

# Education Policies, Discourse of Ideology and the Construction of National Identity in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis

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Abstract

National Governments have controlled education policy to construct national identity according to the agenda of the government of the time. Education policy promotes discourse of ideology to construct national identity. Islam has always influenced formulation of education policies in Pakistan. This article explores the impact of change in governments upon discourse of ideology in education policies in the construction of national identity. It is based on primary data collected from education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1979, 1992, 1998 and 2009. Discourse analysis reveals the fact that governments in Pakistan have used divergent discourses of Islamic ideology. The discontinuity in discourse of Islamic ideology has obstructed nation-building resulting in identity crisis. This research suggests that governments should follow identical discourse of ideology in education policies for nation-building with exigencies of time rather than using divergent policies.

**Key Words:** Education Policy, Enlightened Moderation, Islamic Ideology, Muslim Ummah, National Identity, Regime

#### Introduction

Education policy is the main instrument for nation-building (Kazi, 1994) as it promotes government plans to shape the mind of masses in the light of national ideology (Siddiqui, Education Policies in Pakistan Politics, Projections, and Practice, 2016). Therefore, every national government tries to formulate education policy to construct national identity according to the needs of time. The educational history of Pakistan has revealed that each government has attempted 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 (Shami, 2005). This quest for nation-building has led every government plan to promote specific discourse of ideology of Pakistan to construct Pakistani identity as per manifesto of that particular government. Although, governments in Pakistan have used Islam as ideology of Pakistan in every education policy (Dr. Waqar-un-Nisa Faiz, 2012). However, every government has followed a divergent approach for political interpretation of Islam in discourse of ideology as per needs of time and their political priorities. The discourse of ideology in education policies has witnessed a stark shift for identity from "South Asian" to "Muslim Ummah context" and then to "Enlightened Pakistani context" due to changing priorities of governments for nation-building(Zia, 2010). Every government has tried to influence and manipulate discourse of ideology in quest of controlling mind set to strengthen its regime rather than focusing upon the process of nation-building. Thus, discourse of Pakistani identity has been continuously changing with the exigencies of the time with changing political plans of the established governments (S.H.Ali, 2009). This trend of changing priorities of Pakistani identity has not only influenced the process of nation-building but also created sense of insecurity among minorities and women(Saigol, Knowledge, and identity: Articulation of gender in educational discourse in Pakistan, 1995).

This research has been divided into three categories by keeping their political manifesto and the role aligned with the construction of a certain type of Pakistani identity. The first category includes the education policies of

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1947, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972 that acknowledge the liberal narrative of Islam in identity formation and focuses on the construction of Pakistani identity 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) under the Islamization process emphasizes the construction of Pakistani identity in the context of Muslim Ummah and attempts to link the Pakistani culture with the culture of Holy Places. The third category is developed from education policy of 2009 which interprets Islam under the banner of Enlightened Moderation to construct Pakistani identity in south Asian context as being vibrant and enlightened citizens for the development of society.

## Research Methodology

This research is qualitative in nature. It is based on both primary and secondary data. However, it is mostly based on policy statements taken from education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970, 1972,1979, 1992, 1998 and 2009 promulgated by different governments according to their political priorities to meet the changing social-political dynamics of the time. This research has used discourse analysis for analysis technique as it provides a frame of narrative for particular text used as a discourse in policy documents.

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

The first category has been informed from education policies of 1947, 1959, 1969, 1970 and 1972 promulgated by governments on the basis of their political priorities. Each government had introduced education policy by following its own political interpretation of discourse of ideology influenced by Islam. However, education policies introduced in 1969 and 1972 were more focused to promote discourse of ideology in Muslim context as compared to education policies of 1947, 1959 and 1970.

#### First Educational Conference 1947

The First Educational conference occupied a distinct place in the construction of Pakistani identity as it used the Islamic ideology as a discourse of identity to indoctrinate the values of social democracy, equality, social justice, and universal brotherhood to construct undivided and loyal citizens (Pakistan, 1947, p. 20). It emphasized that all citizens were equal despite all differences including caste, ethnicity, and religion (Pakistan, 1947, p. 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, p. 21). 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, p. 6). This education 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, p. 6). The government has rather used Islam as an instrument of developing welfare state with the prevailing custom of law. It assimilated spiritual and social education to develop social harmony for peaceful co-existence. 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, p. 6). The policy document tried to construct Pakistani nationality by considering all religious differences within Pakistan. The prime aspect of 1947 educational conference was to construct Pakistani identity, not on the basis of religious association. It instead maintained space between the Pakistani identity and religious identity rather than merging the Pakistani citizenship and religious identity into one band.

#### 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 analyzed 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 as Islam teaches honesty, equality and social justice which influences society's progression and prosperity to ultimately overcome the societal problems of poverty and distress(Pakistan, 1959, p. 11). According to the policy document, 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, p. 114). The policy focused on the construction of Pakistani identity 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, p. 209). Additionally, the policy was informed by liberal narrative of Islamic education to demonstrate Islam as a modern and rational religion(Pakistan, 1959, p. 210). This policy document provided a prototype of integrating Pakistani citizenry 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 (S.Zia, 2010). Sharif's report had followed the footprints of its predecessor policy in promoting liberal discourse of identity.

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).

### 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 identity 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 the identity of Pakistan based on unified norms based on the teachings of Islam(Pakistan, 1969, p. 13). The 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 identity. 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 identity(Pakistan, 1969, p. 13). The education policy of 1969 had built discourse of Pakistani identity on Indian enmity and Islamic teaching which shifted previous established discourse of identity set by education policies(Shami, 2005). This policy document had not given space to minorities for their religious education by just focusing on teachings of Islam(Zia, 2010).

#### Education Policy of 1970 and Construction of Pakistani identity in the 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 into 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, p. 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, p. 2). This policy accepted that Islamic values could only develop virtues of unity, tolerance, and progress(Pakistan, 1970, p. 15). Education policy familiarized with Islamic morals would be the basis of informed and educated citizens in Pakistan(Pakistan, 1970, p. 3).

The policy focused on the promotion of 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, p. 15)

## Education Policy 1972 and the restructuring of Pakistani Identity

The education policy of 1972 had used Islam as a factor of national cohesion and pursing Islamic values in instructing Pakistan citizens informed by social democracy and social harmony(Pakistan, 1972, p. 2). The education system was, therefore, a system to provide a platform for individuals to reform their lives in accordance with the Islamic ideology(Pakistan, 1972, p. 1). The foremost and distinct character of the 1972 policy was utilizing television and radio as means to broadcast educational programs to train people for the recitation of Holy Quran so as to foster harmony and cohesion among the Muslim of Pakistan(Pakistan, 1972, p. 20). The policy employed a unified education system by nationalizing all private institutions including Missionaries and Anjumans schools and colleges(Kazi, 1994). This policy document had promoted narrative that whole education of Pakistan would be informed from teachings of Islam to construct egalitarian society(Shami, 2005). This policy paper had narrow down the scope of Pakistani identity to Muslims while providing limited space to non-Muslim in the sphere of Pakistani identity (Zia, 2010).

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

The second category is developed on the basis of education policies promulgated in 1979, 1992 and 1998. This category of education policies of 1979, 1992 and 1998 had followed the political agenda of Islamization introduced by Zia Regime. 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 Muslims.

# 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 the 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, p. 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 forging the notion of Muslim Ummah(Pakistan, 1979, p. 48). The policy provided a framework for introducing Shariah faculty at Quaid-e-Azam University for improving the higher education research embedded in the realm of Islamic education. The education policy of 1979 had adopted scheme of mosque school to construct Pakistani identity under banner of Muslim Ummah(Kazi, 1994). 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, p. 8). Mosque schools were allocated a PTC teacher along with an imam who taught the Quran and Islamic studies. It would also be helpful in creating committed and faithful Muslims.

This piece of legislation had a separate chapter for female education which was titled as Education of Female. The government through this chapter adopted a plan of Mohalaha schools to inculcate Islamic values among female students (Saigol, 1995). These Mohalaha schools were familiar to mosque schools and were introduced to teach home economically, Quran and Islamic studies to female students to make loyal and faithful female Muslims (Pakistan, 1979, p. 14). This policy document had thoroughly ignored the minorities from the sphere of Pakistani identity. Furthermore, it promoted narrative that education institutions were established to provide education to Muslim students and to promote Islamic education only (Zia, 2010).

Education Policy of 1992 and Construction of Pakistani Identity: The education policy of 1992 followed the imprints of the previous policy and emphasized the construction of Pakistani identity in the context of Muslim Ummah(Pakistan, 1992, p. 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, p. 14). Furthermore, it had directed to introduce Muslim Social Studies as subject to create Pakistani identity into Muslim Ummah context.

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 that contained the verses of Holy Quran cited as reference to support the policy statements (Dr. Waqar-un-Nisa Faiz, 2012). The forward of policy argued to be Muslim first and then Pakistani citizens (Pakistan, 1998, p. ii). The policy of 1998 was the only document where the justification for identity formation was exclusively based on Islam (Pakistan, 1998, p. 9). The citizenship of Pakistan is exclusively constructed in the context of Muslim Ummah. It seemed that policymakers had vigilantly ousted minorities from the ambit of Pakistani citizenship. This policy paper had promoted narrative that Pakistan only belong to Muslims wherein minorities had no stake in Pakistani society (Zia, 2010).

Table 1. Changing Notion of Pakistani Identity in Global Context

| Year | Title Page<br>Format                              | Type of Education<br>Emphasize | Compulsory Islamic<br>Education   | Identity Connection in the World |
|------|---|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 1947 | Just Ministry<br>Name is Written                  | Technical Education            | Class: I-VIII   | South Asian                      |
| 1959 | Just Ministry<br>Name is Written                  | Vocational and<br>Technical    | Class: I-VIII   | South Asian                      |
| 1969 | Just Ministry<br>Name is Written                  | Scientific and Technical       | Class: I-VIII   | Muslim Context                   |
| 1970 | Just Ministry<br>Name is Written                  | Scientific and Technical       | Class: I-VIII   | South Asian                      |
| 1972 | Just Ministry<br>Name is Written                  | Agro-Technical                 | Class: I-X  | Muslim Context                   |
| 1979 | Just Ministry<br>Name is Written                  | Scientific and Technical       | Class: 1 to degree level<br>including Profession<br>Education. Arabic was made<br>compulsory from V-VIII.                             | Universal Muslim Ummah           |
| 1992 | Just Ministry<br>Name is Written                  | Scientific and Technical       | Class: 1 to degree level<br>including Profession<br>Education. Arabic was made<br>compulsory from V-VIII.                             | Universal Muslim Ummah           |
| 1998 | IQRA in Arabic<br>is Written and<br>Ministry Name | Scientific and Technical       | Class: 1 to degree level<br>including Profession<br>Education. Arabic was made<br>compulsory from V-VIII.<br>Nazira Quran from I-VIII | Universal Muslim Ummah           |
| 2009 | Just Ministry<br>Name is Written                  | Scientific and Technical       | Class: 1 to degree level<br>including Profession<br>Education. Introduced<br>Ethics as Subject as from<br>Elementary Level.           | Global Context                   |

Source: Education Policies, Government of Pakistan

### Education Policy and Construction of Enlightened Pakistani

The third category is shaped on the basis of education policy documents including Green Papers 2006, White Paper 2007 and education policy of 2009. These policy documents had witnessed most noticeable change in promotion of moderate Islam under the Enlightened Moderation launched by Pervez Musharraf. It had reflected discourse of modernity for construction of Pakistani identity. This category revealed the changing discourse of ideology from Islamization to enlightened moderation. It reflects political manifesto of government to develop pluralistic society for construction of Pakistani identity in global context.

## Green Paper 2006 and White Paper 2007 for Construction of Enlightened Pakistani

Musharraf regime had swapped narrative of Islamization with enlightened moderation to

overcome orthodoxy within society. His regime had initiated a consultation mechanism in the shape of green papers and a white paper for formulating education policy. His regime had introduced green papers and a white paper to promote his political manifesto of enlightened moderation for restructuring Pakistan identity. 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). In developing White Paper, policymakers showed allegiance to Islam by inviting chairman of Islamic ideological council as keynote speaker at national educational conference. Javed Ahmed Ghamdi who is renowned for his liberal and tolerant interpretation of Islam was chairman of Islamic ideology(Pakistan, 2006). The Green Paper presented progressive objectives of education by focusing the promotion of quality, tolerance, morality, respect, accountability, and access to education(Pakistan, 2006, p. 1). It is pertinent to mention that White Paper defined qualities of citizens who are inculcated through education. Education 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, pp. 44-45). According to narrative of White paper, education stands for constructing enlightened citizens who critical thinking, ready to play role in knowledge economy, to be more tolerant and have enough training to contribute in democratic process to make society vibrant. The most interesting and unique thing in White paper was a theme tilted "Religious Education" generally without mentioning the word 'Islamic" in the theme. It promoted broader agenda of religious education for all citizens and introduced subjects of ethics for non-Muslims.

It is noticeable that both green Papers 2006 and White Paper 2007 had promoted a liberal narrative to construct enlightened Pakistani in global context as per need of Musharraf regime.

#### The Education Policy of 2009 and Construction of Enlightened Pakistani

The education policy of 2009 was promulgated by the PPP government. The education policy of 2009 was informed from White Paper introduced in 2007 and contained the global directions for construction of citizenship in the context of changing society under the umbrella of Neo-Liberalism. The policy of 2009 promoted an all-inclusive narrative of identity by considering minorities as eminent part of citizenship through promoting universal brotherhood, tolerance, and equality(Pakistan, National Education Policy, 2009). It emphasized the measures to promote a gender-sensitive environment by eliminating discriminatory contents in textbooks and provided an appropriate seat in curriculum development team. This policy has clearly mentioned the that basic purpose of education is to construct children as proud citizen of Pakistan. It focused on education for creating enlightened 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(Pakistan, National Education Policy, 2009, p. 32).

However, the government inserted separate chapter titled "Islamic Education: Duty of Society and State" for Islamic Education(Pakistan, National Education Policy, 2009, p. 3). The chapter on Islamic Education: Duty of Society and State has presented stark shift in policy narrative on Islamic curriculum through encouraging more tolerant and pluralistic society via textbooks. This chapter emphasizes an inclusive curriculum scheme based on teaching Muslim personalities in addition to Nazra Quran. The focus of chapter is to encourage narrative of Haqooq-Ul-Ibaad by relinquishing narrative of Haqooq-Ul-Allah. It focuses on teachings of religion to have strong

faith in religion as well as to promote socio-cultural values to develop Pakistani society(National Education Policy, 2009, p. 9). It has a comprehensive agenda for promotion of minorities. This has provided framework for equality for all in educational activities at all levels and has promised to discourage all sorts of discrimination against minorities. This Policy promised 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, p. 18). This policy has elaborated importance of national cohesion by respecting each other's faith and religion and cultural and ethnic diversity(National Education Policy, 2009, p. 17). Education policy is unique in covering all problems of education and presenting feasible solutions to address these problems completely. This document is quite unique in character from its predecessor policy documents.

The following table 2 is going to present a comparison of education policy 2009 with previous education policies. Education policy was completely different from its predecessor education policies (1979, 1992 and 1998) especially in promoting pluralistic society to promote tolerance, harmony, and peaceful co-existence. It introduced separate subjects of ethics for minorities. This had given narrative of Pakistani identity in global context.

Table 2. Comparison of Education Policy 2009 with Previous Education Policy Documents

# **Education Policy of 2009**

- This policy is designed on the bases of Thematic Approach. It provides guidelines about Quality of education, Access to Education and Governance in education.
- 2. It has emphasized Childhood Early Education and is compulsory in all public schools.
- It has fixed 3-5 years age for Early Childhood Education
- 4. It has a change age requirement for primary school and fixed it from 6-10 years.
- 5. It has introduced the subject of Ethics or Moral education for Non-Muslim at Elementary.
- It emphasizes primary education to achieve target of 100 universal primary education by 2015.
- This policy takes innovative tactics for improving the school physical environment and the 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.
- It has replaced the world Muslim Ummah or Muslim brotherhood with universal brotherhood in the policy plan.
- 10. This policy has replaced word Muslims with citizen in policy narrative.
- 11. It focuses on the construction of a more pluralistic and tolerant society through current textbook reform.

# Previous Education Policies of 1947, 1959. 1969, 1970, 1972, 1979, 1992, 1998-2008.

- All previous Education policies were designed on a sector-based approach. Policies were having guidelines about sector wise education like
- 2. primary education, secondary education, technical education, and higher education.
- 3. The provision regarding Compulsory Childhood Early Education was missing in the previous policy document.
- 4. The age requirement for primary school was fixed from 5-9 years in previous education policy.
- The subject of Ethics or Moral education for Non-Muslim in course Guideline.
- 6. Previous policies focused on higher education.
- 7. This innovative was missing in previous policies.
- The element of private sector recognition in education sector was not acknowledged.
- 9. The education policy of 1979, 1992 and 1998 categorically promoted narrative of Muslim Ummah in policy plan.
- The policies of 1979,1992 and 1998 used the word Muslim instead of citizen in policy plan.
- 11. The education policy of 1979, 1992 and 1998 emphasized on construction of exclusively Muslim society.

#### Conclusion

In Pakistan, the education policies have been revealing various narratives in ideological discourse for the construction of Pakistani identity. Every regime has promulgated education policy with the object of constructing an ideal citizen for nation-building according to need of time. This change in ideological narrative of education policies had set a pattern of political vision to promote a particular narrative of national identity in Pakistan. The education policies have presented variance in promotion of the ideology of Pakistan from the south Asian to the Muslim Ummah context which ultimately influenced the process of identity in constructing a discrepant citizenry that overall badly affecting Pakistan. The first educational conference in 1947, being premiere has set pattern of constructing Pakistani identity 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 identity 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 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 promulgated under the influence of Islamization and have tried to redefine Pakistani identity based on the notion of Muslim Ummah. This discourse of the Muslim Ummah carries a narrative of Pakistani identity and citizenship only confined to a Muslim Pakistani. This shift in ideological narrative had impacted the process nation-building and created sense of insecurity for minorities in context of being Pakistani. These three education policies under auspices of Islamization have become the source of bigotry, violence and extremism which fabricated the peaceful co-existence within society. However, the narrative of Muslim Ummah was reversed in white paper for education 2007 under slogan of enlightened moderation which promoted narrative of enlightened Pakistani. It promoted discourse of ideology informed from Haqooq-ul-Ibad than Haqooq-ul- Allah to develop harmonious society for peaceful co-existence. Haqooq-ul-Ibad narrative has been encouraged to overcome violence, bigotry and extremism within society. The education policy of 2009 by following the footprint of 2007 policy document has promoted narrative of pluralistic society and tolerance for construction of enlightened Pakistani to transform society from orthodox to moderate one. This research suggests that government should formulate education policy in consultation with all stakeholders just like by Musharraf regime. The successive governments must follow the policy of previous government to maintain process of unanimous identity of Pakistan to achieve the goal of nation-building for the development of society rather than introducing their narrative which ultimately becomes troublesome for smooth process of Pakistani identity.

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