Nationalization of Education in Pakistan: Z. A. Bhutto’s Policy and Implementation

Mahboob Hussain and Yawar Haroon*

The history of education in Pakistan is the most significant topic which needs to be highlighted and examined. This paper thoroughly describes and explains various vistas of the policy of Nationalization of education that was adopted by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1972. The policy of Nationalization of education left long lasting impact on Pakistan’s society and culture. The paper also covers the effect of the policy on teachers and students and their reaction to the policy has been recorded historically. While there were some merits of the policy it also created difficulties for the educational institutions. These merits and demerits of the policy have also been studied in the course of discussion.

Key Words: Nationalization, Education, Privatization, Teachers, Students

Nationalization is a popular phrase in modern times that prevailing in global perspective but confusing concept that is hard to define. Even authors of volumes books on this topic have refrained from offering a definition of Nationalization. The reason is that the shades of Nationalization and particulars of its experience are so varied in different countries that no single definition can fit in all cases.

According to N. H. Akhtar, Nationalization should be associated with elimination of foreigners from domestic economic activity. Thus he states in Pakistani context. ‘Incidentally the word, ’ Nationalization ‘ is somewhat of a misnomer because it was stated that the foreign-controlled units would not be taken over and also the foreign portion of equity and management will remain intact. So, it was not really Nationalization in the comprehensive meaning attached to the term. It was simply a transfer of ownership and management from private sector to the public sector. (Akhter & Siddique, 1979:78 )

For Irfan-ul-Huq Nationalization has a very narrow meaning. According to him, "by nationalization one could simply mean the replacement of foreigners by nationals". (Irfan-ul-Huq,1987) The writers who considered nationalization in a broad perspective consider it a part of the wider movement of nationalism. One of such writer is Peter Brunel. According to him, “Nationalization comprises taking property into public ownership. It is defined as part of a more

*Authors are Assistant Professor of Department of History & Pakistan Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore & Lecturer at Govt. MAO College, Lahore – Pakistan
general movement or programme of radical domestic social and political as well as economic reforms.” (Burnell, 1985)

In Pakistani context while considerable works are available on general political history of Pakistan, very few books have included any material or chapter on the nationalization of education in Pakistan. The researchers who have focused the Z.A Bhutto era have not given sufficient information on the policy of Nationalization of educational institutions. Maksud-ul-Hassan Bukhari (Bukhari, 1993) elaborates the report of Hamood-ur-Rehman Commission with respect of education. Dawn E. Jones and Rodney W. Jones (Jones, 1977:78) describe the exploitation of privately-managed Anjuman in the educational institutions. Anjum Rahmani (Rahmani, 2006) Hafiz Muhammad Iqbal (Iqbal, 2011), Muhammad Iqbal (Iqbal, 1993) Abdul Rasheed (Rasheed, 1995) and Muslim Sajjad (Sajjad, 1998) explore the efforts of Bhutto government with the concern of educational policies in general. Muhammad Ashraf (Ashraf, 2010) and Umme Salma Zaman (Zaman, 1981) depict the element of political instability and students unrest upon the system of education in Pakistan without focusing on nationalization. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi (Qureshi,1975) elaborates that state should provide universal, compulsory and free education which is the basic requirement for flourishing democracy and stability in the state, strengthens the argument of the study that the educational system and policy based on universal grounds to deal all citizens equally under the control of the state.

The writers, Louis D Hayes (Hayes, 1987), Naseem Jaffar Quddus (Quddus, 1990) and Ghulam Nabi Saqib (Saqib, 1983) pen down the presence of private educational institutions which was considered the standard of education provided the basis of exploitation and discrimination in the system of education. Ironically, no analyst has so far, attempted to examine the policy of nationalization of education in Pakistan. So this paper tries to answer the question; what were the causes and results of the policy of nationalization of educational institutions in Pakistan during Bhutto regime?

In Pakistan educational grievances were important catalysts in the coalescence of the anti-Ayub movement (1968-69). A new feature in the 1960s however was the activation of teacher’s organizations in the universities and government colleges and the growth of counterparts in private colleges and schools where exploitative practices existed. The roots of this new activism lay in the rapid expansion of education after partition, the distinctive educational role of refugees from India and socio-economic tensions arising from urbanization and economic growth under Ayub.
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The pre-nationalization scene was replete with the financial exploitation of teachers, fake and bogus salary structure, appointments of unqualified staff and no job security for the teaching and other staff in the private sector. The standards of education were fast deteriorating, till unrest and discontent among the teachers and students reached a crescendo in the 1968 against Ayub Khan’s military dictatorship where a popular slogan was the demand for nationalization of education.

The condition of private educational institutions became miserable with the concern of teaching staff. According to the reports the faculty members were given less salary package as compared to get signature on the statement which was more than the actual payment to the teaching staff member. This was the significance of the private sector which was making and adopting methods against the new education policy which was expecting as early as possible. (Amroze, 4 February 1972)

When Government decided to nationalize the privately-managed educational institutions, the management presented fake record to survive their educational institutions but the Government was fully aware of the actual conditions and such educational institutions could not exempt from the policy of nationalization and policy implemented collectively and those educational institutions got exemption from the policy of nationalization which were not running on commercial basis. (Ahmad, 2013) So that the stake holders have many expectations from the government and they openly speak out about upcoming education policy. The teachers associations demanded to remove the apprehensions of the private college teachers and demanded the nationalization of all the private colleges, equal salary packages at national level for the teachers, to finish the interference of foreign elements in educational institutions, fifty percent representation of the teachers members in various governing bodies of the educational institutions and medical & residence facilities to the children of teaching staff. (Nawa-i-Waqat, 1 March 1992)

The Chief Martial Law Administrator issued new Martial Law Regulation No.118 on 29th March 1972 through which all the private educational institutions would take over by the Federal Government or Provincial Governments and this rule would implemented immediately, according to that the Federal Government would take over all private educational institutions with all assets in the area of Federal Capital while all the Provincial Governments would also take over all the private educational institutions from 1st of September 1972. (Regulation, 118) Under this regulation government nationalized 176 colleges. Among those 78 were in Punjab and 98 were in Sind. (Pakistan Times, 1 September 19972) There was not any private college...
was nationalized in Baluchistan while only one was in the N.W.F.P. The Government had specified 1,180 crore rupees for the accomplishment of the nationalization policy so that the children of the poor and underprivileged class would be able to get education easily. (Pakistan Times, 1 September 1972) It was the first revolutionary step regarding education in the history of Pakistan when all the private educational institutions nationalized immediately on a vast level.

The administrators of the private educational institutions had not any right to appoint any faculty member after 15th of March 1972 and pay scale of faculty member of all the nationalized institutions equal to the government educational institutions; there was not any kind of compensation to the administration of the private educational institutions. Those who violated the Martial Law regulation during implementation would be given punishment of three years imprisonment or fine and in some cases both kinds of punishments. (Pakistan Times, 30 March 1972) According to rules no one could transfer or sale all kinds of assets affiliated to the nationalized educational institutions. If any administrator of the nationalized institutions had transferred or sale the property affiliated to the nationalized institutions after 15th of March 1972 it would be considered abrogated. All kinds of these amendments related to the property matters and service rules would be considered null and wide. (Amroze, 30 March 1972)

The Federal Minister of Education described in assembly session about the process of educational nationalization; on the question of Mohammad Zafra Ahmad Ansari about the role of Provincial Government while implementing the nationalization policy that Provincial Government had powers to nationalize the educational institutions under MLR No. 118. (National Assembly Debates, 1974) Pirzada answered in the assembly session on the question of Amirzada Khan that process of nationalization would accomplish with the co-operation of Federal and Provincial representatives all matters would discuss under the Ministry of education. The sources especially financial matters would also be discussed at Provincial and Federal level. The main responsibility was the Provincial Government to implement the policy; the Federal Government would provide funds and distributing responsibility was the Provincial Government. (National Assembly Debates, 1972)

Ch. Mumtaz Ahmad described in the assembly session after the implementation of the policy that when majority of people would get education and exploitation would also come to an end the people who remained victim of exploitation would become aware that no one exploit them again. They would become capable to counter against the exploiters on the base of better education. The system would produce responsible citizens and the system
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would become helpful for making progress in the country.(National Assembly Debates, 1974a)

If we focused on Punjab, there were 78 recognized private colleges. There were 60 colleges for boys and 18 colleges for girls. Among these private educational institutions 45 colleges were degree, two law colleges and one commerce college.(Pakistan Times, 2 September 1972)

During the process of nationalization Lahore region consisted of Lahore, Multan and Bahawalpur Divisions while Rawalpindi region was consisting of Rawalpindi and Sargodha Divisions. According to the nationalization scheme the principals of the concerned colleges had been given special powers to control and manage their concerned colleges. The Government appointed many communication officers of the Education Department to maintain co-ordination between Principal and Government to resolve problems. (Pakistan Times, 31 August 1972) These officers provided their services to make successful the process of implementation of educational nationalization policy in Punjab. At the early stage of nationalization of private colleges, all kinds of information collected the communicator officers and they had authority to manage the administration of newly nationalized colleges.

The Governor of the Punjab amended the MLR No.118 using his special powers through the clause of 135 of Interim Constitution and issued an ordinance related to the matter of rights property, assets of the nationalized educational institutions and according to the amendment the properties, rights, and assets of the private educational institutions would be under the control of Provincial Government and paragraphs of 9 and 11 deleted from the regulation. (Amroze, 1 September 1972)

The colleges which the Government had decided to nationalize including all missionary colleges in Punjab were like Forman Christian College Lahore, Kinnaird College Lahore, Murray College Sialkot and Gordon College Rawalpindi. According to the nationalization scheme no private or missionary college was given exemption, although the management of various colleges applied for exemption. According to the implementation of nationalization policy no commercial, vocational, religious and professional educational institutions were nationalized only arts, science and law colleges were nationalized according to the new education policy. The Government also decided not to take control of the buildings of various religious institutions. (Pakistan Times, 31 August 1972)

Provincial Education Minister, Dr. Abdul Khaliq described the condition of the colleges prior to the policy of nationalization those private colleges especially
missionary colleges were receiving more than the Government decided ratio in form of different donations in form of heavy fee charges from the students. Union fund was also under the supervision of the administrators Dr. Khaliq mentioned about an established organization which demanded permission to use union fund otherwise it would not be possible to pay salaries to the faculty members. The administrator of Gujrat College obtained 62 thousand loans from union fund and provided accommodation to such type of people who had not any link to the college and their only function was to threaten the faculty members of the college. The Minister informed that after nationalization of all the private colleges the fee from the students would charge according to the instruction of the Government.

In phase second the Punjab Government decided to take control of eighteen colleges which were under the control of municipal committees and local councils which were considered nationalized from 1st July1973. Local Government and Social Welfare Department issue a notification that Governor ordered to take over Municipal Colleges according to Section 21 of the Municipal Administration Ordinance and Article 37 of Basic Democratic Order. The Municipal Colleges which were to be nationalized were 18 according to the notification these colleges would be under the control and management of the Provincial Education Department and staff of these institutions would be like Government employees and they would have the facility to transfer from one college to another college. The financial matters of the colleges were responsibility of the Provincial Government in the replacement of Municipal Committees. (Pakistan Times, 25 July 1973)

The previous decision about Municipal Colleges was that these colleges would hand over to Education Department on 1st June 1973 but due to the problems of employees Government decided to postpone nationalization of M.C up to 1st July 1973. The M.C. had been managed by the Local Government and Social Welfare Department decided that salaries of the staff would pay on 1st July of the previous month of June according to the set up of local body administration. The details and information related to M.C. conveyed to Punjab Education Department and further salaries of the employees of M.C. would receive on 1st August for the month of July and further proceedings would be under Punjab Education Department. (Pakistan Times, 1 August 1973) The Punjab Education Department decided to give salary package of Rs 450 to all the lecturers of the nationalized colleges monthly. The Government also decided that those teachers who had been receiving salaries less than fix amount since the implementation of nationalization policy would also provided recovery in the form of arrears. There were three hundred lecturers who would get benefit of such type of
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decision. This announcement would be implemented from 1st of October 1973. (Masawat, 3 August 1973)

Reaction against Nationalization

The reaction against the policy of nationalization was mainly from the management of private educational institutions. First side reaction was expected because they opposed and criticized the policy on the grounds to protect their financial interests. (Pakistan Times, 1 September 1972) On the other side by and large the policy of nationalization was welcomed even opposition was supported the policy, the session of the Punjab Muslim League held under the presidency of Rana Nasrullah Khan, In the the participants of the PML showed their expression of satisfactory over the process of the new education policy making. (Nawa-i-Waqat, 11 January 1992)

The President of West Pakistan College Teachers Association Prof. Munir Ahmad emphasized upon the implementation of the policy of nationalization of private educational institutions and administrators were to be directed to follow the instructions of the government related to the rights of the faculty members. He further pointed out that various administrators of various colleges were using different methods to fail the educational policy. The president also pointed out the condition of Kulyat-ul-Banat College Lahore, Islamia Razvia College Haroonabad and Islamia College Railway Road Lahore. Prof. Munir Ahmad highlighted that in spite of the surety of the education minister to provide grant of thirty thousand to resolve the financial crisis of the educational institutions. Now administration had denied paying the concerned grant. The administration of Haroon Abad College banned the entrance of two professors Abdul Khaliq Tanveer and Abdul Aziz Zafar in the college campus while the education minister gave instruction to resolve the issue related to the concerned professors. In Islamia College Railway Road teachers could not get their salaries for the month of May and administrator terminated two faculty members and gave extension to the previous principal of the college. Prof. Munir highlighted that if the activities of the administrators continued the policy of educational nationalization would not be successful. (Amroze, 8 June 1972)

WPCTA Vice President Prof. Fazal ur Rehman also pointed out the aspects of suspense and curiosity about the implementation of the policy. The students and teachers were taking the educational policy as the previous educational policies which remained up to announcement only and could not be implemented according to the given plan and target. (Amroze, 5 June 1972) General Secretary of WPCTA Muhammad Arif also appealed to the Government of the Punjab to announce the method of implementation of educational nationalization as early as possible. (Amroze, 22 May 1972)
All the representatives of various forums were deeply observing the situation concerning to the implementation of the educational nationalization policy and they were actively participating in the matters of the policy. They were giving direction to the government related to the policy which was essential and necessary at the time being.

Pakistan Socialist Party (PSP) organized a meeting under the President C. R. Aslam and resolution passed that the government had to take positive step with the concern of implementation of MLR and through step the educational institutions would be able to get rid of conservative ideology and autocratic elements. (Amroze, 15 June 1972) These were the requirements from the various sides with the concern of policy implementation and when government could not take step immediately in the matter of implementation the pressure increased from various sides and everyone had suspicious view about the implementation of new educational policy.

The Education spheres welcomed the new education policy and pointed out that new era had started in the field of education now the people would be able to get better education by paying cheap dues. Prof. Zahoor Ahmad Secretary, Secondary Education Board Lahore, warm welcomed the new education policy. The President Prof. Munir Ahmad Khan, General Secretary, Muhammad Arif, Vice President Prof. Abdul Hai Nike of WPCTA. Prof. Fazal-ur-Rehman Usmani of College Teachers Association expressed their views over the nationalization of colleges and showed hopefulness about the bright future of the teachers it was expecting that the status of education would improve and new era would start in the education department. The Principal of Islamia College Railway Road Lahore, Dr A.D. Arshad expressed about the nationalization of colleges and pointed out that after the implementation of the nationalization policy the condition of the educational institutions would become better. (Amroze, 1 September 1972)

The representatives of student organizations National Students Federation, National Students Organization, Nawa-e-Talba, and Progressive Students Organization warm welcomed the policy of educational nationalization. Rashid Butt former vice president of Punjab University Student Union also welcome the step of educational nationalization and pointed out that there would be uniformity in the system of education (Amroze, 1 September 1972) after the implementation of the nationalization policy. The teachers of the private colleges celebrated the 1st September as the “Day of Deliverance” on Friday after the implementation of the nationalization policy. The representatives of WPCTA from the whole Province of the Punjab and gathered in Lahore the Provincial Capital in the form of procession. The procession marched towards the Governor House and thanked to the Governor of the Punjab Ghulam
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Mustafa Khar for taking this step of educational nationalization. The teacher torch bearers also marched in the form of procession at night from Masjid Shuda to Governor House. The participants of this procession raised placards with the statements of appreciation to the Government by taking the step of nationalization of private colleges. When this procession reached Governor House, Ghulam Mustafa Khar addressed to the teachers of procession and expressed that Government would also fulfill the other promises like education reforms and would not bear burden related to the reform program. The Governor also said that there was pressure upon the Government related to the implementation of the new education policy but Government fulfilled its promise. (Amroze, 2 September 1972)

The Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University Dr. Muhammad Ajmal expressed while addressing to the Principals and communication officers for the nationalized educational institution at Bukhari Auditorium of Government College during two days inauguration workshop. He appreciated the Government step of nationalizing all the private educational institutions and pointed out that all the necessary arrangements had made for the implementation of nationalization policy. He narrated that this step was taken to establish uniform status of education in the country. He further suggested that there was a need of encouragement for the intelligent students and teachers in the educational institutions. (Amroze, 9 September 1972)

Problems faced by the Educational Institutions after Nationalization

The condition of various educational institutions became worse after the announcement of the educational nationalization policy. One of those educational institutions was Islamia College Railway Road Lahore. The financial condition of this college became thin due to the mismanagement of the finance matters at least 4,000 students and 80 faculty members became victim of this financial crisis. This problem became serious when the grant of the government utilized improperly way and college reached to the stage of bankruptcy and was under heavy debt. The staff members could not receive their increments from last six months. This situation would create problem in the payment of the salaries of the staff members from the forthcoming months of May to September 1972. The Anjuman who run the affairs of the college was not paying twenty five percent shares in the matters of the administration in spite of private college ordinance while Anjuman demanded the grant of 2 lack rupees from the governing body of the college. (Pakistan Times, 13 April 1972) This problem could be resolved if Anjuman followed private college ordinance and paid the shares of twenty five percent in the administrative affairs of the educational institutions, the root cause of this financial problem.
was the autocratic conduct of the Anjuman related to the finance matters of educational institutions.

The Anjuman Hamayt-e-Islam tried his best to save the educational institutions which were under the administration of the Anjuman prior to the announcement of the nationalization policy the college governing body arranged two meetings and no decision was finalized due to the stubbornness of the administration and humiliated conduct against the teachers. The most important issue related to the faculty members of Islamia College Railway Road was the payment of the salaries and the teachers had not been receiving their salaries for last two months and this was the reason of restlessness among the faculty members and the teacher gave the threaten of hunger strike against the conduct of the administration. Similarly the administration of Islamia College Gujranwala and Zamindara College Gujrat had stopped the payment of the salaries to the faculty members. (Amroze, 5 July 1972)

The employees of Waqar un Nisa College for girls Rawalpindi had to face the financial problem as well. The teaching staff consisted of 55 members. All the faculty members could not receive their two months’ (March and April 1972) salaries. Other employees of the college also could not get their salaries of the month of April. After the announcement of the new educational policy the banks denied to pay any kind of debt to the college and this was the reason the college finance management could not handle the crisis related to the matter of salaries payment. (Amroze, 11 May 1972)

The same conditions were in Kulyat ul Banat College, Lahore which was under the management of Anjuman-i-Madrasatul Banat for last 21 years. The college was running by the Anjuman till the announcement of Private College Ordinance in 1970. After the announcement of this ordinance the college wing separated from school wing on the instructions of Director of Education and financial matters began to handle separately. After the separation of college wing the management stopped financial aid to the college wing and pretended to the excuses of the non availability of the installment of 5,000 rupees from the Rehabilitation Department. The amount which was collected from students in the form of fee which was the only source to pay salaries to the employees and perform other matters related to the management of the institutions. The meeting related to resolve financial matter called by the Director of Education and presided by Hanif Ramay the amount related to the Rehabilitation Department reduced in the meeting and management agreed to pay 5,000 rupees every month in the college account. The financial conditions of the institution became thin and 72,000 arrears of the faculty members could not be paid under the financial circumstances. The financial earnings of the
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college from the students of 1st year and 3rd year plus promised by management which was not less than the amount of 10,000 rupees in spite of all steps the financial condition of the college could not restore and the faculty members could not get their salaries from last six months. (Pakistan Times, 19 April 1972)

The finance of privately-managed institutions were also based upon donations and when Government announced the new education policy the process of donation stopped and administration of various colleges could not handle the situation and almost the staff members could not get their salaries for five months. (Rafiq, 2013)

The administration of educational institutions desired to disobey the MLR (which was supporting by the constitution) and their only aim to take unfair benefit by using this trick against the implementation of the policy. There were many incidents highlighted through newspapers that some educational institutions were not following the instructions of the government related to the matters of salaries, avoiding termination of the staff members of the educational institutions. The administrators were following their own will only and with the start of summer vacations in the commercial educational institutions all the teaching staff members were to be terminated from the services and it was considered that they had no any right of getting salaries during the summer vacations. The teaching staff members had to bear the hardships in the form of termination and none payment of salaries during the summer vacations under the instructions of the administrators and the teachers always raised their voice against this injustice. (Amroze, 25 June 1972)

The standing committee of WPCTA in emergency meeting demanded to make salaries arrangements of Kulyat ul Banat College faculty members because they had not been receiving salaries for last six months. In this meeting the appointment of administrator was also included in the demands of the standing committee otherwise all the teachers of private colleges would take the step of direct action. (Amroze, 23 April 1972)

The lecturers of Banat College threatened of hunger strike to the administration of the college if their demands would not be fulfilled; finally they decided to take this serious step from 16th April 1972 for their demands when administration, governing body and education department did not take notice of the problems of the college. Their demands were to the payment of six months salaries, restoration of promotion set up which was suspended due to the announcement of the new education policy and payment of salaries on the schedule of each month. (Amroze, 17 May 1972)
After the announcement of lecturers of Banat College for hunger strike, the Education Department of the Punjab decided to provide the grant of twenty thousand rupees to overcome the financial crisis issue. The faculty members could not receive their salaries and class work totally stopped due to the prevailing financial problems and teachers and other employees were not willing to perform their duties. The interpreter of the college management described about the background of this financial issue, when the administration of this college handed over to the governing body which was consisting of the governmental representatives after the announcement of the private college ordinance in 1970, before this the administration of the college was under Anjuman Madrassat-ul- Banat. There were 250 female students getting education while the strength of the teaching staff was consisting of twelve members. The total expenditures were estimated of ten thousand per month and income to the college was just three thousand rupees only while prior to the private college ordinance the financial burden of the college dealt through the income of Madrassat ul Banat and other madrasses under the administration. After handing over the college to governing body the share of Anjuman related to financial matters fix up to twenty percent and Anjuman had to pay fifty eight thousand rupees to overcome financial issue in spite of this the financial condition of the college was not satisfactory. (Nawa-i-Waqat, 19 May 1972)

When Education Department of the Punjab promised to provide financial grant the lecturer of Banat College quit their hunger strike which had been lasting for forty days. The main role played by the Education Minister Punjab Dr. Abdul Khalaq to settle the issue. The administration also promised to provide thirty thousand rupees grant from the Anjuman fund. (Amroze, 22 May 1972)

The system of governing body also introduced in private colleges to run the administrative and financial affairs of private colleges but the system could not give expected results and some colleges faced problems after the failure of the system and its result were observed during the implementation of nationalization of private colleges and Government had to bear the financial burden of governing body managed colleges. (Saeed, 2013)

**Conclusion**

After the announcement of the nationalization policy the process of implementation was discussed with details and implemented on 1st September 1972. All the private colleges were nationalized throughout the country. In order to make the process of nationalization affective, the Punjab Government appointed communication officers to bridge gaps between institutions and Government. After nationalization of the private colleges, the process of municipal colleges’ nationalization started on the demand of faculty members.
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of educational institutions. The step of nationalizing was taken collectively in educational institutions. This was the first foremost example of taking all privately managed educational institutions nationalized collectively and established the base of uniform system of education in the country. The Government machinery actively implemented nationalization policy in the educational institutions collectively which was a move of change in academic environment of the country.

Nationalization of education benefitted the disadvantaged class of teachers and groups of teachers got advantage from them. The educational institutions which were nationalized by Bhutto produced a variety of the students, a lot that in the next years and today is constructing Pakistan. The standard of education was increased and the poor people got benefit of the education imparted by the nationalized institution.

The nationalization of the education subsidized education and the government was enabled to grant various sector of the department of education. This enhanced the facilities for the schools, colleges and universities who were seeking for the betterment of infrastructure. Due to the nationalization of the education the education institutions got so resources that their buildings were facilitated by the state budget. The libraries, laboratories and science laboratories were built under the patronization of the government.

The most important of all was the job satisfaction of the teachers. After implementation of the nationalization teachers who were nationalized under the policy realized confidence while performing their service and circumstances in the field of education changed. Teachers were granted with the service structure that was same to all other government servants. This definitely increased the status and confidence of the teachers. Teachers felt job security which in turn enhanced job satisfaction among them. Education on the basis of the class distinction was stopped due to the nationalization of the education institutions at least for the time being, same system was introduced to maximum extent.

Common curriculum was adopted nationwide that created the national harmony and integrity and lessened the disruption and provincialism at least in the field of education. With the rise in the investment on education by the government the improvement in the literacy rate appeared. The parents and students who had to bear heavy dues could easily bear the expenditures of education. The uniform system of education was implemented where all students were acquiring same education.
Students and teachers welcomed the step taken by the government warmly because they had to face exploitation in the previous academic environment. After the announcement and implementation of nationalization policy they were feeling confidence for making progress and performing their responsibilities. The main element of educational commercialization vanquished in the educational circle where education was easiest way to become well to do in a short time.
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Martial Law Regulation 118.


