

## RELIGION AND POLITICS IN PAKISTAN: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ISLAMIZATION

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***Abstract:** Since inception of Pakistan, there is a very important liaison between religion and politics which reveal a historical perspective of Islamization in Pakistan. Islamization efforts consist of various religio-political and socio-economic notions and the role of political and religious parties and leadership is significant with regard to this ideological transition in society. Majority of governments deliberately exploited Islam in their political ideologies to secure personal goals which swayed the social structure of Pakistan. This article made an attempt to review historical background contributed in this national incongruity and an insight to this multi-perspective challenging notion of Islamization. It is evident from previous researches, how military exploits Islam as a tool to obtain extra constitutional powers and to change political structure of the state. Sectarian parties firmed their feet in political structure and they were conciliated through politicization of religion by different governments resulting in feeble unity and put society at greater risk of extremism and Talibanization. Such radical forces kept flourishing and lead to radicalism and terrorism. Since 72 years of inception, the vision of a Democratic Islamic state is still in wait to be true as it is a dream interrupted by the self-interested autocratic and religio-political leadership.*

**Keywords:** religion, politics, islamization, ulema, sectarianism, xtremism

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## Introduction

### Relationship of Religion and Politics

There is a complex nexus between religion and politics when their association is aligned with the idea of power. Both institutions have varying nature of sources, morals and ambitions to achieve power even though both give prominence to absorption of Social relationships. But both institutions differ related to their functions as religion is a source of sacred relation of men to God through following the principal of truth and politics is associated with profane human interactions to maintain order in society by following the principal of pragmatism rather than truth. Religion guides the ideal moral principles for political behavior to exercise physical power in human society<sup>1</sup>.

Integration of religion and politics faced various controversies and they become hurdle in keeping religion and government separate. Relationship amongst political parties and religious affiliations does not specify a religious vote. There is no voting pattern based on religion<sup>2</sup>. Religion is a powerful instrument of political support but usually strength of belief of its followers becomes a political challenge<sup>3</sup>.

The assumption that politics is one thing and religion is another reinforces the dominant position in social theory. Religion and politics have same category status but in meaning subject to negotiation and disagreement. Fundamentalists see state as sacred entity and secularist considered it as utterly separate from religion. The conflict is not simply about mixing or separating religion and politics but also over cultural definition of these terms<sup>4</sup>. Certain kind of religion is still center of secular politics. It is proved that symbol of sacred (religion) is equally

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<sup>1</sup>Raymond Firth. "Spiritual Aroma: Religion and Politics". *American Anthropologists, New series* (Wiley) 83, no. 3 (1981): 582-601.

<sup>2</sup> Luke Ebersole, "Religion and Politics". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (SAGE) 332 (1960): 101.

<sup>3</sup> Firth, "Spiritual Aroma: Religion and Politics". 592

<sup>4</sup> Robert Wuthnow. "Understanding Religion and Politics". *Religion and Politics* (The MIT Press) 120, no. 3 (1991): 16

important in modern and premodern political life. Construction of secularism is more than separation of state and religion; it involves universal morality, law, knowledge and statehood<sup>5</sup>.

### **Religion and Politics in Pakistan**

Islam is a complete code of life deeply established in all aspects of human life and society which is actualized in its real essence by the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in both society and state. Pakistani society faced the dilemma of dissociating religion from politics as Islam holds both secular and spiritual concerns as a code of life rather than a divine institution only.

Another predicament is the notion of an Islamic state which is foreign to the idea of state and power in the subcontinent as monarchical kingdoms ruled by the Muslim leaders in this region depicts the idea of exploiting Islam for conservation of status and prolongation of personal power. Although public is interested in an explanation of the religion which assures equality and justice in the country. Pakistan faced the problem of credibility gap of leaders and mistrust because the slogan of Islamization is not enough to solve the problem. The laws of Sharia did not work for with current system of colonial legacy. There is a need of radical change in society to impose Islamic law as it is difficult to graft Islamic system in existing order which is based on complete negation of Islam. The longer military regime (1980's) is consequence of two phenomenon; disunity of parties/oppositions and Soviet Invasion in Afghanistan. Both contributed equally to the situation of great political weakness in social and political order of government and popularized the program of Islamization introduced by Zia-ul-Haq<sup>6</sup>.

Pakistan has witnessed a religio-political history, despite western-educated reformist Muslims as founders of Pakistan Movement. Their notion was a separate autonomous and free state for Muslims of the Indian sub-continent without any British or Hindu majority domination. This movement resulted in an autonomous separate homeland for Muslims including the areas of majority Muslim inhabitants<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Talal Asad, "Religion and Politics: An Introduction". *Social Research An International Quarterly* (The New School) 59, no. 1 (1992): 6, 16.

<sup>6</sup> D. Afza Iqbal. *Islamisation of Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard books Ltd., 1986.

<sup>7</sup> Husain Haqqani. *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005.

The founding father, Muhammad Ali Jinnah's statements after the independence voiced his idea related to the Islamic foundations and nature of government in Pakistan and idea of the state's identity. But unfortunately after 70 years of independence, country's intellectuals failed to build a single consensus on Jinnah's vision of Pakistan. There is a continuous debate by secularist and Islamic democrats on Jinnah's vision<sup>8</sup>.

### **Historical Background of Islamization**

In first decade of statehood, the complexity of Pakistan's political culture lack a philosophical interpretation for a conclusive foundation in policy making and to contest varying ideologies based on political preferences of rulers such as Islamism and Islamic modernism to implement certain Islamic principles and in political setup. These multiple varying ideologies stimulated political instability and weak national identity in Pakistan. Such polarization of ideologies created gap for Islamist activities and supported western anti-terrorism policies without realizing the demands of geopolitical location of the country in South-Asian region. These circumstances contributed to internal instability and fragmented national identity<sup>9</sup>.

Objective Resolution is considered as the first success of Ulemas which was strengthened through incorporation of Objective Resolution and 1956 constitution's Islamic provisions but government failed to implement all these ideas remained confined on paper. In 1958, the Ayub Khan's Martial Law abolished 1956 constitution and the aforementioned Islamic provisions lost their integrity. Ayub Khan introduced the new constitution of Pakistan in 1962. He was a progressive leader and did not consider Islamic ideology and principles. He believed in, that Islam is a progressive religion and is for man of all times and shown no commitment towards theocracy. He introduced Family Law Ordinance and established an Islamic Research Institute but was strongly opposed by Ulema on both grounds especially on ignoring the inclusion of orthodox religious frontrunners in Council of Islamic Ideology. Ayub did not feel the need of Islamization as political tool until 1966-67. His image got devastated after 1965 which lead to anti-Ayub agitation by both secularist and religious parties (joined hand against Ayub). Ayub

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<sup>8</sup> Safdar Mehmood, and Yasira Waqar. Jinnah's vision of Pakistan. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* 35, no. 1 (2014): 2.

<sup>9</sup> Jena Karim, Polarization of Political Culture: Islam and Pakistan, 1958-1988. *Master of Arts Thesis*. ProQuest Information and Learning Company, 2004.

transferred power to Yahya Khan with the responsibility to hold first elections under universal adult franchise<sup>10</sup>.

In 1970s elections, there were two popular slogans of socialism and secularism which resulted in the victory of two major parties with dividing ideologies and religious parties neglected the opportunity to impress voters. But the most disappointing result was regional divide resulted in disintegration of Pakistan and Islamic bond which united East and West Pakistan in 1947. In these crises, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged as an undisputed leader. Despite being a secular, he managed the opposing forces and Ulema through recognizing the significant position of religion in political structure of Pakistan and accepted the demands of religious leaders to incorporate them in constitution. The Constitution of 1973 was more Islamic in nature as it includes a huge number of Islamic provisions. Assertion of Islam as state religion in the 1973 constitution; decision of organizing Islamic Summit Conference in 1974 and declaration of Ahmediyya community as non-Muslims by parliament indicates the Bhutto's approach to use religion to retain power and appease religious forces/parties. These acts of Bhutto strengthened the religious parties and added to the revival of religion to politics. His diplomatic relations with Muslim countries helped him to emerge even stronger on political scene. Failure of his national policies, rising feudal and reactionary forces from 1974 onward made him realized the importance of religious parties as his supporters. But all his tactics failed to impress religious leadership and faced the allegations of inadequate implementation of Sharia. Z.A. Bhutto's pride of sailing through crises with support of his domestic and foreign Islamic policies urged him to take decision of holding elections. Opposition (nine political parties) made political alliance known as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) through merging their different Ideologies and raised the Nizam-e-Mustafa slogan to counter Z. A. Bhutto who gave the Musawat-i-Muhammadi slogan in previous elections. But PNA failed to win considerable seats in National Assembly despite of all efforts and alleged Bhutto for rigging in elections by using illegal and undemocratic means to win with majority. PNA raised campaign with Nizam-e-Mustafa slogan which attracted urban middle class against Bhutto and concluded with mass movement. Bhutto

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<sup>10</sup> Syed Shabbir Hussain. *Ayub, Bhutto and Zia*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2010.

invited PNA to negotiate after realizing the seriousness of situation but these three months long negotiations resulted in failure<sup>11</sup>.

In 1990's religious political parties like Jamat-i-Islami grew stronger as stated earlier about civilian regimes. The radical groups emerged during Soviet-Afghan War and one of them is the most active militant group is Lashkar-i-Taiba. Lashkar-i-Taiba focused on expelling Indian army from Kashmir. Such groups hindered the prosperity of Pakistan during civilian rule. This failure of incompetent civilian leadership in managing affairs of religion and politics paved the way for 1999's military coup<sup>12</sup>.

General Pervez Musharraf Regime (1999-2008) faced the sectarian violence as a serious challenge and raised the slogan of *Enlighted Moderation*, its implementation and affects are debatable because governments and oppositions in political history of Pakistan used religion to reap their benefits and gain power<sup>13</sup>.

Extremist radical groups created the fear of setting Pakistan into chaos and possibility of Musharraf murder by them. The Islamist fundamentalists were criticized by the military rulers and closed down the Madrassahs suspected to be the supporter of extremist militant groups and banned the Jihadi organizations including Lashkar-e-Jhangavi alleged of assassination attempt on former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. In such turmoil army claims to be sole protector of country and Islam. Army tried to grab insurgency in Baluchistan<sup>14</sup>.

### **Politicization of Religious Institutions**

The early death of Jinnah produced a real shock to national identity and leadership gap after establishment of Pakistan which created gap for the starring role of religious elite in politics. Although they opposed the demand of separate homeland for Muslims and isolated themselves from Pakistan movement as they considered it as a movement of secular-minded western-educated activists. These leadership crises led to the quest of political power among

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<sup>11</sup> Farhan Mujahid Chak. *Islam and Pakistan's Political Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Sharif Shuja. Pakistan: Islam, Radicalism and the Army. *International Journal On World Peace* (Professors World Peace Academy ) 24, no. 2 (June 2007): 29.

<sup>13</sup> Muhammad Amir Rana. *A to Z Of Jehadi Organizations In Pakistan*. Mashal, 2004.

<sup>14</sup> Shuja. "Pakistan: Islam, Radicalism and the Army" 30.

leaders in formative years and led to alignment and authority claim of government over religious institutions<sup>15</sup>.

Politicization of religious identities was carried out by state thoroughly using constitutional and political means. State efforts to control religious institutions portrayed the ostracism of religious factions and provided chance to the prevalence of sectarianism in Pakistan. The power tussle of religio-military leadership with civilian political leadership contributed in the ignorance towards the more urgent issues of social infrastructure, education and economic development. Establishment of Ministry of *Auqaf* and taking control of the shrines by Ayub Khan Government (1958-69) are the examples of politicizing religious identities. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto continued the same policy regarding shrines and raised the slogan of Islamic Socialism which portrays the exploitation of religion for political interests by the civilian leadership equally. *Auqaf* and shrines policies continued in Zia-ul-Haq regime and he introduced the Islamization program to bring public and official institution in lines with Islamic law. This politicization of religion resulted in the ethnic and sectarian fragmentation as well as regional prejudice also gained momentum<sup>16</sup>.

Relationship between being Pakistani and being Muslim on cultural nationalism had deep imprints on Islamization of Pakistani society. In 1970's the trans-national *Shariatization* of Pakistani nationalism instead Islamist nationalism begin and developed through country's link in geopolitical processes away from its control such as Afghan Civil War and US War on Terror. This transformation process continued in 1980's and vulnerable Pakistani society got exploited by the military dominant government and Islamist political parties in the journey of Islamization to *Shariatization*. This process contributed in politicization of sectarian groups and number of other radical outcomes<sup>17</sup> not difficult to predict in contemporary time.

### **Sectarianism and Extremism**

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<sup>15</sup> G.W. Chaudhry, *Pakistan: Transition from Military to Civilian Rule*. Scorpion Publishing Ltd., 1988.

<sup>16</sup> Uzma Rehman. Religion, Politics and Holy Shrines in Pakistan. *Nordic Journal of religion and society* 19, no. 2 (2006): 17-20.

<sup>17</sup> Farzana Shaikh. From Islamisation to Shariatization: Cultural Transnationalism in Pakistan. *Third World Quarterly* (Taylor & Francis Ltd.) 29, no. 3 (2008): 593-609.

An interesting and revealing political perspective and diverse arena of activities of Jamat-e-Islami (since its inception in 1941 and especially accompanying Pakistan in 1947) and its founder Syed Abul ala Maudoodi views regarding Two Nation Theory, Concept of Ummah, relationship with Muslim countries and Western world created a serious unease and implications for Pakistan. He was considered as a rejectionist who is evident from the case of criticism on demand of Pakistan. But once Pakistan came into being Jamat-e-Islami remained a powerful religio-political factor and get involved in supporting complete Islamization of the state. The major shift in Jamat-e-Islami's policies were noticed when it collaborated with Yahya Khan and Zia-ul-Haq Martial rules but opposed Ayub Khan's Martial rule in past. Despite the support in 1980s with regard to Afghanistan, Jamat-e-Islami always failed to attract electoral vote bank. The death of Maudoodi in 1979 proved another intellectual vacuum for Jamat as his predecessors were of more activists in nature. The religio-political parties received the major attention in 2002 elections through capturing overwhelming majority in NWFP and Balochistan. The most surprising was their attitude towards Talibanization and extremism in Pakistan which is very contradictory to their other counterparts in South Asia (such as Bangladesh, India etc.)<sup>18</sup>.

The consequences of Zia-ul-Haq's program on socio-political structure were enormous which hindered the development of democracy in Pakistan. Despite devotion towards Islam, the masses show willingness to cast vote to secular parties. Absence of middle class in democratic process of Pakistan is primary reason to growing stronger Islamist forces<sup>19</sup>.

In Bhutto's regime (both Zulfikar and Benazir) religion has been used to promote foreign policy objectives. This manipulation of religion in foreign policy is also evident in Zia's regime. Rise of Benazir was seen as a hope of balanced foreign policy but unfortunately she adopted blended foreign policy of Zia. The regional, ethnic and sectarian tensions escalated due to self-interpretations of Islamic principles in different political regimes. The worse form of using Islam in foreign policy of Pakistan was found in Benazir's era<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Iftikhar Hussain Malik. Evaluating Political Islam. In *Religious Revivalism in South Asia*, by Imtiaz Alam, 33-44. Pakistan: South Asian Policy Analysis Network (SAPANA), 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Oleg V. Pleschov *Islamism and Travails of Democracy in Pakistan*. Delhi: Greenwich Millennium Press, 2004.

<sup>20</sup> S. A. M. Pasha, *Islam in Pakistan's Foreign Policy*. New Delhi: Global Media Publications, 2005.

Extremism has deep roots in 1980's era when thousands of peoples and various places of worship were victimized in the name of religion although this phenomenon is recently associated with the 9/11 attack. But the post 9/11 rise in extremism in Pakistan is not problematic only for Pakistan rather it had great concerns for international community as well. The portrayal of appalling image of Pakistan in the whole world by international media resulted in perception of a dangerous picture of Pakistan amongst foreign community and labelled Pakistan as "Hot Bed of Terrorism"<sup>21</sup>.

The most significant religio-political party is Jamat-e-Islami which is credited for introducing religious element in political setup of Pakistan as well as assertion of Islamic component in Constitutions of Pakistan. Party's ideas, attitude in politics during 1947 to 1956 played role in anti-Ahmadiya issue with special influence in 1953 as main leading force against Ahmadiya community. The politics of Jamat-e-Islami during first decade (after creation of Pakistan) revolved around Islamic constitution and despite many reservation over first constitution they did not rejected it because of little political benefits in the case of rejection but to gather mass support of religious minded public they played the card of Anti-Ahmadiya Movement<sup>22</sup>.

The issue of Ahmadis (the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who made finality of Prophet-hood controversial with the claim of divine revelation in 1882 and prophet-hood status in 1889) in Pakistan faced grim reaction and violent riots in 1953 by religious political parties although it was initiated by Ahrar's (in 1949) who demanded the declaration of Ahmadis as non-Muslim minority in Islamic State Pakistan due to important differences indicated by the Ulema's. Ahmadis claimed to be true Muslims and secular sect of Islam. These riots suppressed in 1953 but regained momentum in 1974 with violent Rabwah incident and by the demand of declaring Ahmadis as non-Muslims which finally resulted in the constitutional amendment by the National Assembly in September, 1974. Ahmadis rejected their minority status and the right of vote in

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<sup>21</sup> Dr. Umbreen Javaid. Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan after 9/11. *Journal of Central Department of Political Science* 9, no. 3 (2006): 112-122.

<sup>22</sup> Muhammad Waris Awan, Rizwan Ullah Kokab, and Rehana Iqbal. "Jama'at-i-Islami: Movement for Islamic Constitution and Anti-Ahmadiyah Campaign." *Asian Culture and History* (Canadian Center of Science and Education) 5, no. 2 (May 2013).

separate electorate along refusal to take part in election. These Ahmadis issue again intensified in 1984 when all Pakistan khatam-e-Nabuwat Organization was formed and this Ahmadi community is segregated which resulted in imposition of ban on their literature through Islamic punishments Ordinance passed by government on the demands of Ulema community during Zia regime<sup>23</sup>.

Saiyyid Mohammad of Jaunpur, born in Uttar Pradesh India claimed to be Mehdi thrice assenting final claim in 1499-1500 with mission to purify Islam from contaminations. His movement of purification of Islam known as Mahdavi Movement and his followers are known as Mahdavis in India but their offshoots in Pakistan are known as Zikris (who claim to follow Hanafi school of thought). Zikris believe in the doctrine of zikr (sheer remembrance of God)<sup>24</sup>. “Zikris reside in Southern Baluchistan especially coastal region, interior Sindh, Krachi, Lasbella and Wadh in Pakistan. This sect is also found in Iran and Gulf States”. Jaunpuri during his journey to Afghanistan stayed at a mountain in Turbat (popularized as Koh-e-Murad amongst Zikris as their holiest city). Zikris established their rule in Makran region (1628-1740) which flourished under Buladai rulers of Baluchistan which ended by the Khan of Kalat, Mir Naseer Khan because during his rule Sunni Ulema had considerable influence in politics which remained unfavorable for Zikris. Due to emergence of the Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadians (1835-1908) with the claim of prophethood all the attentions get diverted towards his followers known as Ahmadiyya community, Zikris issue get sidelined during British rule<sup>25</sup>.

But issue of Zikris again entered in mainstream debates after creation of Pakistan with the demands of declaring them as non-Muslims especially after 1974 when Ahmadis were declared as non-Muslims. But after so many debates over their belief their issue remained unresolved because every school of thought believed on awaited Mahdi arrival near the Day of Judgment and only few religious groups were in favor of declaring them non-Muslims such as Jamat-e-Islami and Jamat-e-Ulma-e-Islam. During the Zia-ul-Haq regime, Zikris were targeted through penetrating hatred among masses against them and discrimination in *Shariat* courts by their

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<sup>23</sup> Musa Khan Jalalzai. *Islamization and Minorities in Pakistan*. Lahore: Jamhoori Publications, 2005.

<sup>24</sup> Abdul Ghani Baloch. *Zikri Mazhab Islam kay Ainey Mein*. Turbat: Privately Published, 1979.

<sup>25</sup> -----*Zikri Firqah Ki Tarikh*. Karachi: All Pakistan Muslim Zikri Anjuman, 1996.

opponents and demands of declaring them non-Muslim raise<sup>26</sup>. When sectarian fundamentalism began to grow in Pakistani society during anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan, Zikris *ziyaratis* were barred from entering in the Turbat in 1980s<sup>27</sup>. This has sown the seed of radicalized groups in Baloch society “Which was secular in politics and liberal in religious matters”<sup>28</sup>. Radical religious groups targeted Zikris and also Baloch nationalist who in turn opposed the Islamization of Baloch society and portrayed this religious fundamentalism of radical groups as the converse of Baloch nationalism<sup>29</sup>. Baluchistan faced the threats of scrimmage between Sunni and non-Sunnis population especially Zikris became prime target of Sunni parties who organized annual gathering in Turbat in the name of association for the protection of the end of the Prophet-hood at same time when zikri *ziyaratis* visit their holy city for annual *ziyarats*<sup>30</sup> & <sup>31</sup>. Such gatherings of local and non-local Sunni clergymen including Punjabi and Pathan jihadists blocked the zikri visitors from visiting Koh-e-Murad and there were few calls for general massacre (Qatl-e-aam) of all the Zikris including demolition of their holy places<sup>32</sup>. The local administration imposed laws for *ziyaratis* to bind themselves in wall surrounding of *ziyarat* area and ask them to accompany local guerrillas group and from Koh-e-Murad in worse tense situation. There is little hope of returning to peaceful past<sup>33</sup>.

Aggravating sectarian violence between Sunni and Shia’s of tribal areas especially after the emergence of Tahreek-e-Taliban militants in this area are result of bad governance and

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<sup>26</sup> Inayatullah Baloch. *The Problem of Greater Baluchistan: A Study of Baloch Nationalism*. Stuttgar: Stein Verlag Wiesbaden , 1987.

<sup>27</sup> Ahmed, Akbar S. Islamic Fundamentalism, Sufism and Ethnicity in Pakistan: A CaseStudy from Baluchistan. *Journal of Central Asia* 10, no. 1 (1987): 48.

<sup>28</sup> Sabir Badalkhan. Zikri Dilemmas: Origins, Religious Practices and Political Constraints. *The Baloch and Others: Linguistic, Historical and Socio-political Perspectives on Pluralism in Balochistan*, 2008: 197-224.

<sup>29</sup> Ahmed, Islamic Fundamentalism, Sufism and Ethnicity in Pakistan: A CaseStudy from Baluchistan., 48.

<sup>30</sup> Mastikhan, Ahmar. The Zikris: Under Seige?. *Herald* 21, no. 5 (1990): 47-48.

<sup>31</sup> Ahmed, Islamic Fundamentalism, Sufism and Ethnicity in Pakistan: A CaseStudy from Baluchistan., 55.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid*

<sup>33</sup> Badalkhan. Zikri Dilemmas: Origins, Religious Practices and Political Constraints. *The Baloch and Others: Linguistic, Historical and Socio-political Perspectives on Pluralism in Balochistan*, 2008: 197-224.

mismanagement of state with regard to “War on Terror” and deliberated the main reason for this exacerbating violence but the role of external factors playing out in tribal areas such as Iran’s foreign policy of towards Pakistan with influence in tribal regions since Soviet-Afghan War. Islamization policies of Zia-ul-Haq and Iranian Revolution (1979) created theocratic environment and initiated violence on question of identity. Pakistan is in need to adopt a new ideology to counter militant mania through finding a new theory to promote peace and good relation among these sects. External influences over Madrassas extended the journey militancy in tribal region which contributed in the instability of nation. State involvement in these Centers of learnings is need of time to minimize external influences for religious solidarity<sup>34</sup>.

### Analysis and Discussion

Islamization is the product of religious organizations and they used Islamization discourse for their rejuvenation in political setup of Pakistan. Despite different political and philosophical views, both traditional and modern organizations directed the prevalence of Islamization in Pakistani society. The sectarian and missionary agendas of such organization created gap for the Human rights activists and minorities to question the identity of Pakistan (a secular or religious state) especially during and after Zia’s Islamization drive (1977-1988).

The transformation in idea of liberal democratic Muslim majority state Pakistan towards a formal Islamic state has changed the definition of Islamic society. The dawn of Islamism tyrannized and resulted in the form of Jihadism and this successive shift of doctrine from Islamism to Jihadism portrays the intrinsic deployment of religion in state structure.

Constitution building in Pakistan was a three decade long venture. The constitutional history of Pakistan is unique as “*Islam was its raison d’etre*”. It has faced many political crises but the public and governmental rigorous distress of including Islam in the Constitution was more challenging. The constitutional crises faced various challenges such as adoption of 1956 to its abrogation in 1958 with imposition of martial law; 1962 constitutional and its abrogation in 1969 with the resignation of its President and finally these constitutional crises resulted in 1971’s East Pakistan Crises. The 1973 constitution provided stability to this disordered constitutional

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<sup>34</sup> Shazia Kamal Farook. Shia-Sunni Sectarianism: Iran’s Role in the Tribal Regions of Pakistan. *M.A. Thesis*. Proquest LLC , 2015.

history but got ceased during the Martial Law imposed by Zia-ul-Haq. Zia-ul-Haq Islamized this constitution during his rule.

Establishment of Pakistan in the name of religion raised the issue of implementing Islamic principles in state structure and policy making process in early years after its inception which has created confusion among the masses. Political elite want modern and the masses want Islamization of socio-economic and political institutions. Ulema community also voiced the Islamist masses and requested modernist leaders to opt the idea of Islamic state constitution. But modernists were not in favor of any Islamization program to be designed and implemented as they were in fear of losing their government jobs. At last the time came when modernists accept the pressure of Ulema and country achieved an Islamic constitution. In the meantime, westernization of institutions was continued which geared the intensified situation and aggravate crisis.

PNAs mass movement on the name of religion paved the way for Martial Law. Zia's Martial Law legitimized by the supreme court of Pakistan as Doctrine of necessity and PNA's mass movement made him able to use Islam to deeply penetrate in society and prolong his era. He used Islamization program instead of holding general elections to get support of masses. He changed the structure of all the institutions political, social, educational, judicial, and economic to strengthen himself and his rule. The religious leadership and parties enjoyed his patronage and gave boost to his Islamization drive.

## **Conclusion**

It is generally perceived notion that Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization contributed the most to compliment the ideology viz-a-viz manipulated its teachings for his political gains and to legitimize his authority in the country. But it was not only Zia's military dictatorship; civilian government also used Islam as approval to support their working, maintain order and keep the social structure in their designed box. Zia's demise approved it when civilian governments directed by the Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif could not bring the replacement of social reforms, ignored the economic potential and failed to introduce an effective judicial and educational system. These inabilities provided gap and the society kept on with traditional patterns such as Madrassah system of education. The Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif worked

in capacity of mainstream civilian leaders but their political inability could not alter the grown consensus about the idea of an Islamic state. The two main forerunners for the restoration of democracy ended up with the ascendancy of Pervez Musharraf.