citizens in welfare state were more dependent on states for their wellbeing. This dependency on state had constructed docile and least concerned citizens. The citizens were becoming least concerned about their rights and responsibilities. On the other hand, Neo-Liberal State has promoted the idea of privatization to make citizens responsible for their wellbeing especially in the field of health, education and social security. According to Kumar, state under auspices of neo liberalism has established individual liberty which is the key eliminator of many societal evils including poverty eradication, wellbeing and development and general uplift of society (Kumar, 2012). Now, states are welcoming the idea of neo-liberal citizens in the shape of self-reliant,

self-governing and self-responsible individuals. According to Brand, citizens in neoliberal discourse have become freer and more independent than ever before (Brand, 2005:169). Neo liberalism has changed the narrative of citizenship where citizens are being least dependent on state. Keeping in the impact of neo liberal discourse on citizenship, Howard and Patten provided definition of citizenship in these words, "The neo-liberal citizen is a self-regulating individual without the need for any government support at all and on whom there are no restrictions (Howard, 2006, p. 468)".

4.2.2 Perspective of Neo-Liberalism and Global framework for Education

The ideological narration of neoliberalism has been augmenting the process of global governance. Global governance has provided platform for international organization to manage solutions for problems faced by region or various states through their cooperation (Karns, 2009). International organizations have been developing a global framework to tackle menace of various issues (Education, Environment, Poverty) faced by numerous states. The best example about the role played by international organizations is the provision of a common platform for promotion of education in solving problem of poverty and illiteracy all over the world, through the concept of universal education. This global measure for promotion of education to solve common global issues of poverty and illiteracy is undoubtedly recognized as global framework for education. The global framework for education is a body with mandatory common provisions of universality of education to be espoused by all member states of the United Nations. The Global Framework for education is working under auspices of UNESCO and United Nations.

Both UNESCO and the United Nations have respectively formulated 'Education for All' and Millennium Development Goals, to guide respective states; to overcome problems in education and in its pursuance. Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals have given common platform to ensure Gender Parity and Universal Primary Education. The most significant variance between MDGS and EFA is that MDGs have a complete agenda of development with having only two goals related to education. However, EFA thoroughly only covers every aspect related to Primary education. The goals of EFA are given below;

1. Enhance Quality of Education
2. Free and Compulsory Education
3. Increase in Early Childhood Education
4. Ensure Gender Parity in Education
5. Promote Adult Literacy
6. Promotion life learning among students

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is devised by the United Nations to provide solutions for various problems (Poverty, Health, Environment, Education and Women Empowerment) of the world. However, MDGs is having two goals related to education. These two goals are informed from EFA. The MDGs goals on core education are following;

- Goal-2 emphasizes on universal Primary Education
- Goal-3 focuses on promotion of Gender Equality in Education

The United Nation has formulated these two goals to increase literacy and to eradicate poverty. In the global education framework, international organizations have been funding numerous states to overcome the issues in the field of education. It has provided provisions for qualitative and qualitative improvements in all sectors of education. Furthermore, global framework of education has directly interlinked education with poverty reduction. The purpose of education for economic development is also seconded and supported by World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Both organizations are promoting idea of education for development, particularly the economic development. WB and IMF have designed Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper by interlinking poverty reduction with education (Lazarus, 2008). This framework of interlinking education to poverty reduction has prioritized purpose of education to benefit economic prosperity. The ideology of education has been shifted to growth of human capital and knowledge economy by ignoring purpose of education to construct identity. Now, states are pursuing education policy to outline education, being used for market driven purpose and accelerated notion of knowledge economy in the world (Olssen, 2007). The purpose of education is to produce competitive human capital with market-oriented skills, to be part of global market. It is definite requisite for education to have a standardized curriculum and modern competing pedagogical skills for the construction of human capital to compete in global market. It is worth to mention here that information technology and English have considerably become globally acknowledged skills under the patronage of knowledge economy. Furthermore, knowledge has become more scientific and market oriented (Fischer, 2009). Now, in the context of education policy, scientific knowledge is to be systematic and methodological in character, to be superior to another domains of

knowledge; especially ideological driven. (Brand, 2013:426). The narrative of education for the purpose of economic development has severely influenced the use of education for purpose of Nation Building and State Building.

4.3 The Destitute Situation of Education in Pakistan: A Quest for Education Reforms

Since the creation of Pakistan, every education policy had been designed, keeping in focus the then existing position of illiteracy, to increase the number of educated citizens through equitable access to education. However, the literacy rate had been improving with the passage of time but could not mount to the level of 100% and was confined to the rate of 43%. Pakistan was having 67% illiterate populace till 1999 (Bengali, 1999). This high rate of illiteracy was due to inequitable distribution of educational facilities between urban and rural areas, wherein educational facilities in rural areas had never been in priority of the government's charter.

The issue of girls' education had been principal concern of all previous education policies due to low enrolment of girls in educational institutions particularly in rural areas of Pakistan. Despite of promises made in policy documents to increase female literacy rate, girl's education was compromised due to lacking schools in their areas particularly in rural Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Sindh (Naveed, 2016).

By keeping in view, the role of quality education, government of Pakistan had dispensed core position in every education policy to construct Pakistani identity and human capital for the development of Pakistan. However, the provisions of quality education had shown

alarming results due experimentalization of curricula under changing narrative of ideology in Pakistan. The trend of Islamization promoted by Zia regime had afflicted the process of societal development by inserting Islamic contents in almost all taught subjects, including science and humanities. The objective of this curricula reform was the construction of Pakistani citizenship in the context of Muslim Ummah and to positively transform and rebuild Pakistan as a fundamentalist Islamic society. In pursuance of Islamization scheme, Zia's government focused on propagation of Islamic literature for the construction of Muslim identity by negating importance of modern knowledge and putting education system on the slant of orthodoxy and conservativeness (Durani, 2009). Even subjects of Islamic studies were overloaded with contents of jihad and biasness against minorities (Ahmed & Nayyar, 2002). Knowing all these inclinations of curriculum, yet still the successive governments (Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif) meticulously followed the policy doctrine of Zia's Regime in education with unabridged compliance to the process of Islamization (Durani, 2013). This scheme of reform taken from Islamization had put Pakistani curricula at a disadvantageous position due to being deficient on ground for scientific knowledge, innovations and critical thinking (Hoodbhoy, 1998). So, this scheme of reform adversely effected social fabric of society by constructing docile citizenship with having intolerance, rigidity and extremism in their attitudes.

The examination system or assessment system was thoroughly based on the notion of "Supremacy of Textbook" which promoted culture of material memorization and rote learning, which ultimately ruined critical thinking of students in Pakistan (Afzal, 2016). The question paper of exams was having eloquent questions which only judged the

students' memory and thus were promoting the culture of cramming as well as the gaining of knowledge without understanding.

Pakistan had been facing a serious concern in educational sector with the shortage of professionally trained teachers, especially female instructors. The situation of teachers working in public sector institutions was quite depressing because they were underpaid, poorly trained and even their services were not recognized within the society. Teacher training programme was presenting the most alarming situation because teachers were provided training through short workshops and lectures. It is worth to mention here that a qualified teacher is a most important prerequisite in any case, as the teacher is the agent of change and way forwarder of students. Despite of knowing the importance of qualified teacher, education policy makers in Pakistan had not taken concrete steps to ensure availability of competent staff in educational institutions.

The education system of Pakistan is an amalgam of public educational institutions and private institutions wherein Madrasas education system lies in the private institution's domain. Madrasas, being the educational institutions are solely responsible for imparting education based on the juncture of Islam. It is worth to note that madrassas system in Pakistan is diverse based on their sectarian affiliation and following their curricula informed from respective sectarian interpretations of Islam respectively. The common feature of all madrasas system is that their curricula are religion oriented, lacking the areas of science and technology (Nayyar, 1998). This feature of curricula had put madrasas in isolation from the mainstream education system. Being distinct from mainstream education system, the graduates of madrasas were having limited

employment opportunities as of imams and khatibs in the mosques. This feature of market in shape of limited employment opportunities for graduates of madrasas had become source of resentment and exclusion within the society. Madrasas are known as the factories of societal division based on sectarian and subsequently promoting sectarian violence within society due to following of the curricula based on the sectarian interpretation of Islam (Ali, 2009).

The curricula of public schools went through systematic criticism by Kazi (1987) in his book "Ethnicity and Education in Nation- Building: A Case of Pakistan", wherein the author points out the problem of unequal representation of ethnic divisions and overemphasized Islamic ideology contents within the curricula of social studies of Pakistan (Kazi, 1987).

Aziz (1993) has extended the criticism of Kazi on public school curricula by pointing out the existing problems of curricula in his book "The Murder of History: A Critique of Textbooks used in Pakistan". He has thoroughly discussed the trend of Islamization of curricula by spotting verses of Holy Quran in subjects of languages as well as in natural sciences. Furthermore, he has pointed out that curricula of natural sciences were laden with contents of Muslim scientists respectively. He has highlighted that the subject of world history was completely changed into history of Muslim world as well as subject of history was historically distorted (Aziz, 1993).

The poor quality of curricula is highlighted by Saigol (1995), as gender biased and incompatible to the women development in Pakistan (1995). Hoodbhoy (1998), declared the curricula as being outdated and incoherent with modern and scientific knowledge,

lacking in global requirements of world knowledge. The curricula of Pakistan are more like frozen substance without having a pattern of modernization (Khalid, 2006). The government is devising curricula for their political motives without considering the existing societal problems and future requirements for the development of society (Isani, 2003).

Education policy making has remained the most neglected and debarred subject, since the creation of Pakistan. However, various governments had produced education policies to pursue desired goals of nation building as well as state building. In formulation of these education policies, every government had followed his own agenda or ideology to address the existing problems of nation building and state building. This practice of formulating education policy by negating upshot of previous policies had not only created the crisis of identity but also led education sector in backward and a hiatus position. Governments in Pakistan have ever since followed experimentalizing tactic in devising education policy which ultimately plagued the purpose and core concept of education. Because of this vague state of education policy numerous social evils have been surfaced including, the issues of violence, intolerance, extremism and terrorism within the society.

Therefore, education in Pakistan was an amalgamation of complex problems and these problems as discussed above were propelling paraphernalia to halt the development of society. It put society socio-economically at backward stage with the ingression of ignorance, intolerance, hatred and extremism. There was a dire need to address existing problems of quantity and quality of education to tackle issue of illiteracy, intolerance, extremism and terrorism, to make society more vibrant and prosperous.

4.4 Education Sector Reform Action Plan: An Agenda of Restructuring of Education

Musharraf's government, keeping in view this unfortunate situation of education, considered complete restricting of curricula. It needed support to promote infrastructural development in education sector (Halai, 2005). It was quite challenging to devise systematic reform scheme with a comprehensive implementation plan to restructure the education within ethnically diverse and geographically expanded society. Musharraf's regime formulated a comprehensive scheme of restructuring curriculum, under the name of Education System Reform Action Plan. Education System Reform was devised by keeping in consideration the national as well as international challenges faced by the education sector. ESR was informed from international directive of restructuring education to improve realm of quality and quantity (Pakistan, 2000). It was designed to increase universal primary education and to ensure gender parity in education. The basic purpose of ESR was to address the existing problems in education such as the low enrollment rate especially of girls, low quality of education, stagnant curricula and poor infrastructure of education sector. The most distinct feature of ESR was its foundation on international standards (Pakistan, 2000).

It is pertinent to mention here that ESR prioritized education agenda for economic development by directly interlinking education to poverty reduction. It pursued the ideology of human capital formation by negating the aspect of education solely for nation building. The narrative of education in ESR was quite contrary to previous education policies which pursued ideology of education for nation building and state building. ESR

side-lined the prevalent narrative of education for nation building which created severe challenges of national identity for Pakistan as being a multi-ethnic society (Ali, 2009).

ESR was an innovative agenda by government which promoted the idea of education reforms as a key element of development. It emphasized on restructuring of education to make it compatible with the changing global trends. The unique feature of ESR was being an action plan for implementation of existing education policy of 1998-2008. Musharraf's regime preferred to follow previous education policy by devising broader implementation plan for it. His regime set the pattern of continuing previous policy rather than going for a new plan of education policy and thoroughly rejected the practice of his predecessors' governments to formulate new education policy by ignoring previous education policy doctrines.

ESR was formulated to comprehensively restructure education sector and to increase literacy rate through public private partnership. It had the provision about decentralization of education from provincial governments to district governments, to affluence management and good governance. It focused on the promotion of gender balance education at all levels. ESR had the mechanism of reforming school, college, university and madrasa education, to meet the challenges of globalized world. ESR had the following goals

1. Universal primary education
2. Promotion of Technical and Vocation Education
3. Public-Private Partnership
4. Promotion Science Education

5. Ensure Gender Disparity in Education
6. Quality Education
7. Reforming Madrasas Education
8. Reforming Higher Education

4.4.1 Universal primary education: Break Through for Development

Pakistan at the time of independence inherited 85% illiterate population and most of the population was residing in backward areas (Bengali, 1999). Baluchistan presented more deplorable situation in literacy rate with virtually zero literacy rate of women in its rural areas. Government of Pakistan brought to light numerous education policies to counter the menace of illiteracy within the society. Despite of these education commitments, government could achieve only 42% literacy until 2001. This miserable situation of education in Pakistan had shown false planning of government in securing education sector for development of the state. Government was lacking the capacity to provide education facilities to it population. Even existing schools were deficient with basic facilitates like appropriate building, electricity, washrooms and drinking water (Siddiqui, 2007). The main reason behind illiteracy was the absence of free and compulsory education. Poor parents could not afford the burden of fee and the costs of textbooks of public schools. Furthermore, public sector education was lacking the capacity to provide quality of education. There formal structure for Early Childhood Education (ECE) was inappropriate and curriculum guideline was missing in Public education system (Ahmed, 2011). In 1999, Pervez Musharraf, after taking his responsibility as the chief executive, prioritized education as an important milestone of future development.

The problem of universal primary education can be addressed only by having numerous primary schools. Education sector in Pakistan was lacking inconsiderable primary schools to promote primary. The most alarming point for government was poor condition of the existing primary schools due to miserable state of basic facilities like drinking water, washrooms and electricity. Being signatory of EFA and MDGs, Government had to ensure universal primary education till 2015. Thus, government developed ESR under patronage of Musharraf. ESR focused on universal primary education for increasing literacy for development of society. Government launched a reformatting scheme for improving quality and quantity of education through public schools. It established public primary schools around the corner of Pakistan. Musharraf's regime focused on the provision of basic infrastructure of schools by providing facilities like buildings, electricity, clean drinking water and teachers. The most significant step of Musharraf's regime was to provide free education along-with free textbooks to students in public schools up to the matric level (UNESCO, 2010). This programme of free education by government accentuated the increase in literacy rate. It elevated the number of enrolments in public primary schools. It is pertinent to mention here that enrollment rate at primary school level consistently increased from 43.92% in 1998 to 54% in 2004 (Pakistan, 2004).

Government adopted a strategy to increase primary education, opened space for private schools to play their role in increasing primary education within society to meet the international targets. Thus, enrollment in primary education got the momentum in growth and reached to height of 62%. According to National Education Census of Pakistan 2005, education system of Pakistan had accommodated 36 million students at primary

level. The gross rate of enrollment at primary level was 80% while net enrollment rate was 62% (Pakistan, 2005).

Table:4.1 Enrollment Rate at Primary Level

Name	Boy	Girl	Total
Public School	6194395	4566960	10761355
Private School	921269	750616	1671885
Madrasas	602695	200209	802904

Source: (Pakistan, Educational Census Report of Pakistan 2005)

Musharraf's regime took consolidated steps to overcome illiteracy by improving literacy rate at primary level. Government emphasized on improving infrastructure of existing public schools and establishing new schools for furthering of literacy. The strategy of public schools' growth was adopted to reduce poverty within society. However, unfortunately the number of public primary schools started decreasing due to three reasons:

a. Upgradation of primary schools to middle schools
b. Merger of schools due to inadequate teaching staff
c. Shut down Due to lack of basic facilities and teaching staff

It is important to note that public primary schools numerically got diminished after 2006 while on the other hand private schools and higher secondary schools maintained the pace of growth in number. Table 4.2 shows clear picture of public primary schools which started increasing in number after 2002 and reduced in number after national education census held in 2005.

Table: 4.2 Number of Schools Under Education Sector Reform

Year	Primary School	High School	Higher Secondary School
2002	150800	15600	585
2003	155000	16100	624
2004	157200	16600	747
2005	157500	22900	3059
2006	158400	23600	3090
2007	157400	24000	3125
2008	156700	24300	3159
2009	157500	24800	3192
2010	155500	25200	3224

Source: (Pakistan, Pakistan Economic Survey, 2009-10)

4.4.2 Promotion of Technical and Vocational Education: A strategy for Poverty Reduction

Globalization, under auspice of neo-liberalism has changed the narrative of education, emphasizing it as a medium of economic development by ignoring the relevant aspect of education as an agent of social development. The narrative of education for economic development encourages education to be featured on producing skilled workers industry and other related service sectors. Education particularly informed from discourse of creating skill development in workforce, is labelled as Technical and Vocational education (Pakistan, 2009:7). Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TEVT) is more economically relevant and marketable domain. Through technical and vocational education people are trained swiftly within short time and with considerably less resources. In Pakistan, every government promised to promote TEVT in policy papers and action plans but in actual contributed little in establishing Technical and Vocation education. However, perspective of technical education got momentum during

Musharraf's regime. His government linked education to poverty reduction under direction of WB. Musharraf encouraged TEVT to be imparted to children of low income families, to make them the agent of economic development. In Pakistan, system of technical education starts after matriculation. In technical education, Diploma in Associate Engineering is built on course duration of three years. Education in technical fields is imparted in Government Technical Colleges, Polytechnic and Monotechnic institutions. Mostly Polytechnic and Monotechnic institutions are imparting technical education in mechanical, electrical and civil areas. The vocational education starts after middle school (Grade 8). The duration of vocational diploma varies from 3 months to two years. However, most of diplomas in vocational education have duration of one year for securing certificate (Rislund, 2006:14).

Musharraf's government under ESR systematically restructured the system of technical and vocational education. ESR provided guidelines for establishing one Polytechnic Institute for boys in every district and Polytechnic Institute for woman in every division, throughout the country. ESR had introduced curriculum reform in DAE curriculum under the name of "Technical Education Project". The Technical Education Project was designed to update existing curriculum by inserting advance knowledge to make it compatible with global requirements. It provided mechanism to develop curricula of 30 specialized fields in technology. In general, every institution was offering diplomas from 3 to 4 fields of advanced technologies while it had a broader perspective of vocation education with imparting skills in 40 specialized categories of various areas (Pakistan, 2009:8). It provided guidelines for uniform curricula throughout Pakistan. By following guidelines, uniform curricula in technical education, provinces were maintaining

uniformity of curricula in vocational fields as well. The most significant step of Musharraf's government was establishing technical and vocational colleges throughout country especially for girls to make them active in the economic development of society. It is due to government's effort that number of girls in technical education increased. However, situation of vocation education was different than technical education regarding girls' enrollment. Vocational education-maintained gender balanced. The table 4.3. explains gender parity in Polytechnic, Monotechnic and vocational institutions.

There were very few technical and vocational institutions for women in Pakistan before 2000. It was direly needed to establish more technical institutions, imparting practical skills to women. Jalal recommended the government to establish more technical and vocational institutions to train women for economic development. Being woman, Jalal wanted to see women as an active agent of change with potential skills to compete in the international and national market and to contribute in economic development of society. She recommended introducing relevant diplomas for women like handicraft, beauty services, fashion designing and tailoring cloth. These diplomas were added to encourage women to have specialized skill in these and offer their services in economic development and subsequently facilitating their families (Z.Jalal, perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). Despite of Technical Education Project, TEVT was lacking in central institution for framing policy to regulate activities and restructuring of education. This problem was solved by education minister Javed Ashraf Qazi, devising national commission to control all activities of technical and vocational education. According to Qazi, Zubeida Jalal had initiated reform process in TEVT but missed out the administrative structure to control activities regarding curriculum and upgradation of

education. Government established National Vocational and Technical training commission of Pakistan upon Qazi's suggestion, to provide uniform policies framework to regulate technical and vocational education. Qazi emphasized on developing market-oriented curricula by consulting with relevant industries. Furthermore, ministry had conducted assessment survey under his direction before implementation, revised for curriculum in specialized areas of technology (personal communication, January 31, 2018).

Table: 4.3 Number of Boys and Girls in Polytechnic, Monotechnic and Vocational colleges

Number of Students in Institute	Boys	Total	Girls	Total
Polytechnic	64254	95.1	3296	4.9
Monotechnic	6301	87.8	872	12.2
Vocational	109926	51.1	105126	48.9

Source: (Pakistan, Pakistan education statistics 2010-11, 2011)

4.4.3 Education Sector: Factor for Economic Development and Promotion of Scientific Education

The role of science subjects cannot be sublimed; they are significant in constructing competent human capital for the development of society. Science subjects, particularly at school level have been regarded as the backbone of future scientists, doctors, Pharmacists, engineers and researchers, for smooth progress of any society. Schools with well-equipped laboratories can definitely make it possible. Keeping in view the significance of science subjects, government of Pakistan through every formulated education policy has always emphasized on the promotion of science education at school level. But, high schools and higher secondary schools were lacking suitable science

laboratories all around Pakistan. Even science laboratories were missing in numerous schools especially in backward and underdeveloped areas (Halai, 2008). Respective governments, despite of making promises in policy papers showed on responsive behaviours in establishing well equipped laboratories in every public high school and higher secondary school in urban and rural areas Therefore, high schools and higher secondary schools were not in the position to meticulously train students in respective subjects for the pursuance of higher education. After becoming the education minister in 1999, Jalal recognized the role of proper facilitations in any school. This problem needed quick hearing due to its role in producing a competitive human capital. Under her patronage, Ministry of Education categorically emphasized on revamping of education in schools. Government initiated scheme of establishing modern laboratories, mathematic resource rooms, consumable materials, equipment and video books (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). Master trainers and well qualified science teachers were recruited. Sciences teachers were equipped with modern techniques through timely refreshing courses. It was direly needed to well-equip the schools with advanced tools, to nurture the students according to latest trends. Government upon his recommendation had established around 3000 modern laboratories in high schools, all over Pakistan (J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018). Education at high school level particularly science had met noticeable improvements through modern laboratories and transformed the public-school education into a much advanced and market oriented.

4.4.4 Ensure Gender Parity in Education: Gateway to Development

The state of women Education in Pakistan has been presenting deplorable condition since creation. Bengali unveiled poor literacy rate of women in Pakistan wherein 80% women of rural areas were still illiterate (Bengali, 1999). It is noticeable since the beginning of the First Educational Conference in 1947 that every education policy document had provisions for promotion of women education. But despite of these policy provisions gender disparities still existed in education sector in Pakistan. Even, Zia's government in 1979 had adopted innovative strategy of "Mullah School", to encourage women education, to raise literacy rate of women. The policy of 1979 adopted this scheme due to immobility of women by keeping in view the cultural traits of domestic society. "Mullah School" scheme was concrete effort to encourage women education at primary level (Sandhu, 2012). Education policy of 1998-2008 had a comprehensive plan to ensure gender parity in education. The policy document says,

> "Efforts have to be made to cut the high dropout rates and induce more out of school youths back to the school system, particularly the girls whose participation is still very low. Provision shall be expanded, particularly in the rural areas and of the schools dedicated for girls. Priority shall be given to those locations where the ratio of secondary schools is low" (Pakistan, 1998, p.76).

However, government was lacking in capacity to increase women literacy and to ensure enrolment rate. The major problem was the shortage of girls' schools particularly in rural areas. Girls could not go far-long areas due mobility problem in context of cultural traits.

Musharraf's government started focusing on women education, keeping in view the problems of women education. The government established more primary schools for girls and recruited more female teachers to ensure provision of universal primary

education. Even, Education Sector Reform Prioritized the education of girls belonging to rural and backward areas (Pakistan, 2000). Non-governmental Organizations played significant role in raising women literacy rate in backward areas particularly in Baluchistan (Naveed, 2016). Table 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 depicts government efforts in raising women literacy rate in Pakistan.

Table: 4.4 Literacy Rate in Pakistan 1972-2004

Year	All Areas			Urban			Rural		
	Both Sex	Male	Female	Both Sex	Male	Female	Both Sex	Male	Female
1972	21.7	30.2	11.6	41.5	49.9	30.9	14.3	22.6	4.7
1981	26.2	35.1	16	47.1	55.3	37.3	17.3	26.2	7.3
1998	43.92	54.8	32.02	63.08	70	55.16	33.64	46.38	20.9
2004	54	66.25	41.75	72.37	79.9	64	43.84	58.4	30

Source: (Pakistan, Annual Pakistan Education Statistics Reports, 2004)

Table: 4.5 Primary School Enrolment Rate

Year	Net Enrolment Rate for Boy	Net Enrolment Rate for Girl
2001	67.5	45.8
2004	73.3	55.7
2005	56	48
2006	60	51
2007	59	52
2008	61	54

Source: (Pakistan, Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey 2008-09)

Table: 4.6 Comparison of Gender based Literacy Rate in Pakistan

Year	Boy Literacy Rate	Girl Literacy Rate
1999	59.2	32.2
2001	62.8	34.8
2004	65	40
2005	65	42
2006	67	42
2007	69	44
2008	69	45

Source: (Pakistan, Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey 2007-08)

4.4.5 Public-Private Partnership: Bridge to Increase Literacy

Despite of formulating various education policies and action plans Pakistan is still lingering in achieving 100% literacy rate. Due to meagre capacity of government "Public Education Sector" is lacking facilities to provide basic education to its people. Even, Pakistan is still craving for a saviour, to assist her in reducing illiteracy within the society (Naveed, 2016). Pakistan being a signatory of Global Education Governance, adopted scheme to take assistance of privatization of education provision to achieve 100% literacy rate by 2015. Therefore, private sector emerged on the scene as rescuer in providing education in Pakistan. According to national education census, contribution of private sector in provision of education has reached 33% and this role of private institutions in delivering education is getting increased with passage of time (Pakistan, 2005). Government adopted an innovative strategy to get the desired services of private sector in mounting literacy rate in public sector education. In this strategy, government promoted privatization under the patronage of institution known as "Education Foundation". This was working at federal level with the name of "National Education Foundation" while working at provincial levels in Punjab and Sindh as "Punjab Education Foundation" and "Sindh Education Foundation" respectively. The basic purpose of this invention was to adopt private schools under government patronage wherein government provides financial support to privately inbuilt institutions to ensure quality of education (Malik, 2018).

4.4.6 Quality Education Reform: Discourse of Real Change

In the education policy, national governments emphasize on provision of quality education. Quality Education is the essence of constructing human capital and citizenship as required by state. It is a forum of constructing quality life wherein students learn wisdom, courage, confidence, tolerance, loyalty, patriotism and most of all, the discipline of life. In Pakistan, every education policy had provisions for quality education. The quality education is featured upon curricula, examination system and quality of teachers. The situation of quality education was miserable in Pakistan. This unstable position of quality education can easily be understood by these factors;

1. Educational institutions were lacking qualified teachers,
2. Rote learning due examination system based upon supremacy of textbooks,
3. Curricula was focused of Muslim narrative and lacking modern content
4. Deficient Basic infrastructure of educational institutions.

Musharraf's government introduced comprehensive scheme of education reform under the banner of ESR. The ESR was having guidelines for improvements of quality education. The objective of ESR focused on quality education in these words,

> "Improvement in the quality of education at all levels through better teachers, upgraded training options, curriculum & textbook reforms, and competency-based examination system for promoting Pakistan as a knowledge-based society" (Pakistan, 2004, p. 9).

It is quite remarkable that ESR was implemented under the ministerial position of two education ministers, Zubeida Jalal (2001-2003) and Javed Ashraf Qazi (2004-2006). Both Ministers pursued ESR under Musharraf's regime. However, both followed diversified discourse of reform in restructuring of education, particularly in realm of quality

education. The clear difference in pursuance of restructuring education was visualized in respect of curriculum reform. The curricula reform under Zubeida Jalal (2001-2003) was more centric to quality of contents in textbooks through removing outdated and incoherent contents than shifted ideological narrative of curricula informed from Islamization. The phase of reform (2001-2003) was declared as tempered due to its maintaining of ideological orientation of Islamization in the contents of syllabus (Jamil, 2009). However, Javed Ashraf Qazi pursued comprehensive scheme of Revision of curricula (2004-2006) through removing Islamic contents from all subjects at all grades except in the curriculum Islamic studies. Even, Islamic studies curriculum narrative shifted from Haqooq-ul-Allah to discourse of Haqooq-ul-Ibad; dominating the narrative of human right. This Phase of comprehensive reform (2004-2006) promoted more tolerant and inclusive discourse of Islam as ideological narrative for development of curricula which was quite far from discourse of Islamization.

4.5 Education System Reform Under Patronage of Zubeida Jalal

Zubeida Jalal became Education minister under reign of General Pervez Musharraf in 1999. She was assigned the task to reform education system in Pakistan. Education system was in dire need of complete restructuring which was a challenging task. Jalal was familiarized about existing problems of education. It was most difficult and challenging task for her to initiate curriculum reform. However, she started pursuing scheme of curriculum reform under Education Sector Reform, launched in 2001. Ministry of Education produced valuable and comprehensive documents of new curriculum in

2002. The MoE launched this reformed document within a short time (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). The benchmark progression of her reform scheme is discussed in detail in following paragraphs.

4.5.1 Introduction of Early Childhood Education

The status of Early Childhood Education in public education system was missing from landscape of primary education and was not officially recognized and considered as important by government. Although, a few public schools were following ECE in their system of education in which students joined schools without formally enrolled in schools (Hunzai, 2007). The Curricula of CEC was missing in the framework of formally recognized curriculum. In 1970, Katchi class was too formal and didactic that it could not be recognized in category of CEC. Subsequently, successive government suspended practice of organizing Katchi class in 1980 and the scheme of Katchi was no more part of education system. However, keeping in view importance of CEC, government had formally recognized status of CEC in primary school system, under the domain of education policy of 1992. Although education policy 1992 recognized status of CEC but curriculum wing was lacking in capacity to provide adequate learning material and textbooks for students of CEC (Ahmed, 2011). Governments were lacking in commitment to provide adequate funds, infrastructure and the most learning material or framework of curricula for students of CEC. While in international perspective, Fleer has recognized role of CEC in development of capabilities of students (Fleer, 2003). Mostly states, in worlds are focusing on CEC to develop and enhance capabilities of children for

development of their societies. It is worth to mention that CEC has been missing from priority list of governments in agenda of education policy until the introduction of ESR.

CEC was formally recognized as part of primary education and implemented under the guideline of ESR, to promote quality education. ESR provided a framework of reading materials and textbooks for students of CEC, first time in educational history of Pakistan. Ministry of education implemented CEC in all public schools in Pakistan by making it formally recognized, in which students were officially registered and schools had the record of students at CEC level. Furthermore, education ministry defined age limits of children from 3 years to 5 years for enrolments. The significant step of Ministry education was to provide trainings to teachers about CEC and facilitating Federal Curriculum Wing to design curricula for CEC. The curricula of CEC were designed keeping in consideration the cultural diversity of each province. The textbooks were developed according to the frame of curricula. Ministry of education took this initiative to ensure quality of education and ultimately raising literacy rate in Pakistan. It is worth to note here that government had taken several steps of promotion of CEC by considering government's commitment to Dakar Framework of Action, increased enrolments of children in all corners of Pakistan, especially for children from backward areas on one hand while addressing education of increasing population, especially at the age of 3 years to 5 years within the society (Pakistan, 2003).

Zubeida Jalal being education minister had realized need of ECE in public schools to prepare students to join primary schools. She focused on introduction of Early Childhood Education as a key to quality of education in public primary schools. ECE was on foremost agenda of primary education and was introduced under ESR. The curriculum

for early childhood education was also approved in 2002.This systematic scheme of study for children of age 3-5 years was implanted in public primary schools. ECE was a mandatory segment of primary education and its importance for holistic development of children could not be negated (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). She further elaborates:

> "Jalal has served as teacher at school and know the importance of Kichi class for beginners. Kichi class plays foremost role of developing cognitive, emotional, social and physical abilities in the children. It develops fundamental skills in children for primary education. Kichi class is like foundation of a house" (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018).

4.5.2 Introducing English as Compulsory Subject at Primary Level

The British Empire introduced English as a compulsory language at the elementary level. The purpose of introducing English as subject was to produce human capital for smooth functioning of state machinery. In 1947, Pakistan inherited an education system from British-India. After being declared as independent, Pakistan followed footprints of colonial government in education and maintained English as compulsory subject at elementary school level. Successive government followed this trend blindly and maintained status quo about English as compulsory subject at elementary level. It is interesting to note that various regimes had promoted transformation agenda for improvement of education system but none of the regime had changed status of English as compulsory subject from elementary level. Even these regimes changed curricula by inserting new themes in existing curriculum of English. Education policy of 1998-2008 was formed at time of globalization in which English had gained status of international language but policy did not shift English to primary level. Education policy of 1998

became deficient on various stages in addressing global requirement of education, including the importance of English at primary level. The lapses of 1998 policy were addressed by the Ministry of education under ESR. It introduced English as compulsory subject from 1st grade in primary school. The purpose of making English as part of 1st grade syllabus was to develop viable communication skills and understanding of English to meet global challenges. Jalal had emphasized upon the growing importance of English and its teaching at 1st grade, in following words,

"It's not easy to survive in 21st country without having sufficient grip on English. Pakistan has great opportunity to promote English communication through medium of universal primary education. We cannot progress in field ICT and communication without knowing English. Further, English communication is workable instrument to add confidence and courage to children to compete in global world" (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018).

English has become a global language and a cause of association and linkage among people around world, bridging the communication gap. It is creating an association of Neo-Liberal paradigm wherein people are free to get connected despite of their visible differences. English has become an instrument of de-ethnizing and an element of global market affiliation (Spring J. , 2008). The role English in de-ethicizing has created a peril for construction of local identities. It is developing association and diminishing cultural variances among people, becoming a way of transformation for construction of new identity for people informed from globalization.

4.5.3 Introduction of Computer as Subject at School Level

The frame of knowledge economy is influenced from neo liberal perspective of constructing skilled human capital with knowledge of computer proficiency and premises of life learning. Computer has become an important need of time and its role cannot be neglected or diminished in this modern world. IT has gained a status of societal prosperity. Education system lacking the basic component of computer as subject cannot be in a suitable position to produce market-oriented human capital. The provisions of IT are useful in the creation of new knowledge for further development of society. IT, being variable of constructing technical human capital and inspired from the value of life learning, has become a mandatory part of education. Perceiving its global importance and future, governments have grown in promotion and education of IT. Pakistan has also taken measures to promote IT for creation of technical human capital to eradicate poverty from society. ESR was designed to restructure the existing system with the introduction of modern knowledge to construct human capital for the promotion of knowledge-based economy. Government started emphasizing on the promotion of knowledge economy through phenomenon of IT. Ministry of education (MOE) under ESR initiated schemes of launching computer as a subject at high school level. Computer was introduced as a subject in science group at matric level. MOE took considerable measures to encourage computer education throughout Pakistan for promotion of information technology. According to Jalal, rigorous steps were taken, keeping in view the changing structure in education sector with firm hand. The basic issue in the initiation of computer at school level was availability of computers and other related materials. This issue was solved

with help of Atta-ur-Rehman (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). MOE with assistance of Ministry of Science and Technology (MoST) developed computer laboratories in high school all around Pakistan (Ayaz, 2010). Government acknowledged the significance of computer studies and computer laboratories for preferment of technical knowledge in these words,

> "Government of Pakistan is making maximum effort to promote information technology education desired areas in the country. The need of the hour is to introduce I.T at grassroots level i.e. to students of schools. The distribution of PCs in the secondary schools will be a major contribution in familiarizing students with basic computer knowledge and its operation. The computer laboratory in the schools would also act as a community center for public in the evening" (Pakistan, 2002, p.34).

MoST established computer laboratories by providing 15 computers along-with Local Area Network. These computers were having Pentium 3 technology with Microsoft window and Microsoft Office. Every laboratory was facilitated with one printer. The basic idea of initiating computer as subject was to encourage technical knowledge. Technical knowledge like ICT is a key to development and primarily important for the economic growth of society (Ayaz, 2010).

The government then developed curricula for computer as subject at high school level to provide guidelines for the writing of textbooks. However, Ministry of Science and Technology promised to provide qualified teachers for computer along-with their defined salary packages. But, teachers for computer science were not hired by MoST at any schools (Ayaz, 2010). It is pertinent to mention that computer laboratories were established under Pilot Projects by MoST and these projects were based on Adhoc

approach. These were taken as hurdles in promotion of IT at schools in early years of ESR.

4.5.4 New Scheme Study in Education at High School Level

ESR introduced inimitable scheme of study at high school level through initiating diversified subject combination. Before the initiation of this scheme two groups (Science and Humanities) were prevalent at high school level within Pakistan. In science group the only taught combination was Biology, Chemistry and Physics. The science subject combination was only offered in schools having science laboratories. ESR introduced computer as a subject at matriculation level. Technical subjects were also made part of science and humanities group. Technical field was also started at high school level. The following table 4.7 Explains the scheme of subjects at high school level

Table: 4.7 New Scheme of Study for High School under ESR

Sr No	Group	Subject Combination
1	Science	1. Biology, Chemistry, Physics 2. Chemistry, Computer, Physics, 3. Chemistry, Physics, Technical Subject
2	Humanities	1. General Science, Elective Subject, Technical Subject
3	Technical	1. General Science, Two Technical Subjects

ESR initiated a scheme of Matric Tech education at high school level. The purpose behind this scheme was to promote technical skills and to construct competitive human capital at school level. This idea was encouraged to utilize education as a medium of poverty reduction. Government promised to establish 1100 Matric Tech throughout the country. But the promise remained in papers of ESR. While, provincial governments were lacking in capacity to encourage Matric Tech in schools. Therefore, technical

education at high school was not being implemented accurately and as planned due to unavailability of technical workshops. However, one technical subject in science group was taught in schools having Agri-tech workshops established under directions of 1972 education policy. It is pertinent to note that federal government provided funds worth of 1227.887 million, to provincial governments to encourage Matric Tech education (Pakistan, 2009:12). Provincial governments utilized these funds in the construction of basic infrastructure like school rooms and laboratories.

4.5.5 Curriculum Reform and Discourse of Change in Quality of Education

Zubeida Jalal under the definite directions of Musharraf started the process of education restructuring, to promote citizenship values, patience, tolerance and respect for multiculturalism. The main purpose of curriculum reform was to improve quality of curriculum along-with ideological narrative of education to construct more enlightened, competent and skilled citizens, to compete in global market with having a globally standardized education. Government had set curriculum reform team to modernize existing curricula by inserting new knowledge, to promote liberal narrative of ideology. Ministry of Education had exerted full resources and backed this reform process. Ministry became successful in inserting new themes and an ability enhancing strategy by developing activity-oriented curriculum. According to Jalal, "the activity orientations about topics were missing in previous curricula developed by predecessor governments (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018)". However, narrative of ideology remained unchanged due to strong opposition.

This research provides broader spectrum of comparison among the curricula of social studies produced in 1995 and 2002, Pakistan studies curricula of 1995 and 2002 and English curricula of 1995 and 2002. This research has drawn this comparative view of curriculum produced by different governments, to point out similarities and differences in contents of the prescribed curriculum.

Table 4.8. is developed to give comparison of social studies curricula of 1995 and 2002. Social studies is considered as a core subject in developing a sense of understanding about world view and Pakistani identity. This table shows the similarity in contents, in the transportation of ideology in both documents of curriculum. Both curriculum documents are having more contents about Islamic values, Muslim heroes and knowledge of Hindu-Muslim differences based on religion. Both documents are having narrative of Jihad and Shaddat. It is interesting to note that both documents have Indian enmity in their contents and cause of preservation of ideology of Pakistan.

Table 4.9. is drawn upon a comparative scope of English curriculum produced in 1995 and 2002, It is made compulsory to provide knowledge about the western culture and communication skills to compete at international level. In contrary to this, both curriculum documents have used English as a medium of transmitting narrative for creation of love for Islam and ideology of Pakistan. It is interesting to mention that curriculum document of English produced in 1995 has just mentioned to develop love for Islamic values while English curriculum of 2002 has gone furthermore ahead in promotion of Islamic values by indoctrinating Qur'anic principles and Islamic practice.

Table 4.10 is based upon comparison of Pakistan studies produced in 1995 and 2005 respectively. Both curriculum of 1995 and 2002 has same standpoint about the love for Islam and Muslim heritage. Both are designed to develop the understanding of cultural differences between Hindu Muslim and to develop awareness about Hindu enmity as a cause of creation of Pakistan. English curriculum of 1995 and 2002 respectively emphasizes upon making the students aware about the Indian antagonism against Pakistan and importance of Muslim brotherhood. These comparative reviews of table 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10 about curricula of Social Studies, Pakistan Studies and English have unpacked the reality that these subjects are still having same ideological narrative which was promoted by Zia. It still contains literary knowledge approach rather than scientific knowledge.

Table: 4.8 Comparison of Social Studies' Curricula

Social Studies Curriculum in 1995	Social Studies Curriculum in 2002(IV, V)
Problems and solutions 1. Demonstrate an understanding of the Islamic values of social justice (p.141) 2. Demonstrate an understanding of the Islamic values of social justice (p. 149) Content for Grades IV, V	**Problems and solutions** 1. Attain sense of Islamic values, social justice and patriotism (p.33) 2. Develop love and respect for Islamic values and brotherhood and patriotism (p.46) Content for Grades IV, V
Important personalities who contributed to the spread of Islam and the Freedom Movement 3. Demonstrate an appreciation of the work of Muslim heroes 4. Identify the efforts of various persons to the betterment of all people Activities. 5. The life of the Holy Prophet Objective 6. Describe the lives and achievements of the distinguished persons of their province who worked for the betterment of the people of Pakistan Activities 7. The life of Hazrat Abu Bakr, Hazrat Ali and three distinguished personalities of the province to be determined … (p.150) 8. Understand the Hindu and Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan Content 9. Hindu Muslim differences in culture Content 10. Ideology of Pakistan Content 11. India's evil designs against Pakistan 12. Jehad and shahadat (p.153) Content for Grades IV, V	**Important Personalities who contributed towards the spread of Islam and the freedom movement** 1. Love for Islamic values Concepts: The life of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) 2. Hazrat Khadijatul Kubra, Hazrat Abu Bakar Siddique, two distinguished personality's one male one female of the province (to be determined by the provincial authorities) 3. Importance of Jehad (p.34) 4. Enhance understanding about the unmatched charismatic personality of Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) 5. Develop a sense of appreciation for the Muslim Heroes Enhance a sense of respect and reverence for the Muslim Heroes 6. Jehad 7. Ideology of Pakistan 8. The life of Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W), Muhammad bin Qasim, Mahmood Ghaznavi, Shah Waliullah (p. 46) Content for Grades IV, V
Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1. Understand the Hindu and Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan 2. Acknowledge and identify forces that may be working against Pakistan 3. Demonstrate, by action, a belief in the fear of Allah 4. Demonstrate a desire to preserve the ideology, integrity and security of Pakistan (p.151) Content for Grades V	**Islamic Republic of Pakistan** 1. Develop understanding of the Hindu Muslim differences and need for Pakistan Affective Objectives 2. Develop a sense of fear for Allah 3. India's evil designs against Pakistan 4. Develop the sense of preservation of the ideology, integrity and security of Pakistan (p.35) Content for Grades V
Administration 1. Demonstrate an appreciation for the Ideology of Pakistan (p.140) 2. Demonstrate an appreciation for the Ideology of Pakistan (p.145) Content for Grades IV, V **Population** 1. Demonstrate the understanding and acceptance of Islamic values (p.146) Content for Grades IV	**Administration** 1. Love for Ideology of Pakistan (p. 29) 2. Enhance a sense of respect for Cooperation and preservation of the Ideology of Pakistan (p.43) Content for Grades IV, V **Population** 1. Inculcate Islamic values for quality of life (p.41) Content for Grades IV **Province** 1. Specify the events/ personalities with reference to

Province 1. Demonstrate a consciousness of the gory of Islam (p.142) Content for Grades IV	spread of Islam in the province/area (p. 27) Content for Grades IV

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for Social Studies for Classes I-V, 1995; Pakistan, National Curriculum for Social Studies for Classes I-V, 2002)

Table: 4.9. Comparison of English Curriculum

English Curriculum 1995	English Curriculum 2002
Objective Objectives of Teaching English: 1. Inculcating love for Islam as a practical way of life 2. Deepening the awareness of the Ideology of Pakistan (p.9) The Content is for Grade IX-X	**Objectives** To make the Qur'anic principles and Islamic practices as an integral part of curricula so that the message of the Holy Qur'an could be disseminated in the process of education as well as training. To educate and train the future generations of Pakistan as a true practicing Muslim who would be able to usher in the 21st century and the next millennium with courage, confidence, wisdom and tolerance. 1. Enable the students to become a responsible, confident and patriot towards the Ideology of Pakistan (p.9) 2. Inculcate Love for Islamic values (p.13) The Content is for Grade IX-X

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for English for Classes IX-X, 1995; Pakistan, National Curriculum for English for Classes IX-X, 2002)

Table: 4.10 Comparison of Pakistan Studies Curriculum

Pakistan Studies Curriculum 1995	Pakistan Studies English Curriculum 2002
Objective The sense be created among students: 1. Feeling pride for the rich heritage of Islam (p.3) 2. Appreciation of the salient features of Muslim life 3. Feeling for suffering of Muslims of the subcontinent (p.4) 4. Consciousness of Hindu-Muslim antagonism 5. Love for Islamic values (p.14) 6. Appreciation of Muslim unity, brotherhood, religious and cultural entity 7. Reverence for sacred places	**Objectives** Student be enabled to 1. Be able to propagate the important values and traditions of Islam, … and adopt national values in accordance with the Ideology of Pakistan (p.7) 2. Develop understanding of the Hindu Muslim Differences and need for Pakistan (p.9) 3. Hindu-Muslim Differences in Culture, India's evil designs against Pakistan (the three wars with India) (p.11) 4. Love for Ideology of Pakistan (p.13) 5. To create spirit of brotherhood and unity in the Muslim Brotherhood (p.15)

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies for Classes IX-X, 1995; Pakistan, National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies for Classes IX-X, 2002)

4.5.6 Construction of Teacher Resource Centers

Public school teachers were deficient in appropriate training and thus lacked in imparting proper skills to students. Government established 300 teacher resource centers for professional development of teachers within Pakistan. These teacher resource centers were established in existing elementary training schools. This scheme was launched to facilitate teachers with continuous professional training to improve teaching skills.

4.6 Education Sector Reform Under Javed Ashraf Qazi

Even, after initiative of the curriculum reform in 2001, the newly developed curriculum of 2002, Pakistani curriculum was criticized as being incoherent and a transmitter of religious militancy due to having conservative Islamic contents with a narrative of a militant Islam (Nayyar, 2002). It was poised as a factory of extremism and terrorism (Kronstadt, 2004). The Ideology of Pakistan was Indian centric and more focused on construction of Arab Muslim identity, by ignoring reality of being multicultural within society (Ghauri, 2007). This ideological perspective was injecting intolerance and hatred against minorities by promoting non-Muslim as not being trustworthy and as enemies of Islam. The tragedy of 9/11 raised issues of low quality education and most importantly curriculum as a medium of underdeveloped masses' portrayal and education institution as machine of jihadist (Kronstadt, 2012). Government after having criticism had retrospectively launched a new curriculum reform agenda under enlightened moderation. In 2004, Shaukat Aziz became the Prime Minister and constituted his new cabinet. He

selected Javed Ashraf Qazi as education minister by replacing Zubeida Jalal. Javed Ashraf Qazi was given a task to reform education systematically through inserting modern and moderate knowledge. The reason for this new venture was the going criticism, locally as internationally. There was a dire need to have an unabridged mass level overhauling of the existing curriculum. According to Qazi,

> "He personally reviewed the existing curricula and found various problems therein such as biasness against minorities and woman, omission of historical facts and most important was fundamentalism. He found Quranic verses and Islamic tents in every subject including science. There was repetition of material in every subject" (personal communication, January 31, 2018).

4.6.1 Curriculum Reform and Paradigm Shift in Narrative of Ideology

The curriculum of 2002 had shown meagre capacity from the ministry of education to change narrative from an Arab Muslim identity with conservative Islamic perspective towards a liberal interpretation of Islam with south Asian Muslim identity. There was dire need of stark shift in ideological narrative so that Pakistani identity would be constructed according to global prerequisite. Government launched another attempt to reform curricula with change in person at ministerial position. This reform scheme was guided under discourse "Enlightened Moderation" clearly. According to Qazi, the committee of curriculum reform was set with the hiring services of subject specialists. The team was granted maximum autonomy to modernize the curriculum to insert new knowledge based on liberal and moderate conception, to meet requirements of global market. Furthermore, this team was provided curricula of 7 developed countries such as Canada, Singapore, USA, Norway Finland, Australia, and Sweden; successful countries to get insights for inserting modernize contents in forming new curriculum (personal communication,

January 31, 2018). The process of curriculum under ESR 2004-2006 came up with considerable improvements in changing narrative of the ideology of Pakistan. The curricula had shifted the narrative of identity for future Pakistani generation from Arab Muslim identity to South Asian (Chughtai, 2011; Ghauri, 2007). The considerable new themes and contents had been added with unadorned shift from the contents of 2002 curricula. The curriculum of 2006 provided an updated scheme of knowledge more compatible to the global prerequisite. It provided comprehensive knowledge about rights and duties of citizens. It imparted contents for being updated about current problems, their solutions and at most their alternatives. According to Qazi, He directed the curriculum committee to develop new curriculum with market driven knowledge to inculcate life skill, competencies, critical and analytical thinking and sense of creative writings among students (personal communication, January 31, 2018).

The curriculum of 2006 was student-centred. The document of curriculum had an appropriate guidance about methods of assessment for students. It was devised with intention to eradicate rote learning and to encourage creative and critical thinking among students (Jamil, 2009). Curriculum of 2006 facilitated frame of constructing inclusive identity by valuing diversity and equality for all. It also provided mount to construct empathy, equity, honesty, humanism, justice, patience and tolerance for sustainable co-existence and harmony among people and other ethnic groups. It encouraged the narrative of being informed about socio-political, economic and scientific growth to get involved in it, as being global citizens with enough intelligence and awareness to go for progressive ways. This curriculum framework encouraged liberal line of direction for

societal development. Ideological narrative had been completely shifted from militant or conservative Islam to tolerant and moderate Islam.

The table 4.11 has sketched-out a line of comparison between social studies curricula produced in 2002 and 2006. The curriculum of 2006 drew stark shift in contents from curriculum of 2002 whereas the curriculum of 2006 thoroughly skipped the narrative of Muslim history, jihad and the discourse about enmity against minorities particularly about Hindus that was present in curriculum of 2002. This curriculum focused on local history, cultural diversity, knowledge about democracy, role government institutions and political parties in the country. The most interesting and purposeful element in curriculum of 2006 was contents about problems such as population and climate and their solution. It also provided basic information about global world rather than Muslim world.

The table 4.12 is created to develop contrast between English curriculum produced in 2002 and 2006. This reveals a fact based on curriculum, contents of 2002 were based on Islamic values while curriculum of 2006 was inspired from life skills to develop the understanding about cultural diversity, tolerance, respect for difference of opinion, dignity of labour, women rights, participatory citizenship and use of technology in daily life. In contrast to 2002 English curriculum which was based on literacy knowledge, the curriculum of 2006 comprised of scientific knowledge. It was designed with a purpose to develop competencies and life skills among students.

The table 4.13 has given comprehensive contrast of Pakistan studies curriculum developed in 2002 and 2006. This table has noticed a stark shift in contents of 2006, focusing on social problems such as afforestation, desertification and pollution,

modernization of agriculture and livestock. It had contents about rights and duties of citizens in civilized society. The curriculum of 2006 skipped the contents about Indian enmity and Hindu antagonism. It also squeezed contents of Muslim history by inserting knowledge about various ethnicities despite of religious differences to unify the society while keeping intact its diversity. It is pertinent to mention that the curricula of 2006 was more globally aware and updated while were directly lacking in the 2002 curriculum.

Table: 4.11 Comparison of Social Studies Curricula

Social Studies Curriculum in 2002(IV, V)	Social Studies Curriculum in 2006 (IV, V)
Problems and solutions 1. Attain sense of Islamic values, social justice and patriotism (p.33) 2. Develop love and respect for Islamic values and brotherhood and patriotism (p.46) Content for Grades IV, V	**Social Problems and their Solutions** 1. Identify social problems and solutions from narratives of the past. 2. Identify short and long-term effects of solutions to problems in the past 3. Identify ways people of the province have progressed overtime. 4. Identify the effects of key historical events at that time and today. 5. Use maps to explain the geographic setting of historical events. (p.15) **Historical Problems, Effects and Solutions** 1. Identify problems and solutions from narratives of the past and the short and long-term effects of the solutions 2. Identify problems that started in the past and still exist today. 3. Identify alternative solutions to problems of the past and recognize their possible implications (p.27) Content for Grades IV, V
Important Personalities who contributed towards the spread of Islam and the freedom movement 1. Love for Islamic values Concepts: The life of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) 2. Hazrat Khadijatul Kubra, Hazrat Abu Bakar Siddique, two distinguished personality's one male one female of the province (to be determined by the provincial authorities) 3. Importance of Jehad (p.34) 4. Enhance understanding about the unmatched charismatic personality of	**Contributions and Virtues of key Personalities Rephrasing** 1. Identify examples of personal virtue in past and present key personalities of the province. 2. Identify contributions (social, political, religion) of key personalities for the development of the province (p.15) **Personalities (Heroes/Heroism)** 1. Define Heroism 2. Identify the qualities of the personalities (social, political, religious) that we admire. 3. Understand the importance of heroism in our daily lives. 4. Explain how individual beliefs, culture, time and

Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) 5. Develop a sense of appreciation for the Muslim Heroes Enhance a sense of respect and reverence for the Muslim Heroes 6. Jehad 7. Ideology of Pakistan 8. The life of Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W), Muhammad bin Qasim, Mahmood Ghaznavi, Shah Waliullah (p. 46) Content for Grades IV, V	situations change our choices of heroes/heroines. 5. Identify how common people, male and female in different circumstances become heroes and ideas (p.16) Content for Grades IV
Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1. Develop understanding of the Hindu Muslim differences and need for Pakistan Affective Objectives 2. Develop a sense of fear for Allah 3. India's evil designs against Pakistan 4. Develop the sense of preservation of the ideology, integrity and security of Pakistan (p.35) Content for Grades V	**Pakistan and World** 1. Describe major historical events that led to the creation of Pakistan 2. Construct timelines of major historical events (Pakistan, other country/world). 3. Interpret timelines of major historical events (Pakistan, world). 4. Identity different viewpoints in historical narratives. 5. Recognize that events in various parts of the world affect each other. 6. Compare life in Pakistan's early years with life in Pakistan today. 7. Construct narratives of key current events (Pakistan, world) using internet, news magazines, newspapers, etc. 8. Identify examples of good character from lives of important men and women in history (Pakistan, world). 9. Construct narratives of key historical events (Pakistan/ world) using literature, newspapers, magazines etc (p.26) Content for Grades V
Administration 1. Love for Ideology of Pakistan (p. 29) 2. Enhance a sense of respect for Cooperation and preservation of the Ideology of Pakistan (p.43) Content for Grades IV, V	**Government: The Way We Govern Ourselves** 1. Define the terms society, democracy, law, government, rule and give examples. 2. Identify the reasons for a provincial government. 3. List the main branches of the provincial (p.18) **Government (Leaders, Community, Citizens)** 1. Give reason for the need of federal government 2. Compare the formation of government at provincial and federal levels. 3. Compare the working of the three branches of government 4. Describe the functions of political parties in a democratic system. 5. Explain the relationship between the provincial and federal governments in Pakistan. 6. Identify the steps of the law-making process in Pakistan. 7. Construct a simple chart to show the relationship and processes between the different courts in

	Pakistan. 8. Discuss the importance and authority of Supreme Court over the High Court. 9. Identify a major issue and investigate how the law can help to solve the issue (p.28) Content for Grades IV, V
Population 1. Inculcate Islamic values for quality of life (p.41) Content for Grades IV	**Population** 1. Define the terms population, census, migration. 2. Explain the importance of a census. 3. Identify the causative factors of population growth in the province. 4. Identify thickly and thinly populated area of their province. 5. State the reasons why volume of population varies in different provinces. List the major problems caused by over population (p.17) Content for Grades IV
Province 1. Specify the events/ personalities with reference to spread of Islam in the province/area (p. 27) Content for Grades IV	**Historical Events of the Province** 1. Describe the major historical events of the province. 2. Interpret timelines of major local and provincial historical events. 3. Construct timelines of major local and provincial historical events (p. 17) Content for Grades IV
Services 1. Recognize that Islamic principles chalked out for the welfare of all human beings should be adopted in various Institutions for better performance (p.31) Content for Grades IV	**Goods and Services** 1. Identify the goods and services used in their daily life. 2. Compare price, quality and features of similar goods and services used in their daily lives (chips, sweets, transport, and health services) (p.20) **Public Goods and Services** 1. Define the terms public goods and services, exports and imports. 2. Differentiate between public and private goods and services. 3. Identify some public goods and services 4. Identify the ways in which the government provides goods and services (taxes and loans) (p.31) Content for Grades IV, V
Climate 1. Promote a sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for the resources bestowed upon us (p.38) Content for Grades V	**Climate** 1. Define climate. 2. Explain the reasons for differences in climate **a) Climatic Regions** 1. Differentiate between climate & weather. 2. Identify the general types of climate (based on latitude). 3. Identify the different climatic regions on a world map. 4. Compare different climatic regions. 5. Describe the climate in the different physical regions of Pakistan. 6. Describe how climate of different physical regions

	affects the life over there. 7. Use given information to calculate the average temperature and monthly rainfall of different places. 8. Construct bar graphs from given climatic data. **b) Effects of Human Activities on Climate** 1. Explain the various ways in which human activities affect climate. **2.** Explain how human activities are responsible for the greenhouse effect. **3.** Identify individual and societal actions that can be taken to reduce adverse effects of human activities on climate (p.25-26) Content for Grades V

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for Social Studies for Classes I-V, 2002; Pakistan, National Curriculum for Social Studies for Grades I-V, 2007)

Table: 4.12 Introduction of New Chapters in Social Studies Curriculum of 2006

	Social Studies IV	Social Studies V
1	Government: The Way We Govern Ourselves • Government Institutions • Rights and Responsibilities of Citizens (p.19)	Government (Leaders, Community, Citizens) • Federal Government • The Constitution (p.28)
2	Culture: The Way We Live Together • Getting Along with Others • Ways of Resolving Conflict • Communication (p.21)	Culture • Culture of Pakistan • Institutions of Socialization • Everyone Values Something (p.31)
3	Geography: Our Varying Land And Its People • Physical Features • Interaction between the Land and People • Weather • Factors that Affect Weather • Natural Disasters (p.16-17)	Physical Regions • Interdependence (p.24)
4	Geography: Globe And Map Skills • The Globe and Maps • Element of Map • Titles • Symbols • Direction • Scale (p.13-14)	Economics • Trade • Evolution of Money • Banks (p.32)
5	The Way We Were • Recognizing Viewpoints (p.15)	Means Of Information (p.29)

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for Social Studies for Grades I-V, 2007)**.**

Table: 4.13 Comparison of English Curriculum

English Curriculum 2002	English Curriculum 2006
Objectives To make the Qur'anic principles and Islamic practices as an integral part of curricula so that the message of the Holy Qur'an could be disseminated in the process of education as well as training. To educate and train the future generations of Pakistan as a true practicing Muslim who would be able to usher in the 21st century and the next millennium with courage, confidence, wisdom and tolerance. 1. Enable the students to become a responsible, confident and patriot towards the Ideology of Pakistan (p.9) 2. Inculcate Love for Islamic values (p.13) The Content is for Grade IX-X	**Introduction** English curriculum identifies five competencies and a total of eight standards for key learning areas of English. The fifth competency specifies the appropriate ethical and social development. **Appropriate Ethical and Social development** All students will develop ethical and social attributes and values relevant in a multicultural, civilized society. **Rationale** The world is increasing becoming global village with people of different culture and language coming in frequent contact both at intra and international level. Text content provides realist and diverse learning exposure and is an important mode of developing personal world view. Texts that reflects multiple perspectives and diverse communities create awareness about contemporary ideas, issues and themes; and inculcate ethical and social attributes, and values relevant in a multicultural society. (p.9) 1. Recognize and practice values and attributes such as tolerance, humanism, patience, equity, justice, honesty, empathy etc… relevant for peaceful co-existence between individuals, groups and nations 2. Develop and portray through actions, a sense of importance of individual worth, simultaneously valuing diversity and equality among people 3. Understand and evaluate contemporary social, economic and scientific development so as to participate in global society as aware and thinking individuals (p.17) • **Please NOTE:** This competency will be developed and incorporated across the other four competencies, hence teaching and learning of appropriate values and attributes is to be embedded in the chosen themes and topics of the reading texts, and through writing and speaking activities performed in the learning environment of the class

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for English for Classes IX-X, 2002; Pakistan, National Curriculum for English for Grades I-XII, 2006)**.**

Table: 4.14 Introduction of New Themes in English Curriculum of 2006

No	English for Grades IX-X
1	Ethics and Values • Tolerance • Simplicity • Justice • Handling of Trust • Self-Disciplining • Respecting Self and Others (p.145)
2	Peaceful Co-Existence • Learning to Live Together in Extended Society, Inter-Culturally and at National level

	(p.145)
3	Self, People and Places • Understanding of National Cultural Diversity • Places of Historical/ Cultural Importance and of Interest Around the World (p.145)
4	Gender Equality • Role of Women in Development of Society (p.145)
5	Nature • Appreciation and Preservation of Nature (p.146)
6	Environmental Education • Effects of Atmospheric Pollution • Noise Pollution (p.147)
7	Population Education • Impact of Population Growth on Environment, Health and Nutrition (p.146)
8	Education and Employment • Understanding careers/ Occupation • Equal Opportunities for Boys and Girls (p.147)
9	Dignity of Labour • Understanding Worth of Different Professions (p.147)
10	Media • Role and Impact of Media (p.147)
11	Crisis Awareness and Management • Locating Help in an Emergency • First Aid (p.147)
12	Participatory Citizenship • Avoiding Accidents • Civics Responsibilities • Importance of Community Living (p.148)
13	Health Safety and Drug Education • Practice and Promotion of Physical and Mental Well Beings • Recognizing Crime • Learn to Say No • Recognizing Problems Related to Drugs, Tabaco and Intoxicants (p.148)
14	Technology • Technology in Everyday Life

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for English for Grades I-XII, 2006)

Table: 4.15 Comparison of Pakistan Studies Curriculum

Pakistan Studies Curriculum 2002	Pakistan Studies English Curriculum 2006
Objectives Student be enabled to 1. Be able to propagate the important values and traditions of Islam, … and adopt national values in accordance with the Ideology of Pakistan (p.7) 2. Develop understanding of the Hindu Muslim Differences and need for Pakistan (p.9) 3. Hindu-Muslim Differences in Culture, India's evil designs against Pakistan (the three wars with India) (p.11) 4. Love for Ideology of Pakistan (p.13) To create spirit of brotherhood and unity in the	**Objectives** The Curriculum of Pakistan Studies is designed to: 1. Inculcate a sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for blessing us with an independent and sovereign state. 2. Underscore the importance of national integration, cohesion and patriotism. 3. Promote an understanding of the ideology of Pakistan, the Muslim struggle for independence and endeavors for establishing a modern welfare Islamic state. 4. Acquaint the students with various phases of Pakistan's historical, political and constitutional

Muslim Brotherhood (p.15)	developments. 5. Inculcate awareness about the multi-cultural heritage of Pakistan so as to enable the students to better appreciate the sociocultural diversity of Pakistani society and get used to the idea of unity in diversity in our national context. 6. Lay emphasis on the rights and obligations of the citizens of an independent and sovereign state (p.1).

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies for Classes IX-X, 2002; Pakistan, National Curriculum Pakistan Studies for Grades IX-X, 2006)

Table: 4.16 Introduction of New Contents in Pakistan Studies Curriculum of 2006

Chapter N0	Pakistan Studies IX-X
3	Land and Environment • Major Environmental Hazards and Remedies • Deforestation • Desertification • Pollution and Its Forms (p.4)
5	History of Pakistan II • Zia Era (1977-1988) • Islamization • Afghan Jihad and Its Implications • Junejo Period (1985-88) (p.21) • Pervez Musharraf Era • Local Self-Government • Election 2002 • Enlightened Moderation • Industrialization Privatization • Economic Reform
6	Pakistan in World Affairs • Pakistan Relations with Major World Japan and Russia • Pakistan and United Nations • Pakistan's Contributions Towards Peace Keeping in The World
7	Economic Development • Major Sectors of Economy • Livestock • Fishing • Modernization of Agriculture • Industries • Cottage Industry • Small Industry • Energy Resources • Non-Conventional Energy Resources • Exports and Imports • Factors Controlling International Trade • Trade Balance

	• Ports of Pakistan • Poverty • Poverty Profile of Pakistan • Causes, Consequences and Remedies of Poverty (p.11-12)
8	Population, Society and Culture of Pakistan • Population • Growth and Distribution • Urban-Rural Composition • Gender and Composition • Education and Literacy • Role of Minorities in Pakistan (p.13)

Source: (Pakistan, National Curriculum Pakistan Studies for Grades IX-X, 2006)

It is noticeable that the curricula of 2006 reflected a slight shift towards liberal democratic citizenship and more open-ended learning experiences for students. The sciences and math have attempted to relate the subjects to students' daily life experiences and to develop students' problem-solving, inquiry, and reasoning skills. Language and social studies mostly contained factual knowledge about the world (history, geography, and civics), and the content promoted the dominant liberal ideology. The most viable and appropriate transformation in curriculum reform of 2006 was the amputation of religious political extremism from textbooks of social studies, Pakistan studies, Urdu and English (J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018).

4.6.2 Narrative of Integrated Curricula for Grade 1-3

The curriculum review team designed a comprehensive scheme of study for class 1, 2 and 3 which was having General knowledge, English, Mathematics and Urdu in one comprehensive book. This approach of integral curricula was set to give comprehensive scheme of study for basic learning.

4.6.3 Bifurcation of Social Studies

The social studies was included as a compulsory subject for 4th and 5th grades. The most significant step was the bifurcation of social studies into History and Geography. This division was made for 6th, 7th and 8thgrades and both History and Geography were launched as compulsory subjects. The syllabus of history was containing detailed chapters on pre-independence time such as information about Indus Civilization. Harrapan Civilization, Gotham Bodh, Ashoka Empire, Alexander Attack, Conquest of Muhammad Bin Qasim, Ghuri Dynasty, Ghaznavid Rule, Delhi Sultanate, Mughal Empire, Suri Rule, Guru Nanak and British Empire. While in post-independence chapters on Creation of Pakistan, Creation of One Unit and Abolishment of One Unit were included. According to Qazi, there was no duplication of information like observed in previous textbooks. You could find detailed knowledge about a subject with change in grades (personal communication, January 31, 2018). The Geography had comprehensive chapters on Population, Weather, Factors effecting Weather, Natural Disasters, Globe and Map, Direction and Physical Features.

4.6.4 Introduction of Ethics at Primary Level

Islamic studies were compulsory for all students, even minorities student had to read it at all levels in schools. This was clear negation of their fundamental rights as Islamic studies was imposed as a subject. It was realized that there should be subject of ethics or morality for minorities and ultimately, ethics was introduced as a subject for minorities' students from 4th grade onwards at primary schools. Curriculum for ethics was completed

in 2007 (J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018). Furthermore, books on ethics were published under guidelines of curriculum developed in 2007.

4.6.5 Paradigm Shift in Curriculum of Islamic Studies

Discourse of Islamic studies was changed from Haqooq-ul-Allah to Haqooq-ul-Ibad. Harmony and tolerance was promoted in contents. Publishing and inclusion of disgracing material about any religion was prohibited and banned. According to Qazi, the noticeable change in Islamic studies curriculum at school level was shifting of Surah Al-Anfal along-with Surah Tubah from syllabus of 9^{th} and 10^{th} grade to syllabus of 11^{th} and 12^{th} grade (personal communication, January 31, 2018).

4.6.6 Computer Education at Elementary Level

Public schools were missing the subject of computer in their scheme of study at elementary level. Even it was missing at high school level but was made a part of syllabi in 2002. According to Qazi, computer was introduced as a subject at elementary level by keeping in view the importance of computer education in life and in prevailing global market. The curriculum scheme of 2006 was having complete guidelines about course content of computer (personal communication, January 31, 2018).

4.6.7 New Trend in Examination System

It is acknowledged fact that Pakistan's education system was promoting rote learning and major cause for this trend was poor examination system. The examination system was maintaining pattern of question paper-based objectives and descriptive questions wherein

descriptive questions had weightage of more marks. Culture of Descriptive questions was promoting the concept of rote learning. Secondly this examination pattern was promoting supremacy of textbook. A new pattern of question paper was launched to overcome problem of rote learning. Now, question paper was divided into three parts; objective, short question and descriptive question wherein descriptive questions had low marks weightage. The examination was directly linked to curriculum. This change in trend of assessment was an essential criterion for in-building critical thinking among students and made them more intellectually sound citizens.

Table :4.17 Comparison of Examination System Before 2006 Curriculum and After 2006 Curriculum

Old Question Paper Pattern	Reform Question Paper Pattern
Paper was Comprised of Two Part	Paper is Comprised of Three Parts
1. Objective 20%	1. Objective 20%
2. Descriptive Questions 80%	2. Short Questions 50%
	3. Descriptive Questions 30%

Source: IBCC

4.7 Decentralization of Education Management at District Level

The decade of 1990s has witnessed political reforms in the shape of decentralization throughout the world. The process of decentralization was initiated to ensure mechanism of Good Governance, to make local authority more efficient and sovereign. The idea of good governance was influenced by the narrative of free market brought by Neoliberalism. The idea of devolution in education was also influenced by narrative of free market which reduced state authority through interfering in market regulation (McGinn, 1999). In context of Pakistan, devolution plan was launched by the federal

government to ensure global semantic of Good Governance. The process of devolution plan had devolved power from province to district. The devolution plan had made district government autonomous with sufficient allocation of resources. Education sector management was being highly centric dependent upon federal and provincial governments. Due to highly centric management structure, education sector was encountering various issues like funds, policy directive and administrative hurdles, creating the overall education performance poor. It was necessary to devolve power at district level to make management and monitoring easier. Thus, delivery of elementary school education was transferred directly to district governments (Alvi, 2007). Government designed to manage education matters at district level under devolution plan. This devolving of power in education was done by federal without having any complain from education department about dissatisfaction of state role in education (UNESCO, 2005). However, decentralization process was initiated to ensure local autonomy for efficient governance at local level. It is pertinent to mention that local government system under devolution plan was abolished by successive government. However, in education sector activities were regulated through education management at district level.

4.8 National Education Census 2005: A New Way to Measurement

The Ministry of Education was responsible for collecting data and producing report about education statistics. However, in 1993, government established a specialized institution, with in the ministry of education, responsible for collection of data and publication of education statistics. This specialized institute for publication of education statistics was

recognized as National Education Management Information System (NEMIS). It was responsible for collection of schools throughout Pakistan and produced annual report of educational statistics. Being the minister of education, Javed Ashraf directed NEMIS to work along-with Federal Bureau of Statistics to collect data not only on education but also about the performance of students in examination system. The reason behind collection of data about students' performance was to measure standard of education at national level (J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018). It is noticeable that both education policy and ESR did set criteria of students' performance in national examination system as a tool for measuring standard of National Education (Pakistan, 1998; Pakistan, 2000). The national education census was started in 2005 and the reports on National, Provincial and district level were published in 2007. It covered education statistic as well as the performance of students in National Examination conducted by Education Boards throughout the country.

4.9 Doctrine of Free Education and Textbooks up to Matriculation

Every education policy has emphasized on the growth of literacy to provide human capital for development of society. Even, governments by keeping in view the miserable state of many areas of the country promised free education to children belonging to these families. The public schools were charging diminutive fee from students under the set directions of education policies. Although, government had provisioned almost free education in public schools to enhance literacy. Despite free education, school enrolment was extremely low. The government gave subsidy and a lot of fee incentives but many families with a wish of getting their children educated; despite of getting free education

could not afford textbooks and other relevant material. Jalal decided to give free textbooks to these children to increase enrolments in schools. Ministry under ESR took peerless steps of providing free textbooks and free education up till matriculation. This step was envisioned to cultivate the trend of attracting underprivileged children towards education (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). The provision of free textbooks became efficacious policy discourse in enhancing both boys' and girls' enrolments at school level. Musharraf took very fruitful, long-term and viable decision to improve the situation of society under free education and textbooks scheme. The table shows the result of improvement in education. This scheme was an encouraging gadget to motivate poor parents to make their children literate and active citizens.

4.10 National Textbook and Learning Material Policy 2006

Prior to the National Textbook Policy, Textbook Boards were solely responsible of writing, printing and distribution of textbooks in their respective regions. In other words, Textbook Boards were supreme managers of textbook though they hired services of private publishers due to lacking capacity of publishing target textbooks. A monopoly was being played in textbooks production, being entirely low in quality. It is a recognized fact that textbooks play an essential role in ensuring quality of education. Then distribution of substandard textbooks ultimately impacts the quality education. The issue of Quality education was the prime concern of the in power federal government and it is still acknowledged by every education ministry with certain recommendations. Education policy of 1998 categorically declared monopoly of textbooks boards as a cause of low quality education (Alvi, 2007). Moreover, textbooks produced by textbook boards

encouraged supremacy of textbooks for final examination and becoming a reason of rote learning. Due to supremacy of textbooks there was no clear-cut difference between textbooks and curricula. The issue of substandard textbooks had become core problem to be solved to ensure quality education. In 2007, Federal Government keeping in view the implications of this problem announced National Textbook and Learning Material Policy to address issues of low problem of quality Textbook. National Textbook recognized role of private publishers in enhancing the quality of textbooks and allowed them to produce textbooks. "However, National Textbook Policy granted an upper hand to government in determining maximum price of textbook" (Alvi, 2007, p. 25). It curtailed power of textbook boards by making them work under a regulatory body with facilitation role. This policy established frame of competition wherein various private publishers had to compete in production of quality textbooks. It further provided regulation of revenue in which private publishers had to pay 7.5% of their profit to respective textbook board.

The textbook policy had categorically mentioned that examination should be based on curriculum not on the textbook as it used to happen in previous years. It maintained clear difference between curriculum and textbooks. The narrative of difference between curricula and textbooks drew a line of detachment in examination and schoolbooks (Pakistan, 2007).

Although, initiative National Textbook was a productive measure in guaranteeing quality of textbooks, but private publishers pursued a notion of profit maximization and they sued various strategies (low quality of paper and hire services of inexpensive and

inexperienced writers) to keep their cost low with high profits. While other tactics for profit gain were the low supply for market shortage and piracy.

4.11 Impact of Curriculum Reform Upon Construction of Pakistani Identity

Musharraf's regime intended to construct citizenship under the notion of neo-liberalism. He adopted strategy to use education as a medium of achieving his goals of societal development. In pursuit of development, he launched education sector reform to thoroughly reform the education. The noticeable changes were observed in the narrative of ideology informed from secular and liberal discourse. It added new themes including competencies, life skills, Participatory citizenship, gender equality and peaceful co-existence in newly developed curriculum. Government inserted valuable themes like rights and duties to be a citizen, types of governments, tolerance, self-disciplining, cultural diversity and rights of minorities and women to educate students, becoming active members of the society. The newly developed curriculum became a medium of spreading awareness to tackle domestic and global issues like environment degradation, afforestation, pollution, water scarcity and conflict resolution. Science subjects' curriculum had been used as a platform of promoting scientific and technical knowledge to construct professional human capital. Despite of adding modern knowledge in new curriculum scheme, Musharraf's regime also introduced global prerequisite such as information technology and English as both became the basic element of development. The proficiency in computer and English was made mandatory part of new education reform due to advancement of telecommunication. Both English and IT became a source

of interaction and socialization at international level which curved out a pattern of global identity through setting common values and norms acceptable all around the world. However, both IT and the English language threatened cultural homogenization and the diminishing of local identities. Indeed, English language had become a medium of de-ethicized community and represented the language of the global industrial-consumer culture and still represents the same till date. It is interesting to mention that curriculum of English had themes which substantiated the spectrum of neo liberal citizen who is self-sufficient, responsible and skilled to compete in global economy freely.

The curriculum of 2006 had contents for propelling values about democracy, self-respect, humbleness for others, simplicity, dignity of labour and health and safety among future generations for smooth progress and prosperity of Pakistan. The curriculum of 2006 was quite contrary to its predecessors, it gave an all-inclusive spectrum, catering all factions of society, mentioning them as Pakistani citizens. Despite of being well versed about human security, human rights, democracy and neo liberalism, the curriculum of 2006 could not be implemented by Musharraf's regime in 2007. However, government decided to implement the curriculum of 2006 in academic year of 2010 (Jamil, 2009).

4.12 Global Prerequisite for Education and Need for New Education Policy

Musharraf's government had made an education policy of 1998-2008, instrumental in achieving goals of increasing literacy rate through launching Education Sector Reform. The various strategies under ESR were adopted to ensure equity in education and to

promote gender parity in likewise. The agenda of reforming quality of education was guaranteed through ESR. Even public private partnership was initiated for the growth of literacy within society. Despite of these innovations in Education Policy of 1998-2008 under ESR, policy was still lagging in addressing problems raised in wake of globalization and good governance. Policy was in lacking position to fulfil the international commitments made by government for education (Zakar, 2013). Education policy of 2009 absolutely provided justification of new education policy in these words,

> "Policy of 1998-2008 was not producing the desired educational results and the performance remained deficient in several key aspects including access, quality and equity of educational opportunities and secondly, the international challenges like Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) , Dakar Framework of Action Education for All (EFA) Goals and the challenges triggered by globalization and nation's quest for becoming a knowledge society in the wake of compelling domestic pressures like devolution and demographic transformations have necessitated a renewed commitment to proliferate quality education for all" (Pakistan, 2009, p. 7).

There was a need to reinvent education policy to address problems of equal access to education, efficiency of educational institutions, and promotion of women education, encouraging global oriented curricula and textbooks and at most to achieve 100% rate by 2015 as committed to United Nations. In 2005, Government initiated process of new education policy to address these problems of education. Therefore, Government created autonomous team by the name National Education Policy Review (NEPR), to formulate education policy informed from requirements of global trends. It was happening for the first time in history of education that government created autonomous teams for policy making in Pakistan. The unique character of this team was to have consultants from various walk of life as members to work under supervision of Javed Hassan Alvi. This team started working on various themes of education and presented "22 Green Papers" on

various areas of education. The Green Papers were developed on standard of education, quality of textbooks, gender equality, equal access to education, financing education, globalization, moderation, ethics and issues of minorities in education. These Green Papers were basically devised to initiate debate for policy proposal with different stakeholders in shape of government organizations and non-governmental organizations. The purpose of Green Papers was to provide forum of discussion to get feedback from stakeholders to formulate quality of education policy (Ali, 2013). In 2006, this team formulated white papers, keeping in view the feedbacks of stakeholder after having thorough consultations process. The NEPR produced White Paper by inserting feedbacks of consultation process but it was presented for further scrutiny of stakeholders. After taking subsequent feedbacks, the team incorporated the comments and developed a comprehensive education policy. In 2007, Government finally adopted White Paper with quality of solutions for existing problems of education (Ali, 2009). The most significant element in formulation of White Paper was the ownership of stakeholders through their positive feedback in formation of quality and genuine document for education policy (Ali, 2013). The practice of thorough consultation with other related national departments and non-governmental organizations and inserting of their comments in policy document was missing in previous education policies.

Musharraf's regime followed quite innovative techniques in taking participation of NGOs and other governmental organizations, in formulation of genuine education policy based on demands of public. White Paper covered all areas of education with suitable solutions of problems faced by education. The starkest shift initiated by policy farmers was global outlook in green paper wherein "Vision" replaced word Muslim Ummah with Universal

Brotherhood (Pakistan, 2006). While White Paper had replaced the word "Muslim" with "Citizens" (Pakistan, 2007). This most noticeable change was the promotion of moderate Islam under Enlightened Moderation. In developing White Paper, policy makers showed allegiance to Islam by inviting chairman of Islamic ideological counsel as a keynote speaker in National educational conference, Javed Ahmed Ghamdi, who is renowned for his liberal and tolerant interpretation of Islam. (Pakistan, 2006). The Green Paper was presented with progressive objectives of education by focusing promotion of quality, tolerance, morality, respect, accountability and access to education (Pakistan, 2006: 1). The white paper clearly defined the educated citizens and extended the role of education and how it is there to indoctrinate creative writing, critical thinking, able to be part knowledge economy, morally strong and ready to participate democratic process to make society stable and vibrant (Pakistan, 2007). According to narrative of White paper, education was a base for creating neo liberal citizens who had critical thinking, were ready to play their role in knowledge economy, to be more tolerant and had enough training to contribute in democratic process to make society vibrant.

The most significant feature of NEPR was to consider recommendations of previous education policies for development of White Paper. The policy measures of White Paper depicted consonance with previous policies,

1. By following the directions of previous policies, it emphasized on promotion of girls 'education (2007:29).
2. Previous education policy emphasized on quality education through maintaining one curriculum throughout country. White Paper promised not only to maintain

one curricula but also to make this curriculum viable to international standards in 2015 (2007:24).

3. Education Policy of 1998 promised to ensure non-political interference in sphere of education. White Paper by following narrative 1998 policy, maintained notion of non-political interference in education (2007:18).
4. Policy of 1998 raised the issue of low quality of textbooks produced by textbook boards and provided recommendation. Following recommendation about low textbooks quality, White Paper allowed private publishers to ensure quality of textbooks (2007:25).

The draft of education policy became ready in 2007 but could not become national education policy because it was not presented in national assembly to be approved. The Musharraf's government was lacking in capacity to approve this education policy due to in house unstable political environment and finally the change of government.

4.13 Pakistan People Party Government and Education Policy of 2009

In 2008, Pakistan People Party (PPP) appeared as a majority party on political landscape after winning national election in 2008. The PPP government passed a draft of education policy of 2007 with certain alternations. The government inserted separate chapter titled "Islamic Education: Duty of Society and State" for Islamic Education. The chapter on Islamic Education: Duty of Society and State, presented stark shift in policy narrative on Islamic curriculum through encouraging more tolerant and pluralistic society via textbooks. This chapter emphasized on inclusive curriculum scheme based on teaching

Muslim personalities in addition to Nazra Quran. The focus of chapter was to encourage narrative of Haqooq-Ul-Ibad by relinquishing narrative of Haqooq-Ul-Allah. Education policy was unique with covering all problems of education and presenting feasible solutions to address these problems completely. This document was quite unique in character from its predecessor policy documents. The following table 4.18 is going to present comparison of this policy document with previous education policies.

Table: 4.18 Comparison of Education Policy 2009 with Previous Education Policy Documents

Education Policy of 2009	Previous Education Policies of 1947,1959.1969,1970,1972, 1979, 1992, 1998-2008.
1. This policy is designed on bases of Thematic Approach. It provides guidelines about Quality of education, Access to Education and Governance in education. 2. It has emphasized on Childhood Early Education and it compulsory in all public schools. 3. It has fixed 3-5 years age for Early Childhood Education 4. It has change age requirement for primary school and fixed it from 6-10 years. 5. It has introduced subject of Ethics or Moral education for Non-Muslim at Elementary. 6. It emphasizes on primary education to achieve target of 100 universal primary education by 2015. 7. This policy takes innovative tactics of improving of school physical environment and incentive of food to increase enrollment in primary schools. 8. This policy document recognizes support of private sector and donor agencies to increase literacy level. 9. It has replaced the world Muslim Ummah or Muslim brotherhood with universal brotherhood in policy plan. 10. This policy has replaced word Muslim with citizen in policy narrative. 11. It focuses on construction of more pluralistic and tolerant society through current textbook reform.	1. All previous Education policies were designed on sector-based approach. Policies were having guidelines about sector wise education like primary education, secondary education, technical education and higher education. 2. The provision regarding Compulsory Childhood Early Education was missing in previous policy document. 3. The age requirement for primary school was fixed from 5-9 years in previous education policy. 4. Subject of Ethics or Moral education for Non-Muslim in course Guideline. 5. Previous policies focused on higher education. 6. This innovative was missing in previous policies. 7. The element of private sector recognition in education sector was not acknowledged. 8. The education policy of 1979, 1992 and 1998 categorically promoted narrative of Muslim Ummah in policy plan. 9. The policies of 1979,1992 and 1998 used the word Muslim instead of citizen in policy plan. 10. The education policy of 1979, 1992 and 1998 emphasized on construction of exclusively Muslim society.

Source: Education Policies, Government of Pakistan

4.14 Education Policy and Construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship

Education policy of 2009 was informed from White Paper presented in 2007 and contained the global directions for construction of citizenship in the context of changing society under the umbrella of Neo Liberalism. Education focused on the construction of technical human capital to fulfil market competition. The policy of 2009 promoted an all-inclusive narrative of citizenship by considering minorities as eminent part of citizenship through promoting universal brotherhood, tolerance and equality. It emphasized on the measures to promote gender sensitive environment by eliminating discriminatory contents in textbooks and provided an appropriate seat in curriculum development team. It had a comprehensive agenda for promotion of minorities. It focused on education for creating neo liberal citizens, with critical thinking, ready to play role in knowledge economy, to be more tolerant and having enough training to contribute in the democratic process to make society a better place of living. Furthermore, curriculum of 2006 had been implemented in 2010 under perspective 2009 policy education.

Table: 4.19 Education Policy and Construction of Neo-Liberal Citizenship

Category	Policy Statement
Ideology and Pakistani Identity	**Green Paper 2006** The elements like Ethics, Globalization, Universal brotherhood, Moderation, Citizenship, Minorities, Poverty, and Economic Prosperity could combine to lead to a vision that is in consonance with an enlightened Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Pakistan, Attachment III, 2006, p. 1). The objectives of the entire education system which would include Access, Equity, Quality, Moral and Social aspects and accountability (Pakistan, Attachment III, 2006, p. 1). **Education Policy 2009** Cultural values of the majority of Pakistanis are derived from Islam. Since an education system reflects and strengthens social, cultural and moral values, therefore, Pakistan's educational interventions have to be based on the core values of religion and faith (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 9). The Policy recognizes the importance of Islamic values and adheres to the agreed principles in this regard. All policy interventions shall fall within the parameters identified in the Principles of Policy as laid down in Articles 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37

	and 40 of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973. These include the need for developing Pakistani children as proud Pakistani citizens having strong faith in religion and religious teachings as well as the cultural values and traditions of the Pakistani society (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 9). Pakistan is currently engaged in the process of reviewing, updating and reforming school curriculum from Early Childhood Education up to Higher Secondary School levels keeping in view the Islamic teachings and ideology of Pakistan, cultural and religious sensitivities in the country and modern emerging trends to make the whole education purposeful and to create a just civil society that respects diversity of views, beliefs and faiths (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 32).
Minority Rights and Social Harmony	**Education Policy 2009** To promote national cohesion by respecting each others faith and religion and cultural and ethnic diversity (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 17). To promote social and cultural harmony through the conscious use of the educational process (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 17). To provide and ensure equal educational opportunities to all the citizens of Pakistan and to provide minorities with adequate facilities for their cultural and religious development, enabling them to participate effectively in the overall national effort (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 18).
Gender Sensitive Approach	**Education Policy 2009** Curriculum wing of federal government and provincial textbook boards shall ensure elimination of all types of gender biases from textbooks. Also adequate representation of females shall be ensured in all curriculum and textbooks review committees (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 38).
Characteristics to be a Pakistani Citizen	A self-reliant individual, capable of analytical and original thinking, a responsible member of society and a global citizen (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 18). The total personality of the individual, dynamic, creative and capable of facing the truth as it emerges from the objective study of reality (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 18). Individuals committed to democratic and moral values, aware of fundamental human rights, open to new ideas, having a sense of personal responsibility and participation in the productive activities in the society for the common good (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 18). An individual to earn honestly his/her livelihood through skills that contribute to the national economy and enables them to make informed choices in life (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 18).

Recognize the Problem of Policy Failure	There are two fundamental causes for the weak performance of the education sector: (i) lack of commitment to education – the commitment gap; and (ii) the implementation gap that has thwarted the application of policies. The two gaps are linked in practice: a lack of commitment leads to poor implementation, but the weak implementation presents problem of its own (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 14). Another type of implementation problem surfaces in the corruption that perverts the entire spectrum of the system. Anecdotes abound of education allocations systematically diverted 13 to personal use at most levels of the allocation chain. Political influence and favoritism are believed to interfere in the allocation of resources to the Districts and schools, in recruitment, training and posting of teachers and school administrators that are not based on merit, in awarding of textbook contracts, and in the conduct of examinations and assessments. The pervasive nature of corruption reflects a deeper malaise where the service to the students and learners is not at the forefront of the thought and behavior processes in operating the system (Pakistan, National Education Policy 2009, 2009, p. 15).

Source: Education Policies, Government of Pakistan

4.15 Eighteenth Amendment and Status of National Curriculum

The central government had autonomous institution named as "Federal Curriculum Wing" within the Ministry of Education with an authority to develop curriculum guidelines for students learning and outcomes, to be followed in textbooks, classrooms and state-based examination boards. Federal Curriculum Wing was solely responsible for devising "National Curriculum" and providing guidelines to provincial governments through comprehensive documents wherein provincial governments were liable to follow the directions of national curricula for various subjects at each grade at school level (Mahmood, 2006). The basic purpose behind promotion of national curriculum was to maintain quality education throughout Pakistan. Federal Curriculum Wing was bound to formulate curricula with mutual consultation of all provincial governments. The last document produced by Federal Curriculum Wing was curriculum of 2006. It was last official document for guiding provinces about learning outcomes to develop textbooks, classroom instruction and examination. Before 18th amendment in constitution of

Pakistan 1973, federal government was having supremacy in directing provinces about outcomes of education and provincial governments were constitutionally bound to follow directions of central government. In 2010, federal government passed 18th amendment and devolved various ministries including education ministry to provinces. Now, provincial governments after devolution of federal education ministry are completely autonomous to formulate their own curricula and education policy (Shaukat, 2013). They are not bound to follow national curriculum. The curriculum of 2006 has become obsolete. Thus, national curriculum has lost its legitimacy after devolution of ministry with no further binding for provincial governments. However, the curriculum of 2006 can be used as guiding principles for provincial governments. The most significant change for education in 18th amendment was its new article in constitution. The article 25-A deals with "Right to education: the state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to 16 years in such manner as may be determined by law" (Pakistan, 2010). Government through this article has taken vigilant responsibility to improve literacy rate within society. This contribution in the field of education not only increased the growth of human capital to boost economy but also uplifted the society through bringing up a well-learned populace (Siddiqui, 2010).

4.16 Socio-Political Context of Education Sector Reform

The decade of 1990s has witnessed apolitically volatile situation in Pakistan wherein four democratically elected governments had faced the destiny of dismissal upon charges of bad governance, corruption, malpractices and economic underdevelopment respectively.

These factors of bad governance, corruption, malpractices and economic underdevelopment had ultimately disturbed the social fabric of society by twisting the existing problems such as illiteracy, poverty, ethnicity, extremism and sectarianism violence which ruined the uniformed stratum of peaceful co-existences, necessitated for prosperity of society. Pakistan had faced severe sanctions and international isolations during the decade of 1990s which led the state on the verge of bankruptcy. Pakistan was facing severe domestic and international crisis when General Musharraf overthrew politically elected government by launching a military coup on 12th October 1999 (Paracha, 2003). Musharraf took charge of government with tinkling hope to restructure governance structure for development of society. Musharraf's regime established National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) on 18th of November 1999 in lieu of his promise to restructure society for socio-economic development to mitigate the prevailing problems of bad governance, corruption, illiteracy, poverty, ethnicity and sectarianism violence from society. The NRB gave the idea of decentralization under the name of Devolution Plan to ensure good governance and to promote culture of real democracy in Pakistan. The devolution plan had thoroughly transformed government structure by abolishing divisional government structure through initiating concept of District Government, to promote local government system to share power at grass root level. The uniqueness of district government system was the mechanism of power sharing in frame three tiers including District Council, Tehsil Council and Union Council in where every tier of government had appropriate funds for self-governance (Khan, 2004). It is noteworthy that District Governments were directly controlled by federal government in absence of provincial governments. Musharraf's regime had ensured supremacy of

District Governments' functioning at the time of its implementation by ousting provincial governments from governance structure of Pakistan (Tahira, 2004). However, devolution plan was initiated to mitigate problem of bad governance which was one of the existing problems of Pakistan. The martial law regime recognized public schools' curricula and madrasas education as main cause of creating problems of extremism, intolerance and sectarianism and ultimately underdevelopment of society. Therefore, existing problems such as illiteracy, poverty, extremism, ethnicity and sectarianism needed to be addressed through broader perspectives of education reform. Education was considered as a key to mitigate differences through providing common characteristics for development of society. According to the government's narrative on Education, it had a range of solutions to alleviate illiteracy, poverty, extremism, ethnicity and sectarianism through providing exclusive and market compatible syllabus.

Keeping in view the crucial role of education, Musharraf's regime took education as a core cause of societal development and initiated the process of restructuring education to prepare citizens for gainful employment, to survive in knowledge economy and to curtail existing problems of extremism and sectarian violence. His regime-initiated the process of reform in public schools by removing incoherent and out-dated contents from the curricula and mainstreaming of Madrasas education through introducing modern subjects in their curricula. The process of transforming of society introduced by Musharraf was designed to anchor his military rule along-with protection of corporate interest of military by ascribing it to national development.

The tragic incident of 9/11 wherein USA's hegemony was challenged by terrorists caused massive mutilation to USA. This terrible event altered the course of world peace and created a sense of insecurity throughout world. It shifted political and social trends in which states started focusing on transforming society by reforming education through emphasizing on citizenship. Muslim states and Islam being religion went under sever scrutiny because this terrorist attack was piloted by the Muslim terrorists. In wake of 9/11, Muslim world affected more wherein a wave of extremism and conservatism was seen to be set in. The education system in Muslim world generally and of Pakistan especially was criticized as being the cause of extremism in the World. Moreover, US government declared Pakistani education system as least effective and cause of terrorism through teaching of militancy and extremism in their curricula (Kronstadt, 2004). US government directed Pakistani government to reform Public school and Madrassas education to curb the production houses of extremism and terrorism within society. USA's stance of blaming Pakistani education system as cause of extremism provided further justification to Musharraf's education reform process. Musharraf had already initiated reform scheme before the incident of 9/11, to anchor his regime firmly within the society. Education reform was a part of this greater restructuring scheme of society, to serve corporate interest of military by linking this step as national interest under the silent slogan of Pakistan first. The Education Sector Reform was launched in 2001. This scheme provided guidelines for inserting modern knowledge by removing incoherent and out-dated knowledge. Education system, particularly public-school curricula and madrassas curricula went through rigorous scrutiny to make them compatible to globally standards. This education reform was carrying two broader purposes; a) to prepare young

people to get employment in competing knowledge economy and b) to eradicate extremism, ethnicity, sectarianism and terrorism (Kronstadt, 2004). The curriculum of 2002 claimed to address the problem of hated and incoherent materials from textbooks and inserted modern knowledge contents in newly implemented curricula. While in 2004, sectarian crisis occurred due to biased contents of curricula in northern areas of Pakistan (Stöber, 2007). Due to this sectarian riot many people lost their lives and schools had be closed for whole one year. The cause of riots was to delegitimize Shia sect belief through curricula of Islamic studies and Urdu (J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018). The event of sectarian riots due to biased textbooks highlighted problem of abhorrence in the curricula of 2002. Musharraf had to address the problems of bigotry against minorities in curricula. Furthermore, Musharraf promoted slogan of "Enlightened Moderation" to promote image of Pakistani society as moderately Islamic in 2004. Musharraf propagated Enlightened Moderation in these words,

> "The first part is for the Muslim world to shun militancy and extremism and adopt the path of socioeconomic uplift. The second is for the West, and the United States in particular, to seek to resolve all political disputes with justice and to aid in the socioeconomic betterment of the deprived Muslim world" (Musharraf, 2004).

Musharraf's government promoted slogan of Enlightened Moderation by launching and supporting liberal religious leader Javed Ahmed Ghamdi. Islam was projected as very tolerant, peaceful, protector of minorities and tool of harmony among the society. Curricula reform under notion of Enlightened Moderation pursued policy of removing Islamic content from all subjects except Islamic studies. The curricula of Islamic studies were designed to encourage rights and duties towards society. It emphasized on narrative of creating awareness about Islamic teaching especially about serving humanity despite

of religious affiliation, as criteria to be good Muslims. Secular subjects were made part of madrasas curricula. It is worth to notice that government introduced this education reform under Musharraf's era when the parliament of Pakistan was having only 29 members from Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (Desk, 2012). However, Musharraf's regime was successfully pursuing reform scheme, but Musharraf took politically negligent steps like deposing Chief Justice of Pakistan, suspension of constitution in 2007, murder of Akbar Bugtti and the Lal masjid operation. The deposition of Chief Justice proved to be more volatile which ultimately invoked public resistance in shape of lawyers' movement (Faqir, 2013). Musharraf had to be unseated from government after completion of government's tenure. This domestic crisis in society had put Musharraf in feeble position with lacking capacity to announce newly formulated education policy. Even, newly developed curricula had been met with delay. The political endeavour of Musharraf had set trend of societal transformation and education reform which got influenced after culmination of government. Though successive government continued the reform process within slow pace of implementation. The education policy formulated by Musharraf was announced by PPP. The curricula developed by Musharraf and implemented by PPP became obsolete after introduction of 18th amendment in constitution of Pakistan, 1973. Federal government devolved 15 ministries including Ministry of Education to provincial governments. Under Eighteenth amendment, all four provincial governments were autonomous to develop their own education policy and curricula (Shaukat, 2013). However, all provincial governments could use the curriculum of 2006 as a guideline for development of their own curriculum.

4.17 Discourse of Curriculum Reform and Role of International Organizations

The education sector in Pakistan has been under low priority of government. Due to weak economic status government has not been investing handsome amount of provisions of education. This improvised condition of education has been supported by international organizations, including UNESCO, UNICEF and UNDP; aiding in sphere of policy makings and implementation. The education policy of 1959 categorically mentioned UNESCO's (Siddiqui, 2016) assistance in education while Education policy of 1979 acknowledged the contribution of UNESCO, UNICEF and UNDP in assisting government in the provision of education (Siddiqui, 2016:13). International organizations were aiding ministry of education and put conditions to be complied which were followed by adopting various strategies (Ali, 2015). Pakistan being a member of United Nations had to follow directions to counter illiteracy from society under the banner of EFA and MDGs. In pursuance of goals directed by international organizations, government inserted policy directions by formulation of education policies. Government of Pakistan was following the narrative of international organizations in true spirits and could be found in shape of policy documents. The issue of gender sensitivity, equity, privatizations and non-governmental organization could be traced easily in recent policy documents.

The education sector reform was launched and later ESR got aide from USAID for promotion of literacy rate. Government with the assistance of USAID, developed a program known as Education Sector Reform Assistance Programme with net aid worth of 100 million for five years. This programme was initiated with special focus on Sindh and

Baluchistan to increase literacy rate, to provide trainings to teachers and to strengthen policy making. The basic purpose of ESRAP was to improve quality and quantity of education at primary level (Anjum, 2006).

The provincial governments were also taken in loop, in a similar fashion, by creating reform support units, holding policy dialogues, to engage non-traditional actors in the field of education management. ESRA also bolstered the capacity of Government Elementary Teachers Colleges, the Boards of Curriculum, and the Provincial Education Assessment Center.

At the federal level, ESRA aimed to improve the policy environment in the education sector. In addition, ESRA worked with the Ministry of Education to improve the National Education Management Information System (NEMIS), which is now a regular feature in the Government of Pakistan's budgetary process.

4.18 Conclusion

Musharraf launched ESR to improve the education sector, to meet the global challenges. In pursuance of ESR, education ministry under patron of Zubeida Jalal started scheme of improving prime domains of education by establishing new educational institutions all around Pakistan. The scheme to improve quality of education had also been initiated through curriculum by inserting modern knowledge and removing the already existing out-dated knowledge in curriculum of 2002. Despite of removing obsolete knowledge and inculcating modern knowledge, curriculum of 2002 sustained the status quo in the

narrative of ideology which promoted exclusive citizenship in context Muslim ummah, inspired from conservative notion of Islam. Furthermore, this initiative of curriculum reform missed the chance to remove Islamic contents (Verse of Quran and Hadith) from various subjects including biology. Thus, newly developed curriculum maintained Zia's education discourse of breed bigotry, hatred and extremism within society particularly against minorities. The curriculum of 2002 lacked the capacity in changing ideological narrative of curriculum due to unstable state and frail capacity of education ministry.

However, in 2004, Musharraf's government launched another curriculum reform scheme, replacing Zubeida Jalal with Javed Ashraf Qazi as a new education minister under the banner of enlightened moderation. Therefore, curriculum of 2006 under patronage of Qazi introduced a stark shift that came in the narrative of ideology from conservative Islam which promoted the discourse of Muslim ummah to liberal Islam that promoted Pakistani identity in south Asian context. The curriculum of 2006 brought into light modern knowledge by removing all Islamic contents from all subjects except Islamic studies. Even, discourse of Islamic studies curriculum was changed from Haqooq-ul-Allah to Haqooq ul Ibad. The curricula of social studies and Pakistan studies were having knowledge about local history and world civilization rather than Muslim history to promote cultural diversity. Furthermore, both subjects' curricula were having themes about climate change, afforestation, pollution, crisis management, health safety and population, to develop awareness about their problems to provide solutions for these problems within society. The narrative of English subject changed from Islamic values to imparting tolerance, self-respect, self-disciplining, participatory citizenship, competencies and life skills among students to construct them as an agent of societal

development. The most explicit change in curriculum of 2006 was the narrative of students learning outcome along-with the abstract directions about the topic in contrary to 2002 which provided clear direction by mentioning the title of the topic. The curriculum of 2006 was shifted from literary knowledge to scientific knowledge. This curriculum was designed with attention to encourage students' centric discourse rather than teacher centric ones. Furthermore, policy of curriculum and textbooks drew clear distinction between curriculum and textbooks and ultimately reduced the monopoly of textbooks. It eliminated the supremacy of textbooks and practice of book memorization. The most significant change was observed in the pattern of examination which was based on short questions, multiple choice questions and long questions in contrary to previous mode that was based on objectives and long questions, a formal source of rote learning. Education structures were based on decentralization, vocationalization and privatization to make education compatible to neo-liberal trends. The reform of curriculum in 2006 was made with core attention to construct citizenship in context of neo-liberal citizenship wherein every individual was well-informed, competitive, self-sufficient citizen and believed on plurality of culture, peaceful co-existence and tolerance to live in a civilized society.

It can be concluded that Musharraf's government lacked capacity to implement curriculum of 2006 due to uneven socio-political situation and white paper drafted for education in 2007 missed the opportunity to be implemented as the national policy of education. The PPP's government transformed white paper of education 2007 into national education policy in 2009 with adopting some changes therein. It is interesting to mention that curriculum of 2006 was implemented by PPP government in 2010. Subsequently PPP's government passed 18th amendment in 2010 which transferred

education ministry from federal to provincial government and made provincial government sole responsible for developing and implementing curriculum and policy. This devolution of education ministry made curriculum of 2006 obsolete with a privilege of provincial governments to adopt this curriculum or develop afresh curriculum. However, provincial governments adopted curriculum of 2006 due to lacking proper infrastructure for curriculum development.

The next chapter will discuss history of madrassas education and development of madrasas education in Pakistan under prism of education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1992, 1998 and 2009 documented by various regimes. The next chapter will provide detailed view of madrassas reform by Musharraf's regime which aimed at mainstreaming of madrassas education with formal education for curtailing sectarian violence, extremism and terrorism within the prevailing society.

CHAPTER 5

EDUCATION POLICY AND QUEST FOR MADRASA REFORMS IN PAKISTAN

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is comprised of three parts to provide detailed information about madrassa education, under the changing socio-political dynamics of various regimes, to understand changing narrative of madrassa education and their role in imparting education for the development of society. The first part provides a brief over view of madrassa system, under the patronage of prophet where Quran, Hadith and basic knowledge of other subjects were taught. It further elaborates the role of madrassa under reign of four Caliphs who extended the areas of education from Islamic studies to geography, mathematics and history. It describes the role of the Umayyad dynasty in extending domain of madrassa education by inserting new subjects such as fiqah, physics, logics and chemistry. Now, Madrassa has become a place where diverse subjects such as Quran, hadith, logic, mathematics, geography, history, chemistry and physics were taught with Arabic as a medium of instructions. This part finally discusses the Abbasid dynasty where madrassa education was expanded in every field of life such as music, logic, astronomy, biology, engineering, poetry, philosophy, geography, economics, political science, literature, chemistry, physics, mathematics, astrology and astronomy. The Abbasids promoted madrassa with the name of the House of Wisdom, wherein various

subjects without appropriate curriculum were taught with Arabic and Persian as medium of instructions.

Second part explains the role of Muslim rulers in establishing madrassas in non-Arabic world especially in the subcontinent. The structure of madrassa education includes various subjects such as economic, philosophy, physics, mathematics, logics and biology but with prime focus on the relevant teachings of Islam. It provides the development of Dars-e-Nizamias particular curriculum of madrassa under the patronage of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb in subcontinent. Therefore, Dars-e-Nizami has become as a core curriculum of madrassa with Persian and Arabic as its instruction medium. This part further elaborates that East India Company tried to reform madrassa education with innovative knowledge by establishing madrassa in 1784, after downfall of Muslim rulers. Despite of this, East India Company established new system of education with western pattern, in parallel to madrassas. Even British government passed an act in 1860 to regulate madrassa education in proper framework. Muslim leaders thought this initiative as conspiracy of East India Company to ruin Muslim culture. Therefore, Muslim scholars set new pattern of madrassa education by focusing on Quran, hadith, fiqah, gulistan and bostan with Urdu as a medium of instruction, to perverse Muslim culture.

The third part emphasizes on steps taken by government of Pakistan to streamline madrassa education with formal education, through relevant education policies. Every government provided provisions to streamline madrassa but with improper implementation plans. This part offers systematic study of Musharraf's regime, in reforming madrassa through producing afresh legislation such as an ordinance by the name Model of Deeni Madaaris and Madrassa, to lay the foundation of Pakistan

Madrasas Education Board, to modernize traditional education system of madrassas. This act is further supported by Voluntarily Registration of Regulation Ordinance in 2002, to ban madrassas in welcoming any foreign aid along-with to get registered on voluntary bases with the ministry of religious affairs.

In 2004, Musharraf chanted the slogan of enlightened moderation to reform madrassas with the passing and approval of Madrassa Reform Programme in 2005. This programme had given comprehensive outlines for reforming madrasas education system by including modern subjects and proper funding to shun orthodox contexts and to construct and reform Pakistani identity based on neo liberal citizenship.

5.2 Madrasa: A Discourse

Madrasa basically is an Arabic term which means a school for teaching or imparting knowledge for well-being of humanity. In this urbanized world, it is now generally recognized as a school of learning where Islamic subjects are taught (Blanchar, 2008). It is an institutionalized system of education where Quran, Hadith and Fiqah are used as curriculum for both teaching and learning (Rehman, 2002). Madrasa occupies a significant place in spreading teaching of Islam around the world. Madrassas, as being places of nurturing knowledge and formation of human capital for various sphere of life having diverse scheme of curricula including astronomy, chemistry, law, logic, medicine, physics along-with teaching of Islam , were established by Muslim rulers (Nasr, 2010).

5.3 Madrasa: Place of Education in Islam

The first established Madrasa was called "Suffa" inaugurated by Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in Medina. Suffa was situated adjunct to Masjid Nabvi (Prophet's Mosque). It was a place where people came to learn newly revealed knowledge and to address their problems according to the interpretation of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Soon after, Suffa became a center of Islamic learning where renowned companions of prophet got Islamic education and were deployed in different locations for the teaching of Islam (Rehman, 2002). Suffa followed Quran and Hadith as its curriculum for imparting knowledge to the people (Qasim, 2005). It was the first school where free education was imparted to Muslims and more than that it provided free accommodation and other facilities to 400 students every year (Saleem, 1989). Islam is the only religion which signifies the importance of education and human welfare. It teaches affection, tolerance, patience, brotherhood, rights and duties, harmony, equality, social justice and a framework for distribution of wealth (Zakat, Sadaqa, Usher and Khairaat) and women empowerment by providing designated rights to them. It was all due to the teaching of Islam that Arab society utterly transformed from idle and ignorant to learned and developed society. Islamic education provided a ground for development of Muslim identity and citizenship in the region.

It was in time of Prophet Muhammad, when he encompassed preaching of Islam by deploying the graduate of Suffa in different places, where they constructed mosques and started teaching of Islam in mosques. It is from that first Islamic center that mosques offer free education and learning to students.

5.4 The Role of Madrasa in Promotion of Education in Reign of Caliphate

After the demise of Holy Prophet, the close companion of Prophet, Hazrat Abu Baker took the command of the state of Medina as the first Caliph. He took education as a core means of creating awareness among the Muslims, about their rights and duties for the absolute betterment development of society. He established numerous mosques to teach Islamic education and also planned the compilation of Holy Quran into a book (Haq, 1997).

Hazrat Umer succeeded Hazrat Abu Baker and became the second caliph of Islam after the death of Hazrat Abu Baker. Hazrat Umer launched a plan to expand the Islamic state by conquering the area of around 22, 0000 km. He introduced splendid education by establishing Muktab, where educated teachers were hired to provide free education, based on Quran and Hadith. After Hazrat Umer, Hazrat Usman led Muslims as a caliph. He, following the same path of Muslims reformation and relevant education, established madrasas in different regions during his time. Before Hazrat Usman, people were allowed to read Quran in their indigenous dialect which led confusion in the interpretations of Holy Verses. He took an initiative of compiling the Holy Quran, to avoid confusion in its interpretations. He prepared numerous copies of Holy Quran based on the revealed dialect and distributed it to main cities of Islamic state (Hameed, 2003). Hazrat Ali, being the fourth caliph also focused on education based on Quran and Hadith. He expanded education system by building mosques in all territories of Islamic state. It is to be mentioned here that all four pious caliph followed Quran and hadith as their core curriculum while putting least emphasizes on other subjects. Quran and hadith as

curriculum were adequate to develop harmony and social equality among the citizens of Arabian Peninsula. There was homogeneity in language and culture among people which gave a platform to develop common identity easily. However, Islamic teachings played main role in the construction of common identity of being Muslim (Anzar, 2003). Madrassas were built to impart knowledge of Quran and Hadith so live of people could be transformed from ignorant to well-learn, disciplined and informed citizenry.

5.5 Umayyad Dynasty and Role of Madrasa in Promotion of Education

In the Umayyad Dynasty, the primary dynamics of education system was changed, where Madrassas were established along-with facilities like capacious accommodation and furnished library (Hamiduddin, 1967). They set a pattern of inducing science subjects in curriculum. Madrassas were made distinct by introducing a new scheme of study where new curricula were based on Quran, hadith, Geography, History, Mathematics and Physics (Khan, 1985) while the mosque retained its place of being a hub of religious learning in the society. The empire created a department of tafseer for interpretations of the Quran (Ihrahimy, 1997). They started a trend of translating Geography, History, Mathematics and Physics books from Greek to Arabic (Khan, 1985). This attempt was made to increase the knowledge base of Muslims, to compete with the world in every sphere of education. They focused on the department of theology and philosophy. City of Kufa was taken and respected as a center of intellect for the people of Islamic state (Hamiduddin, 1967). The most distinct work of education by Umayyads was to insert vowel in the Quran, making it understandable and readable for non-Arabs. Hajaj Bin

Yousaf was the governor of Basra gave his profound contribution in putting vowels in the Quran. The Umayyad Dynasty propagated concept of madras as separate institution than a mosque. In Madrasa, the subjects like philosophy and literature were emphasized. They initiated a procedure of writing Islamic history for progressive development of the society (Khan, 1985). Madrasas were established for the social and economic development of society. The attempt was made to construct Muslim identity for social harmony and development.

5.6 Role of Madrasa in Promotion of Education: Perspective of Abbasid Dynasty

The Abbasid Dynasty was established after the fall of Umayyad's reign. Abbasid period has been marked as a golden period of Muslim history. Abbasid rule initiated the process of streamlining education system, under patronage of government, through providing institutionalized support to Madrasas. Mamoon Rashid the then caliph of Islam, laid the foundation of government patronage by establishing a school named as House of Wisdom (Khan, 2003). The curricula were reorganized by adding new subjects such as poetry, logic, philosophy, geography, economics, political science, literature, chemistry, physics, mathematics, astrology and astronomy, in the teaching discourse of Madrasas. They introduced a faculty of medicine in Madrasas education. Abbasid rule opted to impart knowledge of all disciplines by following Arabic and Persian as a medium of instructions according to need of people (Shalaby, 1954). They established translation houses in

which books in different languages were translated into Persian and Arabic especially from Greek knowledge (Khan, 1985).

The Abbasid extended the paradigm of knowledge development by launching a new educational institute named as Madrassa-e-Nizamiyah in Baghdad. It was under the patronage of Abbasid rule with the contributions from a visionary Minister Nazim-Ul-Malik, who promoted a scheme of constructing Madrasas in different cities in the 11th Century. He gave an idea of spreading higher education by launching a Madrasa in Egypt. Abbasid government spread a network of educational institutions in Baghdad, Basra, Cairo, Damascus, Kufa, Makkah, Medina, Nashipur, Shiraz and Samarqand (Desai, 1978). All these educational institutes were having libraries, hostels and other facilities. The key feature of these educational institutions was a notion of integrated curricula (Ihrahimy, 1997). All these educational institutions were spreading knowledge based on both fundamental and acquired approach. The fundamental approach of knowledge considered Quran and Hadith as a sole domain of learning while acquired approach believed that knowledge of science, logic, medicines and civics should be necessary part of learning (Ali, 2005). This categorization of knowledge into two distinct spheres had been acknowledged by many Muslim scholars, among them were Al Frabi, Imam Ghazali and Ibn-Khaldun (Rahman, 2002). Madrasas were promoting an integrated curricula and knowledge had not been made inseparable from religion. It was the time of Abbasid reign that Muslims were leading world in the domain of knowledge. Madrasas had produced renowned and famous icons like Al Frabi, Imam Ghazali, Jabber Bin Hayyan, Ibne Sina, Al Khawarzimi, Al Hatham, Al Kindi, Abu Al Qasim Al Zahrawi and Al Tabari. The Abbasid's contribution in construction and proliferation of knowledge had

been acknowledged around the world and epoch of Abbasid is considered as a beacon of knowledge in the world history. The significant step of this reign was establishment of Al-Azhar University in Cairo which is still a symbol of Muslim sovereignty and a quest for dignity of knowledge (Khan, 1985). Abbasid had used education as tool for social and economic development which in return legitimized their rule. They promoted norms of citizenship and Muslim identity through diverse instruments of education.

5.7 Education in Non-Arab World: The Role of Madrasa

The light of Islam reached all around the world and ultimately spread the sphere of education, especially Islamic education. In contrary to the Arab world where ruling elites were providing patronages and endowment funds to all institutions of education, the realm of Non-Arab world was not supported by the ruling elites. However, the religious scholars had opened up the doors of theirs houses or mosques as educational institutes for people of the indigenous areas. No separate space was provided for educational activities like the ones provided in the Arab world (Ali, 2009). Religious scholars were providing the basic teachings of Islam based on Quran and Hadith. The curricula of Quran and Hadith were having uniformity for teaching of Islam although there were bit differences in the interpretations of fiqah. The basic tenets of Islam were preserved to ensure unity among the Muslim community.

It is worth to mention that ruling elites had established madrasas with all facilities particularly endowment funds and did not interfere in educational activities of these institutions. They had provided an educational framework where ulema were free to

decide about curricula of these institutions (Berkey, 2010). This notion of freedom in choosing curricula had developed norms of discrepancy in the following of uniformed curricula in Madrasas. The chronological order of Muslim history had also revealed the truth of variation of curricula blueprints in Madrasas under different reigns. However, Madrasas had played a vital role in character building and developing citizenship values among the Muslims around the world. They had constructed the identity of one nation called Muslim Ummah on the bases of Islam.

5.8 Education in Sub Continent through Madrasas

Ultimately with its light reaching far flung areas, the culture of education through madrasas entered the boundaries of Sub-Continent through the advent of Islam in the Sub-Continent. The trend of Muslim education in an organized shape was introduced by Mehmood Ghaznavi. He laid the foundation of first Madrasa for providing the knowledge of Quran and Hadith. Shahab-ud-Din Ghori, following the imprints of his predecessor Mehmood Ghaznavi, constructed madrasas in different places (Sikand, 2005). The curriculum under Ghori's reign was limited to junction of Quran and Hadith and the knowledge of philosophy, logic and science was almost absent. In the beginning of 13th century, madrasas curriculum had witnessed a shift from religious juncture to modern knowledge under the leadership of Qutubuddin Aibek, where he introduced a narrative of promoting science and philosophy along-with calligraphy, sculptor, pharmacy, medicines and warfare in the madrasas (Bano, 2007). The rulers of Salateen dynasty had followed the reign of Aibek in promotion of madrasas education. All had

adopted the policy of integrated curricula in madrasas where both religious juncture and modern knowledge had been emphasized at equal weight. However, theology had occupied the place of compulsory subject in madrasas.

5.8.1 Education through Madrasas in Mughal Era

The Mughal era had a unique pattern of education where they promoted architect, fine arts, agriculture, economics and civics (Rehman, 2002). The Muslim rulers had established famous madrasas in different cities such as in Ahmedabad, Agra, Delhi, Junipur, Lahore, Peshawar and Thatta (Nadavi, 1979). All these madrasas were promoting education based on Civics, Economics, Hadith, History, Logic, Law, Medicine, Mysticism, Philosophy, Psychology, Quran and warfare. All these institutions were promoting Islamic values to construct Muslim identity. There were also separate institutions for minorities that were promoting education based on their religion and knowledge. There was no unified identity among indigenous people of the sub-continent.

Akber the great was the first who set up an archetype of department of regulating madrasas under state patronage and introduced reforms in madrasas education (Mariyum, 2015). He strengthened the idea of Ijtahad, to develop social and political harmony. It is to be mentioned here that Mughal ruler, Akber the great had introduced the notion of common identity among all indigenous people by innovating a new religion called the Deen-e-Elahi. It was a juncture of all indigenous religions by recognizing the good deeds of all religions, to promote social and political harmony for the construction of Indian identity. Madrasas under patronage of Akber spread knowledge based on rational sciences (Riaz, 2008). He urged ulemas to spread the notion of social harmony for

constructing a unified citizenry, despite of all differences among masses to develop a stable empire.

Auranzaib Alamgir had also provided a mechanism of regulating madrasas and expanded the network of madrasas in the region. He furthered the idea of formulating new and balanced curricula called Dars-e-Nazmi, which was informed from dialect, logic, philosophy and other rational sciences. Dars-e-Nazmi was implemented in the main madrasas which became very helpful in producing well learned administrators, Muslim jurists and judges. This curriculum had produced sophisticated and better minds for a complex bureaucratic system of governance of Sub-Continent (Robinson, 2001). Auranzaib Alamgir had given Fatwa-e-Alamgiri which provided codified structure of Shariah laws for governing of state affairs and particularly for comprehensive juridical adjudication of the Sub-Continent (Ahmad, 1970). He introduced a stark shift of curriculum by making it more Islamic oriented (Robinson, 2001).

All Muslim rulers promoted the narrative of education by establishing madrasas in different regions. The Madrasas education system was given an autonomous status where they were free to administer all activities and develop curricula of their own choice without much interference of the rulers (Metcalf, 1989). Madrasas' teachers were responsible for development and reformation of curricula. However, a variation in adaptations of curricula had been observed under the regime of Afghans, Turks and Mughals, who had adapted different schemes of studies during their respective times (Rehman, 2002). Though, various subjects had been introduced in the scheme of study, but no definite alteration had been done in the structural sphere of educational institutions. The medium of instructions had been changed with the changing, regime

from Arabic to Persian and then Urdu for madrasas education. Despite this changing pattern of medium of instructions, Arabic and Persian were there as compulsory subjects in scheme of studies of madrasas. There was an integrated curriculum followed in all madrasas without any distinction of religious and worldly knowledge. Madrasas were producing human capital like ruling elites, administrators, physicians, teachers, ulema to interpret shariah and warriors to fulfil the position in state machinery for smooth and progressive development of state (Rahim, 1982).

After the demise of Auranzaib Alamgir, the Mughal emperor became unable to defend his territory from internal and external threats. The emperor was not providing much support for regulating Madrasas education system which was put in lurch. The Madrasas education got more affected without financial and ladder support from government. Shah Waliullah's arrival is genuinely marked; he introduced reforms in the curriculum by making it more traditionally grounded on teaching of Islam by excluding the knowledge of rational sciences, declaring them as cause of confusion (Metcalf, 1989).

The Mughal Empire scattered after Auranzaib and many Muslim states were emerged on surface with their own indigenous rulers. These rulers were facilitating madrasas through funding and other endowment schemes. Graves provided a figure of around one hundred thousand madrasas, around the corners of Sub-Continent where free education was provided (Graves, 1993).

5.9 Narrative of Bifurcation in Education under British Rule

The East India Company emerged on power sphere of Sub-Continent after the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal in 1764 and subsequently of Tipu Sultan in 1799. After being into power, the East India Company started the process of reformation by introducing English as language of court (Chinnappa, 1988). English was introduced as a medium of instructions by replacing Arabic and Persian after Lord Macaulay's minutes in 1835 (Ali, 2009). It promoted the culture of missionary schools for providing education which not only restricted the role of madrasas in imparting education but also curtailed madrasas role in the social development where students were not able to get any job in newly established state machinery. East India Company initiated a plan of reduction of endowment funds for madrasas to squeeze its role in building Muslim nationalism (Nair, 2008).

In 1857, the War of independence had made East India Company as an unchallenged entity. The Britishers blamed Muslims for this misadventure and started a policy of discrimination against Muslims. Muslims became victims of properties' confiscation and jobs' deprivation which squeezed their role in the society. The education opportunities were reduced, and funding of madrasas was halted declaring them as a factory of traitors. Muslims were put at a disadvantage stage, by launching a new education system where western knowledge along-with rational sciences was taught by using English as a medium of instruction. New system of education was initiated to produce human capital to support government machinery by providing their services at lower rank and to act as a mediator between the state and its people (Graves, 1993). This newly initiated education

system became a dilemma of identity for Muslim as they had lost their political legitimacy after the War of independence. Muslim leaders perceived this change in education system as a conspiracy against their heritage and consequently started prompting preventive measures by establishing a Madrasa in deoband for preservation of Muslim identity (Zaman, 2004). Madrasa in deoband reformed the curriculum of Dars-e-Nazmi by excluding materials of logic and other rational sciences, considering these as western flagged and a hurdle in the formation of Muslim identity. Madrasas pertained Arabic and Persian as their medium of instructions. They took the responsibility of preservation of Muslim identity and started promoting Persian language through teaching of Persian books of Bostan and Gulistan (Qasim, 2005). This initiative of religious leaders had created a situation of bifurcation in the educational institutions dividing them as religious and non-religious institutions which further narrowed down the prospects of integration of Muslims within newly established governance structure and ultimately dragged them in to isolation (Kaur, 1985).

The creation of religious and non-religious institutions (Modern Schools) opened up a struggle of identity crisis for Muslims, as Hindu had adopted the changing narrative of education and were benefiting from government policies by securing job opportunities as well as other economic leverage. While on other hand, Muslims were considering it as conspiracy of invaders and started their own policy of retaining their identity by not becoming a part of government's established schools (Zaman, 2004). This paradigm shift adopted by Muslim religious leaders not only did put Muslims on economic disadvantage but also closed the doors of innovations and improvements by excluding rational sciences from curricula of madrasas.

5.9.1 Discourse of Madrasas Reforms under British Rule

However, the East India Company after being declared as an unchallenged authority in India, the British government launched the process of reforming education system by introducing western knowledge in Madrasa. In 1784, British government by pursuing the stance of reforming education, established a Madrasa in 1784 in Calcutta where modern education based on innovative knowledge was imparted by using Arabic as a medium of instructions (Ghaffar, 1999). It was due to Madrasas reform narrative of government that the scheme of madrasas education was bifurcated into two sections, senior section was designed to promote modern Arabic literature along with Mohammedan law while the junior was designed to augment Anglo-Persian teaching in madrasas that got inference from modem school system (Zaman, 2004). The government tried to streamline madrasas education by introducing Society Registration Act 1860, to regulate madrasas activities and also to give legal protection to madrasas for imparting education for the development of society. This act had laid the foundation of facilitating endowment funds to Madrasas, to continue educational activities by the government. It was a golden opportunity for Muslims to get integrated in the process of development by getting modern education, but they left this chance unattended (Ikram, 2003).

It is worth mentioning that some Muslim religious scholars had exploited this integrative opportunity by launching scheme of curricula which got inferences both from Islamic education and modern knowledge to meet the need of time (Brasmeld, 1950). This reformist movement of education is known in history as Nadva Movement. Nadva Movement set up the pattern of education for making Muslims, able to survive in changing trends of society. It provided alternative education system to compete in market

and also this system of education was imparting religious education for preservations of Muslim identity. This movement had laid the foundation of Madrasas on modern pattern in different localities such as Amritsar, Bihar, Calcutta, Deccan, Delhi, Lucknow, Meerut and Rampur and these Madrasas were very famous such as Jamia Usmania Madrasa Alia, Madrasa Nizamia and Madrasa Milia Islamia (Desai, 1978).

5.9.2 Bifurcation of Education in Madrasas: A Perspective

Madrasas had been taking significant place in providing education for betterment of Muslims. The bifurcation of madrasas was seen into modern madrasas (Anglo-Persian) and traditional madrasas (Vernacular), due to following the design of curricula in their educational spectrum. Modern madrasas had played momentous role of providing trained human capital to survive in market by espousing curricula informed from Islamic teaching and modern knowledge (Zaman, 1999). Modern madrasas (Anglo-Persian) had the same examination standard as of modern schools and were mending ways of higher education. These institutions were inculcating the values of informed citizenry among Muslim community. Whereas, traditional madrasas were pursuing traditional knowledge that not only restricted chances of employment and prosperity but also developed conservativeness and orthodoxy by lacking plot for constructing informed citizenry for development of society. However, there were a few religious scholars who favoured modern education along with religious learning while most of religious scholars were in favour of traditional pattern of curricula based on Dars-e-Nazmi. This difference of opinion among religious scholars in knowledge learning had established two distinct but parallel education systems where one education system was the combination of modern

and religious education and other one was based on traditional and old knowledge informed by Quran and Hadith (Ihrahimy, 1997). This trend of two parallel but contrary institutions of knowledge had created dilemma of conflicting orientation of identity for harmonious society. This paradox of educational institutes due to their knowledge impartation (Modern, Anglo-Persian and Vernacular) had led societal orientations into construction of dissimilar mind sets which ultimately inflicted the society.

5.10 Narrative of Education through Madrasas in Pakistan

In 1947, Pakistan came on the map of world and the main premise behind the creation of Pakistan was to have a separate place for Muslims where they could freely practice religion and flourish ideology. Before being an independent State, Pakistan was part of British colony and had inherited British legacy of laws to govern the structure of state. Pakistan was unfortunate in having share of 100 bureaucrats and assets of 700 million for state functioning (Ali, 2009). Pakistan had insufficient industrial precinct as well as weak human capital strand where almost 85% masses were illiterate. Having an influx of refugees further aggravated the situation of social and economic development. Pakistan was mapped on areas which were too weak in educational resource where government had only three universities (Dacca, Punjab and Sindh) for higher learning (Curle, 1966). By keeping in view these problems and to tackle these appropriately, government took illiteracy as an important and urgent problem to be addressed on war footing ground. Government launched a policy of expanding network of technical and higher education

around the corner of country for training of human capital for smooth running of government machinery and for development of society (Ali, 2009).

In 1947, despite of having modern school infrastructure, legacy of 245 Madrasas was also added in educational sphere of Pakistan from government of British India to provide education for formation of human capital (Pakistan, 1954). These madrasas were valuable addition in educational sphere to overcome problem of illiteracy and promotion of Islamic teachings for the development of Muslim state. There were well renowned and established madrasas with fully equipped set up for indoctrination and promotion Islamic norms and values among Muslims of society (Malik, 1998). However, in due fate, Pakistan had inherited only one reformed Madrasa in Calcutta where curriculum of Anglo Persian scheme was followed and it was the only modernized Madrasa in Pakistan which continued its services for the smooth progress of society (Zaidi, 2013). It is pertinent to mention that government emphasized only on promotion of modern education for development of trained human capital well versed with technical skills, to fill the existing gap of human capital for smooth function of state machinery (Ali, 2009).

Government of Pakistan by keeping in view the meagre capacity of infrastructural and economic ladder focused in encouragement of modern education in tackling problem of illiteracy and adopted policy of neglect for regulating madrasas education under control of education department. The document of first educational conference of 1947 was lacking clear policy statement about integration of madrasas education with modern education and even put burden of regulating the madrasas on provincial governments for propagation and promotion of knowledge through madrasas education system. The provincial government showed insufficient capacity in regulating madrasas by not

providing appropriate resources and infrastructure to madrasas. This neglecting tone of provincial and central governments towards madrasas education system underscored pattern of strategy in overcoming illiteracy within society.

This notion of neglect and lacking interest of government provided space for administrations of madrasas as autonomous and independent institution with least governmental patronage, check and balance. Due to being the least priority of Government, madrasas education system started the scheme of arranging funds on their own from different sources for governance of institutional set up. This ladder of dependency on fund not from government but from philanthropists and other non-governmental organizations had put madrasas education in hand of fortune seeker. Madrasas education system started their educational motive more on religious education. These fortune seekers introduced mechanism of organizing Madrasas education on sectarian bases for escalation sectarian base education in madrasas (Sajjad, 1995).

It was in late 1950s, madrasas education formally established their respective boards based on their respective religious thoughts (Ahle-Hadith, Barelvi, Deobandi and Shia) to conduct examination and award degrees. This step of formation of their respective boards on the bases of religious thoughts even could not get the attention of education policy makers which ensured their autonomy and independence from government run educational institutions. Accordingly, being independent and autonomous entities, these educational institutions promoted practice of teaching of their own developed curriculum that was designed with sectarian orientations (Khalid, 2005). This stride further led to the narrative of curriculum committee for development of curriculum by consulting ulemas of respective sect. They developed a system of their own Boards of education for creating

unified activities on sectarian grounds and to regulate the standardized curriculum and examination system for respective sect under patronage of respective board. There were four boards and Madrasas were made bound to have affiliation with particular boards based upon sectarian orientation. These boards were responsible for revising curriculum, providing registration for exams and scheduled examination at different stages. They were soul responsible for collection of fee for registration and examinations. They had authority to devise paper in Arabic and Urdu languages for examination, hold examination, declare results and to awards degrees to students (Ahmed, Madrassa Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh, 2004). These four boards were established in the following timeline, which is provided in table 5.1

Table: 5.1 Boards of Madrasas

No	Name of Sect	Name of board	Year of Establishment	Location of Board
1	Ahle Hadith	Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al- Salfia	1955	Faisalabad
2	Barelvi	Tanzim-ul-MadarisPakistan	1960	Lahore
3	Deobandi	Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al- Arabia Pakistan	1959	Multan
4	Shia	Wafaq-ul-Madaris Al- Shia	1959	Lahore

Boards of Madrasas based on Sectarian Thoughts

It was in 1983, when a fifth board for religious education started its functioning as an autonomous board. This board was established by Jamat-e-Islami and was the pioneer board not having any sectarian affiliation. This board is known as "*Rabta-tul-Madaris A-Islamiya*" in the pages of history. This board remained distinct then other four boards because it aimed at pursuing an education system based on modernized education through teaching of subjects like economics, history and politics. This Madrasa system was

providing training and skills to repute western point of view by giving Islamic narrative on any issue (Khalid, 2005).

Despite of these five boards there are some autonomous institutions and which are teaching Islamic knowledge like Fiqah, Hadith and Tafseer and these institutions are not affiliated with any board and enjoying status of degree awarding institutions independently.

Table: 5.2 Independent Madrasas

No	Name of Institution	Location
1	Dar-ul-Uloom	Karachi
2	Dar-ul-UloomMohammadiaGhousia	Behra Sharif
3	JamiaAshrafia	Lahore
4	JamiaIslamiaMinhaj-ul-Quran	Lahore
5	JamiaTaleemat-e-Islamia	Faisalabad

Independent Madrasas without Board Affiliation

It is worth mentioning that all these madrasas were affiliated with five Boards and these independent institutions were following Dars-e-Nazami as their scheme of study (Ahmed, 2004) and contributing in promotion of Islamic norms and values.

5.11 Socio-Political Perspective of Madrasas Reform in Pakistan

Since 1947, the socio- political dynamics have been changed with exigencies of time, forwarding the agenda of restructuring society through different means wherein education has remained the main premise to indoctrinate governments' narratives to construct particular identity which fulfilled the need of governing regime. It is prime domain of education to facilitate society through supplying required human capital for smooth socio-political development and where people are well informed about their citizenry

values. However, education of madrasas was lacking the required element of producing well informed citizenry due to following of 250 years old curriculum called Dars-e-Nazami (Zaman, 1999) having specialized contents of religious teachings and constructing wasteful graduates that were not capable of fulfilling the requirements of job market and society. However, the role of madrasas seminaries in political sphere of Pakistan had been observed in first constituent assembly which passed the objective resolution; a milestone of furnishing Islamic values in governance structure of Pakistan and later on the twenty-two points of ulema. The sectarian turmoil of Sunni and Ahmadi in Lahore in 1953, ended with mass causalities presenting a depleting scenario of madrasas education especially the impartation of orthodox teaching giving rise to fanatic mind set which was not viable for society with people from diverse backgrounds. Thus, element of madrasas reforms had been the core point of every regime with changing requirements of the society. It was government of Ayub that took apposite steps for reforming madrasas education by making modern subjects as scheme of study for madrasas education system (Ahmed, 2004). His government planted a systematic way of controlling all madrasas under government patronage in shaping of holding 'aquaf' responsible for regulating madrasas education system to develop harmony in curricula and likewise maintain the quality of education. Government had developed an employment scheme for graduates of madrasas in government set ups, offering services as imam and Khatib in various government sponsored mosques. Ayub's regime gave space to the ulema in playing their role in political system of Pakistan through vibrant institution of Islamic Ideological Council (Amin, 2015). The government founded scheme of integrating both madrasas and formal education by making Islamic studies as a

compulsory subject in formal education system and modern subjects as mandatory element of madrasas curricula. In 1963, Ayub's government promised to establish specialized university for madrasas students and created commission to propose recommendations for the foundation of "Islamic Arabic University" for promotion of liberal madrasas education (Ahmed, 2016). Ayub's regime took very constructive steps for integrating madrasas education system through devising modern curriculum in madrasas and helped madrassas graduates to work as able citizens of society. The trend of promoting Islamic research at higher education level was boosted up by his regime. However, this scheme of improving madrasas education system could not be materialized due to1965 war and students' protests against his regime halted the implementation process of this scheme which came up with negative consequences for the state in overall (Ali, 2012).

It is worth to mention here that Ayub's regime gathered sympathies of religious segment for socio-political development of the society but Ayub's regime used this reformist agenda for the political gain and even won presidential election against Fatima Jinnah popularly known as Madir-e-Millat, sister of the father of nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Ayub was more prone towards stability of his regime than making madrasas education compatible to formal education, to make his power more sustainable and longer in duration.

After political turmoil of Ayub khan, Yahya Khan took oath in 1969 and set a commission to introduce madrasas reforms in 1969 and recommended the progressive changes in existing system of Pakistan which could not be implemented in true spirits because of the continued political chaos in Pakistan (Shah, 2011).

Yahya was not in position to launch any implementation plan for madrasas reforms due to instable political environment that led towards debacle of disintegration in 1971. Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto became the prime of Pakistan after dismemberment of East Pakistan. The government of Bhutto laid the foundation of an egalitarian society under the nationalization scheme. However, his government was silent in restructuring madrasas and maintained the position of status quo in policy documents. Despite of that, Pakistan People Party's government inaugurated three Islamic research institutes in University of Punjab, University of Peshawar and University of Karachi respectively, to promote Islamic teaching along-with the modern trends in education, to make the students equipped with global modern knowledge at higher education level. This was progressed with commendable assistance from Sheikh Zayed and subsequently the research institute was named as the Sheikh Zayed Islamic center due to his financial assistance. Government provided space for madrasas graduates to get degree equivalence by qualifying English subject of graduation in formal education. Bhutto's government gave a new constitution in 1973 where Islam was declared as state religion and conformed to reform society according to the teachings of Islam (Khalid, 1995). He declared Ahmadi as minority by amending constitution of 1973 and propagated the slogan of Islamic socialism. Bhutto's government used Islam in refurbishing of society for strengthening of his political legitimacy, as Islam has always remained a very sensitive issue for Muslims and then Pakistanis. Under this Islamic banner he wanted a prolonged tenure. Yet his government had to face due backlash, as the implementation of Islam was on a very fragile level, ultimately surfacing the reactionary faction of Islamists under the name of

"Nazim-e-Mustafa Tehrik" (Ahmed, 2001) to challenge his political legitimacy which was later on removed by general Zia-ul-Haq.

Zia-ul-Haq used the slogan of Islamization and set a pattern of reforming society on Islamic values. He implemented Zakat and Usher system to distribute money to poor, under government's arrangement by commencing Zakat department under ministry of religious affairs. He premeditated to restructure Pakistani society on the Islamic principles by inserting Islamic contents in formal schools' curricula and making madrasas education system able to produce graduate capable of having modern skills as required by the job market (Ali, 2012). To study the differences and study gaps between the curricula of modern and madrasa education, the government formed two committees to suggest recommendations for necessary improvements and these committees presented their respective reports known as Sargodha report and Halepota report. In compilation of Sargodha report, Ministry of Religious Affairs was tasked for conducting study about problems faced by madrasas and the ministry presented the report by revealing the problems of madrasas education system that needed to be catered on urgent bases. Mostly, madrasas were facing problems of inadequate land for constructing buildings and right of ownership to the lands where these madrasas were located. Madrasas education systems were working as autonomous institutions and likewise lacking recognition status for their certificates by government organizations, closing the door of opportunities in securing government jobs especially in civil superior services. Due to lacking financial aids and scholarships for higher education to students and teachers of madrasas, they remained behind the regular scenario. (Pakistan, 1978). Government, through this report recommended reforming the existing curriculum of the madrasas by adding practical

knowledge to make students equipped with modern trends of the market and reducing existed knowledge differences between formal education and madrasas education system (Pakistan, 1978). This report also recommended the impartation of higher education through creating of the Ulema Academy.

The Halepota committee was established in 1979 to point out the prevailing problems that thoroughly existed in the madrasas education. The committee presented its report that madrasas were producing graduates who had least possibility of availing job opportunities in the market. It also underlined the issue of wage gap that existed between teachers of madrasas and formal education system. This committee was also given the task of proposing modifications in existing education system of madrasas by adding modern subjects wherein students were provided modern knowledge and skills which not only increased the ability of students to go for higher education but also secured their job market. This committee provided a systematic way of reforming curricula and system of assessment in madrasas education to develop uniformity among all madrasas boards to maintain quality of education therein. It was suggested to transform madrasas by imparting both religious education as well as modern education, overcoming the then existed knowledge gap between madrasas education and formal education and making madrasas education parallel to formal education which gave way of equating and integrating for both education systems. According to the recommendation of report, this system of integration could easily form the structure of equivalence between madrasas certificates and formal education system awarded certificate and degrees (Halepota, 1979). It suggested teaching of science subjects and modern laboratories equivalent to modern trends. This report put responsibility on government to establish book banks to

provide all books relevant to Islam on concession bases to students of madrasas. The highlighting point of recommendation of this report was to allocate land for madrasas and all facilities including electricity, gas and water to be provided on concession bases. The government was also asked to provide scholarship schemes for teachers to go abroad for training and to have foreign exposure (Halepota, 1979).

It was under regime of Zia that he promoted a unbiased Madrasas board through Jamat-e-Islami in 1983 to promote Islamic education free from sectarian orientation. He promoted madrasas schools system to promote both Islamic and modern education at one platform. Deoband school of thought promoted Iqra school system for children to get Islamic and modern education.

Zia's government established commissions (Sargodha and Halepota) to propose reforms in madrasas education but despite of these recommendations of both commissions, the government could not provide support and mechanism of implementation for madrasas reforms. Zia's government established these two commissions on sole politic motives and longer government tenure. It had become a prerequisite for Zia's regime to manipulate the agenda of Islamization for his political legitimacy as on one hand the neighbouring state Iran had successful experience of restructuring Iranian society on Islamic norms while on other hand Nazim-e-Mustafa Tehrik within Pakistan persuaded his government to reform Pakistani society under true spirit of Objective Resolution (Ahmed, 2001). By keeping in view, the demands of Muslim religious leaders and vigor of Islamic revolution in Iran, government adopted the policy of promoting Islamic teaching through education, particularly with madrasas system. The scheme of reform madrasas was launched to modernize madrasas education, making it compatible to formal education, to produce

productive human capital by using the already existing infrastructure of madrasas. This so-called reform agenda was supported as in Afghan Jihad, students of these seminaries were trained to fight the holy war against communist regime of Soviet Union with help of Central Intelligence Agency of United States of America and Saudi Arabia. United States and Saudi Arabia provided legitimacy to the regime by granting aids to Pakistan and to dispel the Soviet Union. (Ali, 2012). It is to be mentioned here that Zia's government used madrasas seminaries to prolong his rule by adopting so-called agenda of Islamization. Madrasas graduates were at forefront for fighting holy war against infidel communists in Afghanistan. Madrasas created on sectarian grounds, promoted the phenomenon of extremism. The Deobandi and Shia sects were having militant groups named Sipha-e-Sahaba and Sipha-e-Muhammad respectively, creating violence and divergence within the society (Ahmed, 2001; Zaidi, 2013).

Since creation of Pakistan, various schemes of reforms for madrasas education were commenced and all these reformist agendas were not supposedly constructive due to lacking framework of regulating madrasas and even no government announced financial assistance to madrasas (Dogar, 2010) and so they were depending upon revenues generated through charities or assistances provided by philanthropists. All madrasas were being registered under Societies Registration Act 1860 and there were around 25000 to 40000 numbers of madrasas according to Rauf Iqbal (2015) while Zaidi reported there were around 27613 madrasas registered under five madrasas boards wherein Deobandi madrasas were in majority by having 16800 madrasas which was followed by Barelvi madrasas 8000, Ahle-e-Hadith 1400, Jamat-e-Islami 1000 and Shia sect was having 413 madrasas as minority in numbers respectively (Zaidi, 2013). It is worth to mention here

that all these madrasas boards like Madaris al Islamia, Deobandi and Barelvi were having their own renowned political parties by names of Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam and Jamiat-e-Ulema Pakistan respectively and getting political support of their graduates for their political means. Ulemas were using their respective boards for achieving their political goals as well to pressurize the government not to go against the basic tenets of Islam (Zaman, 2004). The Madrasas education system was promoting loyalty to particular sect as they were divided in general and each institute claimed superior to another.

The decade of 1990s witnessed changing strategies of governments where the government of Benazir Bhutto put ban on registration of madrasas under Societies Registration Act of 1860 as she wanted to give an alternative system of education for madrasas but this step of Benazir's government gave a free space to madrasas, and they grew like mushrooms, without any check and balance on curriculum and funding (Ali, 2012). The government of Nawaz Sharif came in command and promised the religious line to reform Sheikh Zayed Islamic center as model madrasa where Dars-e-Nazami could be taught along-with other modern subjects to strengthen skilled human capital for the development of society (Siddiqui, 2016). The most significant feature of 1990s decade was the continued political upheaval which forced three governments to dethrone before the ending of tenure. General Musharraf, after taking his office as the chief executive of Pakistan promised to transform the society by eliminating issues of bad governance, misuse of power and corruption to put society on the progressive path. He established a commission named as the National Reconstruction Bureau to provide guidelines for the societal development. His agenda of transforming the society employed

education at first, as it was the backbone, creating and transforming minds of masses. Madrasas education system was having a stagnant curriculum which was almost 300 years old and it focused on religious teachings wherein teaching of modern knowledge was debarred (Nayyar, 1998). Due to having stagnant and traditional curricula, Madrasas were contributing least fruitful in the society. The most distressing feature of madrasas education was their role in promoting sectarian education and working as factories of sponsoring extremism within the society (Fair, 2008). Madrasas education was lacking uniformity in their curricula because of their sectarian base affiliation (Z. Jalal, perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). Government started madrasa reform schemes to address these existing problems and bridge existing gap between formal and madrasas education. Musharraf's government took madrasas education system as serious problem in construction of Pakistani identity, promotion of societal strife on sectarian bases and violence within society, to all these prevalent problems, government started a plan of reforming madrasas on modern pattern.

5.12 Role of Madrasas Education Reforms in Construction of Pakistani Identity

Every education system has been following decorum of norms and values to construct specific identity and likewise madrasas education had a role of promoting the narrative of Muslim identity in general. Although, after creation of Pakistan, madrasas education system had become organized by establishing various boards to ensure the quality education by developing curriculum and by taking examinations but there were a few madrasas which were imparting formal education along-with religious teaching and

creating Pakistani identity, apart from producing human capital (Shami, 2008). Most of madrasas affiliated with these four boards were following Dars-e-Nazami as soul curriculum by negating formal education system. The course content of Dars-e-Nazami in all madrasas was influenced from Hanafi school of thought except Shia madrasas which promoted the contents of course conforms to their respective sect, to make pupil clear about rational and logic stance of their own sect. It is to be mentioned here that curriculum of Dars-e-Nazami was designed almost 500 years ago by keeping the need of time which later was altered by removing contents of logic and philosophy from curriculum of Dars-e-Nazami (Zaman, 1999). The course content of Dars-e-Nazami was too out-dated and distressingly the Muslim religious scholars never tried to alter the course design which ultimately gave a stagnant narrative in the end (Nayyar, 1998). The teachers in these madrasas were not well versed in Arabic and so were unable to provide definite interpretation of these texts. Students were memorizing these Arabic texts without having proper guideline and were thus blindly following what was asked. (Andrabi, 2011). Almost all madrasas were promoting their respective sectarian knowledge for preservations of their own identity and Muslim tradition. This system of madrasas education informed from sectarian teaching could easily break the fabric of harmonious society by creating division on sect bases within the society and ultimately could halt the process of unified identity and societal development. Madrasas education system was not preparing students to fulfil the existing gap of human capital due to old and traditional curriculum. The graduates of these madrasas were having very limited job opportunities because of traditional knowledge and without understanding of modern knowledge like mathematics, philosophy and logic; they could only work as imams and

teachers in different madrasas (Z. Jalal, perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). Madrasas education system was not playing their role to construct Pakistani identity rather these institutions were promoting general Muslim identity where graduates were not having sufficient knowledge for the cause of creation of Pakistan due to irrelevant curriculum.

By keeping in view these loopholes, the government took the initiative of madrasa reforms by bridging gaps therein and integrating these two-different education systems by introducing curriculum reforms in madrasas.

5.13 Education Policies and Discourse of Madrasas Reform in Pakistan

Since the creation of Pakistan, different governments have been formulating education policies to provide trained and technical human capital. The boarder focuses of education policies have remained to develop foundation of Islamic education and to construct distinct identity based of teachings of Islam. Although, First Education Conference in 1947 was lacking in instructions and guidelines to streamline these traditional madrasas by delegating madrasas regulation power to respective provincial governments that ultimately made these institutes autonomous within their spheres. However, successor of First Education Conference came with proper instructions and guidelines for addressing the issue of inefficient human capital and perplexed identity construction by traditional madrasas through taking steps of integration and reforming traditional madrasas. This stance of reforming traditional Madrasas in policy juncture by education policies of 1959, 1969, 1970, 1979, 1992 and 1998 were having clear statements for integrating both existing (Modern Schools and Traditional Madrasas) education systems and bridging

gaps therein, depicted the government's quest to integrate traditional madrasas education with modern school system. However, education policy of 1972 was quite unique in character by maintaining status quo regarding traditional madrasas education system reforms and assimilation within modern lines and was quite silent in context of restructuring madrasas education system (Khalid, 1995; Siddiqui, 2016).

Musharraf's government initiated the process of reforming madrasas education and took meaningful steps to set up pattern of modern education in madrasas and also offered financial assistance to those madrasas who were willing to be in sphere of reformed education system. His government provided different piece of legislation with appropriate steps in reforming madrasas in true spirit. His successor government also adopted similar stance. The following policy statements have provided changing discourse of madrasas reforms in different education policy documents and prevailing governments' narratives as well.

5.13.1 Madrasas Reforms under Sharif Commission Report

In 1958, Ayub Khan after taking charge of government formed a commission to consider the existing problems of education and to address these problems especially utilizing human capital of madrasas through tangible recommendations. Sharif's Report was the first education policy document containing policy statements regarding traditional madrasas education reforms through introducing modern subjects (English, Social Studies, Philosophy Science and Humanities) (Pakistan, 1959). Sharif's Report was having 27 chapters in which chapter 9 was dealing with Islamic education and its role in socio-political development of society. Whereas, 20th chapter of the report was having

perspective of reforms in existing education system of traditional madrasas by removing non- functional and irrational subjects from scheme of study of madrasas' curriculum and inserting modern subjects for making human capital compatible to market requirement (Ahmed, 2016).

It was due to the outcome of 20th chapter of the report that Ayub's government created a committee for reforming traditional madrasas education in 1960. This committee was composed of Ulemas and bureaucrats. However, ulemas participation in the committee were marginal than bureaucrats. This committee recommended in 1962 that the curriculum of Dars-e-Nazami was overloaded with non- religious and irrational subjects that needed to be eliminated and replaced with new modern subjects in existing scheme of study development of madrasas education. There were around 700 madrasas and they removed two subjects, philosophy and logics from curriculum of Dars-e-Nazami in 1962 due to their non- productivity and outcome in the society (Zaman, 2004).

Ayub's government promoted the policy of liberal Islamic orientation through education especially madrasas education by developing mechanism to regulate department of aquaf for smooth running of madrasas education. Before government of Ayub, madrasas were not catered in government's sphere and were having economic dependence on property of aquaf and shrines. Government had opted systematic ways of aquaf rules to control madrasas education system and made these madrasas bound to impart modern subjects as integral part of their curriculum under the government scheme (Ahmed, 2004). Government of Ayub khan took a very constructive step in utilizing the capabilities and potential of graduates of traditional madrasas by providing job opportunities as imams and teachers in government run mosques where they were offered attractive salaries and

provided with space to play their role in the development of society. Government paid more attention for the development traditional madrasas education in West Pakistan and took an initiative for establishment of an academy where trainings were provided to ulemas under supervision of Egyptian teachers who were renowned scholars and were hired by aquaf department to regulate system of reform for the society (Amin, 2015). This scheme of newly established academy under patronage of aquaf department was pursuing to teach subjects including civics, economics, history, geography and international politics to make students capable of understanding the problems and counter these problems by developing social harmony and overcoming sectarian differences for betterment of society. The government hired the services of ulemas under the project of USAID, to offer trainings to adult people and boosted their morals in farming and agriculture for socio-economic development of society. Federal government had established an advisory council named "Islamic Ideological Council" in which ulemas had to play their constructive role in making society more prosper and developed (Bano, 2007). It is worth to mention the contribution of Ayub's government in mainstreaming madrasas education with modern education by equating the degrees issued by both institutions (madrasas and modern schools) and the equivalence granted to the degree of madrasas with modern education, was conditional to teach modern subjects as part of their curriculum (Siddiqui, 2016).

The most important element of Sharif's report was to emphasize on primary education by not involving madrasas in promotion of primary education. Primary education was made compulsory for everyone and after completion, the report acknowledged the role of madrasas for promotion of religious education. According to statement and stance of

report on quality of education, Madrasas and Maktabs were highly discouraged to be involved in the sphere of imparting education at primary level (Pakistan, 1959).

Although, Ayub took very constructive and seminal steps to improve quality of education in madrasas by introducing modern subjects in the curriculum but these step could not sustain in longer term due to Indo-Pak war in 1965 and protesting students against the liberal policy of Ayub which ultimately forced him to step down from the office of the President of Pakistan (Ali, 2009).

5.13.2 Noor Khan Report's Narrative on Madrasas Education

In 1969, Yahya Khan after taking charge of martial administrator became an enthusiast in reforming education system particularly madrasas by declaring education system of madrasas as sub standardized and not fulfilling the need of society by imparting customary knowledge mostly based on religion and producing handicapped human capital. The government established a commission which was popularly known as "Noor Khan Commission" to restructure education system of Pakistan and recommended measures to bridge the knowledge gap between modern education system and Madrasas education system (Pakistan, 1969). This report recommended measures to provide trainings about modern subjects to the teachers of madrasas. Noor khan's report emphasized on framing the system of equivalence for both education systems (Madrasas and Modern education) at all levels, to make graduates of madrasas get equal employment opportunities and become active members of society (Faiz, 2012). The unique character of the report was to present the agenda of regulating all educational activities of madrasas under the patronage of government by setting up Madrasas

Education Board in West Pakistan which was responsible to develop curriculum, conduct exams and award degrees as a guardian of quality of education based on modern needs of the society (Pakistan, 1969). It is worth to mention that all madrasas in East Pakistan were being controlled by Madrasas Education Board while West Pakistan was lacking in such an institution to regulate the educational system of madrasas (Siddiqui, 2016).

Though, Yahya took government from Ayub in 1969 and set a commission to introduce education reforms in 1969, recommending progressive changes in existing system of Pakistan which could not be implemented in true spirit because of political chaos in Pakistan.

5.13.3 Education Policy of 1970 and Madrasas Reforms Therein

The Education Policy of 1970 had focused on statutory status of madrasas education system and its amalgamation with general education system to produce viable human capital for societal prosperity. The policy paper highlighted significance of introducing assimilated educational curricula in both existing education systems, to make these two parallel but opposite systems aligned for providing best careers to young generation of the society (Pakistan, 1970). This policy by following the foot prints of predecessor recommended formation of Madrasas Education Board in West Pakistan and granted statutory status to both Madrasas Education Boards in East and West Pakistan for regulating their education systems by inspecting quality of education therein (Siddiqui, 2016).

The recommendations of education policy 1970 had met the same fate and became silent document of library without being implemented.

5.13.4 Education Policy of 1972 and Narrative of Status Quo for Madrasas Education

Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto after taking charge of government introduced education policy to reform existing education system by bridging knowledge gap within society. His government launched the policy of nationalization especially of educational institutions, to develop an egalitarian society. The government introduced curriculum reforms to construct Pakistan identity but left religious sphere of education system. The education policy of 1972 exclusively maintained position status quo by not introducing curriculum reforms in religious educational institutions and recommended these institutions to follows their own curricula freely (Pakistan, 1972). Bhutto's government tried to facilitate the teachers and students of madrasas by giving them concessions in getting employment opportunities in different departments of government, recognizing and awarding equivalence to the certificate of madrasas to master Islamic studies, just by putting the condition to qualify graduate level English (Khalid, 1995).

5.13.5 Discourse of Madrasas Reforms under Education Policy of 1979

In 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq imposed martial law by setting out Bhutto from government. After that Zia-ul-Haq, being the president of Pakistan started restructuring process of socio-political dynamics of society under the banner of Islamization. He focused on restructuring and reforming existing education to minimize the differences that existed in curriculum of madrasas and schools by blending modern subjects in madrasas as well as by making the curricula of modern schools reformed by inserting Islamic contents in all subjects. His government announced an education policy in 1979 which was having a full

detailed chapter on Islamic education in which policy makers recommended to have one board to ensure the unified curriculum and standardized teaching patterns to have same minded and well-equipped pupils (Pakistan, 1979; Khalid, 1995). This education had propagated an inimitable idea of common curricula for both madrasas and schools to provide common platform of learning to pupils of both streams. Under the scheme of common curriculum, government promoted the design of Mosque Schools where students were imparted with Nazira Quran and modern education as well. Madrasas graduates were provided employment opportunities as teachers under government patronage with compatible salaries (Khalid, 1995). Despite the scheme of Mosque Schools, government recommended a programme of indoctrinating modern subjects in existing curriculum of all madrasas (Pakistan, 1979).

This policy document had provided scheme of financial assistance by government in terms of scholarship and loans to boost modernized education and put it in line of development. The government put insights of imparting technical skills to form a trained human capital (Pakistan, 1979).

5.13.6 Madrasas Reforms Guideline in Education Policy of 1998

The government of Nawaz Sharif announced education policy in 1998 to a set standard education in all walks of life. The education policy had emphasized on one Madrasas Board for regulating and coordinating all madrasas to develop a unified curricula, examination and degree endorsement (Pakistan, 1998). It recommended establishing a system of giving foreign scholarship to students of madrasas to go abroad and to have a

specialized education in any field of Islam. The policy paper proposed scheme of scholarships and financial aids to facilitate students of madrasas.

The government had proposed to introduce modern subjects' mathematics, economic, Pakistan studies, English and general science to be taught in madrasas. It urged to have a mechanism of equivalence where certificates (Asnad) could be equated to formal certificates (Pakistan, 1998).

5.13.7 Madrasas Reforms and Paradigm Shift in White Paper of 2007

The white paper on education was formulated under the banner of Enlightened Moderation wherein Musharraf's government provided a systematic way of reforming madrasas education by adding subjects of formal education in curriculum scheme of madrasas. This policy document had proposed an exclusive scheme of equivalence by integrating madrasas education by removing sectarian differences, to develop unity and integrity within the society based on true teachings of Islam (Alvi, 2007:57). This policy had provisions about scheme of integration with formal education by introducing modern subjects wherein students had to pass Urdu, English, Pakistan studies and basic mathematic for securing high school certificate. While for securing certificate of higher secondary school, students had to pass Urdu, English and two other elective subjects in the replacement of Pakistan studies (Alvi, 2007:8). This policy document further clarified that no one was allowed to come in the course of education. The most distinct feature of this educational document was not having separate chapter on Islamic education as noticed in the forerunner policy documents.

5.13.8 Education Policy of 2009 and Madrasas Reform

Education policy of 2009 was announced by the government of Pakistan under the premiership of Syed Yousaf Raza Galani. This education policy had separate chapter on Islamic education which had a detailed view of imparting Islamic contents through education and also had directions for madrasas education restructuring by integrating it with formal education system. It recommended providing appropriate funds for madrasas students to make them socio-economically better off and these funds guaranteed welfare of students. They emphasized on teacher training for better future of students (Pakistan, 2009). It is only policy document which proposed to impart technical education to the students of madrasas to make them capable to generate income for themselves. It had clear directions for streamlining madrasas education with job market by improving curriculum and providing space for higher education.

Table: 5.3 Changing Narrative of Madrasa Education in Education Policies of Pakistan

Category	Policy Statement
Madrasa Education Reform	**1947** This policy document is lacking clear cut directions for restructuring madrasas education system however, policy document recommended provincial and state governments to regulate madrasas education (Pakistan, Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference, 1947). **1959** The curricula of Maktab, madrasas and Dar-ul-uloom are overloaded with courses in religion and allied subjects, without any regard to the needs of such studies of mathematics, science, social studies and humanities (Pakistan, 1959, p. 287). At Elementary stage, education must be broad based and curricula of Maktab, madrasas and Dar-ul-uloom should make due provision for subjects of study which will give their students some training for the vocational or professional courses they may later choose to follow. At the higher levels these institutions must present Islam as a dynamic and progressive movement which can endure to changing times. The dynamic spirit of Islam can be imbibed only if Islam is presented in every age in the light of the latest advances of science, philosophy, economics and contemporary history (Pakistan, 1959, p. 287). There is need to revisit curricula of madrasas and bring in subjects that are contemporary and helpful (Pakistan, 1959, p. 287). Schooling at madrasas is an option only at the secondary and higher levels of education and only for those students who particularly want to pursue religious studies. Therefore, there should be no Madrasa or Maktab for primary education (Pakistan, 1959, p. 142). **1969**

	Remote as these madrasas are from the trends of secular education, they have also been found wanting in serving the need of Pakistan. In view of this it is necessary to restructure completely (the) education system in light of present day national requirement (Pakistan, 1969, p. 1). The teaching of mathematics and science subjects should be introduced in "madrasas" and special programmes should be undertaken to train their teachers to teach such modern subjects (Pakistan, 1969, p. 3). Equivalence should be established between the various stages of madrasas education and those of modern education, so that the product of madrasas can obtain all those jobs which, at present, are only available only to those who have had modern education (Pakistan, 1969, p. 3). **1970** Establishing an equivalence between courses offered in madrasas and in institutions of general education (Pakistan, 1970, p. 15) Enabling their products to be assimilated in economic life of the nation; and examine the question of strengthening the organizational set up and giving a statutory status to the madrasas education board in East Pakistan and the development of institutional arrangements for the same purpose for the province of West Pakistan (Pakistan, 1970, p. 15). **1972** Status Quo will be maintained in respect of institutions imparting exclusively religious instruction such as Maktabs, Madrasas, Darul-Ulooms, etc., run by Muslims and similar institutions run by any other religious denomination (Pakistan, 1972, p. 24). **1979** Constitution of study groups for exploring the possibilities of creating a madrasas board for standardization and uniformity of teaching and clarification Making recommendations about possibilities of introducing common curriculum in primary schools and Maktabs; To make recommendations regarding the integration, improvement and modernization of curricula To make assess the needs of these institutions and make recommendations to the government for grants, scholarships and loans To evaluate existing programmes and Suggest methods and means to introduce the element of skill development (Pakistan, 1979, pp. 44-45). **1992** This policy document is lacking clear cut directions for restructuring madrasas education system however, policy document have direction about Islamic education in formal education. **1998** The establishment of Deeni madrasas board for uniform standard of Deeni madrasas education through registration, standardization of curricula and examination system, equivalence of asnad, award of foreign scholarship, grant in-aid and financial assistance by government (Pakistan, 1998, p. 14). In order to integrate the general education with madrasas education, subject like English, mathematics, general science, economics and Pakistan studies should be included in the curricula of Deeni Madrasas and their asnad at matric, intermediate, and at graduate levels shall be equated with formal education (Pakistan, 1998, p. 15). **2007** The students of madrasas at Secondary School Certificate level shall have to qualify in General Mathematics, Urdu, English and Pakistan Studies for equivalence. For Higher Secondary School Certificate, two elective subjects approved by HSSC scheme of Studies 2006 made mandatory for madrasas in place of Pakistan Studies for equivalence, shall be implemented. The federal government shall provide necessary support to the madrasas to teach these subjects (Alvi, 2007, p. 8).

	What we need is not to deride the Madrassahs, or require its so called mainstreaming, but to ensure that providers of religious education are converted to the cause of true Islam with a purpose to unite and purify people, and not for the purpose of widening the gulf between various schools of religious thoughts and in producing an individual divorced from reality and living in a fantasy world. The vast majority of Madrassahs are now incorporating subjects other than Islamic sciences also in their curricula and the equivalence granted to them for the purposes of participation in economic activity should be in proportion to the level of such incorporations (Alvi, A White Paper Revised Document To Debate And Finalize The National Education Policy, 2007, p. 57). Like the Madrassahs, schools for religious education of any faith, should not be handicapped by any prejudice or fear (Alvi, A White Paper Revised Document To Debate And Finalize The National Education Policy, 2007, p. 57). **2009** Provision of an opportunity for all existing and future madrasas to excel and enhance the services they already provide to the nation, Provision of funds for education and socio-economic welfare of students; Further training to enhance skills of teacher; Support in vocational training to equip students to generate income, Advice and assistance in streamlining policies, objectives, and syllabi to give graduates a competitive edge in job market and for placement in institutions of higher education (Pakistan, 2009, p. 34).

Source: Education Policies, Government of Pakistan

5.14 Musharraf's Regime: A Paradigm Shift in Madrasa Reform

Madrassa as being place of Islamic education has been divided into religious schools informed from sectarian ground like Ahle-e-Hadith, Barelvi, Deobandi and Shia to create sectarian based identities (Ali, 2012). These madrasas had respectively established their own boards to regulate activities of madrassas. All these boards were responsible to conduct exams and award certificates on completion of degrees. This system of madrassa education was generally quite distinct from each other due to variance in curriculum, based on sectarian themes. Furthermore, madrassas had played a significant role in providing battalions to fight 'Proxy War of Afghan Jihad" against Soviet Union. During the decade of 1980s, madrassas became nurseries of constructing "Mujahids" to fight "Jihad" against nonbeliever Soviet Union for holy cause (Group, 2002). This instigation

was enough for young learners of madrassas. Soon they had become schools of indoctrinated radical ideas imparting to their student, promoting extremism and terrorism within society (Chandran, 2003). This mechanism of nurturing of militants for jihad were continued until tragic incident of 9/11 which raised concerns about the role of madrassas in production of militants and promoting culture of extremism and terrorism within world. USA had categorically avowed Pakistani madrassas as factories of spreading bigotry and extremism in the world (Kronstadt, 2004). Madrassas education within Pakistan had become source of concern as being responsible for creating sectarian violence and hatred among the people due to their sectarian narratives and teachings. The prime factor of attention was the lacking uniformity and quality of education which was responsible for constructing docile citizens. The second factor of madrasas education as being distinct from rest of education system was having least government interference, zero financial aids to run their affairs and organizing their all activities through having domestic and foreign financial assistance (Dogar, 2010). The third factor of madrassas education was lacking in appropriate regulatory authority except the societies registration act 1860 which provided guidelines for registration of madrassas (Iqbal, 2015). Madrasas as being places of free religious education along-with accommodation and foods attracted large stratum of poor students to be part of this system. Therefore, Madrasas had become source of attraction for poor families wherein their children can have decent livelihood. According to Qazi, main problem of madrassas education was creating a division within society based on sects which ultimately devastated the social fabric. The government had to address the issue of traditional education system of madrasas to make it compatible according global changing trends as well as enhancing their role in creating sectarian

division within society that was a real threat for collective identity (personal communication, January 31, 2018).

Musharraf's regime had taken madrassa education among the foremost issues of sectarian violence and extremism which needed to be addressed upon priority bases. Musharraf started a scheme of reforming education in madrassas. According to Zubeida, the main task was to launch appropriate scheme of reform acceptable for all madrassas, to streamline them with formal education system (perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). Musharraf's government had taken following measures to upgrade madrassas education not only to overcome extremism and sectarianism but also to develop madrassas education in accordance with the global education trends.

5.14.1 Establishment of Pakistan Madrasas Education Board

Musharraf's regime had taken constructive measures in the shape of Pakistan Madrasas Education Board, to regulate educational activities of madrassas; to address the problem of uniformity and quality of education. Pakistan Madrasas Education Board was established under the patronage of the ministry of religious affairs through producing a piece of legislation in 18th august, 2001, for an appropriate solution of madrasas education (Iqbal, 2015). Parliament unanimously passed an ordinance named as the Model Deeni Madaaris and Madrassa to lay the foundation of Pakistan Madrasas Education Board with aim to modernize traditional education system of madrasas (Zaidi, 2013).

This board was given the responsibility of restructuring madrasas by making them specialized institutions for Islamic teaching. The basic purpose was;

- To develop uniformity in curricula of all madrassas despite of their affiliation with their respective boards,
- To enhance quality of education through improving teaching methods therein madrassas,
- To improve standard of examination, to ensure quality education,
- To provide framework for registration,
- To set up rules and regulations to govern educational activities and,
- To induce general education in scheme of study along-with religious education (Zaidi, 2013; Iqbal, 2015;Z. Jalal, perssonal communication, March 21, 2018).

This board was founded with the Islamabad based headquarter and comprised on 20 members wherein members were taken from every relevant sphere of education sector.

5.14.2 Launch of Model Madrassas

Musharraf's government in pursuance of her quest, in modernizing education in madrassas had taken practical steps in establishing model madrasas in Karachi, Islamabad and Sukkur. The scheme of studies of these three model madrassas were based on computer, English, economics, law, Pakistan studies, political science. These madrassas were established with the narrative of promoting specialized Islamic schools for indoctrinating modern education to make madrassa education compatible to public education (Inamullah, 2010).

The act of 2001 in shape of Model Deeni Madaaris and Madrassa became partially successful wherein government could manage to register 449 madrasas on modern pattern (Zaidi, 2013).

5.14.3 Introduction of Secular Subjects

Musharraf chanted the slogan of "Enlightened Moderation" to transform education generally and madrassas particularly by emphasizing on impelling idea of liberal Islam through reforming orthodox interpretation of Islam as well as restructuring the stagnant curricula of madrasas without scheme of modern subjects. In 2004, government launched new scheme of reforming education in madrassas to make it compatible to public education by the name of "Madrassa Reform Project". This project was intended to introduce secular subjects such as English, general science, mathematics and social studies up to secondary level. While computer, economics, English and Pakistan studies were made compulsory at higher secondary level (Zaidi, 2013; Iqbal, 2015). According to Haq, Musharraf was enthusiastic to update education in madrassas to make students of madrassa liable to market jobs and able enough to join higher education at universities (personal communication, January 15, 2018). There were 507 madrassas who had implemented this scheme of studies in their education frame (Dogar, 2010). Government had also reformed out-dated curriculum of Darsi-Nizami by removing traditional Arabic texture which had become irrelevant (I. Haq, personal communication, January 15, 2018).

5.14.4 Provision of Computer and Science Laboratories

The regime of Musharraf had also made promise to facilitate madrassas with modern technologies through establishing computer laboratories and science workshops. The basic agenda behind this initiative was to train students for entrepreneurship skills to be active members of the society (Inamullah, 2010; J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018).

5.14.4.1 Provision of Teachers for Secular subjects

The government promised to hire the services of teachers to teach secular subjects at primary, middle, secondary and intermediate levels. Musharraf in pursuance of modernizing madrassas education had followed the pattern of madrassas school promoted by Zia (Z. Jalal, perssonal communication, March 21, 2018). Government had taken practical measures to mainstream education in madrassas by hiring services of teachers to teach secular subjects for 300 madrasas around the corner of Pakistan (I. Haq, perssonal communication, January 15, 2018).

5.14.6 Proscription of Hate Material

The education in madrassas was based on sectarian grounds in their respective boards wherein the curricula of each board were having hate material for other sect. This hate material promoted by madrasas was creating chaos within the society through sectarian violence. Musharraf's regime introduced modification in existing Societies Registration Act 1860 and renamed it as Societies Registration Ordinance 2005. This ordinance has provided as a framework wherein every madrassa was held accountable not to publish or

promote any hated material, causing sectarian violence within the society. This ordinance also outlawed and banned the madrassas not to spread any material which instigated militancy or religious biasness among the people (Zaidi, 2013).

5.14.7 Provision of Government Financial Assistance

Madrassas in Pakistan were working as private entities under regulations of Societies Regulation Act 1860. Madrassas as being autonomous institutions had to manage their financial requirement through self-help in shape of donation from philanthropists or from foreign donors. Arab states particularly Saudi Arabia had been providing donations to madrassas, to meet monetary requirements for smooth functioning of educational activities therein. However, US raised concerns about madrassas activities in spreading extremism and demanded Pakistan to develop check and balance upon madrassas after event of 9/11. Furthermore, domestic increase in extremism and violence also demanded financial monitoring especially on funding or finance of madrasas. Thus, government expanded spell of regulation and introduced a new ordinance called Voluntarily Registration of Regulation Ordinance in 2002. According to this ordinance, madrasas were banned to accept foreign aids and asked to get registered on voluntary bases with ministry of religious affairs. Although parliament played its role by passing this ordinance, but the fate of this ordinance could not have a signature of president for it promulgation in the society (Zaidi, 2013). After putting a ban on foreign funding, government had adopted a scheme of mainstreaming the madrasas education through incorporating modern subjects with the help of financial assistance worth of 5729 million rupees. This scheme was launched to modernize 8000 within the time span of five years

under patronage of ministry of education. However, government became successful in transforming only 507 madrasas on modern pattern and missed the target of achieving 8000 modernized madrasas within five years (Dogar, 2010). It is interesting to mention here that government had first time introduced a package of huge amount for reforming madrasas education in Pakistan.

5.14.8 Annual Report on Educational Activities

In Pakistan, madrasas had been working as autonomous organizations with zero interference by government. Although madrassas were bound to get registered under Societies Registration Act 1860 which granted nominal role of interference by government. There was no concept of mechanism of report about their educational activities. The foremost problem for regulating madrasas education was lacking apposite plan of reporting alike in public schools. Even in 1994, Benazir's government had abolished madrasas registration under Societies Registration Act 1860 (Shabir, 2012). According to Haq, decade of 1990s had seen mushroomed like growth of madrasas without government's control. Musharraf's government became serious in regulating educational activities in document shape to be submitted to the state functionary (I. Haq, personal communication, January 15, 2018). Therefore, Musharraf's regime in 2005, introduced amendments in Societies Registration Act 1860 and inserted provisions for all madrasas in which every madrassa was responsible to submit her report of educational activities annually (Zaidi, 2013; Iqbal, 2015). This step of annual reporting of madrassas provided mechanism of apposite plan in regulating all educational activities of madrassas.

Furthermore, this documented record scheme will be helpful in devising future policies for madrassas education ((J.A. Qazi, personal communication, January 31, 2018).

5.14.9 Annual Audit Report

It was a prudent step of introducing financial assistance to madrasas to get registered and within three years almost six thousand madrasas registered themselves to get financial assistance from the government. Government had taken steps of regulating financial activities by passing a piece of legislation in shape of Societies Registration Ordinance of 2005 wherein all madrasas were liable to provide information about their income and expenditure on annual bases (Zaidi, 2013). The main feature of annual audit report was to have a detail of monetary activities of every madrassas.

5.14.10 Recognition of Madrasas Degree by Higher Education Commission

Education policy of 1998-2008 had promised to develop mechanism of equating madrassas degree to formal education degrees. The promise of degree equivalence became true in Musharraf's regime wherein HEC recognized Madrassas degree as equal to Arabic and Islamic studies. This mechanism of degree equivalence was used as instrument to provide employment opportunities to madrassas students especially jobs in teaching. HEC developed a framework of equivalence wherein any student from registered madrassas could get equivalence by passing two formal subjects (Inamullah, 2010).

5.15 Madrasa Reform and the Response of Madrasa Boards

The landmark triumph of Musharraf's government was to motivate all five boards of madrasas to form an alliance which is popularly known as Itehad-i-Tanzimat Madaris-e-Pakistan (ITMP) (Ali, 2012). ITMP has to act as a representative body of five madrasas boards with the aim to constitute a frame of common problems faced by madrasas to discuss and negotiate with government machinery to resolve these problems. ITMP was having an authority to negotiate all madrasas issue as a sole representative of all boards and was also designated to impart standardized Islamic education as well as to facilitate all information regarding curriculum development of madrasas (Khalid, 2005). It also provided a proper vista of cooperation between government and madrasas as this unified body was absent in past which lessened the communication gap between government and madrasas. Although, ITMP was created to launch the scheme of modernizing madrassas to compete global challenges in education, however, ITMP declared this scheme of modernizing madrassas as an initiative of West and driven by their funding. Thus, it developed an element of distrust between government and ITMP. Due to this mind set the government could not secure the target as planned.

5.15 Madrasa Reform under PPP Government

The Successive government kept this pace of reforming madrasas education by offering funding and technical assistance for modernizing madrasas system of education (Butt, 2012). Even government of Pakistan People Party promised to set up Madrasa Education

Commission to regulate curriculum and other educational activities of madrasas. The education policy of 2009 proposed to set up Madrasa Regulatory Authority under patronage of Interior Ministry, to regulate the system of madrasas education. PPP's government had changed the name of newly established federal board for madrasas from Pakistan Madrassa Education Board to Inter Madaris Board (Islam, 2009). Asif Ali Zardari's government emphasized on promoting the culture of higher education among students of madrassas, however, passage of 18th amendment gave the education ministry under control of provincial government and provincial governments could easily regulate madrassas education because most of madrasas boards were in provincial government's spheres.

5.17 Conclusion

Madrassas have been the source of imparting education for the development of Muslim world. Madrassas have served education need of Muslims in subcontinent for around eight hundred years. The shift in role of madrassa in education came when British colonial government launched a new scheme of schools based on western knowledge parallel to madrassas. This step of colonial government developed a sense of insecurity about ruining of indigenous culture among Muslims particularly in religious leaders. Muslim religious leaders took a counter narrative by emphasizing only on principles of Islam in Dars-e-Nazimi by removing contents of philosophy, science, astrology and logic. This change in Dars-e-Nazimi turned madrassa education in polarization position. Therefore, gulf between both formal schooling and madrassa education became further

strengthened wherein madrassas were the only source of religious education. In1947, after departure of Britishers, Pakistan inherited this polarized system of madrassas education. Government of Pakistan keeping in view the significance of madrassas and their role in education started legislation to streamline madrassas with formal education. All education policies documents including 1959, 1969, 1970, 1979 and 1998 formulated by various regimes had clear directions to modernize madrassa education by streamlining it with formal education except education policies of 1947 and 1992 wherein clear directions for madrassas were missing while policy of 1972 had maintained the status quo about madrassa to be the place of religious education. Despite of having clear directions for reforming madrassa, every regime showed meagre capacity in taking appropriate measures to modernize madrassas and ultimately got flopped in reforming madrassas education. Even, the situation of madrasas education in Pakistan got further deteriorated due to establishment of madrasas boards on sectarian grounds. This division of madrasas fabricated the peace of society through spreading sectarian violence and extremism.

Although, Zia's regime implemented a plan of modernizing madrassa through founding Madrasa schools for imparting both modern and Islamic education however, this scheme of madrassa schools lacked the capacity to achieve fruitful results at the end. Zia's regime in contrary to founding Madrasa schools also started using madrassas as a factory of producing Mujahids to fight proxy war with the soviet, by promoting radical idea of holy war. The step of Zia's government in using madrasas as factory of Mujahids further worsened quality of education within madrasas. Another noticeable cause for shoddier quality of education in madrasas was regulatory framework which was the act of 1860.

There was no new piece of legislation for regulating madrassas except societies registration act 1860.

Madrasas education faced minimal role of government in mainstreaming madrassas due to low priority assigned to madrasas. In contrary to previous regimes, Musharraf initiated a comprehensive scheme of reforming through passing new pieces of legislation to establish Pakistan Madrassa Education Board in 2001 to regulate activities of madrasas by creating uniformity in curriculum and improving standard of examination to ensure quality of education. In pursuance of mainstreaming of madrasas education, government introduced secular subjects in scheme of study of madrassas in 2004 under Madrassa Reform Ordinance compatible to public education. This scheme of secular subjects was introduced with notion to provide higher education opportunities to madrassas students in higher education institutions. Furthermore, government also laid foundation of model madrassas in Islamabad, Karachi and Hyderabad as specialized Islamic institutions wherein both secular subjects and religious knowledge were taught. These model madrasas were established to set as milestone for encouraging other madrassas to follow their scheme of studies. His government revised societies registration act 1860 under ordinance of 2005 which put ban on writing, publication and teaching of hated literature, causing violence and extremism. The most unique step of Musharraf's regime was to provide financial assistance to madrassas along-with provision of teachers to teach secular subjects. The problem of mainstreaming of madrasas students in job market was solved by government by equating madrassa degree with masters in Islamic studies and Arabic. Regardless of these concrete steps government received mixed responses from representatives of madrasas and achieved partial success in reforming 507 madrassas on

modern patterns. The main cause of partial success was distrust of madrasas representative with the claim that this reform scheme was backed by western governments 'funding rather than Musharraf's government.

The successive government of PPP maintained a pace of reform in madrassa education as a set up by Musharraf's government. However, PPP government went ahead in taking step, by establishing Madrasa Regulatory Authority and madrasa education commission under patronage of Interior Ministry to regulate system of madrasas education which was quite contrary than the previous regime where madrassa education was regulated by ministry of religious affairs. PPP government especially focused on promoting the culture of higher education among madrasas by encouraging them to join higher education institutions.

The next chapter will explain reforms in higher education by establishing pattern of knowledge economy in Pakistan. Then further elaborates that Musharraf's regime invested more on higher education and culture of research to enrich Pakistan with sound basis of knowledge economy wherein higher education was used to promote technical and skilled human capital.

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION POLICY AND CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY FOR NEO LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP IN PAKISTAN

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. This part describes knowledge economy to understand the position of higher education in the creation and distribution of knowledge, to make reasonable decisions for development of society. It explains that higher education institutions are source of knowledge where seekers work to produce and disseminate knowledge for a better tomorrow. This section is focused on the measures that can be taken up to ensure knowledge based developed economy, also discussing the previously unstable state of education and all the relevant problems. The second part elaborates the role of Musharraf's regime in restructuring of HE, to develop knowledge economy, for raising living standards within the society. Musharraf's government had taken productive steps to improve quality of HE by establishing autonomous institution named higher education commission, to promote scientific and technical knowledge. The purpose of HEC was to produce knowledge workers in the shape of PhDs and IT specialists, to develop more competitive service sectors in Pakistan. This part reveals that Musharraf's government had strengthened the education budget to create knowledge economy in Pakistan through prompting HE within the society.

6.2 Discourse of Knowledge Economy: A Perspective of Higher Education

The changing dynamics of global economic framework has not only changed the state structure but also transformed state's economy from industrial to knowledge based. The knowledge economy (KE) is a systematic design of society where knowledge is created and distributed to drive economic development and uplift of society (Bank, 2005). KE is a place to develop quantity and quality of knowledge, to prioritize decision making and implementation and raise living standards of people for a considerable time (Cader, 2008). It is a frame of producing and disseminating knowledge for manufacturing of products in expending services to the market for economic development of society. KE is a home of creative knowledge to improve productivity of tradition and modern industry. It has transformed the narrative of economy from natural resource utilization to intellectual capabilities wherein the leads play a vital role than common hands, in the development of society (Powell, 2004). KE has taken education as an important aspect for the system of socio-political design, for valuing and evaluating intangible and tangible outcome of knowledge. This narrative of knowledge's outcome has made education; an asset, a product and more as appropriately as an element of social change and development (Bank, 2005).

The narrative of KE has emphasized on developing specialized human capital, more significantly with advanced computer literacy. In such domains Information technology plays a significant role in economic up lift (Walter, 2004). Here knowledge and ideas have a defined role in the production and distribution of products in a competitive market. IT has become a medium of brining awareness and realization about the creation

of new ideas and knowledge in the system of integrated process for economic development. IT has provided a platform of integration for the growing world in which sharing, and creation of new and advanced knowledge has become immensely needed today than before, being fastest and easily transferable. It has flourished the culture of easily accessible knowledge. This stress-free and transportable access to knowledge has activated a forum of creating or producing new ideas and subsequent knowledge in the world. For production of knowledge, knowledge workers are required to produce new knowledge according to exigencies of time, to address the problem and to expand the existing stock of knowledge. This phenomenon of creation of new knowledge through generation of new ideas by key workers is likewise possible with help of modernized and well-equipped institutions, to impart the higher education (HE). HE as being an imperative slice of education opens up new avenues and opportunities of research and innovations for the creation of new scientific knowledge for the smooth progress of national development. It is the main factor of providing trained human capital in shape of doctors, engineers, scientists, researchers and teachers playing its role in development of society. It has not only become a medium of raising life standards by eradicating poverty in developing countries but also becoming an influencing factor of empowering human rights and democratic norms in the developed societies. HE has always been at high priority of education policy makers as being the most historic sector of development of society. The most substantial feature of HE is its nature of transformation with changing trends in time. Policy makers have been formulating higher education policies according to the needs of time. It has been used by developed nation as a medium of flourishing democratic values and human rights, to make them a vibrant part of societal

development. The dire importance of HE in the development of a nation is acknowledged by world bank in these words:

> "Higher education is of paramount importance for economic and social development. Institutions of higher education have the main responsibility for equipping individuals with advanced knowledge and skills required for positions of responsibility in government, business, and the professions. These institutions produce knowledge through research; serve as conduits for the transfer, adaptation and dissemination of knowledge generated elsewhere in the world, and support government and business with advice and consultancy services. In most countries, higher education institutions also play important social roles by forging the national identity of the country and offering forum for pluralistic debate" (Bank, 1994, p. 1).

This emerging importance of HE has provided more space for the development of a standardized education, to grow and nurture citizens who are more competitive in market orientation based on skill, knowledge, and are well versed in the digital technology, life learning and the at most, self-sufficient in meaningful activities. This narrative of knowledge has given elevated momentum to the governments to start the process of education reformation (Ali, 2016). Now, states have taken an initiative in HE to develop the mechanism of knowledge economy by ensuring these listed steps;

a) Increasing an investment or budget on education,
b) Focusing more on flourishing research culture through modernizing universities with an appropriate financial allocation,
c) Establishing linkage between private sector and universities, in improving potential of research or promoting private universities to hire competent professors by giving more incentives on creating of new knowledge.

This shift of agenda in HE, inspires and motivates the policy makers to emphasize on higher education, to construct a skilful human resource to enhance efficiency of labor and

to create advanced scientific knowledge through research development within the society. It is an acknowledged fact that now, governments are focusing more on higher education for the formation of skilful human capital, to raise productivity and in turn the wage of workers. HE and scientific knowledge is the only point of variance and division between developed and underdeveloped nations. Developed nations are enriched with scientific knowledge and technological advancement which are key figures for prosperity and development of any society. The report of World Bank has very clearly mentioned the difference in promotion of higher education in various states, commenting that:

> "The development of higher education is correlated with economic development; enrolment ratios in higher education average 51 percent in the countries that belong to the Organization for Economic Development (OECD), compared with 21 percent in middle-income countries and 6 percent in low-income countries. Estimated social rates of return of 10 percent or more in many developing countries also indicate that investment in higher education contributes to increases in labor productivity and to higher long-term economic growth, which are essential for poverty alleviation" (Bank, 1994, p. 1).

6.3 Destitute Situation of Higher Education in Pakistan

Pakistan is considered as an agrarian society with 75% labour force employed therein. The labour force in agriculture sector, mostly belonging to the rural hub is untrained and lack in the desired education. These unskilled workers are the main cause of low level economic outcome. The HE in Pakistan has been presenting a destitute outlook, with less focus being rendered on the higher education. The quality of education, faculty profile and research has also been presenting a vague picture, reason being the whole paradigm of higher education needs transformation. The domain of HE had also faced problem of

required funds in the up gradation and promotion of higher studies in Pakistan (Force, 2002). The curricula, research and quality of education in HE was stagnant since creation of state and governments were not giving priorities to HE and competitive, skilful and knowledgeable human capital for development of society. Mostly, governments have always emphasized on promotion of primary education to eliminate illiteracy from society as a main indicator of development (Jahangir, 2008). The political visions of governments to flourish HE for overall state development has been presented under following headings, informing about the governments' initiative to develop HE as an element of core development of society. This historical narrative of governments' initiative for HE has elaborated the reasons behind the miserable state of higher education.

6.4 Narrative of Higher Education in Pakistan: A Socio-Political Context

Pakistan, after being declared as a separate state was found dragged into numerous problems and despite of visionary measures taken up by the father of the nation, the inheritance of low human capital with only hundred lower ranked officers to run government machinery, disrupted the economic up lift at various levels. (Waterston, 1963), ethnically diverse population with 85% illiterate population (Bengali, History of Educational Policy Making and, 1999),the government due to having weak infrastructure and squat financial resources had meagre capacity to address these problems appropriately. Government was having limited educational institutions for higher

education such as Punjab University, University of Sindh and Dhaka in both Eastern and Western wings of Pakistan (Siddiqui, 2016). Although, these universities were formally functional, but university of Punjab had a teaching facility with enrolled capacity of only 644 students (Hoodbhoy, 2009) and university of Dhaka was also having inadequate teaching facilities. While University of Karachi was only acting as an examination body until it was relocated in Hyderabad in 1951. The migration of Hindu teachers from Pakistan to India after partition was a major setback to these existing Higher education institutions because Hindu teachers were more educated and contained majority, especially in the University of Punjab (Hoodbhoy,2009).

Although, newly surfaced government had laid the framework for establishing higher educational institutions for trained human resource but this plan could not be executed as projected because of first Indo-Pak war in 1948, but even then Fatima Jinnah medical college was established in Lahore. The political scenario of Pakistan got further deteriorated after the sudden death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan in 1948. These two unpredictable events jeopardized the momentum to give more priority to education development for forming human capital. However, first constituent assembly unanimously passed Pakistan Resolution and facilitated policy makers to give higher education priority and construct human resource for the development by laying foundation of the University of Peshawar and University of Karachi respectively. This impetus of promotion of higher education again got stuck due to sudden assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1951. This tragic event of Liaquat Ali's assassination had created political instability and particularly a leadership vacuum in Pakistan (Ziring, 2003). The descendant of Liaquat Ali was incapable in overcoming

leadership vacuum and provided an undesirable space to bureaucracy to occupy the political clan of Pakistan. Ghulam Muhammad, a senior bureaucrat took the charge of governor general of Pakistan and set pattern of unsteady political climate in Pakistan where six prime ministers had to face removal from their premiership due to prevailing political turmoil. Although, second legislative assembly achieved milestone of providing first constitution in 1956 but this constitutional landscape could not even halt existing turmoil and unstable political situation in Pakistan. This unstable political situation severely affected the sphere of HE being granted with low funds and less priority (Nayar and Salim, 2006). Negligence in HE had badly impacted the process of human capital formation and state building wherein only two institutes named as the Institute of Business Administration in Karachi and Pakistan Institute of Development Economic in Islamabad were founded for the higher education during this era of constant political turmoil (Siddiqui, 2016). Pakistan witnessed a very bleak and fragile position in the formation of desired human capital due to lacking higher educational institutions and then the subsequent governmental handling. There came a shift in political chaos of state when general Ayub khan took power as commander in chief of military in 1958. Ayub Khan started the process of restructuring of political landscape by introducing Basic Democracy system to devolve governance structure at gross root level, to ensure socio-political development in Pakistan. His government had also launched a process of reforming education especially higher education to construct trained and skilful human capital for the economic development of society (Shami, 2005). Ayub's regime took higher education as a key determinant of human capital formation and hired services of Ford foundation and UNESCO to address the then existing problems of higher education.

The most momentous contribution of government was to take inputs from Dr Herman Well and Dr John Warner, foreign experts who visited University of Karachi and Dhaka to discuss problems in the higher education with students and faculty. In higher education institution of Pakistan, domains of humanities and natural science oriented were present but the scope towards social sciences was not evident, but with the support of these educationists, this problem was looked after as well. (Siddiqui, 2016). Ayub khan introduced reforms in higher education to meet international standards such as he introduced three years bachelor programme and started focusing on progressive curriculum which got huge resistance from students through their protests against his regime. Thereafter the protests got immensely widespread that he had to resign his office and hand over the power to General Agha Muhammad Yahya khan in 1969 (Paracha, 2008). However, Yahya's regime tried his best to provide innovative solutions of human capital formation scheme which remained unexploited due to political chaos and war of 1971, leading to disintegration of Pakistan.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came into power after resignation of Yahya khan in 1971 and pursued policy of promoting higher education on egalitarian bases by starting nationalization process of all private institutions. It was the regime of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who launched a massive campaign of establishing more institutions of higher education in all four provinces particularly least developed areas of Pakistan such as Bahawalpur, Dera Ismail Khan, Khairpur, Multan, Quetta and Tando jam. His government founded Allama Iqbal Open University in Islamabad with aim to promote distance learning programmes not only to eliminate illiteracy but also galvanize process of higher education for enhancement of human resource for sustainable development of society (Siddiqui, 2016).

Bhutto's government had not only provided more space for development of human resource but also facilitated political landscape for smooth functioning of state machinery like prompting Constitution of Pakistan 1973. However, Bhutto's government was blamed by opposition parties for rigging of general election 1977 and started a mass level campaign of complete Islamizing of Pakistan under Nazim-e-Mustafa Tehrik against him that paved way for imposition of martial law in 1977 by General Zia-ul-Haq.

Zia's regime following the footprints of Bhutto promoted the idea of higher education under the banner of Islamization in which new curricula was designed, more prone towards inculcating knowledge grant by Muslim scholars. Zia laid foundation of International Islamic University, Islamabad for Islam related studies in teaching and research orientation. Zia-ul-haq persuaded policy of privatization of educational institutes by Bhutto. His regime culminated the idea of Public-Private Partnership for stimulating the process of human capital formation by granting charter to two Private Universities one in Lahore named as Lahore University of Management Sciences and second in Karachi named as Agha Khan University, for ensuring quality of higher Education (Shami, 2005; Siddiqui, 2016). After, the demise of Zia-ul-haq in air crash, democratic governments came on the limelight once again. The successive governments were lacking in capacity of promoting higher education in true spirits. However, in 1998, government inaugurated two women universities for utilizing untapped human resource of women in Pakistan by making them trained and skilful, to become active citizens of society.

It is to be mentioned here that government of Zia-ul-Haq and his successors subsequently, adopted the policy of eliminating illiteracy by focusing on primary

education and keeping in consideration that domain, put deaf ear to higher education. The dilemma of higher education in Pakistan was the low budget allocated by government which gave numerous problems for quality of education. Government provided room to private sector to share responsibility of forming human capital and to eradicate illiteracy from the society.

The Higher education institutions have a significant role in constructing modern citizenry who are more capable of creating political and social discourse according to needs of times, well informed about culture and history and the most importantly have civic values for putting societies on democratic patterns. Student Unions in universities not only hold regular election for electing members of bodies for these unions functioning but also provide solutions to problems faced by students. These student unions were the factories in providing politicians, intellectuals, social reformers and volunteers. These unions started mass level protests against Ayub Khan's higher education reforms, not to implement 3 years bachelor's degree programme. These student unions actively participated in 1964 elections and supported Ayub khan in elections and again it was due to these protests, forcing Ayub Khan to resign (Paracha, 2008).

These students' organization launched campaign to introduce Islamic insights in education system particularly higher education and their demand was endorsed by education policy of 1969. Bhutto's government appropriately provided space to students and teachers to be part of university's management, to make higher education as a mechanism of societal development at large. According to Bhutto's regime both students and teachers were part and parcel of higher education planning and these elements were

agents of change, so their contribution could give best solutions of any problem in education. However, Zia's government put ban on students' organizations which paved way for the violent groups, disturbing the law and challenging the state machinery (Paracha, 2008:26). Zia's policy of Afghan jihad had bred the extremist ideas among young generation and made them impatient and radical. The policy of Islamization further aggravated the situation, creating a discourse of political and social issues and youth to be impaired from democratic values. Although, government of Benazir Bhutto lift ban on student unions but this process of restoration could be fruitful because re-erected organization lacked in capabilities of democratic values rather developing discourse of political socialization and acquaintance among students. These student organizations started quarrelling with each other dismantling the educational environment of higher educational institutions. Musharraf's government reinstated ban on student organization to ensure peace and to provide safe environment for higher education.

This changing trend in political and social environment adversely influenced higher education sector in terms of weak pedagogical practices, old-fashioned scheme of study like annual examination system, stagnant curricula, weak infrastructure and low research outcomes. Due to this prevailing state of higher education, Pakistan was lacking in human capital resource which was to be more skilled and competitive in the world market. Higher education was the most neglected field for policy makers who were allocating least funds, poor infrastructure with less qualified faculty that adversely affected the situation of higher education, making it unable to match the international standards. It is interesting to mention that updated knowledge and likewise the pattern of education play a determinant role in constructing skilled and competent workforce for

economic development of society. Therefore, Musharraf's regime and successive governments had contributed in making higher education more competitive and informed from world of knowledge, internationally standardized and having global market patterns and essence for development and prosperity of Pakistan (Nayar and Salim, 2006).

6.5 Discourse of Knowledge Economy in Pakistan; A Time for Higher Education Reform

The Musharraf's government, by keeping in view the problems of HE, primarily in the shape of few universities with weak infrastructure, limited number of qualified faculty members, poor condition of laboratories and low budget allocation initiated the modernizing scheme of universities for economic development of society. His regime also considered the low outcome of agriculture sector as a major problem of underdevelopment, as being an agrarian state with 75% unskilled workers within the society was no less a problem of a failing state. Musharraf's regime laid the foundation of reform in HE, to develop Pakistan as a knowledge-based economy by declaring HE as an integral part of economic development. He has launched comprehensive restructuring scheme in HE under ESR to advance and improve existing universities as well as by founding new universities as per the requirement of time. The government made HE compatible to the global knowledge economy and likewise the according to the trends by taking following steps:

1) To establish an autonomous institution by name the of Higher Education Commission, to regulate all activities of universities, to maintain the accepted standard of education,
2) To restructure the existing universities according to Global Education Standards
3) To hire competent professors to develop potential research culture for the creation of New Knowledge
4) To promote Information and Communication Technology
5) To increase budget on Higher Education
6) To encourage Private sector in Higher Education

6.5.1 Inception of Higher Education Commission in Pakistan: A Gateway to Knowledge Economy

Pervez Musharraf after being declared as the chief executive of Pakistan in 1999, acknowledged the role of higher education in formation of skilled human capital resource to tweak the evil of poverty within society. He had realized that education is the backbone of development and could only be achieved by massively reforming higher education system, both in terms of quality and quantity. Musharraf's regime was vigilant about the existing situation of higher education and had established a task force to provide appropriate solutions to address this menace of higher education on insistent grounds. The Policy makers of task force got insights from reports on the problems of higher education in developing countries which were compiled through joint venture of the World Bank and UNESCO (Force, 2002). The policy makers provided remedial solutions to address higher education problem for development of state. The members of

task force proposed the creation of an autonomous central institution with adequate funds for reforming higher education and enhancing the quality of education as well. By keeping the recommendation of task force, Musharraf's government laid the foundation of central institution named, the "Higher Education Commission". Higher Education Commission (HEC)was created with a predefined aim to enhance the standard quality of education by initiating reforming process in all higher education institutions on identical grounds. HEC was similar in domain to UGC in functioning but with dominant power to regulate universities which UGC was lacking. HEC created as an autonomous institution with having sufficient funds to regulate activities of higher education within the set paradigms of the Ministry of Education. HEC started a scheme of reforms to ensure quality of education by regulating standardized curricula and providing facilities such as computer labs, internet, digital library and laboratory with modernized versions in existing universities and establishing new universities in all around the corners of Pakistan, to augment the quantity of higher education. Dr Atta-ur- Rehman was appointed as the chairman of HEC and he rightly pointed out the responsibilities of HEC, saying that;

> "It was designed to be the body that would formulate higher education policy, plan for the improvement of higher education and research, allocate funds for operation and development of Universities, set standards for the enhancement of quality of education and research, and work with the Government to ensure harmony with the overall objective of building a prosperous Pakistan" (Rehaman, 2018).

6.5.2 Curriculum Reform: A Need of Time

The basic agenda behind the creation of HEC was to ensure quality of education to make it compatible with the international standards wherein Pakistani students could easily compete in research advancements and other technical fields as being the potential human

capital with liberal citizenry values. HEC launched a scheme of reforming existing curricula which was lacking in modern contents as required by the international job and academic market. It is to be mentioned here that higher education curricula in Pakistan had been stagnant and was lacking in context of modern technological advancement (Hoodbhoy, 2009). Although the education policies had acknowledged the need to reform the curricula by making it more suitable according to socio-economic needs of society and compatible to the world trends (Bengali, 1999). This agenda of reform of policy papers could not be seen in true spirit by any government except Musharraf. HEC implemented his policy statement of curricula reform by creating committee of experts from both public and private universities and also by taking suggestions from foreign experts for incorporation of comprehensive reforms in existing curricula. The most distinguished step of HEC was to collaborate with indigenous agriculture, engineering and communication technology to provide their valuable suggestions to develop human capital suitable to market needs (Rehaman, 2018). HEC created a division of training to facilitate reform committee with various innovative courses to make curricula reform more meaningful and objective oriented. Thus, a draft of new curricula was compiled after comprehensive work on reform agenda which was forwarded to universities and other higher education institutions for further scrutiny through their meaningful feedback. Ultimately, HEC gave final draft of new curricula after getting recommendations from all stakeholders. All these efforts were made to make curricula more uniform and standardized, to impart quality of education in higher education institutions which were the main factories of constructing modernized citizenry in Pakistan.

6.5.3 Launch of Semester System in Higher Education: A Reform in Real Sense

The prevalent system of higher education was based on annual examination which was promoting rote learning in Pakistan. This practice of rote learning was malevolent and based on cramming. This system of education was disrupting the thought process of students and their critical thinking patterns. The most distressing drawback of the annual system of education was the lacking framework for research development because there was no concept of assignments based on research. Research is considered as the essence of higher education because it enhances the critical and competitive human capital for the socio-development of society. HEC had launched the semester system in higher education institutions to promote culture of research and innovation. Higher education is primarily based on the Semester system divided into two or three semesters in a year, in contrast to annual system which covers a full year. The scheme of study in semester system is based on different research tasks, phenomena of presentation and final assessment which inculcates research quest among students and makes them more efficient and viable agents of development. Semester system of assessment is prevailing all over the world and it was the need of time to introduce semester system to make education compatible to international standards. It was landmark decision of HEC to launch this system of education in Pakistan in letter and spirit. It is to be mentioned here that Pakistan and India became independent in 1947 but Indian government launched semester system in higher education institutions in 1960 by ensuring international standards in higher education while Pakistan initiated it too late in 2003 (Hoodbhoy, 2009). However, HEC's quest to make Pakistan more developed by promoting the notion

of knowledge economy through promoting culture of research could be seen after launch of semester system.

6.5.4 Paradigm Shift in Bachelor's Degree through Initiation of Four Year Programme

Pakistan inherited education system from colonial regime wherein masters was equalized to 16 years of education. Students had to get master's degree after graduation to complete 16 years of education. Although, Ayub's regime under his education policy 1959 realized this problem and provided statement for extending bachelor's degree from two years to four years (Pakistan, 1959) but lacked in political will and could not be implemented in true spirit. This issue of introducing four years bachelor programme had been successful in getting space in successive education policies but with lacking capacity of implementation. However, HEC implemented policy of four years bachelors as a replacement for 16 years of education in 2002 (Rehaman, 2018). It is to be mentioned here that HEC had faced the difference of opinion about implementation of 4 years degree from different universities in Musharraf's regime, but successive government of Pakistan People Party implemented the scheme of four years bachelors programme in all universities in Pakistan (Ashfaq, 2013).

6.5.5 Narrative of Digital Library Facility

Institution of Higher Education has been considered as lap of research and innovation for development of society and quest for research cannot be fulfilled without having access to modem knowledge and information which can only be possible by having access to

internationally updated knowledge in existing Libraries. Thus, library of a higher education institution is innovation full scale data base which facilitates students about the existing data for support of their researches and highlights existing discrepancies in existing studies for the creation of new knowledge (Jahangir, 2008). In Pakistan, higher education organizations were having libraries but with limited resources and were lacking in updated knowledge, this was also amongst the factors of less research culture. HEC, by keeping in view this genuine problem of research took measures to address this hindrance by promoting idea of Digital library in 2004, to strengthen the research culture in Pakistan (Rehaman, 2018). Digital library provided students with easy access to internationally published material of leading journals. It is a database of references, free of cost where students can easily retrieve online data speedily with copyright domain. This trend of digital library was launched to promote research in natural sciences, social sciences and engineering fields to provide best solutions for existing problems of Pakistan. There were 88 higher education organizations getting benefits from digital library including public, private and non-governmental organizations. This facility of digital library had added technique of innovations in knowledge without any restrictions via licensing.

6.5.6 Discourse of Plagiarism in Research

HEC had the intention to promote concept of knowledge economy by encouraging quality research for innovation as well as development (Amjad, 2005). HEC provided the facility of digital library and restructured existing annual system into semester system, boosting the international criteria. Due to easy access to thousands of international

documents, the chances for copying and similarities increased which was against the spirit of genuine research. In research culture, copying without proper referencing is considered unethical. It was mandatory to control this phenomenon of copying international documents and submitting it by other names. This trend of copying in research could easily create deadlock in the development of knowledge economy which was not favoured by HEC. Thus, HEC launched an Anti-Plagiarism in all universities by providing teachers the access, granting them accounts to check similarity index of research (Pakistan, 2008). This software is known as turinitin. The purpose behind implementation of Turinitin is to make students aware about drawbacks of plagiarism and benefits of genuine research. The teacher is authorized to check plagiarism of submitted work and facilitate students with computer generated report. HEC wants to encourage creative and critical thinking and make students clearer about their thoughts which are the key elements for development of knowledge economy (Amjad, 2005).

6.5.7 Introduction of New Grading Scheme

Higher education reform was launched to make existing education system liable to meet the international standards. HEC adopted new grading scheme in which two types of grading system (Relative Marking and Absolute Marking) could be used for assessment provided universities the choice to adopt one grading system by choice from HEC's recommended Grading Scheme. It was introduced to meet international standards in higher education (Jahangir, 2008).

6.5.8 Discourse of English in Higher Education

The HE in Pakistan was not compatible with Urdu as a medium of instruction in all universities even examination was held in Urdu in social sciences and humanities. English was not taught as a compulsory subject at masters' level. However, after the formation of HEC, English was declared as a medium of instructions in all universities. HEC declared English as a compulsory subject to improve communication skills of students to meet the global educational students. In four years bachelor programme, English was implemented as a medium of instructions as well as a compulsory subject in the scheme of study (Rehaman, 2018). Government implemented the discourse of English to develop a human capital, well-versed in English, to compete in the growing international market.

6.5.9 Narrative of Entrance Test for Admission in Higher Education

HEC as being the regulatory body to promote international standard in HE had given new guideline by implementing entrance test for securing admissions in higher education institutions in Pakistan. This was quite a unique step taken for the promotion of the quality of education. Although, entrance test was compulsory for professional colleges such as medical and engineering but was not a compulsion for admissions in other fields of higher education. HEC's vision to take entrance test for higher education was a milestone in higher education domain (Amjad, 2005). It is to be mentioned here that certain states have set up various types of criteria for admission in higher education. USA, being a hub of research and innovation has adopted Graduate Record Examination as a mandatory test for admission in higher education. While UK has its own criteria of

granting admission which is based on score taken in O Level or A Level. In regional context, Iran has adopted a schemed nationwide entrance exam which is based on multiple choice questions for the admission in higher education.

HEC inferred the idea of entrance test by hiring services of private organization named "National Testing Service" to ensure meritocracy in the admission process. National Testing Service developed a pattern of multiple choice questions for conducting entrance exams and most distinct feature of this organization was that it adopted modern examination technique influenced from Graduate Record Examination of USA. NTS is responsible to conduct General Graduate Assessment Test for university admissions as well as is required for securing different scholarships offered by HEC. The National Aptitude Test is designed for numerous technical fields as well. The most important contribution HEC made was the GRE subject conducted by NTS, mandatory for securing admission in indigenous PhD programmes. HEC made mandatory Graduate Assessment Test for admission in MPhil degree for all universities. It is noteworthy that some universities are accepting International Graduate Record Examination of USA for admissions in PhD for their departments. NTS is conducting entrance tests for around forty universities for various programmes, ensuring quality education and clean admission policy (Rehaman, 2018).

6.5.10 Conception of Quality Enhancement Cells

Musharraf's regime took commendable steps to reform education. HEC ensured both quality and quantity of higher education by establishing universities and other institutions all-around Pakistan. The problem of quality teaching gave rise which was appropriately

resolved by the foundation. HEC being regulatory authority created cell named as "Quality Enhancement Cells" for ensuring quality of education in all universities. The element of performance in quality of education was made mandatory to make higher education according to international standards, despite of existing differences in quality based on region. The purpose of this cell is to monitor performances of higher education institutions through evaluating the type of education imparted, assessment techniques and teaching methodology to make universities accountable by providing feedback to universities to improve their deficiencies (Jahangir, 2008). QEC has developed mechanism of monitoring by dividing it into internal assessment and external assessment. Universities are having their own QEC in campus, regulating the quality of educational activities and giving feedbacks for improvement. QEC in universities are more focused towards teachers' performance because in semester system teacher is the sole authority in teaching and examination. Thus, QEC has developed mechanism of student feedback for teacher evaluation and on bases of that evaluation teachers are being ranked. Internal QEC acts as a facilitator of external assessment by submitting report of HEC. The concept of quality education was introduced in 2005 and on bases of that many universities are banned and put in blacklist as per punishment. HEC is guaranteeing quality of education through QEC which a milestone reform in the sector of higher education and development of human capital is (Rehaman, 2018).

6.5.11 Mechanism of Universities Ranking in Pakistan

Since the creation of Pakistan, universities were lacking the mechanism of ranking for their contribution in development of society. There was no parameter set for categories

universities would fall into due to their performances and research appreciations. However, HEC provided mechanism of domestic ranking of universities on the following grounds:

a. Quality of Research
b. Quality of Teaching Methods
c. Available Facilities
d. University Environment for Social Integration
e. University Approach towards community development.

HEC started a scheme of ranking of universities in the prism of these listed elements, to make the universities more responsible in creating harmonious mind-sets that are based on integration and cooperation. HEC focused on the narrative of social integration which was the essence of stable community development (Haq, 2016) to overcome existing societal differences and making Pakistan a home of peaceful co-existence and progress. HEC designed a framework of ranking universities in categories due to universities specialized fields like Engineering, Veterinary, Medicine, Management Science and other fields. Under the specialized field category, HEC emphasized on only three elements as the basis of university advancement and these were quality of research, quality of prevailing teaching practices and effectiveness of university internal quality assurance mechanism. In this mechanism of ranking HEC assigned specific score for these three elements wherein universities had to compete, to gain high scores and get a considerable ranking. HEC devised this agenda of ranking to promote the culture of quality of knowledge and research and to keep the universities checked.

6.5.12 Establishment of New Institution for Higher Education

The 21st century has changed socio-political dynamics of governance structure of world especially after the conception of globalization, world has witnessed integrative approach in which distances have been reduced due to technological advancements. It has given rise to a modem of knowledge economy in contrast to industrial economy wherein states have shifted their focus on construction of human capital as the essence of development (Powell, 2004). States that are developed and the ones still developing, are encouraging the sector of higher education and research for creation of scientific knowledge to provide solution to their existing indigenous problems. The field of global education has further strengthened demand of higher education institutions for development of society. The situation of higher education in Pakistan was quite opposite wherein Pakistani society was having a few institutions of higher education lower than 2% due to low capacity of institutions. The policy maker of HEC was familiar about the importance of higher education institution as an agent of change in socio-economic development of society and as an engine of scientific knowledge uplift. Thus, HEC has taken issue of low enrollment as to be urgently addressed and have designed a framework of enhancing enrolments in higher education by establishing new institutions for higher education. The history of education institutions has witnessed a stark increase in institution from 2002 to 2007 which is given below in the table. This increase in higher education institutions has positively elevated the development of human capital as well as making people aware about their human rights and democratic role (Rehaman, 2018).

Table: 6.1 Number of Universities Established in Musharraf Era

No	Public Universities	Private Universities	Year
1	1	No	1947
2	5	No	1960s
3	8	No	1970s
4	19	No	1980s
5	20	2	1990s
6	32	14	2000
7	50	37	2007

Source (Pakistan, Higher Education Commission Achievement Report 2008, 2008)

6.5.13 Growth of Enrolment in Higher Education Since 2002

Musharraf's regime intended to increase higher education with the pace of population influx. HEC was concerned to eliminate illiteracy and increase enrolment in higher education sector. This issue was taken up rightly and timely looked after and now the situation has transformed positively. This scheme of increasing higher education not only promoted the culture of research and quality of human capital but also increased the admission rate in higher education especially it enhanced female students' ratio in higher education. This trend of increase in enrolment has been given in the following table.

Table: 6.2 Number of Students Enrolled in Universities from 2002 to 2010

Year	No of Students Enrolled in Universities
2002	311745
2003	423236
2004	471964
2005	521473
2006	608585
2007	741092
2008	803507
2009	935599
2010	1107682

Source: (Pakistan, Higher Education Commission Achievement Report 2010)

6.5.14 Scheme of Faculty Development for Promotion of Knowledge Economy

The role of teacher in every society is recognized as a nation builder. He/she has to play a crucial role in developing character, providing training and constructing minds as being the agents of change for development of society. In education system, every government takes teachers training as the most significant element. It can be evidently said that no society can flourish without having a trained faculty in local education system. In higher education institutions which are the key of constructing human capital resource, qualified faculty plays an important role of in upbringing of minds. The states that are going smooth in socio-economic development have ensured world class faculty in higher education institutions. The situation of qualified faculty in universities of Pakistan was bleak with having a few qualified teachers in different departments and even most of social sciences, humanities and natural science departments were deficient in having members of faculty with a PhD Degree. This situation became more adverse when Musharraf's Regime started establishing new universities and institutions for higher education which worsened the gap of qualified faculty members. Indigenous higher education organizations were not in position to start research programmes in local universities because of unavailability of learned teachers. Musharraf's regime was quite aware of the role and need of qualified teachers and to address this existing problem of faculty gap, his government-initiated the scheme of faculty development by keeping in view both short term and long-term policy measures. These two policy measures were implemented to have strong base of qualified people available for smooth progress of higher education with impel research culture in Pakistan. The short-term policy was

designed to hire services of foreign qualified professors by deputing them in public higher education institutions for duration of five years. While in long-term policy perspective, HEC devised mechanism of awarding scholarships to encourage local students to get PhD degree from Abroad or from indigenous institutions (Pakistan, 2008). The policy makers of HEC were familiarized with benefits of trained and skilled faculty as it was the backbone of knowledge economy. The strategy of short-term and long-term policy measures by HEC played a major role in developing indigenous research culture by making local universities houses of producing scientific knowledge for development of society and changing dimension of economy from agriculture to knowledge based.

6.5.15 Scheme of Hiring of Foreign Faculty

HEC has started short-term scheme with hiring of foreign professors to come and serve in Pakistan with international fringe and benefits. HEC has planned to hire around 300 professors from well reputed and top universities of world mostly from developed nations to be members of faculty in public sector higher education institutions for duration of five years (Rehaman, 2018). They were given a task to develop research culture by imparting modern research techniques and fresh knowledge to students but also providing trainings to local faculty by organizing seminars, conferences and workshops. The second most important factor behind hiring of foreign professors were to develop correlation with these international institutions for joint venture of research projects and exchange of students to put higher education system of Pakistan in realm of international standard. It is to be mentioned here that HEC took services of 354 professors for making Pakistani higher education more vibrant and prosperous through their contribution in research

development (Raza, 2005). These professors were given task to develop critical thinking, quest for research, impart fresh knowledge and research techniques and more to guide students about modern apparatus in natural sciences. They were having responsibility of revising curricula by putting modern contents to make it internationally standardized.

6.5.16 Policy of Brain Gain from Foreign Universities

The most distinctive and important initiative of HEC was to attract Pakistani scientists and researchers who were working in foreign countries by offering international benefits for serving in Pakistan. They left Pakistan because of not having attractive service structures. HEC called back many scientists and scholars to Pakistan on attractive salary packages. This policy of brain gain became quite successful in achieving its objective (Jahangir, 2008).

6.5.17 Scheme of Employing Eminent Professors

HEC under this scheme proposed to hire services of retired professors to offer their services on lucrative salaries on contract bases. The objective of this scheme was to give momentum to culture of research. They were hired to motivate students to be scientists under their friendly supervision and guidance and at most to maintain the base of qualified faculty in public sector universities (Jahangir, 2008).

6.5.18 Faculty Exchange Programme in Pakistan

The exchange programme of faculty was devised to fascinate foreign professors to come to Pakistan for one to two months to teach in Pakistani universities and to impart research skills to young graduates and faculty. They came here to teach techniques of research and

producing of research for innovation and origination of knowledge. This scheme was designed to provide training to graduates and faculty about modern laboratory apparatus, techniques writing quality of research paper and support in development of laboratory (Rehaman, 2018).

6.5.19 Introduction of Tenure Track System for Research Development

In the public universities of Pakistan, faculty was hired on permanent bases under policy of Basic Pay Scale in which teachers of higher education were paid fixed salary and they got promotions on the seniority bases without contributing in research development. They were bound to produce research articles for their promotion which had given birth to the stagnant culture with zero research outcomes for the development of society. HEC launched an alternative policy of recruitment and promotion wherein professors were being paid attractive salary and other benefits by making them bound to contribute in research development by publishing articles in renowned research journals. They were promoted on the basis on quality of research not on seniority base. Tenure Track Scheme fixed the condition of hiring PhD graduates to offer services under this scheme (Jahangir, 2008). This policy added competition promoting quality of research in Pakistan.

6.5.20 Foundation of Indigenous Research Programmes by Universities

The culture of research programmes (M.Phil. and PhD) was in negligence position with a few universities pursuing higher education above masters. Those universities which were encouraging higher education in research field were offering in limited departments wherein Social Sciences and Humanities were totally negated fields of research degrees. Since formation of HEC, trends in imparting research degrees had been growing steadily

wherein almost every university is offering research in various programmes. Local universities are pursuing research degree programmes at tremendous level and number of PhD graduates has been rising with every passing year. The following table provides a picture of yearly increase in the number of PhDs within Pakistan.

Table 6.3 Number of PhDs Produced in Pakistan from 2000 to 2010

Year	Number of PhD Produced in Pakistan
2000	176
2001	204
2002	276
2003	276
2004	312
2005	328
2006	408
2007	438
2008	628
2009	819
2010	826

Source: (Pakistan, Annual Report on Higher Education, 2010)

6.6 Initiation of PhD Scholarship Programme for Promotion of Knowledge Economy

In long-term policy measures for development of knowledge economy, HEC offered both indigenous and foreign scholarships to competitive students to pursue their research degrees in different programmes for creation of knowledge and development society. This long-term policy was more sustainable for producing more qualifies faculty, research competition, promotion of knowledge, originality of ideas and knowledge, critical thinking and technological advancement for making society more prosper and modern.

6.6.1 Perspective of Indigenous Scholarship

Since 1947, research culture in Pakistan was too feeble with very limited available options. The percentage of students at higher education was also about 2 % that was the indicator of government's poor policies for creation of human capital. Musharraf's regime being liberal and having an agenda of reform to change the destiny of Pakistani society gave idea of higher education promotion by granting scholarships to competent students. HEC under the banner of education reform devised a plan to award 5000 indigenous scholarships for the promotion of knowledge economy within Pakistan (Jahangir, 2008; Rehaman, 2018). This scheme was intended to produce qualified people with skill and life learning knowledge to survive in market competition by producing quality of knowledge, recognized locally and internationally. HEC under this scheme awarded around 2000 scholarships till 2005 (Amjad, 2005). It was granting these scholarships with a notion of creating knowledge economy in Pakistan and trained human capital which were the key requirements in global economy for collective development.

6.6.2 Agenda of Foreign Scholarship

Pakistan is an agrarian society with fragile infrastructure and technological base which is the main problem of underdevelopment that can be resolved by promotion of knowledge economy. The policy makers of HEC were more attentive to problem of development especially in industrial and technological advancement that could be tackled by having human capital produced in modern and advance countries of the world particularly in field of natural sciences, computer sciences, management sciences and engineering and to fulfil this goal, HEC granted foreign scholarships to talented graduates of Pakistan.

Higher education had awarded about 1000 scholarships till 2007 (Pakistan, 2008). The idea behind this scheme was to have more skilled and trained human capital with knowledge of advance technology by working in well-equipped laboratories and under supervision of qualified supervisors who had more updated knowledge and modern research techniques. The ideas of foreign scholarships for local students not only gave them foreign exposure but also an experience of liberal citizenry values, where every individual tried to become more active for personal development and for societal development as well.

6.6.3 Split PhD Program in Science and Technology

The innovation of information technology has changed dynamics of world wherein states are focusing on promotion of education in field of science and technology because the domain of science and technology is the only way of constructing high level human capital which is the key of progression for a society. HEC by keeping in view the importance of science and technology gave rise to the system of split programme at PhD level in which a student had to spend half duration of his degree in Pakistan while rest half in any of the universities of developed states (Rehaman, 2018). The agenda of this initiative was to promote culture of science and technology in Pakistan which has an essential uplifting mechanism in society development.

6.6.4 Doctrine of International Research Support Initiative Program

International Research Support Programme was unique and useful initiative in which HEC granted a six-month scholarship to a student who was enrolled as PhD student in local university and had an offer letter from top two hundred universities of world. The

aim to this scholarship was to provide opportunity to local students to conduct research in advanced environment of world renowned universities and learn modern techniques research as well as to become the agents of collaboration with parent and host universities. It is to mention that around 1700 scholars have benefited from this scheme (Pakistan, 2005:63).

6.7 Narrative of International Collaboration in Research

HEC being a regulating body of higher education has developed structure of international association for expansion of research and to ensure quality of education well-suited to international levels. In 2003, HEC developed an association with British Council to provide training for modern methods of research, to enhance capacity of research development. British Council provides refreshing courses to improve pedagogical practices for teachers. This venture of collaboration of HEC was with SAARC countries in 2004 wherein Pakistan offered PhD scholarships to students of the region every year. However, the system of foreign scholarship comes in the category of international collaboration, keeping in view that the split PhD programme in science and technology is product of collaboration of different universities with HEC (Rehaman, 2018).

6.8 Narrative of Social Science Promotion: A New way of Socio-Economic Development

In higher education sector, faculty of social sciences and humanities has always played a significant role in discussing societal problems by providing suitable solutions for

sustainable development of society. This faculty has been considered important for the promotion of political awareness, societal norms, creation of national identities, construction of citizenship, advocate of national narrative and most inculcating human rights value for welling of society. It is an acknowledged fact that no nation can rise by putting aside the faculty of social science and humanities (Pakistan, 2003). However, the situation of this faculty in Pakistan was in vague position where policy makers were not taking their role in development of society. This faculty was considered impractical with minimal role for human development. This stance of government remained enacted until the creation of HEC.

HEC for the first time streamlined the importance of social sciences and humanities in higher education sector by acknowledging its role in socio-economic development of society. HEC laid the foundation of society titled, Research Council for Social Science and Humanities" for promotion of knowledge of this faculty. A programme of rehabilitation was started in 13 public universities by providing scholarships for the faculty development that were 300 in number (Pakistan, 2004). It provided research grants and mechanism of networking for strengthening of this faculty. It facilitated this faculty domain with seminar rooms for conduction of workshops. HEC provided scheme of 200 chairs for research development in social sciences in various public universities (Pakistan, 2005). This scheme of establishing research was not acknowledged by prior governments. It organized large number of symposiums, seminars, workshops and conferences for the promotion of social sciences where faculty could enrich their ideas through discussion. HEC promoted the idea of social science research by encouraging

various departments of social science to launch their research domains, ultimately reaching to 30 research journals with partial funds of commission.

HEC has collaborated with French government for the promotion of social sciences research in which both French and Pakistani researchers collaborated for this venture. It seems that HEC was much conscious about development of social science faculty and took concrete steps to make its mission fruitful.300 foreign scholarships were most significant to enhance the capacity of research (Pakistan, 2005:70).

6.9 Promotion of Natural Sciences and Engineering

The basic essence of HE is to develop skilled workforce or professionals with competitive knowledge. The skilled workforce can only be attained through facilitating modern equipment in practical fields such as natural sciences and engineering. It is worth to mention that universities and professional colleges were lacking the required modern equipment to learn advance techniques and tools for creation of new knowledge. However, HEC established modern laboratories to facilitate students to use these technologies to produce innovative knowledge for prosperity of society. HEC in contrary to previous regimes focused on the promotion of natural sciences and engineering with provisions of advance technological facilities in laboratories to develop the culture of research within Pakistan. The reason behind promotion of natural sciences and engineering was not only to construct a competent human capital equipped with advance skills but also to produce new knowledge to be part of knowledge economy (Amjad,

2005). According Atta-ur-Rehman, Pakistan has produced around 3000 articles in impact factor journals since 2002 which is clear sign that Pakistan is on way to knowledge economy (Rehaman, 2018).

6.10 Narrative of Information and Communication Technology

The invention of technological advancement in electronics, software and telecommunication evidently changed the societies in particular to the patterns of economies in the world (Bengali, 1999). This trend of advancement in technologies in shape of information technology (IT) has become a driving force in production, dissemination and implementation of knowledge for economic development of society. IT is the main driving force in integration of world wherein knowledge creation and distribution has become easier to share and accessible for the development of society (Powell, 2004). IT along-with telecommunication has become the source of creating an informative society in which knowledge is predominately produced and implemented for generating economic activity within society. Pakistan was too weak in the provisions of technology advancement with marginal facilities of apparatus for creation and dissemination of knowledge. There came a stark shift during regime of Musharraf who had encouraged the culture of information technology and telecommunication for development of society. The drastic boom in information and communication technology in Pakistan emerged on scene with prominent increase of TV channels, radio channels, mobile phones and with provisions of internet were obvious measures to develop Pakistan as an informative society (Mahmood, 2008). Though, Pakistan is still far behind in development of technologies but is still following the mechanism of virtual learning

for development of knowledge society. Musharraf's regime took appropriate measures in development of information technology by establishing IT specialized department in various universities in all over Pakistan for creation of IT professionals, to become active knowledge workers. The FAST university was established for creation of IT professionals under Musharraf's government and its encouragement of private sector to invest in IT sector (Rehaman, 2018). PPP's government following the suit of Musharraf's government in promotion of ICT helped to develop innovative and scientific knowledge for prosperity of Pakistan.

6.11 Perspective of Budget Allocation for Higher Education

Higher Education in Pakistan has been the most neglected subject of policy makers and could not get substantial budget which is less than 2% of GDP for justifiable growth of higher education sector since 1947 (Isani, 2001). All education policies made promises to invest more on higher education which remained to policy papers wherein UGC had been granted inadequate budget to run HE activities by governments (Jahangir, 2008). However, HEC was provided with an adequate budget to run their affairs autonomously. The table 6.4. provides the details of increase in the budget to HEC for HE activities.

Table 6.4 Budget Allocation for Higher Education from 2005 to 2010

Year	Education Budget
2005	2.4%
2006	2.5%
2007	2.40%
2008	2.1%
2009	2.05%
2010	2.05%

Source: (Pakistan, Pakistan Economic Survey, 2009-10)

6.12 Perspective of Higher Education Policy Making: A Historical Context

Since beginning of education policy making sphere in 1947, Central government had been formulating education policy as a soul authority. All education policies agendas had been decided by federal government of Pakistan with the consent of provinces. Although, first four education policies (1947, 1959, 1969 and 1970) had been more authoritative with least participation of stake holders in preparing policy documents while remaining education policies (1972, 1979, 1992, 1998, and 2009) had insights from stakeholders including provincial governments, the education policy of 2009 was quite unique in its essence which had adopted participatory approach from every corner of society and gave framework for pursuing modern education for making modern citizenry. Higher education policy has always been a prism of central authority due to being a sole determinant of providing a base of human resource development.

The constitutional history of Pakistan since 1947 gave appropriate governance structure wherein federal and provincial governments defined the sphere of legislation for public policy relevant issue. The constitution of 1956 put the public policy as a relevant issue in provincial sphere of authority. Education was in sole domain of provincial governments responsibility in which provincial governments were deficient in responding problems involved in education system. The constitution of 1962 gave some powers to provincial dominions unlike the constitution of 1956 and issue of provincial government negligence prevailed which led the central governments to regulate higher education development for socio economic development of the society. Keeping in view the federal charter and provincially deficient position, the constitution of 1973 presented a joint venture scheme

under concurrent list in which both governments provincial and federal had the authority to legislate in higher education (Jahangir, 2008).

The first educational conference held in Karachi in 1947 proposed a central authority to regulate higher education affairs in Pakistan and after long deliberations and discussions a central institution was created named as Inter University Board in 1952. The basic essence to form this institution was to regulate higher education system according to the needs of Pakistan. Inter University Board was lacking the capacity to develop coordination among universities and to lay down the system of unitary values and so later it was replaced with the establishment of University Grant Commission in 1974 (Jahangir, 2008). Although education policy of 1959 and 1970 proposed the creation of central body for higher education development, the education policy of 1973 following recommendations of previous education policies floated the scheme for establishment of University Grant Commission which finally came to realization in 1974. University Grant Commission was statutory institution to act as a medium of coordination as well as an advisory body for resolving pertaining issues in higher education through coordinating with provincial government and federal one (Isani, 2001). The main purpose of University Grant Commission (UGC) was to collect data about higher education, to get requisition from universities about funds and to grant required funds to universities. Being a regulatory body, UGC was to maintain the standard of education by the quality of supervision of curricula for all universities and at most to advise governments either federal or provincial to open new universities for making higher education easily accessible. UGC had statutory status as being an advisory board in higher education sphere which meant that UGC was lacking in authority to implement its guideline in true

sense. UGC was not an autonomous institute with authority to implement its direction (Jahangir, 2008). It was lacking the capacity of imbursement of required funds demanded by Universities. It was dependent on the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Finance to facilitate affairs of universities. The UGC was there for 29 years and was negligible in achieving goals of promoting higher education through quality assurance in maintaining quality of curricula for all higher education institutions and to develop environment of research for generation of scientific knowledge. It could not fulfil the responsibility in controlling private institutions. Another failure of UGC was not fulfilling the demand of changing trends of market in creation of market economy. Universities in regime of UGC were lacking qualified faculty, advance instrument and scholarships and mechanism of conferences for research development. It is worth to mention here that mostly governments in Pakistan had followed utilitarian ideology in pursuance of higher education which focused on creation of human resource development not on advancement of knowledge (Shami, 2005).

In the public policy orientation in context of a globalized world, Higher education must follow ideology of knowledge economy in which government pursues and works for higher education for the formation of human capital and construction of scientific knowledge that meets technological advancement and sustainable development of society. The Musharraf's government adopted policy of knowledge economy in domain of higher education under the umbrella of Enlightened Moderation and introduced an autonomous institution named as "Higher Education Commission" in replacement to UGC in ministry of education. The Higher Education Commission (HEC) was created in solving existing problems in higher education by improving quality of education in both

public and private universities. HEC was a regulatory body with authority to provide funds to universities, to make universities responsible in ensuring quality of education, to provide guidelines for standardized curricula and had the authority to punish any university by putting sanction or putting the university in black list. The HEC is like UGC, a central institution with same responsibilities but change in functioning due to having implementation authority (Jahangir, 2008).

Public Policy making in Pakistan has been controlled by federal though constitution of 1973. Under the list of actions, provincial governments have been given rights to formulate the policies and act accordingly but in case of disagreements, the central is rested with sole authority. In context of education, federal governments produced education policies as centralized guideline for all provinces which they followed thoughtlessly. However, after landmark of 18th amendment in constitution, government abolished the concurrent list by devolving power to provinces to legislate in affairs of public policy (Asghar, 2010). Now, provincial governments are free to legislate in public policy domain including education even in higher education but provincial governments are hesitant in taking responsibility of human capital formation through legislating on higher education yet HEC is still there and working as central institution because provincial governments still lack in infrastructural capacity to regulate higher education sphere independently (Jahangir, 2008).

6.13 Narrative of Higher Education in Education Policies of Pakistan

In Pakistan, the sphere of Higher education begins with successful completion of 12 years of education and students join higher education institutions usually at age of 17-19. Higher education sector is a binding nursery of providing trained human capital and a light house of change for society. Keeping in view the role of higher education, the first Government of Pakistan held conference on education after four months of independence and inserted statement on higher education promotion in Pakistan. The policy paper of 1947 had a vision of reforms for higher education curricula, to insert changes according to social-economic needs of society. The logic behind this agenda of reform in higher education curricula was that the prevailing curricula was designed by British government who was using higher education system with colonial mind set. The role of higher education in imparting citizenry values was also missing from the policy texts. However, this policy statement remained in policy paper without getting the frame for implementation. It is worth to mention here that matric had been part of higher education until 1954. Punjab university was responsible to conduct matric exams and award degrees. There was no separate board for conducting matric exams. The government of Pakistan separated matric from university domain by establishing required boards.

The government of Ayub khan gave more specific perspective of higher education by creating boards for Matric and Intermediate with appropriate sphere for higher education that started after 12 years of education which was an international standard for university education. Ayub's regime provided acumen of international standards in higher education by starting four-year bachelor's degree programme. The education policy of 1959 was

considered as Magna Carta of education governance in Pakistan which focused on provision of modern education in higher education sector. This policy document stressed on quality of education with aim to impart critical thinking and citizenry values like honesty, helping others and mindful person who could not be exploited by any means. This policy paper focused on providing skills of getting knowledge throughout life and intent of hard work to contribute in societal progress. The unique feature of this policy about higher education was to construct human capital not only for domestic requirement but also competitive enough with modern conditions. The education policy 1969 had quite a different view point about higher education. This policy paper made education mandatory for formation of a literate society. The human capital formation with skill and modern knowledge was missing in policy statements which meant that policy makers were not taking higher education as a priority by neglecting the role of higher education in promoting citizenry values as well as the elements of development.

The same government who formulated education policy of 1969 gave new piece of legislation for education which contained thorough guidance for prompting of higher education in Pakistan. It gave the idea of establishing new universities to increase higher education in Pakistan and proposed formation of body for coordination among universities to ensure quality and promote research culture. This policy document envisioned to reform curricula of higher education to fulfil the national requirement by putting side international trends. This policy had same intent as of 1947.

The education policy formulated by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was a masterpiece of legislation for development of higher education sector. This education policy provided comparison

of Pakistan with the rest of world in achieving goals of higher education and accepted meagre capacity of Pakistani education system with having 2% enrollment in universities and keeping in mind that most of students were enrolled in arts subjects. This policy pursued the agenda of promoting science education in Pakistan as it was the key to resolve many core issues. Pakistan, being agrarian state also needed development in science sector principally in agriculture, to boost productivity. The democratic system was launched in higher education in which both teacher and students could play their role in the development of higher education sector. This mechanism of participatory scheme of teachers and students in streaming education in universities was granted for the first time in Pakistan. The policy only promoted trend of science education wherein social sciences were negated in universities. The most significant step of Bhutto was to establish universities in least developed regions to increase higher education in Pakistan. UGC was created to coordinate activities of universities and to provide funds to universities in 1974 which was a reward of 1972 policy. This regime promoted modern trends in higher education in contrast to previous one. Education policy of 1972 had supported the higher education system in Pakistan and permitted the culture of student unions to indoctrinate citizenship norms by making universities as platform of political socialization. It is to be mentioned here that universities had become the nurseries of producing liberal citizenship in Pakistan wherein students were more familiarized about their rights and duties due to environment of universities.

The education policy 1979 had given slogan of Islamization of higher education by reforming curricula according to ideological and Islamic requirement that was a stark shift from previous education policies. This agenda reform in higher education put

divergence from establishment of modern knowledge and compatibility with international standard. The higher education system was debarred from meeting challenges at international level. The structure of citizenship identity in Pakistan had influenced more by being detached from modern world under the slogan of Muslim Ummah. The former education policies were promoting notion of Pakistani identity in context of south Asian while Zia's education policy took it away from south Asian notion to greater notion of Muslim Ummah. The basic essence of higher education to produce competitive human capital, compatible to modern trends and construction of citizenship in sphere of liberal domain got halted due to stark shift in policy mission. This policy narrative put Pakistan on pattern of isolation from global knowledge. It promoted the culture of gender segregation by proposing to establish two women universities in Pakistan. Zia's education policy gave way to inclusion of private sector in development of education which could not continue due to Bhutto's policy of nationalization.

The education of 1992 had provision about modernizing curricula as well as proposed to introduce new disciplines in higher education system. It promised to establish 20 universities to fulfil the demand of higher education due to increasing population. However, this agenda of reform diminished without getting implemented. This policy was formulated by Nawaz Sharif's government and education being on low priority domain, lacked the attention of government.

In 1998, Government of Nawaz Sharif came up with a new piece of education policy, with broader perspective in which higher education was focused in detail and emphasized on research culture in indigenous universities by starting M.Phil. and PhD programmes.

This policy paper proposed to increase higher education up to 5% till 2010. It was promised to increase education budget at 5% of GDP. This education document had provisions to reform curricula according to needs of local industry as well as to meet international standards. Universities were advised to create student affairs department to address problems of students and facilitating them with feasible environment for studies. Nawaz Sharif gave this policy but was not able to implement it because of the military coup by General Pervez Musharraf.

General Musharraf being indifferent to previous regime did not come up with the new policy document and pursued existing education policy of 1998 through giving an action plan under the name of education system reform, to change dynamics of higher education system. The provisions of 1998 policy were having a quest to promote higher education for societal development which was implemented by Musharraf in true spirit and did put Pakistan on the way to Knowledge economy. Musharraf's government under the slogan of enlightened moderation spread beam of neo liberal citizenship by reverting doom of Muslim ummah under Islamization process of Zia-ul-Haq. The notion of enlightened moderation proved to be impetus in higher education institutions to impart skill to be competitive, well informed about civics values, believed in peaceful co-existence and most loyal to Pakistan. This system of reform focused on promotion of social sciences as important factor in solving socio-political problems.

The policy of 2009 by following footsteps of Musharraf's regime emphasized on increased education budget to 7% and higher education share to 20% for enhancing quality as well as quantity of human capital. This policy contained provision about

indoctrination of civic values to construct Pakistani citizenship in context of Neo-Liberal Citizenship, in which citizens are trained to reduce conflicts, promote harmony, aware about world issues and domestic problems.

It is worth to mention here that due to convergence and divergence of policy agendas in education policies and changing regimes in the past, the human capital has been adversely affected. This disruption in education policy making had put society on verge of underdevelopment with the issue of extremism, ethno-centrism, terrorism and backwardness in creation of scientific knowledge. Musharraf's government tried to change the poor situation of education, under his agenda of reform, improvements were witnessed.

Table: 6.5 Changing Narrative of Education Policies for Higher Education with Changing Regime

Category	Policy Statement
Higher Education	**1947** An urgent need for drastic reforms in higher education (Pakistan, Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference, 1947, p. 10). It has been felt for a long time that the system of university education comprising of the syllabi, curricula, examinations and teaching methods is unsatisfactory and requires a thorough in order to bring it into line with our educational ideals and needs (Pakistan, Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference, 1947, p. 17). **1959** Higher education must prepare not only adequate numbers of persons to fill positions appropriate to modern conditions, but also offer education of quality (Pakistan, 1959, p. 15) …. creating in them proper habits of work, a continuing desire for knowledge, initiative, an independence of thought, an understanding of the problems of society, a desire to help solve such problems, and a sense of honesty and fair play in dealing with others (Pakistan, 1959, p. 15) **1969** …. for national development purposes, the first priority of

	education should be to create a literate society (Pakistan, 1969, p. 4). **1970** …. reorganization of courses of study and curricula in line with national needs; establishment of new universities and colleges; establishment of university grant commission, and high priority to residential accommodation for students particularly in the case of higher education (Pakistan, 1970 , pp. 10-11). **1972** …only 2 percent of the population of the relevant age group is enrolled in institutions of higher education in the country, as against 50 percent in USA and 25 percent in Japan. More than 80 percent of the students enrolled in universities are studying arts subjects (Pakistan, 1972, p. 13). Establishment of new universities to cover all parts of the country; Legislation to democratize the working of universities; Emphasize on science education… (Pakistan, 1972, p. 15). **1979** Setting up of two women universities, one at Lahore and the other at Karachi. Review of curricula and textbooks for higher education programmes in order to bring them in consonance with ideology of Pakistan and principles of Islam… (Pakistan, 1979, p. 17). **1992** Modernization of all curricula in order to accommodate new knowledge and new discipline; restructuring and diversification of degree education; preparation of a ten year programme for higher education development by the UGC in collaboration with universities, keeping view the manpower needs for a growing industrial base in areas of science and technology; setting up twenty new universities, four in the public sector and 16 in the private sector to meet the rising demand for higher education… (Pakistan, 1992, p. 35) **1998** Expansion of access to higher education to at least 5 percent of the age group 17-23 by year 2010; introduction of new disciplines or emerging sciences in public sector universities; transformation of selected disciplines at major institutions into "Centers of Advance Studies and Research"; revision of curricula of universities at all levels and their adjustment to the requirements of industry and international standards; representation of industrialists on university authorities shall be encouraged, and establishment of technology parks and industrial

	research centers in universities to achieve this goal; launch of local MPHIL and PHD programs on large scale in the centers of excellence and other university departments; the funding education shall be raised from present 2.2 percent to 4 percent of GNP with enhance allocations for universities; appointment of a dean of students' affairs in each educational campus for promoting and regulating the co-curricular activities of students; setting up a National Council for Academic Award and Accreditation (Pakistan, 1998, p. 76). **2009** Increase in the higher education budget to 20 percent with an enhancement of the total education budget to 7 percent of GDP of the economy; Competitive research grants for funding to ensure that the best ideas in areas of importance are recognized and allowed to develop; faculty development award of doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships to meritorious students for pursuing their studies both in Pakistan and abroad; Ranking system of universities on more broad-based parameters that directly point out to quality of learning; Recognizing the importance of social sciences in developing better social understanding; Transmission of civic and cultural values and the potential to reduce conflict; universities shall pay greater attention to this area in their research function; introduction of integrated four years bachelor degree programmes by universities; development of split degree programmes in collaboration with foreign universities of good repute (Pakistan, 2009, p. 58)

Source: Education Policies, Government of Pakistan

6.14 Narrative of Pakistan People Party Government on Higher Education Promotion

The public policy sphere has to be influenced with changing in regime because every new government tries to transform society according to their political manifesto. Musharraf's government was replaced by Pakistan People Party, who readily took charge and soon after implementing their agenda for higher education sector. This most significant thing which successive government change was lessening of education budget. The

government has cut off the funding of students who are at foreign scholarship in different countries (Rehaman, 2018). However, government pursued Musharraf's policy with keeping the agenda of modernizing curricula and establishing universities. In 2010 new government passed 18th amendment in constitution which made education as provincial subject by eliminating Concurrent List, curtailing power of formulating central education policy from federal government. This created a question of legitimacy of HEC as being a central body. However, PPP's government had proposed two new schemes known as Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Baluchistan Project and Prime Minister Fee Re-Imbursement Scheme for Least Developed Areas. The objective of these two schemes was to promote higher education in least developed areas by offering scholarships and making base of human capital for sustainable progress of Pakistan.

6.14.1 Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Baluchistan Project

Baluchistan is least developed region of Pakistan with a thick population. This province is rich in mineral and weak in agriculture, residents are generally from low economic set ups as the region has low employment opportunities. Because of low economic status, people could not continue education at large, even if they had the mettle. There was no other alternative to end backwardness of Baluchistan except providing higher education opportunities. Thus, government started Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Baluchistan Project to promote higher education by providing all necessary facilities to students. Under this scheme government's purpose was to provide 600 scholarships for masters leading to PhD in Pakistan as well as abroad. HEC was given the task to sponsor 200 foreign scholarships to Baloch

students. The government implemented this project to form human capital as well as to make way for creation of knowledge economy. This scheme was specific to Baluchistan to make it developed under knowledge economic perspective.

6.14.2 Prime Minister Fee Re-Imbursement Scheme for Least Developed Areas

PPP's government expanded vision of promoting higher education in least developed areas all around Pakistan under title of "Prime Minister Fee Re-Imbursement Scheme for Least Developed Areas", to construct human capital for smooth development of society. This was designed for the areas of FATA, Gilgit Baltistan and Southern Punjab and also for the areas having squat human capital. This scheme was implemented for the formation of trained human resource which could contribute in development of society. HEC implemented this project in 2013.

6.14.3 18th Amendment and Status of Higher Education Commission

In Pakistan, the issue of power sharing between center and units had been the bone of contention even the unanimously passed constitution of 1973 had the problem of power sharing. The constitution of 1973 had given more authority to federal government in public policy domain through the Concurrent List. In 2010, PPP's government introduced 18th amendment in constitution of 1973 to solve the problem of power sharing between federal and provincial governments through guaranteeing provincial autonomy by eliminating concurrent list from

construction of constitution of 1973. The provision of 18th amendment has devolved to provincial governments including health, education and labor. After 18th amendment, ministry of education had become a provincial subject and challenged the status of HEC as a central body. Now, debate was going about fate of HEC to be devolved to provincial governments, but this issue was not yet resolved. This uncertain status of HEC was troublesome for the growth of knowledge economy especially about quality of education being a central regulatory body. HEC's devolution to provinces would raise issues of quality of education due to existing imbalance among provinces in sector of higher education.

6.14.4 Expansion of Knowledge Economy under Realm of Higher Education Commission

HEC has been playing her due role in making the nation's youth more vibrant and skilled through making higher education easily accessible to every corner of Pakistan. It is all due to the visionary scheme of HEC that universities in both public and private sector have been increased many fold along with adequate increase in universities' fund from 2002 to 2008. The quality of education has also been improved sustainably with emergence of HEC (Isani , 2001). The growth of students' enrollment in universities has been increased to considerably. Dr Pervez Hoodbhoy, the reforming critic of HEC has acknowledged its contribution in the development of higher education sector in these words, "a many-fold increase in university funding from 2002-2008 resulted in, at best, only marginal improvements in a few parts of the higher education sector (2009, p, 582)".

HEC has remained successful in improving quality of education in Pakistan which can be seen through improving positions of universities in international ranking in comparison to South Asian region. The following table depicts position of higher education in Pakistan.

Table: 6.6 Number of universities in global ranking

Name of Country	Number of Universities in Category of 701 QS ranking
Bangladesh	01
India	12
Iran	02
Nepal	00
Pakistan	05
Sri Lanka	02

Source: (Pakistan, Higher Education Commission Annual Plan 2015-16, 2016)

It is a fruitful result of visionary planning and implementation of policies by HEC, making higher education sector in a position to contribute in the economic development and upgradations well as wellbeing of society by forming human capital resource on one hand while making universities competitive and dynamic enough to disseminate knowledge for creation of new knowledge on other hand. This changing trend in universities has made these universities efficient enough to be recognized globally. The position of Pakistani universities in Asian context is given below which is the result of HEC's planning.

Table 6.7 Asian ranking of the Pakistani universities

Name	Ranking
NUST	108
University of Karachi	191-200
AKU Karachi	201-250
UET Lahore	201-250
LUMS	251-300
University of Lahore	251-300

Source: QS Ranking 2012

It is to be mentioned here that since formation of HEC, it has awarded around 18000 scholarships for youth development for MS and PhD for best universities in Pakistan and in the world. HEC has successfully implemented 13 schemes of scholarships. These schemes were implemented to form human capital for development of society.

HEC's vision of enhancing higher education in Pakistan is going with its momentum of increasing rate of enrollment with passing years. The following table depicts success of HEC in expanding higher education in Pakistan.

Table 6.8 Increase in Universities and Students Enrolment

Year	Universities		Students Enrolled
	Public	Private	
2004-5	57	53	471964
2008-9	70	57	803507
2012-13	87	66	1080000
2013-14	87	69	1230000

Source: (Pakistan, Higher Education Commission Annual Plan 2015-16)

The significant role of HEC was to provide a suitable environment, wherein students of different communities could participate in various activities with cooperation and harmony. The ratio of female students had been increased many folds due to accessible universities. These universities have been facilitating the students in every walk of life by providing them all basic needs including, internet, computer labs, grounds and most of all; seminars to construct their minds and bring them in pace with global trends.

6.15 Conclusion

Since the creation of Pakistan, despite of subsequent efforts rendered by the governments, the higher education could not get the required status and not many efforts were imparted on this particular area, ultimately producing a low human capital for smooth running of state affairs. Though, every ruling government in her education policy pledges to improve the situation of higher education for development of society. Despite of these written commitments by various regimes, the higher education has remained the most neglected field with least funds allocation. These lapses in existing structure of HE had adversely affected the situation of higher education, making it least compatible with the international standards. HE had been followings weak pedagogical practices, old-fashioned scheme of study like annual examination system, stagnant curricula, weak infrastructure and low research outcomes that contributed to underdevelopment of society rather than its elevation. However, Musharraf's government had taken stark shift to improve this declining situation of HE by creating HEC. HEC emerged as an emerging platform of higher education, elevating the status of higher education in Pakistan with its internationally suited policies. The reform agenda of HEC in turn not only produced skilled human capital to contribute in development of society but also produced knowledge workers in shape of PhDs and IT experts to create new knowledge gaps and areas for development of society. HEC had provided a refined mechanism and restructuring of higher education to meet changing trends of global educational market.

In pursuance of reform, HEC introduced semester system, promoted research culture, gave space to social sciences, granted scholarships and foremost reformed curricula to

make students more skilled, competitive, tolerant, socialized and vibrant to change with changing agendas of development within society. Through promoting research culture, HEC wanted to indoctrinate critical thinking and lifelong learning skill to students to be an agent of change for sustainable development of society. HEC had contributed in shifting Pakistan from agrarian economy to knowledge-based economy by increasing enrollment in universities, making higher education easily accessible and developing the culture of indigenous research, to address the problems which paved the way for enhancing quality of education as well as improving universities' ranking in the world. This HE reform had been maintained by successive government wherein PPP followed ladder of knowledge economy initiated by Musharraf. The PPP government had gone further ahead to her predecessor by targeting least developed areas in stream of knowledge through awarding scholarship. Pakistan is on her way to knowledge economy as strategy for the development of Pakistan. However, it is interesting to mention that PPP government reduced the higher education's budget which entangled the process of developing knowledge economy.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This research was intended to explore the overall impacts of Musharraf's education policy changes upon curriculum and construction of the Neo Liberal Citizenship. The main issue upon which this research focused was education restructuring scheme of Musharraf's regime under the name of education sector reform that reshaped and restructured the education at all levels particularly in context of curriculum. Musharraf's government has changed narrative of curriculum informed from conservative notion of Muslim Ummah and literary knowledge to south Asian narrative with scientific knowledge for the construction of Pakistani identity in the context of neo liberal citizenship. This newly designed education discourse was informed from the narrative of lifelong learnings, life skills and competitive knowledge to survive in the competitive market for the development of society. This agenda of restructuring of education at all levels upon modern patterns including madrassas was used as platform to construct citizens with competitive knowledge, life skills, self-sufficiency, compatibility towards social and political dynamics of the world as being tolerant and disciplined citizen of Pakistan, who thought and perceived beyond religious, ethnic and sectarian sentiments.

This study concluded that the reason for Musharraf's education reform was a bleak picture of education due to misadventure of ruling elite in framing policies for development of education wherein every government had tried his own political vision to increase the literacy and quality of education by putting blames on previous governments

as being solely responsible of dismal situation of education within society. Every government had taken into account new agenda of promoting education culture, informed teaching of Islam through allocating appropriate budget in contrast to previous governments. Despite of these sound claims in the education policies of 1947, 1958, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998, system of education is still ineffective in the provision of quality and quantity of education due to main reason of the gaps that existed between theory and practice. The education sector is still underdeveloped due to feeble political will of rulers and their contrary political visions for development of education sector. This malign position of education in Pakistan is due to the poor infrastructure of the evaluation system. The system of an effective assessment and monitoring is the foremost element of providing records about contributions of any education and this record becomes valid evidence for policy makers to devise strategies to address the existing problem. Though government has an institution for assessment and monitoring by the name of Academy of Education Planning and Management, with the sole responsibility of compiling data about policy issues but due to its meagre, it is lacking insights to provide evidences for the reforms to policy makers. The other reason of underdeveloped position of education is the policy formulation approach based on top-down approach wherein policy makers were setting target of improvement without keeping in view real issues faced at local levels. The low quality of education provision in the shape of stagnant curriculum and teachers with poor professional training have added in the unstable state of education.

This research also concluded that Musharraf initiated the scheme of education sector reform to meet both national and international challenges. At the national level, education

sector in Pakistan had been severely criticized due to the quality of curriculum which had made education irrelevant and stagnant for the societal development. The curriculum was declared as irrelevant and stagnant, being confined to the Muslim history and orthodox contents from Islam, thereby becoming the cause of social incoherence and dome of intolerance, extremism and violence within society. The chapter three has provided a detailed account of changing political visions in education policies due to changing regimes which ultimately influenced the process of curriculum development for construction of citizenship as required. The chapter has revealed the fact that discontinuity in discourse of ideology of Pakistan in setting pattern of common norms and values had adversely affected the process of curriculum development and construction of the Pakistani identity.

As noted in chapter three, the shift in political visions of ideology of Pakistan from South Asian context to Muslim Ummah Context, due to changing regimes had become problematic in smooth transmission of common norms for construction of national identity and citizenship in Pakistan. This shift in discourse of ideology of Pakistan has created situation of chaos, particularly for minorities in the construction of Pakistani citizenship. Zia's political ideology under the slogan of Islamization, to construct Muslim ummah had inserted Islamic contents including versus of holy Quran in all subjects. The education policy of 1979 had emphasized upon removal of contents contrary to Islam. Zia's regime, under banner of Afghan Jihad had inserted versus of Holy Quran to ignite the sentiment of jihad and bigotry against non-Muslims. His regime had removed the contents providing the worldview by confining it to Muslim history and Muslim heroes. In pursuance of Islamization scheme, Zia's regime had implemented Arabic as

compulsory subject at elementary level and declared Islamic studies as compulsory subject up to graduation including the professional colleges. The chapter three has discussed that Zia's regime had promoted knowledge based on conservative narrative of Islam for the ideological construction of citizens in Pakistan, to be loyal and patriotic to Islam and Pakistan. It had discussed the initiation of concept madrassa schools for increasing literacy rate for male wherein basic arithmetic, Urdu, social studies were along-with teaching of the Holy Quran. The initiative of Mullah schools for females were designed to learn basic reading, writing and household activities. Zia's regime had given an agenda of streamlining madrassa education through madrassas schools. As noticed in chapter three, vision of Zia's education policy had encouraged mixture national identity with Islam wherein Pakistani Muslim or Muslim Pakistani were used interchangeable in discourse of Pakistani identity. This narrative of citizenship had excluded minorities from the sphere of citizenship in Pakistan. This scheme of Islamization of education initiated by Zia had been followed by successive regimes without any marked changes. The emphasizes on Islamic contents without modifying curricula according to changing trends and modern innovation had made curricula as a medium of literary learning with zero scientific knowledge. This irrelevancy and stagnancy of curriculum being over Islamized, had been challenged by indigenous scholars such as Kazi (1987), Aziz (1993), Hoodbhoy (1999) and Saigol (2003), who had highlighted the number of problems arising from such curriculum continuation, issues of being biased, irrelevant, stagnant and being the source of promoting bigotry and extremism within society. This local criticism along-with international criticism upon Pakistani curriculum in consequence of 9/11 had provided platform for Musharraf to reform exiting situation of education. The

international challenges like EFA and MDGs had also provided impetus to Musharraf's regime, to take concrete steps to reform curricula and to elevate the literacy rate by ensuring universal primary education all across Pakistan.

7.1 School Reforms

This study has drawn another conclusion that Musharraf introduced comprehensive education reform to make Pakistani education compatible to the global trends. The chapter four has discussed the measures taken up by Musharraf, to improve the quality of education especially the curriculum, under education sector reform at first phase 2001-3, wherein quality of curriculum had been successfully enhanced through incorporating modern knowledge in various subjects, compatible with the global exigencies. The first phase of education sector reform had introduced the scheme of ECE and English as compulsory subject at primary level. The new curriculum was developed having more globally knowledgeable contents, especially information about modern innovations in the world. Despite of these changes in existing scheme of studies, the newly developed curriculum still maintained status quo ideological narrative along-with the Islamic contents therein.

The chapter four has also given detailed view of second phase of curriculum reform under slogan of the Enlightened Moderation in 2004, which had given liberal vision of Islam as ideology to be transported through education, to regress conservative and orthodox version of Islam that existed in the prevailing discourse of ideology in education. Musharraf's government had launched the discourse of curricula reform by removing all radical contents that existed at all levels. This reform scheme had removed

the biased contents against minorities. The modern knowledge had become part of new curricula, to construct and reform a more compatible human capital. The curricula of social studies, Pakistan studies and English had been elevated and strengthened with knowledge about citizenship, their rights and responsibilities. The new knowledge about global issues and local problems had been added to develop awareness about existing challenges, to indoctrinate preventive measures and to address these issues. The curricula of Islamic studies had been reformed by inserting knowledge about Haqooq-ul-Abad, to encourage sense of humanity for all human beings despite of all variance to integrate masses for social cohesion. The element of Haqooq-ul-Abad was added to diminish the previously existing view and to create affection, harmony, self-help and sacrifices for all human beings. The direction for insertion of discourse of Haqooq-ul-Abad was to promote citizenship values informed from equality, affection, tolerance, rights and responsibilities of following human beings. Musharraf's regime had introduced narrative of social cohesion and integration through Islamic studies.

The new scheme of curriculum for grade 1 to grade 3 had been introduced with having contents from general knowledge, Urdu, mathematics and English. The curricula of social studies for 4^{th} and 5^{th} grades were having all historical and geographical contents in contrast to previous curricula which were focused on Muslim history and heroes. Now, social studies had become medium of transporting education on climate change, conflicts and their solutions, cultural diversity, participatory citizenship, human rights, historical problems, media and its role, public goods, population and role of the government and its structure to pupils; making them a well-informed citizenry. Furthermore, War narrative of Indo-Pak was removed from scheme of study social studies. The social studies for

grade 6th, 7th and 8th had been divided into history and geography. Pakistan studies curricula was having knowledge about environmental education, economic development, privatization, historical events in world and in Pakistan, minorities role in Pakistan, sovereignty of state and its responsibilities and inculcation of citizenship values among pupils.

The Musharraf's government had promoted narrative of public English medium model school in various cities. The curriculum of English was reformed to use as a medium of creating awareness about scientific knowledge and campaign against diseases. It had materials about discourse of crisis management, drug addiction, environmental degradation, health safety, gender equality, benefit of labour, peace-co-existence, population and technology to develop simplicity, tolerance, dignity, equality, discipline and respect for oneself and others. All these values and ethics are attributes of the neo liberal citizens who had the awareness of local, global issues, believed in peaceful co-existence and equality and on most, of dignity of self with minimum dependency on government.

The most significant step of Musharraf's reform scheme was the introduction of ethics as compulsory subject from 4th grade for minorities. Before introduction of ethics at school levels, students from minorities had to study Islamic studies as compulsory. It was a wise decision of Musharraf's regime to ensure equality of all citizenship by introducing Ethics as compulsory subject for minorities in contrast to Islamic studies. The curricula of science subjects had been reformed by removed Islamic contents (verses of Holy Quran) and introducing contributions of various scientists in the development scientific knowledge in contrast to the existing curricula which were prone to the contribution of

Muslim scientists only. Modern knowledge had been inserted in all science subjects. Sciences subjects' curricula were being updated to make these subjects compatible to global educational discourse. The reform initiative had declared English as a medium of instruction for science subjects at school level.

As noted in chapter four, Musharraf's regime had promoted digital literacy for proficiency in computer literacy and usage of internet. His government, by keeping in view importance of computer had introduced new group in science scheme with combination of computers as subject at high school level. The government had established computer laboratories in high schools around the corners of Pakistan. It had also introduced computer education as subject at elementary level in 2007. This step was taken to encourage culture of computer literacy for promotion of information technology and ultimately life learning within Pakistan. It is worth to mention here that Musharraf's government had focused on internationalization of education through promoting English language and computer literacy, to develop competitive-skilled human capital with English and computer proficiency.

The chapter four has given an account about establishment of new educational institutions to increase literacy rate along-with improving facilities such as electricity, washrooms, water and furniture in existing institutions. Government had developed mechanism of monitoring and evaluation of educational institutions to keep check of the role and contribution in imparting education, to nurture well aware and literate masses within society. This mechanism of monitoring has pointed out lapses in the existing institutions, particularly in the shape of ghost schools. It was a milestone of Musharraf's government who had conducted first ever educational census in 2005 to keep check of the

prevailing literacy rate, number of institutions, teachers and other facilities to improve the structure of education in Pakistan.

In pursuance of monitoring and effective management, government had introduced de-centralized schemes wherein power had been shifted from provincial governments to district governments. Now, the district government was responsible for school and college education. District Education Officer was responsible to regulate activities and financial support to all public schools and colleges at district level. This system of management at district had ensured effective monitoring and evaluation mechanism for smooth continuation of education and readdressed the problems that existed therein.

As mentioned in chapter four, Musharraf's regime had promoted the culture of Public-Private partnership in education by laying the foundation of Punjab Education Foundation and Sindh Education Foundation, to increase the literacy rate for nourishing an educated citizenry. Through this Public-Private partnership venture government was responsible to pay fee of every enrolled student to the schools while the owner of school was responsible for hiring teachers, buildings, furniture and other facilities, ultimately reducing the burden of establishing building and other provisions of facilities from the government. This visionary step of government had increased enrollment rate in the schools. Though, private schoolings had also been increased up to 33% during tenure of Musharraf which gave a boost to the education sector of Pakistan. It was due to the swift policy of the government that spread the sphere of educational institutions all around Pakistan.

7.2 Madrasa Reform

This research also concluded that Musharraf's regime had taken favourable steps in mainstreaming of madrassas, to make the students as a competitive human capital and grooming as the agents of development within society with having modern education along-with religious education. As mentioned in chapter five, every education policy from 1947, 1958, 1969, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998, had maintained the space for direction of mainstreaming of madrassas. Despite of these policy promises by every regime; madrassas education system was regulated by colonial inherited decree of Societies Registration Act of 1860, which showed negligible attitudes of every regime in realizing the importance of policy promises into reality through implementation. Thus, policy promises were confined to policy documents which provided space for madrassas to grow freely without appropriate standard of education. It was due to mismanagement of the government that madrassas education system was flourished on sectarian basis with the narrative of self-help. Madrassas as being private organizations had developed their respective boards to ensure quality of education informed from various sects. There have been five madrassas boards which have been following their unique pattern of curriculum quite distinct from the other ones. The dissimilarity existed in quality of education in madrassas education within Pakistan. These madrassas rather being a platform of religious education were the source of sectarian division and acute violence within the society. Musharraf's regime, by keeping in view the existing problems particularly sectarian division, had extended sphere of education sector reform scheme for streamlining the system of madrassas education with formal education system. Musharraf's government, in contrary to predecessor governments had launched

systematic restructuring of madrassas education by means of appropriate legislation in the shape of an ordinance in 2001, to lay the foundation of Pakistan Madrasas Education Board and to modernize traditional education. Pakistan Madrasas Education Board was established with aim to ensure quality of education by developing uniformity in curriculum and examination system. Government through another piece of legislation called Voluntarily Registration of Regulation Ordinance had provided frame of regulating madrassas education systematically by banning authorities of madrassas to accept foreign aids and also asked to get registered on voluntary bases with ministry of religious affairs. This sphere of regulation got strengthened after unanimously passed ordinance in 2005 wherein government provided scheme of mandatory registration for all madrassas to run their affairs. It put ban on madrasas authorities to not run their affairs without getting registered under this ordinance. Even, every newly established madrasa had to register under this ordinance. All madrasas were bound to submit their report of educational activities annually besides giving details about their income and expenditures. The main feature of this ordinance was to completely proscribe all madrasas to publish any kind of offensive material which would instigate violence and terrorism within society. Government had taken practical measures in introducing secular subjects to integrate madrassas education with formal education. Government had established three model madrassas in Karachi, Islamabad and Hyderabad wherein secular subjects like English, Urdu, General Mathematics, computer, economics and Pakistan studies, were to be taught but priority teaching was of prescribed religious contents. This scheme of reforming madrassas education on modern ground had been government sponsored with worth of 5727 million rupees, to modernize 8000 madrassas within the time span of five years.

However, government had become successful in transforming only 499 madrasas on the modern pattern. Musharraf's government had recognized madrassas certificate equivalent to formal education certificate, particularly madrassas boards asnad were declared equivalent with the masters in Arabic or Islamic studies to get job in the market.

7.3 Higher Education Reform

This research has finally drawn conclusion that promotion of higher education especially culture of research to nurture mechanism of knowledge economy is the boosting way towards intellectual success for coming generations, Musharraf's regime established an autonomous institution by name of Higher Education Commission to modernize existing trends of literary knowledge promotion, in traditional set up of higher education within Pakistan. HEC was established with notion to encourage quality of education to increase efficiency of higher education institutions, to develop more competitive and skilled human capital for betterment of society. In pursuance of quality of education in higher education, government had introduced global educational trends such as four years bachelor programme, semester system in all higher education programmes, declaring English and computer as compulsory subjects in all four bachelors programmes including Urdu, Arabic, Pashto, Persian, Sindhi, Saraiki and Islamic studies. It had implemented English as a medium of instructions in all higher education institutions except in departments of Urdu, Arabic, Pashto, Persian, Sindhi, Saraiki and Islamic studies. Government had encouraged practical subjects such as natural sciences, engineering and information communication technology to construct quality of human capital and to

successfully compete in global market. The new disciplines in engineering, natural sciences and information technology had been introduced with central role in construction of human capital to be more competitive and skilled to play their role in economic development of society.

As noted in chapter six, Government had encouraged conception of knowledge economy in Pakistan to modernize society for wellbeing of citizenship of Pakistan. It had launched schemes of PhD in all disciplines particularly in social sciences for augmentation of effective and quality research produced, to address the problem that existed in society. The regime had encouraged higher education to nurture PhDs and IT experts to compete in global market. The perspective of quality education had been ensured by reforming curricula and other facilities to construct quality workers for economic boost of society.

In Musharraf's regime, policy makers used higher education as tool to construct Pakistani citizenship wherein every citizen was not only aware of history and heritage but also had competitive knowledge and skill to be an active citizen to represent Pakistan globally. Therefore, policy makers were taking higher education as means of constructing Pakistani citizenship within context of neo liberal citizenship paradigm, wherein every citizen was well aware about his/her responsibility as being economically sufficient with least dependency on government. Musharraf's regime had focused on promotion of quality of higher education and to bring on board competitive and performance-oriented graduates, for the effective functioning of society. The most encouraging step taken was of research through emphasizing on engineering, natural sciences and information technology because technology was seen as an innovative yet basic skill in Pakistani discourse on higher education. This reform agenda of education was launched to

construct a common public subjectivity, in the form of 'the flexible Lifelong Learner', which in turn could help increase productivity.

7.4 Education Reform and Successive Regime of Pakistan People Party

The successive regime had continued Musharraf's education policy to implant Neo-liberal discourse for the construction of Pakistani citizenship in context of the neo liberal citizenship. The successive government of Asif Zardari had given a new vision of education in 2009 which had a prominent space on Islamic values. It is worth to note that curriculum of 2006 remained in document shape until 2010. It was decided in the 11th meeting of Inter-Provincial Education Ministry held on 2007 that curriculum of 2006 would be implanted in 2010. PPP government had implemented the curriculum of 2006 at school levels, although government had devolved education ministry from federal government to provincial, by passing 18th amendment to ensure provincial autonomy. The provincial government was authorized to develop her curricula with no compulsion from the federal government. However, provincial governments are still following curricula developed in 2006 due to lack of proper set up for the curriculum development.

7.5 Key Findings

The key findings of this research have provided a broader perspective of the Musharraf's regime which in contrary to previous regimes had set a pattern of bottom up approach in the policy making wherein education policy was to develop from green papers to white

paper through consultations of various stakeholders involved therein. Musharraf's government had a view that education policy was not just a piece of paper as it had the potential to impact the lives of generations and societal development of a state. It provided a frame of common norms and values for social integration as well as to simplify direction about the type of human capital required for smooth development of a society. The government devised education policy to improve quality of education for economic prosperity, by promoting literacy rate through increasing enrollment rate in the educational institutions with an appropriate allocation of the budget. The most basic element of education policy was its subject to implementing authority, capability of targets and its execution procedure in a way for ascertaining direction for the construction of citizenship that could be varied concerning its effects. Musharraf's government, keeping in view the above stated purpose of education policy, has taken practical measures to improve the quality and quality of education by keeping in consideration the following steps;

1. Reform the curriculum and make it compatible with the global trends by introducing more scientific contents to develop creative writing and critical thinking.
2. The knowledge about domestic and international problems including life skills and lifelong learnings are inserted in the curriculum to create awareness about the global challenges among students.
3. English and Computer shave been introduced as compulsory course, to increase digital literacy, to meet the global education requirements.

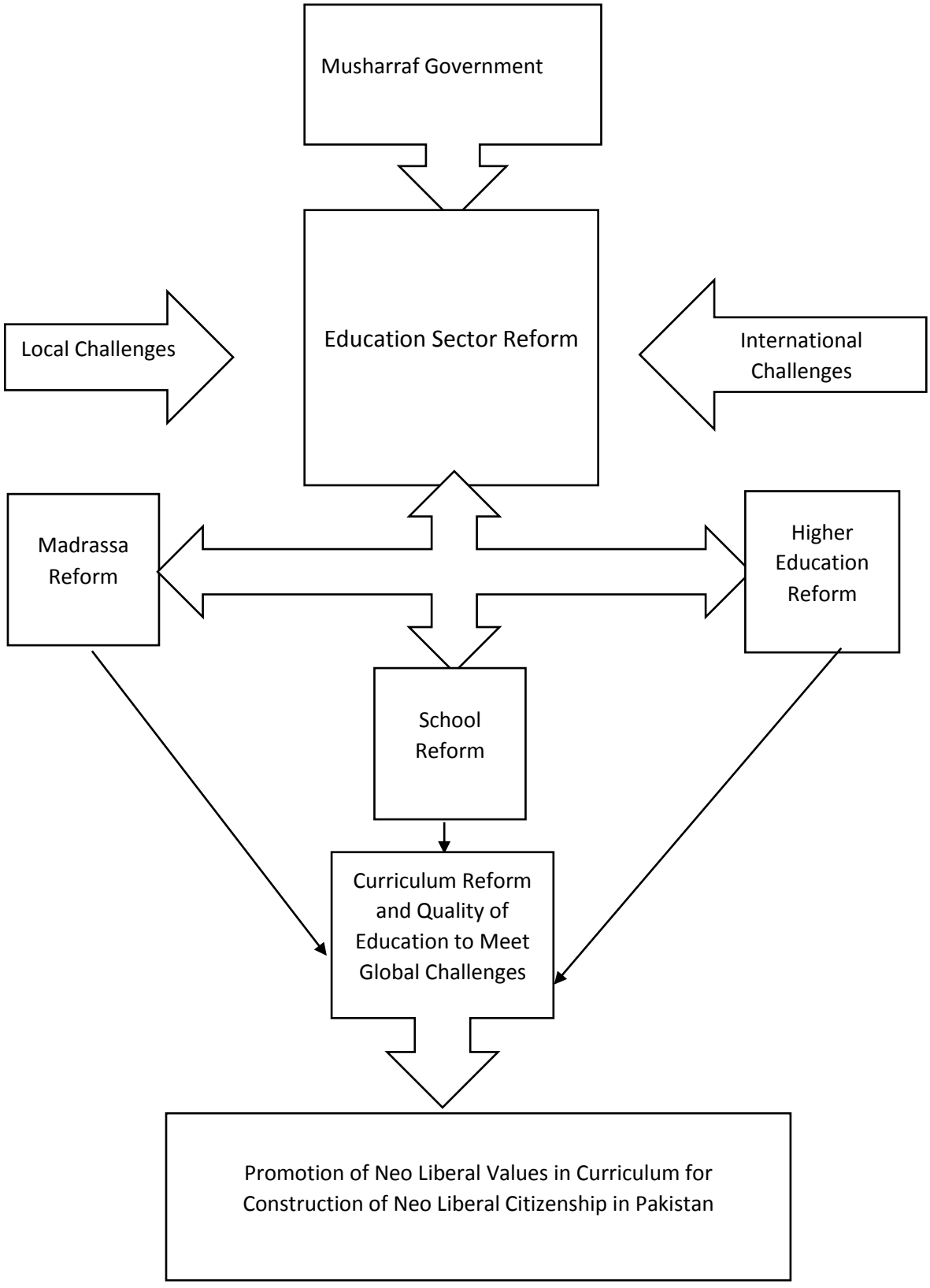
4. Numbers of schools have been increased along-with the increase in qualified teachers to make easy access to education for every individual.
5. Supremacy of textbooks has been curtailed by differentiating between textbooks and curriculum under the policy of national textbooks and learning material policy.
6. Practice of rote learning has been overcome by launching a new scheme of examination or assessment based on objectives, in the shape of multiple choice questions, short questions and long questions to meet the standardized global pattern of examination.
7. Facility of free education along-with free textbooks has been ensured in public schools to promote the culture of education among the poor people, to achieve 100% literacy rate.
8. For further strengthening, it is advised to develop Public-Private partnership in shape of Punjab Education Foundation and Sindh Education Foundation to provide free education, to achieve 100% literacy rate.
9. National Census for education had been conducted in 2005, to evaluate the existing position of infrastructures in education which pointed weakness in education sector, with the presence of ghost schools, low teacher attendance, poor buildings, lacking facilities of washroom, walls, electricity and water.
10. White paper for education is developed in 2007, after a thorough process of green papers through consultation of various stakeholders, which set a new pattern of policy making, informed on the theme base agendas rather than sector ones.

11. Reforming madrassa education by introducing secular subjects to bridge gap that existed between madrasas education and formal education.
12. Pakistan Madrassas Education Board has been establishing to regulate madrasas education affairs to ensure the quality of education by overhauling the existing curriculum and examination system, through developing uniformity in the curriculum and coherence in assessment system.
13. Provide mechanism of financial assistance, annual report for education activities and the audit report.
14. Establishment of model madrassas to teach secular subjects, apart from working as specialized institutes for Islamic education in three cities i.e., Islamabad, Karachi and Hyderabad.
15. Put ban on madrasas for accepting foreign funding.
16. Promote harmony and peaceful coexistence by proscribing not to publish or promote any questionable material which can cause sectarian clash and violence within the society.
17. Promote culture of higher education by establishing new universities, upgrading the already existing with advance facilities for higher education.
18. Encourage the scientific and technical knowledge by focusing natural sciences, engineering and the information communication technology.
19. Introduce new disciplines such as gender studies, public policy, project management, microbiology, biotechnology, laser physics, industrial chemistry and many others in social sciences, natural sciences, engineering and information technology to meet global emerging trends in the higher education.

20. Scholarships have been awarded for PhDs and IT workers, to develop Pakistan as a knowledge economy.

In sum up, Musharraf government has efficaciously achieved his education reform agenda and effectively transform Pakistani identity in the paradigm of Neo Liberal citizenship.

Diagram: 7.1


Musharraf Government
Education Sector Reform
Local Challenges
International Challenges
Madrassa Reform
Higher Education Reform
School Reform
Curriculum Reform and Quality of Education to Meet Global Challenges
Promotion of Neo Liberal Values in Curriculum for Construction of Neo Liberal Citizenship in Pakistan

Bibliography

Abadi, R. A. (2005). *Urdu ka Haal.* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.

Iqbal, A. R., & Raza, S. (2015). Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan: A Historical Analysis. *ISSRA Papers*, 27-50.

Abraham, I. (1995). Towards a reflexive South Asian security studies. In M. G. Kumar, *South Asia Approaches the Millenium: Reexamining National Security*, (pp. 17-40). Westview Press.

Adolino, J.R. & Blake, C. H. (2010). *Comparing Public Policies Issues and Choices in Industrialized Countries.* London: Sage Publications.

Afzal, D. M. (2016, 6 27). The Pakistani curriculum and extremism. *The Pakistani curriculum and extremism*. Islamabad: The Express Tribune.

Ahmad, A. (1970). The Role of Ulema in Indo-Muslim History. *Studia Islamica*, 31(1), 1-13.

Ahmad, I. (2004). Islam, Democracy and Citizenship Education: An Examination of the Social Studies Curriculum in Pakistan. *Comparative Education*, 39-49.

Ahmed, M. (2001). Continuity and Change in the Traditional System of Islamic Education: The Case of Pakistan. In C. B. (ed.), *Pakistan: 2000.* Karachi: West View Press.

Ahmed, M. (2004). Madrassa Education in Pakistan and Bangladesh. In M. M. Satu P. Limaye, *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia* (pp. 101-117). Huwaii: Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies Honolulu.

Ahmed, M. (2011). Early Childhood Education in Pakistan:an international slogan waiting for national attention. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 12(1), 86-93.

Ahmed, M., & Amin, H. (2016). *A Documentary History of Islamic Education in Pakistan.* Islamabad: Emel Publication.

Ali, S. (2005). *Islamic Education and Conflict: Understanding the Madrassas of Pakistan.* Oxford University Press.

Ali, S. (2012). *Madrasah Reform and State Power.* Islamabad: FNF.

Ali, S. (2013). Pakistan: Target revision in education policy. In M.-e.-R. A. (Ed.), *Education in West Central Asia* (pp. 163-177). London: Bloomsbury.

Ali, S. (2016). The sphere of authority: governing education policy in Pakistan amidst global pressures. *Globalization, Societies and Education*, 15(2), 217-237.

Ali, S. H. (2009). *Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan's Madrassahs.* Karachi: Oxford Univerisity Press.

Ali, S. M. (2012). *Another Approach To Madrassa Reform in Pakistan.* Karachi: Jinnah Institue.

Ali, S., & Tahir, M. S. (2009). Reforming education in Pakistan – tracing global links. *Journal of Research and Reflections in Education*, 3(15), 1-16.

Ali, T. (2011). Understanding how practices of teacher education in Pakistan compare with the popular theories and theories and narrative of reform of teacher education in international context. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(8), 208-22.

Alvi, J. H. (2007). *A White Paper Revised Document To Debate And Finalize The National Education Policy.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Amjad, M. (2005, September 21). Promoting Research for Development. *Promoting Research for Development*. Islamabad: Dawn.

Amin, H., & Lodhi, M. (2015). Politics of Madrassa Reforms in Pakistan The Case of Enlightened Moderation during General Musharraf Era . *Pakistan Journal of Islamic Research*, 16(1), 51-64.

Andrabi, T., & Das, J. (2011). The Madrassa Controversy- The Story that Does Not Fit The Facts.

Ansari, A. (2013). *Revisiting the links between education equality and inclusive citizenship: Proposals for educationa lreform in Pakistan* . London: Development Planning Unit, University College London.

Anzar, U. (2003). *Islamic Education: A Brief History of Madrassahs with Comments on Curricula and Current Pedagogical Practices*. Retrieved from Taken from Bangladesh Development Gateway: http://www.bangladeshgateway.org/sdnp/education/ documents/database/number-Madrassa.html.

Apple, M. W. (1990). *Power, Meaning, and Identity: Essays in Critical Educational Studies.* New York: Peter Lang Inc: International Academic Publishers.

Åse Rislund, C. E. (2006). *The System of Education in Pakistan.* Stockholm : Nordic Recognition Information Centres.

Asghar, R. (2010). *NA unanimously adopts 18th Amendment.* Islamabad : The Dawn.

Asharf, N. (2009). *The Islamization of Pakistan's Educational System: 1979-1989.* Washington D. C: The Middle East Institute.

Ashfaq, M. (2013, December 28). Two-year degree programme on the way out. *Two-year degree programme on the way out*. Islamabad: Daily Dawn.

Ashraf, M. (2012). *Globalisation and Education Policy of Pakistan: The Challenges of Access and Equity in Education.* Glasgow: College of Social Sciences, School of Education, University of Glasgow.

Anjum, A. (2006). *A Report on Monitoring and Evaluation of Education Sector Reform Assistance Program.* Islamabad: United States Agency for International Development.

Ayaz, A. A. (2010). Of Mice and Men: Educational Technology in Pakistan's Public School System. Journal of *Contemporary Issues in Education,*5(2), 5-23.

Aziz, K. K. (1993). *The Murder of History: A Critique of Textbooks used in Pakistan.* Lahore: Vanguard.

Ball, S. J. (1994). *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-structural Approach.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bank, T. W. (1994). *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience. Pakistan.* The World Bank Group Publications.

Bank, T. W. (2005). *The Knowledge Economy and the Changing Needs of the Labour Market.* New York: The World Bank.

Bano, M. (2007). *Contesting Ideologies and Struggle for Authority: State-Madrasa engagement in Pakistan.* Birmingham: University of Birmingham.

Benavot, D. H. (1991). Elite Knowledge for the Masses: The Origins and Spread of Mathematics and Science Education in National Curricula. *American Journal of Education*, 99(2), 137-180.

Bengali, K. (1999). History of Educational Policy Making and Planning in Pakistan. Islamabad: *Sustainable Development Policy Institute*, 1-29.

Berger, T. L. (1996). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* Middlesex: Penguin Education.

Berkey, J. P. (2010). Madrasas Medieval and Modern: Politics, Education, and the Problem of Muslim Identity. In M. Q. R. W. Hefner, *In schooling Islam: The culture andpolitics of modern Muslim education* (pp. 40-60). Princeton: Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Blanchar, C. M. (2008). *Islamic Religious Schools, Madrasas: Background.* CSR Report for Congress.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (2001). New Liberal Speak: notes on the new planetary vulgate. *Radical philosophy*, 105(1), 1-6.

Brand, U. (2005). Order and regulation: Global Governance as a hegemonic discourse of international politics? . *Review of International Political Economy*, 12(1), 155–176.

Brand, U. (2013). State, context and correspondence. Contours of a historical-materialist policy analysis. *Austrian Journal of Political Science*, 42(4), 426-442.

Brasmeld, F. (1950). *Education in the Emerging Age: Newer Ends and Stronger.* New Dehli: TATA.

Brown, W. (2006). American nightmare: neo-liberalism, neoconservativism, and de-democratisation. *Political Theory*, 34(6), 690–714.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social constructionism.* New York: Routledge.

Butt, T. M. (2012). Social and Political Role of Madrassa: Perspectives of Religious Leaders in Pakistan. *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 27(2), 387-407.

Cader, H. A. (2008). The evolution of the Knowledge Economy. *The Journal of Regional Analysis and Policy*, 38(2), 117-129.

Center, S. P. (2003). *Social development in Pakistan annual review 2002-03: the state of education.* Karachi: Social Policy and Development Centre.

Chandran, S. (2003). *Madrasas in Pakistan.* Dehli: Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies.

Checkel, J. T. (1998). The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory. *World Politics*, 324-348.

Chinnappa, S. (1988). *The British System ofEducation in India.* New Dehli: Swatti Publication.

Chughtai, M. (2011). *Agenda Formation for Curriculum Reform in Pakistan.* Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Chughtai, M. (2015). *What Produces a History Textbook?* Graduate School of Education of Harvard University .

Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions.* London: Sage.

Curle, A. (1966). *Planning for Education in Pakistan: a personal case study.* London: Tavistock Publications.

David, A. M. (2002). *Globalization / Anti-Globalization: Beyond the Great Divide.* Boston: Polity.

Dean, B. L. (2005). Citizenship education in Pakistani schools: Problems and possibilities. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Educatio*, 1(2), 35-55.

Dean, M. (2002). Liberal government and authoritarianism. *Economy and Society*, 31(1), 37-61.

Dean, M. M. (1999). *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society.* London: Sage Publications.

Desai, A. Z. (1978). *Centers of Islamic Learning in India.* New Dehli: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

Desk, N. (2012, 10 19). Tracing Steps: The rise and fall of MMA. Islamabad, Islamabad Capital Territory , Pakistan .

Dobbin, C. E. (1970). *Basic Documents in the Development of Modern India and Pakistan 1835-1947* . London: Dobbin, C. E. Basic Documents in the Development of Modern IndiVan Nostrand Reinhold Company Ltd.

Dogar, M. G. (2010). Madrassa Reforms - Problems and Prospects . *NDU Journal*, 1–25.

Durani, N., & Dunne, M. (2009). Curriculum and national identity: exploring the links between religion and nation in Pakistan. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42(2), 215-240.

Durani, N. (2013). Pakistan: curriculum and construction of national identity. In M.-E.-R. A. (ed.), *Education in West Central Asia. Education around the World* (pp. 221-239). London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Fair, C. C. (2008). *The Madrassah Challenge –Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan.* Washington DC : United States Institute of Peace Press. .

Faiz, W.N., Shakil, D.F. (2012). Consideration of Islamic Values in the Educational Policies of Pakistan . *Journal of Educational and Social Research, 2(1),* 297-308.

Farah, S. A. (2007). Going to School in Pakistan. In A. Gupta, *Going to School in South Asia* (pp. 143-166). Westport: CT: Greenwood.

Fischer, F. (2009). *Democracy and expertise: reorienting policy inquiry.* London: Oxford.

Fleer, M. (2003). Early Childhood Education as an Evolving 'Community of Practice' or as Lived 'Social Reproduction': researching the 'taken-for-granted'. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 64-80.

Force, T. T. (2002). *Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan.* Retrieved from Pakistan Task Force: http://www.tfhe.net/resources/pakistan.htm

Foucault, M. (1979). *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Penguin: Harmondsworth.

Foucault, M. (1980). Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977. In C. Gordon, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977.* New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1988). On Power. In L. Kritzman, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984* (pp. 96-109). New York : Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In C. G. G. Burchell, *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (pp. 87-104.). Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Foucault, M. (2004). "From The Order of Discourse. In B. H. Patricia Bizzell, *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present* (pp. 1460-1470). Boston: Bedford/St Martins.

Galbin, A. (2014). An Introduction to Social Constructionism. *Social Research Reports* , 82-92, vol. 26.

Gergen, K. (1999). *An invitation to social constructionism.* London: Sage.

Ghaffar, S. (1999). *History of Education.* Peshawar: Institution ofeducation and Research, Ijaz Printer Press, Peshawar, Pakistan'p 46'.

Ghauri, I. (2007, December 07). School Curriculum 'Enlightend': Two-Nation Theory Explained. *Daily Times*.

Gong, G. (1984). *'The Standard of Civilization' in International Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Graves, F. (1993). *A History oflndia Education.* London.

Green, A. (1990). *Education and state formation: the Rise of Education Systems in Englangd, France and the USA.* London: Macmillan Press.

Group, I. C. (29 July, 2002). *Pakistan:Madrasa, Extremism and the Military.* Brussels: International Crisis Group Pakistan.

Halai, N. (2005). Becoming a school science teacher in Pakistan: A female narrative. In J. R. Farah, *Transforming schools in Pakistan: Towards the learning community* (pp. 26-44). Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Halai, N. (2008). Curriculum reform in science education in Pakistan. In a. N. Richard K. Coll, *Science education in context: An international examination of the influence of context on science curricula development and implementation* (pp. 115-129.). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Halepota, A. W. (1979). *Report of the National Committee on Deeni Madaris.* lslamabad: Ministry of Religious Affair, Government of Pakistan.

Hameed, D. U. (2003). *Khutabat-e-Bahawalpur.* Karachi: World Federation' of Islamic Missions.

Hamiduddin, M. (1967). *History of Muslim Education'.* Karachi: AII Pakistan Educational Conference Printing Press.

Howard, C., & Patten, S. (2006). Valuing civics: Political commitment and the new citizenship education in Australia. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 29(2), 454–475.

Haq, S. M. (1997). Hazrat Abu Baker. *World Federation of Islamic Mission*, 74-113.

Haqqani, H. (2005). *Pakistan : Between Mosque and Military.* Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace.

Haqqani, H. (2006).

Dysfunction of an Ideological State: Pakistan's Recurrent Crises in Historic Cont ext. Boston: Department of International Relations Boston University.

Hindess, B. (2001). Citizenship in the international management of populations. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 43(9), 1486–1497.

Hindess, B. (2002). Neo-liberal Citizenship . *Citizenship Studies*, 127-143 Vol-6, No 2.

Hoodbhoy, P. (1998). *Education and the State: Fifty Years ofPakistan.* Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Hoodbhoy, P. (2009). Pakistan's Higher Education System— What Went Wrong and How to Fix It. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 48(4), 581–594.

Huff, R. (2018, 10 23). *Governmentality.* Retrieved from Encyclopedia Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/topic/governmentality

Hunzai, Z. N. (2007). Early years education in Pakistan: trends, issues and strategies. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 15(3), 297-309 .

Ihrahimy, A. (1997). *Report on Islamic Education and Madrasah Education in Bengal.* Dhaka: Baitul Mukarram, Islamic Foundation Bengladesh .

Isani, M. Ali, & Virk, M. L. (2003). *Higher Education in Pakistan: A Historical and Futuristic Perspective.* Islamabad: National Book Foundation.

Ikram, S. M. (2003). *Mauj e Kausar.* Lahore: Idarha Saqafat-i-lslamia, Makta-e- jaded press .

Inamullah, H.M., Hafizullah, H. (2010). Reforming The Madrassah System of Education in Pakistan. *Contemporary Issues In Education Research*, 3(4), 43-46

Iqbal, Z. (2003). *Literacy Trends in Pakistan.* Islamabad: UNESCO Office.

Islam, F. (2009). Reforms in Religious Madaris of Pakistan. *The Dialogue*, IV(2), 199-215.

Isani, A. U. (2001). Higher Education in Pakistan: A historical - futuristic perspective. *The National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.*

Patrick, J. (1999). Education for Constructive Engagement of Citizens in Democratic Civil Society and Constitutional Government. In &. J. Charles. F. Bahmueller, *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects.* Indiana: ERIC Publications.

Jahangir, K. (2008). *Management of Higher Education.* Islamabad: National University of Modern Languages Press.

Jamil, B. R. (2009). Curriculum Reforms in Pakistan- A Glass Half Full or Half Empty? *School Curriculum Policies and Practices in South Countries,* NCERT, Dehli.

Karns, M.P., & Mingst, K. A. (2009). *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance.* Boulder, CO : Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Kaur, K. (1985). *Education in India (1781-1985)* . Chandi Gharh : Center for Research in Rural and Industrial Development.

Kazi, A. A. (1987). *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-building: The Case of Pakistan* . New York: University Press of America.

King, K., & Rose, P. (2005). Transparency or tyranny? Achieving international development targets in education and training. *International Journal of Educational Development,* 25(4), 362-367.

Khalid, S. M. (1995). *Qumi Taleemi Policy: Aik Jayaza.* Islamabad: Institute Policy Studies.

Khalid, S. M. (2005). *Deeni Madaris Mein Taleem, Kayfiat, Masail, Imkanat.* Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.

Faqir, K., & Islam, F. (2013). The Lawyer Movement for Judicial Independence in Pakistan: A Study of Musharraf Regime. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities,* 2(2), 345-357.

Khan, A. (2004). *Future of district governmen.* Islamabad: Liberal Forum Pakistan.

Khan, A. S. (2004). *Messing Up the Past Evolution of History Textbooks in Pakistan 1947-2000.* Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Khan, R. (1985). *Tarikh-e-Moslamanan Alim.* Lahore: Ilmi Kutab Khana.

Khalid, S. M. (2006). Pakistan: the State of Education. *The Muslim World,* 305-322.

Kogan, M. (1986). Education Policy and Values. In J. O. Ian McNay, *Policy-Making in Education: The Breakdown of Consensus : A Reader* . Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kotz, D. M. (2002). Globalization and Neoliberalism . *Rethinking Marxism, 12 (2),* 64-79.

Kronstadt, K. A. (2004). Education Reform in Pakistan. *CRS Report for Congress,* 1-8.

Kronstadt, K.A., & Epstein, S. B. (2012). Pakistan: US Foreign Assistance. *Congressional Research Service*, 1-46.

Kumar, A. (2012). Educating the (neo-liberal) citizen: reflections from India. *Development in Practice*, 22(3), 361-372.

Kumar, K. (1988). Origins of India's "Textbook Culture. *Comparative Education Review*, 32(4), 452-464.

Lall, M. (2008). Educate to hate: the use of education in the creation of antagonistic national identities in India and Pakistan. *Compare*, 38(1), 103-119.

Lazarus, J. (2008). Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: Reviewing the Past, Assessing the Present and Predicting the Future. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(6), 1205-1221 .

Looney, K. R. (2007). Socialization in School Settings. In J. E. Hastings, *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 382-403). New York: The Guilford Press.

Mahmood, K., & Shafique, S. (2008). Indicators of the emerging information society in Pakistan. *Information Development*, 24(1), 66-78.

Mahmood, K. (2006). The Process of Textbook Approval: A Critical Analysis. *Bulletin of Education & Research* , 28(1), 1-22.

Malik, A. B. (2018, 06 22). *Financing education through public-private partnership Governance, transparency and accountability*. Retrieved from www.cedol.org: http://www.cedol.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Financing-education-PPP-Malik.pdf

Malik, J. (1998). *Colonialization of Islam; Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan.* Lahore: Vanguard Book.

Malik, R. (1992). *The System of Education in Pakistan.* Islamabad: National Book Foundation.

Mandani, M. (2004). *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror.* Fountain Publishers.

Mann, M. (1997). Has globalization ended the rise and rise of the nation-state? *Review of International Political Econom*, 4(3), 472-496. .

Mansoor, M. M. (1973). *Muasharti Aloom Teesri Jamaat kay liye.* Lahore: Baig, M. M., & Mansoor, N. (1973). Muasharti AloomSheikh Barkat Ali and Sons for Punjab Textbook Board.

McGrew, A.G., & Hill, D. (2002). *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance.* New Jersey: John Wiley .

Metcalf, B. (1989). *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband. 1860-1900.* Karachi: Royal Book Company.

Mitchell, K. (2006). Neoliberal Governmentality in the European Union: Education, Training and Technologies of Citizenship. *Environment and Planning D Society and Space, 24(3),* 389-407.

Muasharti Aloom Chauthi Jamat kay liay. (2002). Lahore: Haidery Press for Punjab Textbook Board. .

Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas for Grade 4. (1965). Karachi: Anwar Book Depo.

Muasharti Aloom Ka Practical Atlas Grade 3. (1965). Karachi: Anwar Book Depo.

Musharraf, P. (2004). A Plea of Enlightened Moderation. Wahington:Washinton Post.

McGinn, N., & Welish T. (1999). *Decentralization of education: Why, When, What and How?,* Paris: UNESCO.

Nadavi, H. (1979). *Hindustan ki kadeem Darasghan.* Lahore.: Maktab aKharvar Muslim Masjid.

Nair, P. (2008). The State and Madrasas in India. *Religion and Development Research Programme*. University of Birmingham, Birmingham,, UK: University of Birmingham.

Naseem, M. A. (2010). *Education and Gendered Citizenship in Pakistan.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nasr, S. H. (2010). *Islam in the Modern World : Challeged by West, Threatened by Fundamentalist, Keeping Faith with Tradition.* New York: Harper Collin Publisher.

Nurullah, S., & Naik, J. P. (1953). *A Students' History of Education in India, 1800-1965.* Calcutta: Macmillan and Co. Limited.

Nauman, S. (2015). Investing in Education: Pakistan as a Traditional Society in a Modern World. *Journal of Education and Educational Development*, 2(1), 50-65.

Naveed, H. (2016, November 16). The bleak notion of education in Pakistan. *Daily Pakistan Global* . Lahore: Daily Pakistan .

Nayyar, A. H. (1998). Madrasah Education: Frozen in Time. In P. Hoodbhoy, *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan.* Karachi: Oxford University.

Nayyar, A. H. (2013). *A Missed Opportunity Continuing Flaws in the New Curriculum and Textbooks After Reforms.* Islamabad: Jinnah Institute .

Nayar, A. H., & Salim, A. (2006). *A citizen's review of the national education policy.* Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Nayyar, A. H., & Salim, A. (2002). *The Subtle Subversion the State of Curricula and Textbooks.* Islamabad: Sustainable Development Policy Institute.

Noman, O. (1998). *The Political Economy Of Pakistan 1947-85.* London: KPI Limited.

Olssen, M., & Codd, J.A. (2004). *Education Policy Globalization, Citizenship and Democracy.* London: SAGE Publications.

Olssen, M., & Peters, M. A. (2007). Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: from the free market to knowledge capitalism. *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(3), 313-345 .

Paracha, F. N. (2008, 2 10). *Student politics: a brief history.* Retrieved from Dawn: https://www.dawn.com/news/881731

Pakistan, GOP. (1947). *Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference.* Karachi: Ministry of the Interior, Education Division.

Pakistan, GOP. (1951). *Proceedings of the educational conference.* Karachi: Education Division.

Pakistan, GOP. (1954). *First Five Years Plan.* Karachi: Pakistan Press' Ministry oflnterior (Education Division).

Pakistan, GOP. (1959). *Report of the Commission on National Education.* Karachi : Governmen Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (1969). *Proposals for a new educational policy.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education and Scientific Research.

Pakistan, GOP. (1970). *The new education policy of the government of Pakistan.* Islamabad : Ministry of Education and Scientific Research .

Pakistan, GOP. (1972). *The Education Policy 1972.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (1978). *Sargodha Report.* Islamabad: Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Pakistan, GOP. (1979). *National Education Policy and Implementation Programme.* Islamabad : Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (1992). *National Education Policy 1992.* Islamabad: MInistry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (1995). *National Curriculum for English for Classes IX-X.* Islamabad: National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (1995). *National Curriculum for Social Studies for Classes I-V.* Islamabad: National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (1998). *National Education Policy, 1998-2008.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2000). *Education Sector Reforms Action Plan 2000-2003.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2001). *Education Sector Reform: Action Plan 2000-3.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2002). *National Curriculum for Pakistan Studies for Classes IX-X.* Islamabad: Federal Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2002). *Establishment of computer labs in secondary.* Islamabad: Ministry of Science and Technology.

Pakistan, GOP. (2002). *National Curriculum for English for Classes IX-X.* Islamabad: Federal Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2002). *National Curriculum for Social Studies for Classes I-V.* Islamabad: Federal Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2003). *Annual Report on Higher Education.* Islamabad: Higher Education Commission .

Pakistan, GOP. (2003). *National Plan of Action for Education for All, 2001-2015.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education in collaboration with UNESCO. .

Pakistan, GOP. (2004). *Annual Pakistan Education Statistics Reports.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2004). *Annual Report on Higher Education.* Islamabad: Higher Education Commission.

Pakistan, GOP. (2004). *Education Sector Reform Action Plan 2001-2002-2005-06.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2005). *Annaul Report on Higher Education.* Islamabad: Higher Education Commission .

Pakistan, GOP. (2005). *Educational Census Report of Pakistan 2005.* Islamabad: Federal Bureau of Statistics..

Pakistan, GOP. (2006). *National Curriculum Pakistan Studies for Grades IX-X.* Islamabad: Federal Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2006). *Delegate Brief - National Education Conference.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2006). *National Curriculum for English for Grades I-XII.* Islamabad: Federal Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2007). *National Curriculum for Social Studies for Grades I-V.* Islamabad: Federal Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2007). *Evaluation Report of Madrassa Reforms Project.* Islamabad: Planning Commission Projects Wing.

Pakistan, GOP. (2007). *National Education Policy Draft.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2007). *National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2008). *Higher Education Commission Achievement Report 2008.* Islamabad: Higher Education Commision.

Pakistan, GOP. (2008). *Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey 2007-08.* Islamabad: Federal Bureau of Statistics.

Pakistan, GOP. (2009). *National Education Policy.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Pakistan, GOP. (2009). *Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey 2008-09.* Islamabad: Federal Bureau of Statistics.

Pakistan, GOP. (2009). *Research Study on Technical and Vocational Education in Pakistsan at Seconday Level.* Islamabad: Ministry of Education and UNESCO.

Pakistan, GOP. 2010). *Annual Report on Higher Education 2010.* Islamabad: Higher Education Commision.

Pakistan, GOP. (2010). *Eighteen Amendment in Constitution of 1973.* Islamabad: National Assembly of Pakistan.

Pakistan, GOP. (2010). *Higher Education Commission Achievement Report 2010.* Islamabad: Higher Education Commission.

Pakistan, GOP. (2010). *Pakistan Economic Survey, 2009-10.* Islamabad: Ministry of Finance.

Pakistan, GOP. (2011). *Pakistan education statistics 2010-11*. Islamabad: Academy of Educational Planning and Management.

Pakistan, GOP. (2016). *Higher Education Commission Annual Plan 2015-16.* Islamabad: Higher Education Commission.

Paracha, S. A. (2003). *Devolution Plan in Pakistan Context, implementation and issues.* Budapest: Open Society Institute.

Peshkin, A. (1963). The Shaping of Secondary Education in Pakistan. *History of Education Quarterly*, 3(1), 4-18 .

Powell, Walter W., & Snellman, K. (2004). The Knowledge Economy. *Annual Review of Sociology, 30(1),* 199-220.

Qasim, A. M. (2005). *Tarikh Qadim Madaris Arbia.* Multan: Maktaba-i- Qasmia.

Rahim, M. A. (1982). *Social and cultural history of Benga.* Dhaka: Bangla Academy .

Rahman, K. (2002). *Pakistan Religious Education Institutions: An Overview.* Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.

Rahman, T. (1996). *Language and politics in Pakistan* . Karachi : Oxford University Press.

Rehman, M.H., & Moosa, S. (2013). Critical Analysis of the Educational Policies of Pakistan. *The Dialogue*, VIII (3), 248-260.

Raza, D. M. (2005, September 21). Human Resource Development . *Human Resource Development.* Islambad: Daily Dawn.

Reich, R. B. (1993). *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Rein, M. (1983). *From Policy to Practice.* London : Macmillan,.

Reinicke, W. H. (1998). *Global Public Policy. Governing without Government.* Washington: Brookings Inst. Press.

Reus-Smit, C. (2005). Constructivism. In A. L.-S. Scott Burchill, *Theories of International Relations* (pp. 188-211). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan .

Riaz, A. (2008). *Faithful Education: Madrassahsin South Asia.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Robinson, F. (2001). *Spiritual Middlemen: The Ulama of Farangi Mahal and Islamic Culture in South Asia.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Roof, D. J. (2015). Problems of Common Interest: The Shaping of Education in Pakistan, 1970-2014. *Pakistan Journal of Commerce and Social Sciences*, 9(1), 35-51.

Rosenau, J. (1992). "Governance, Order and Change in World Politics". In J. N.-O. Czempiel, *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (pp. 1-29). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenau, J. N. (1999). Toward an ontology for global governance. In M. H. Sinclair, *Approaches to global governance theor* (pp. 287-301). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Saigol, R. (1995). *Knowledge and identity: Articulation of gender in educational discourse in Pakistan.* Lahore: ASR Publications.

Saigol, R. (2000). *Symbolic Violence: Curriculum, Pedagogy and Society.* Lahore: SAHE.

Saigol, R. (2003). *Becoming a Modern Nation: Educational Discourse in Early Years of Ayub Khan (1958-1964).* Islamabad: Council of Social Science.

Saigol, R. (2003). History, social studies and civics and the creation of enemies. In S. A. Zaidi, *Social Science in Pakistan in the 1990s* (pp. 159-200). Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences.

Saleem, S. M. (1989). *Handustan Min Moslamanan Ka Nizam-e-Talim wa Tarbiat.* Lahore: Islamic Publicalion.

Sandhu, A. M. (2012). Politics of Women's Education in Pakistan: An Analysis of Government Policies and their Implementation . *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 113-136.

Sarup, M. (1993). *An Introductory Guide to Post-structuralism and Postmodernism.* Loughborough: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Schecter, D. (2010). *The Critique of Instrumental Reason from Weber to Habermas.* New York: Continuum.

Sajjad, M., & Khalid, S.M. (1995). *Yaksan Nizam-e-Taleem.* Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies.

Schwandt, T. A. (2003). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretativism, hermeneutics and social constructionism. In N. D. Lincoln, *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and issues* (pp. 292-331). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Seth, S. (2000). A postcolonial world. In G. F. O'Hagan, *Contending Images of World Politics.* London: Macmillan.

Shabir, G., & Khan, A. (2012). Reforming the Madrassah System. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 32(1), 147-156 .

Shalaby, A. (1954). *History of Muslim Education.* Beirut: Dar-al-Kashaf.

Shami, P. A. (2005). *Education in Pakistan: Policies and Policy Formulation.* Islamabad: National Book Foundation, Ministry of Education.

Shami, P. A. (2008). *Education Measurement: Assessment and Evaluation.* Islamabad: National Book Foundation.

Shams, F. A. (1999). *Muasharti Aloom Zila Lahore Teesri Jamaat kay liye* . Shams, F. A. (1999). Muasharti Aloom Zila Lahore Teesri Jamaat kay liye [Social Studies District Lahore forLahore: Shams, F. A. (1999). Muasharti Aloom Zila Lahore Teesri Jamaat kay liye [Social Studies District Lahore New Crescent Publishers for Punjab Textbook Board.

Shaukat, A. (2013, September 29). Is the 18th Amendment serving education? *Is the 18th Amendment serving education?* . Islamabad: The Express Tribune.

Siddiqa, A. (2010). *Is the youth in Elite Universities in Pakistan Radical?* Islamabad: Heinrich Boll Stiftung Pakistan.

Siddiqui, S. (2010, October 11). 18th Amendment and education. Islamabad *:Daily Dawn*.

Siddiqui, S. (2010). *Rethinking education in Pakistan: perceptions, practices and possibilities.* Karachi: Paramount Publishing Enterprise.

Sidiqui, S. (2012). *Education, Inequalities and Freedom: A Socio-Politcal Critique.* Islamabad: A Narratives Publication.

Siddiqui, S. (2016). *Education Policies in Pakistan Politics, Projections, and Practice.* Islamabad : Oxford University Press.

Sikand, Y. (2005). *Bastions of the Believers: Madrasas and Islamic Education in India.* New Dehli: Penguin Global .

Spring, J. (2008). Research on Globalization and Education. *Review of Educational Research, 78*(2), 330-363.

Stöber, G. (2007). Religious Identities Provoked: The Gilgit 'Textbook Controversy' and its Conflictual Context. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 29(4), 389–411.

Tahira, I. (2004). Local Government in Pakistan(A Comparative Study of Zia-ul-Haq and Pervaiz Musharraf Regime). *Pakistan Research journal, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar*, 89-116.

Trowler, P. (1998). *Education Policy.* Sussex: Sussex: The Gildredger.

Turan, S. (2011). Plato's Concept of Education in 'Republic' and Aristotle's Concept of Education in 'Politics'. *Education and Science*, 36(162), 31-38.

UNESCO (2005). *Decentralization of Education in Pakistan.* Hyderabad: Administrative Staff College of India.

UNESCO (2010). *Why Gender Equality in Basic Education in Pakistan.* Islamabad: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Warin, J. & Muldoon, J. (2009). Wanting to be 'known': Redefining self awareness through an understanding of self- narration processes in educational transitions. *British Educational Research Journal*, 35(2), 289-303.

Waterson, A. (1963). *Planning in Pakistan : organization and implementation.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Yasmin, F., & Hamid, A. (1981). Social Studies for Class 4. In F. H. Yasmin, *Social Studies for Class 4*. Lahore: Social Studies for Punjab Textbook Board.

Yechury, S. (1986). Educational Development in India. *Social Scientist*, 14(2), 3-23.

Zaidi, S. M. (2011). Polarisation of social studies textbooks in Pakistan. *The Curiiculum Journal*, 22(1), 43-59.

Zaidi, S. M. (2013). *Madrassa Education in Pakistan: Controversies, Challenges and prospects (Report No.3).* Haslum: Centre for International and Startegic Analysis.

Zaman, M. Q. (1999). *Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University.

Zaman, M. Q. (2004). *The Ulama in contemporcry Islam; custodians of change.* Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Zia, S. U. (2010). *Impact of Education Policies on Religious Minorities in Pakistan 1947-2010.* Karachi: South Asia Forum for Human Rights.

Zia, R. (2002). Pakistan Religious Education Institutions: An Overview. Prospects, 33(2) *165-178*.

Zakar, M. Zakria, & Qureshi, S. (2013). Universal Primary Education in Pakistan: constraints and challenges. *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, 28(2), 427-444.

Ziring, L. (1997). *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History.* Karachi: Oxford University Press..

Ziring, L. (2003). *Pakistan: At the Crosscurrent of History.* London: Oneworld.

Appendix

Interview Guide

Profile

Name

Background

Experience in Education

Position in Education Ministry

Questions

1. What is education policy, in your opinion? Or What cultural, philosophical and religious foundations of education policy in Pakistan)
2. How does government in Pakistan pursue education policy in construction of Pakistani identity?
3. How does change in government influences the process of education policy making in Pakistan?
4. What extent change in policy directions impact upon curriculum and construction of Pakistani identity?
5. How do you perceive Zia ul Haq's policy changes in education and its impact on curriculum and construction of Pakistani identity particularly in context of muslim Ummah?
6. How did education policy reforms integrate madrasahs to mainstream education?
7. To What extent successive governments pursue Zia's educational policy inputs?
8. Why did Musharraf initiate the curriculum and madrasas reforms?
9. To what extent did the tragic event of 9/11 influence the process of curriculum reform in Pakistan?
10. To what extent did curriculum of 2002 maintain status of islamization in its contents?
11. How did Musharraf's agenda of enlightened moderation impact the education policy and curriculum making?
12. To what extent did the curriculum of 2006 alter the discourse of contents in comparison to 2002 curriculum?

13. How did the slogan of 'Enlightened Moderation' raised by Musharraf, played role in reforming madrassa education in Pakistan?
14. Why did Musharraf introduce reform in higher education?
15. How the formation of higher education commission is fruitful for knowledge economy and construction of Neo Liberal citizenship?
16. How did the education sector reform raised by Musharraf, played role in construction of neo liberal citizenship in Pakistan?