

A Theoretical Perspective of the National Integration in Pakistan

Sakeena¹, Muneebur Rehman², Sardar Ali³, Asma Jaffer⁴, Abdul Jabbar⁵

^{1st} Lecturer Department of Political Science, Women University Swabi

^{2nd} Lecturer Department of Pakistan Studies, Women University Swabi.

^{3rd} M.Phil Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Peshawar.

^{4th} M.Phil Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Peshawar.

^{5th} Lecturer Department of Pakistan Studies, Women University Swabi.

*Corresponding Author: sakeenamehak6@gmail.com

Revised: 05th October 2021

Accepted: 1st December 2021

Published: 15th December 2021

Abstract: This research paper focuses on the study of national integration with special reference to Pakistan. In this paper author, first discover the core concept of two terms. National integration is the combination of two term, 'nation' and 'integration'. Experts and scholars define nation as group of individual living together on the same territory, common objectives, shared interests and strong feeling of affiliation with one another and also having the same psyche. Then comes to the 'integration' which emerged in 17th century, which means people unification to toward the state. Integration is the incorporation of different units and element into a whole for joint functions. The researcher has incorporated the operational definition of the national integration in this paper, which is the focus of the paper. The researcher also has discussed different model and approaches of national integration. Broadly, two main approaches modernist and post-modernist approaches are discussed. In modernist approach, the researcher has taken model of assimilation and post-modernist theory of accommodation is discussed .The centralist approach of consocaitionl theory is also discussed in detail. The model of unity through diversity has been adopted in this paper with special case study to Pakistan's national integration. All major hurdles in national integration in Pakistan such as ideological crisis, political polarization; economic factor, religious sectarianism, ethnicity, militancy, elite-mass gap and uncooperative relation of center with provinces are highlighted. At the end of the paper, some positive and fruitful recommendations for the national integration in Pakistan have been discovered during the study. Focus on the common national identity and nationalism, religious harmony, political stability, strong political culture, strong state institutions, discourage feeling of sectarianism and ethnicity, equal economic distribution and last but not the least, positive media role is a very effective in promoting national integration in Pakistan.

Keywords: National, Integration, Pakistan, State, Development.

Introduction

States and societies have never been homogenous. There will hardly be any such state in the world, which is socio-culturally and ethnically homogenous. It is an inborn feature of each state and society. In some countries, plural societies live in harmony but on the other side, it creates conflicts at local and

national level and lead toward the political and national fragmentation and stratification. The diversity and lack of integration is a common problem of all the states all over the world. Pakistan has also a pluralistic society with four provinces having their different socio-cultural and ethnic pattern. There are two faces of it; the horizontal which is ethnic, religious, linguistic and tribal while vertical plurality encompasses class, caste and sectarian cleavages of the society. This plurality of the society lead to the lack of integration and fragmentation of the state, which can be controlled by the state authority by adopting different measures to gain the national integration. National integration is base for the development of a state. Without national integration, nation building and stability of the state is not possible. Federal setup is adopted for gaining national integration. But on the other side, the state authority, their undemocratic and unequal economic policies, is eroding the national integration in Pakistan. From the very beginning, it has been a dilemma in Pakistan to identify national identity for the promotion of national integration and national unity. If we look at our beginning history, in which Islam served as national unifying force in Pakistan, and integrated all Muslim population. Later on, after the independence, situation changed and feelings of provincialism and sectarianism permeated by our national leaders. The feelings of ethnicity and cultural plurality were presented as a limelighter by the political and religious forces. In 1971 after the dismemberment of Bengal, we did not learn to learn from our history. These sentiments of ethnic and cultural diversity promoted for their own favor. So the political hostility, economic disparity and inequality continues till today in Pakistan, and we are still facing this problem of lack of national integration. Our political and state powers and authorities are the main hinders in the way of this national integration in Pakistan (Peretomode, 1985). The researcher will focus on the concept of national integration. All those factors which are creating threats and barriers for national integration will be given a detailed account on the different strategies and measures for promoting national integration in Pakistan.

Concept of National Integration

By national integration, we mean unity of the nation in its geographical form and the search of wholeness. However, the phenomenon of national integration is an emerging concept and widely used by the scholars, researchers, students and political experts in both broader and narrow capacity. It is used interchangeably with the political integration, national or political unification, national building or political development.

Before the operational definition of the national integration, which the researcher will use in this research paper, some basic definitions and themes of the concept are discussed here;

For developing a conceptual definition and theme of national integration the literature available on this core concept will discuss firstly. The term National Integration is actually the combination of two words:

- Nation
- Integration

It is equally important first to discuss the term Nation;

Nation is a group of individual living in the same territory having the common objectives, shared interests and strong feelings of affiliation with each other.

Nation is a community of people having the same territory, common economic interest, objective and having the same psyche. Psychological makeup is very important factor because it creates the feelings of oneness and common emotions of all the community (Majeed, 2011) (Khan, 1983).

It is an entity of the people which is based on cultural and social characteristics rather than any legal tone. Common culture plays an important factor in cultural and social similarities which create the national identity among the people and this common identity keep the community united as single nation and such feelings develop sense of nationalism (Paddison, 1983).

Another scholar simplifies the concept of nation and says that nation is a group of people whether independent or struggling for independence having some common and shared characteristics which, include territorial residence, language, traditions, customs, habits and common history. So such group consider themselves as one. They preserve their common objectives and pressurize the state authority to safeguard their common objectives (Majeed, 2011) (Deutsch, 1953).

A group of individual living together on the same territory with shared cultural and common social behaviors evolves around the common identity and feeling of oneness. Such feelings keep the community together and whenever there is problem or threat to their common interests, it strengthens them (Wilson & Donnan, 1998).

- Integration

Now coming to define the second term integration which was first used in 17th century by the mathematicians. Afterward, by the engineers, physicists, social scientists and sociologists. From 1950s to 1970s used by the different scholars and researchers who explained the term in capacity of people unification (Bukhari, 1999).

According to the Oxford dictionary, "integration means to make whole" combine, unified and amalgamate (p, 367). According to Encyclopedia Britannica "integration is the knitting together and harmonize all the activities of the entire organism" (p, 457).

According to Christopher Morris "integration is the incorporation of different units and element into a whole for joint functions. It is the process of the combination of different element for the functioning together" (p, 119).

Integration is the process of combining different element into a whole. It is the process in which different segment of the community feel themselves part of the mainstream and provide their services for the state development or community development and keep together with state (Rai & Malick, 1989). Pettman says that integration is the name of co-operation and interdependence (p, 274).

Hodges clarifies that integration is the merger of different communities and separate institutions into a large unit in a single geographical position (Hodges, 1978).

Malick and Rai (1989) explain that integration means the amalgamation of the loyalties of the different social, cultural and ideological group into a single community at national level.

According to Dutches (1968) integration means the whole of out of its part, turn the separate units into a coherent system, he also disuses that integration is the attainment of a sense of combine community with having formal and informal institutions for the peaceful interactions among the community.

Morrison (1972) defines "national integration is a process in which all the members of the society develop correlation and linkage with the subsystem of the society, strength its mutual bond and remain overtime."

Coleman and Rosburg (1964) elaborates "the national integration is the development of such society, which is above from the social and cultural tensions and discontinuities, and the emergence of a political homogenous society. It means the bridging between rulers and ruled and, the elimination of elite- mass gap in the society (Coleman & Rosberg, 1964).

Some other scholars defined that national integration is the eradication of all cultural, ethnic, lingual and social barriers and the creating of such a homogenous society that political stable and economically sound. These scholars and researches take the model of assimilation in their meaning of this concept (Qazi, 1994). They argue that cultural and ethnic barrier should be removed in the integration of society while, other scholar such as Etzioni (1964) highlight this issue and say that common culture is not necessarily a prerequisite for the unification and integration of a nation because if a society or nation having common culture or common ethnicity have no need for the integration strategies that is already integrated and unified. Those nations and societies are integrated or unified which are divers and

pluralistic in their nature. He further says that share culture is not prerequisite but it is the requirement before that process of national integration (page, 35-36).

In the 1950s after the end of 2nd world war when different nations got independence the then political leaders and elites of the society turned their attention to get the loyalties of the desperate groups of the nation and started to create the national identity so all this process called the study of the national integration (Puchala, 1981).

National integration is also used as a synonym of political integration, which means that a nationally integrated state is always political integrated as well. Because political culture is the part of national culture and generally integrated society always politically integrate.

According to Ronaq Jahan national integration is actually incorporating all the regional sub-system and to develop a national level system which gives feeling of unity and satisfaction to all the regional communities. So national integration can only be achieved when all the segments of society positively participate in the decision-making at national level and state's institutions give a positive response to these sub-systems, and all these small segments of the nation eliminate all their differences for sake of national unity and integration and became the part of mainstream (p, 3-4).

National integration is actually minimizing the differences and diversities of the different segments and blocs of the society. National integration can be measured by the behaviors of the citizens from their tolerance and compliance toward the state policies and the citizen's identification with the national identity (Peretomode, 1985).

This phenomenon is sometime used as condition" and some time as 'process' by process Haas (1958) means that a particular political community is the result of this national integration, and it is the process of the political integration by which a new specific political group emerged, and when such groups support the national institutions and government in a specific period more than other communities it is called the condition of the political integration (p, 301) (Hass, 1958). While defining integration Weiner gives five different usages of the integration;

National Integration: means to combine the entire social, culture and ethnic group of a society into a specific territory and make a national identity for gaining their loyalties and then use these loyalties into the services of the people. National integration is simply the unification and integration of plural society into a single entity with feeling of loyalties toward its nation and all the institutions of the state (p, 44-45).

Territorial Integration: means the establishment of the national authority over the all-subordinate national and political units, it is actually the territorial control of the state. Territorial integration is actually the horizontal integration.

Elite-Mass Integration: this type of integration is the relation and linkage between the rulers and ruled. It is the vertical form of integration.

Value Integration: refer to the common consensus of the whole population of a state, which is essential for maintaining of social order; it is common beliefs, common myths, and symbols and shared history of a nation (page, 44-45).

Integrative Behavior: related to psyche and attitude to the people of the nation, it is the capacity in a society to organize themselves for the common purposes (Peretomode, 1985).

These different usages of the integration by Weiner give a variety of meaning and concept of the integration (Weiner, 1965).

By Myron Weiner national integration is the process of bringing a socially and culturally discrete society into a single territorial place and gives it a national identity. So this national identity can be strengthened by the equal participation and equal right of all the groups of the society and establishment of central authority over the subordinate units and create a balance among them.

Therefore, it is the feeling of unity, oneness and cooperation for the common purpose. In case of Pakistan the national integration is the process of achieving of nationhood, it is not only hold all the system together but also get their loyalty and feeling of support for the nation building which is very essential in national development and modernization.

By discussing the concept of national integration in the light of different scholars' views one can simply say that national integration is basically the process of unifying a socially, ethnically and culturally diverse society in the common territory and to develop a sense of common identity and unity and give them opportunity to decide their national policies for the common interests of all the people of the state.

Operational Definition of National Integration

By analyzing the concept of national integration, we can broadly get the main theme of the concept and finalized the operational definition of this concept, which will be use throughout in this research paper. By national integration in Pakistan means that people of the state living in the country having the loyalties and obedience with the central rule of the country and all the state institutions in the name of the national identity without considering any social, cultural, ethnic or lingual differences. National integration is the name of the people support toward their central and provincial rule and all state institutions and, not to reject or choose the exit option from the state institution or from the state.

Theories and Approaches of the National Integration

Likewise the variety of the definitions of the national integration there are also a number of theories and approaches for the national integration of the state. Social scientists broadly divide these approaches into two main categories.

- **Modernist Approach**
- **Post-modernist Approach**

Modernist Approach

Modernist scholars discuss the national integration as the unification of different social, cultural, and ethnic groups of the state into one nation; it is actually the merger of sub national groups with the larger one. The modernist approach mainly focuses on the state building and state development. It is based on socialization. Sometime this process of socialization is started by a major ethnic and cultural group of the society or sometime by the state by force, and adopts the theory of assimilation in the state (Hashmi, 2013).

Theory of Assimilation: Modernist approach follows the theory and policy of assimilation in which they aggregate all the discrete small groups with the lager group of the society. In this theory, all the small sub-groups of the state become the part of the large ethnic group of the state by relinquishing all their ethnic, cultural and social difference and absorb with the large group of the society. Despite the differences and discrepancies of the small groups with large one, these all are to assimilate and support the large group at national level. By adopting the identity of this major group, they all support and become loyal to this large group, which controls the state institutions. We can simply say that in this approach all the small groups in a state lost their own cultural, social difference and become part of the mainstream. Sometime the state authority adopts this theory by imposing common language, religion, festivals, culture, values and symbols. In this case, all the groups and segments of the state adopt this common identity but in some cases, this policy of assimilation is imposed by the state, which leads to the conflict of ethnic and cultural war when different cultural and ethnic groups become rival and against the state authority. The Example of national language issue and culture issue between East and West Pakistan resulted the 1971 dismemberment of East Pakistan. Moin Shakir says, in his article that according to J S Mill assimilation policy is very useful for the eradication of the discrepancies and

unifying the societies, but this policy is very helpful in case of those societies where the subgroups are inferior and will be privileged and beneficial by joining hand with the major community in the society. French is the current example of this assimilation policy, after the French Revolution French authority adopted this modernist assimilation model for all the minority groups for its national integration and nation building. So the aggressive and force imposition of such policy by the French government converted all the sub-nationalities and small minority groups into French nationals (p, 36-54) (Shakir, 1982) (Hashmi, 2013) (Peretomode, 1985).

Post-Modernist Approach

While criticizing the modernist approach toward the national integration another group of scholars argue that the modernist approach is totally against the modern democracy in which the small groups lost their own identity and merge with another group. They present a new approach, which is called post-modernist or modern-democratic approach. In this approach they create cross-cutting affiliation among different cultural and ethnic groups of the society. In this approach all the sub groups of the society join hands and keep affiliation with each other's. All the segments and groups of the society exist with their own cultural and ethnic identity other than assimilate with another. They all keep their difference but accommodate with one another in the same society (Hashmi, 2013).

Theory of Accommodation: In this post-modernist approach, scholars adopt the theory of accommodation theory for national integration in a state. Osei Kwame(1980) called this approach the cultural accommodation model. In this model all, the varieties of the culture and ethnicity are accommodated so it also called pluralistic approach or model. It is based on the incorporation of all the groups and segments of the societies and national policy is adopted through preferential basis, so this incorporation of individual and sub-groups is the key toward the national integration (Kwame & Achola, 1981). This is the best model for the integration of the diverse and heterogeneous societies; in this model, all the groups get equal participation and equal rights. Countries like Pakistan having a diverse society this cultural accommodation model is the best solution for getting the national integration and decrease the sentiments of discrimination and ethnic conflicts in the society. Post-modernist scholars criticize the assimilation model, which may create cultural or ethnic war and maybe a threat for the national integration (Hashmi, 2013).

Other than these two approaches, there are numbers of other theories and different form of government, which is adopted by the different state for achieving the national integration in diverse society. These two approaches is look like very idealist in their nature, so the consociational and federal theory or model are discuss here which widely adopted by the different states in the world for gaining the national and political integration.

The Consociational Approach

The consociational democratic approach is the midway between two extreme policy of assimilation or accommodation, in this approach the major ethnic groups joined hand and set rules for the common interests of the all the coalition communities. It is based on consensus. They all make a coalition government based on the common set of rules, by achieving this political integration and unification of the society automatically lead forward for the national integration. The term consociational democracy was first coined and used by the David Apter (1963) for the African political societies. He says that it is the democratic model of government where all the diverse communities with varieties of the ideas are united under a single political system, and it is the system of accommodation and compromise. Apter further says that the true implementation and effective role of the political government can minimize the difference of the political and social ideas in the plural societies and prevent the ethnic and ideological conflicts (Apter, 1963) (Hashmi, 2013).

Lijphart(1969) also gives a very systematic approach to the consociational model. He describes this as an alliance, compromise based and accommodating political system. It is the best solution for the plural and heterogeneous societies. The main object of this political system is the unifying all major groups at national and political level. Different scholars describe it the system of balanced pluralism and proportionality. Lijphart further argues that integration of the fragmented society is not only depending on any particular political institutional arrangement but mostly it lies on the behavior and cooperation of the elite among themselves and toward the masses. Lijphart describes four main characteristic of this consociational democratic model in his book “Democracy in the Plural Societies” in 1977.

- I. A coalition government always based on the leaders of all the major segments of the state
- II. Combined veto power
- III. Proportionality in all the political representation, government services, and also in all the developmental projects by the government for all the segments of the society
- IV. Autonomy should be ensured in all groups of the societies in their internal affairs

Other than these four major feature of this consociational democratic model Lijphart(1971) also pointed out some other prerequisites for the successful and effective implementation of this model. He says that balance of power among the sub-communities; an effective multi-party system, elite consensus and elite accommodation are the main themes of this theory. By ensuring all these prerequisites, a true and effective enforcement of the system is made possible and the required result can be achieved in a plural society. Without all these essential requirements of the political system in a heterogeneous society, this model cannot work effectively. This consociational theory by Lijphart is very effective in plural societies of west and also east for the plural state like, Pakistan and India etc. In this model all the sub-cultures and social groups get representation and autonomy. However, stating the demerit of this model Lijphart says that political representation of all the elites, their veto power and high autonomy of the all the groups of the society also may cause hanging decisions, slow progress and development of the system and sometime political deadlock occurs by using the veto power of the different groups.

Model of Unity in Diversity (Federalism)

In this setup all the units and divers groups of a plural state is kept in tie. Despite their mutual difference and cultural and ethnic diversity the central setup of the state integrate the whole society in the common nation. All the sub-nationalities and segments of the state are given the autonomy and liberty at local level and use their power at regional by their own authorities according to their own will. The supreme law of the state keep them unite and despite a number of diversities in their internal matters all units and sub-groups work as a united body. Therefore, this setup is the model of unity in diversity, which can be gain by the true implementing the federal political setup.

Federalism or federal form of government also is one of the most appropriate form and theory for achieving and strengthening national integration in a state. The researchers argue that federal setup integrates and keep join the units of the society by giving them equal power with central government. In federal political setup there are two set of government central government and unit government at regional level, these both set of governments share equal power within their own jurisdictions. The state powers are distributed equally by the constitution of the state.

In federalism all the units of the society are treated equal, they all get representation at central government in having their own elected government with defined powers at regional level. All the units have freedom of their culture, language and religion at local level. Federal structure has the potential to unite and integrate different sub-units of the society and keep them tie in the bond of the two set of government. The harmonious mutual relation and cohesive contact further strengthen the bond of units with the states' institutions. In federalism, state powers are divided between central and regional

authorities to avoid the centralization of power and dictatorial use of power by the central authority. Powers are equally divided under the constitutional guidelines, powers related to the national level are vested to the central government and matters related to regional issue are given to unit's government. Sometime central authority also give guidance to local authority and these smooth interaction and cooperation between two authorities keep the country integrated and stable. Etzioni says that power is the main determinant in the integration of the state in the federal system, division of power and giving the equal power to all units lead toward the integration of the country. Other than power division role of elite and individual behavior are the main determinants in the integration of state, when elites perform their duties according to the constitution and individuals tolerate all the national level policies of the central authorities for the national unification then this national identity preserves the national integration of the state (Majeed, 2011).

Prerequisites of the Federalism

- **True Implementation of the Constitution**
- **Division of Power**
- **Independence of Judiciary**

True Implementation of the Constitution

The Constitution is the supreme document of the state based on the mutual consensus of central and units' authorities. A Constitution preserves all the rights and duties of the center and units' authorities. Therefore, the true and effective implementation of the constitution is very essential for the unification of center and units government. Constitution gives a clear explanation of all the power distribution and duties of the state authorities, so by the full implementation of the supreme document the harmony and friendly relations can be developed and decrease all the ethnic and culture conflicts in all the fragments of the state. By the fair division of power, central political authority does not intervene in the affairs of the units of the state. They are given free hand to adopt polices according to their own social and cultural norms. Other than this the amendment process of the constitution in the federal form of government is made partial rigid, without the consensus of the units' authority any constitutional amendments is not inducted by the central authority specially in those matter which relate to the issue of the units. This partial rigidity in the constitutional amendment process keeps the federal setup effective and central and units' government into a mutual integration because they are interdependence on each other's.

Division of Power

Division of political power is one of the important and essential characteristic of the federal form of government. In this setup all the state power are divided under constitutional guidelines between central and regional government. Power are given equally in a such way that neither center get the high authority over the unit that the sentiments of deprivation and the fear of the loss of their individual identity emerged nor units made so strong over the central authority that they may break away from the center and became an autonomous entity from the national government. All these political power should be exercised by both the authorities in cooperational and coordinational way. No one should consider itself as the reservoir of all the state power but the sense of interdependency should prevail there.

Power division in most of the federation are done that all matter relating to the interaction with other and all other national level powers given to the central authority and local matters such, education, health, regional development etc are vested to the units. The power division in the federal government is a very potential factor which can keep the state unite in fair distribution of power, and can lead to the fragmentation of the state in case of unfair and unequal power division. In Pakistan, we have experienced this disintegration in 1971 due to the unfair distribution of power. In 18th amendments of

the constitution units' power increased and given an autonomous status to the provinces in their regional matter. So the key of a successful and effective federal system is that there should be always democratic culture and fair power division between the units and center. So we can conclude that fair and equal distribution of the political power of the state is the major determinant of the success of the federal system and unification of the whole federation.

Independence of Judiciary

After discussing the role of constitution and fair division of power in the federal government that these are the main prerequisite for the effective federal system, so likewise independent judiciary in the federation is considered as the guardian and checker of all the activities and policies of the central and unit government. Independence of the judicial organ is also a very major prerequisite of the federal form of government. Independent Judiciary has the supremacy over the other federal institutions. Judiciary plays the role as a watchdog in a federal setup. All the constitutional amendments by the central or regional government are checked by the judiciary if these suggested amendments contradict with the constitutional act or interest of the unit of the state, are declared null void by the judiciary. Similarly, policies' of the central and regional government in contradiction with one another are also referred to the judicial organ of the state and judiciary gives a solution to these institutions. If the center or unit exceed their power from the prescribed limits of the constitution are checked by the judiciary. The role of judiciary is varies from one federal system to another, because mostly it depend on the political tradition of the state. Anyhow the judicial organ in a federal system has very constructive role in strengthening the federation and its institutions of a state (Majeed, 2011).

Main Hurdles in the Way of National Integration in Pakistan

After the end of 2nd world war when nation states emerged in Asia and Africa, these new nation states started struggle for the social and national solidarity. Every nation started applying different theories, model and structure for gaining the national identity and integration. Till now all these developing states of Asia and Africa are in search of national integration and state building. Each nation by practicing a variety of political structure and model of the developed and integrated states for gaining the loyalties of the all discrete groups of the society and then use these loyalties in the state building and national integration. But after more than a half century of these nations they all are still in the process of nation building and in search of national integration. Pakistan is no exception in this case. Although Pakistan was achieved on the name of Islam but soon after the independence due to the heterogeneous character of our society the new nation lost the unifying factor of the whole nation, difference and fragmentation were experienced for long and which resulted in the separation of Bengal one of the largest province of Pakistan. We also adopted different political theory, strategies and model for gaining this nationwide integration and political unification but to due to the ineffective implementations of these models and many other reasons we are still in search of the national integration (Jehanzeb, Parveen, & Rehman, 2013)

Despite the exercising difference theory and strategies for national integration by the ruling elite of the new nation in which some of the models have discussed by the researchers earlier in this chapter. But besides applying these theories we could not achieve our specific goals of national integration yet. There are many causes due to which these theories and models of integration are not working effectively. Some major obstacles and hurdles in the way of national integration are discussed here;

Ideological Crisis

Ideological crisis has remained one of the main hurdle in the national integration and national building in Pakistan since its independence. Due to the absences of ideology and national identity Pakistani society has remained fragmented and each group and segment of the society is struggling for

securing their own interests. If we study the historical background of national integration in Pakistan we come to this conclusion that the national integration was the core issues of Pakistan which is still exist here. We see that an ideological clash was one of the inherit problem in Pakistan which hinder our national integration. Pakistan came into being on the name of Islam and Islamic ideology but after the independence and deaths of the founder of the nation the question of national ideology was left unanswered. The Islamic scholars, secular leaders and chief authorities of the state engaged in the debate of the question of the national ideology. Because it was difficult to decide that Pakistan, which came into being on the name of Islamic ideology, would to remain an Islamic state or will follow the western structure of state. There was complete political turmoil in the early decade of Pakistan' independence. So the absence of unified ideology divided people of Pakistan into a number of ideological groups having clashes with one another. Pakistan remained in the hands of these conflicting groups, which resulted the abrogation of the first democratic constitution and the control of the state power by the military. We experienced military autocracy for more than three long decades, and other than this Pakistan always remained battleground for these different ideological groups. Different Islamic extremist and militants groups exploited the Islamic ideology for their personal interests and power struggle. By studying our political history of Pakistan due to our weak institutions and ideological differences and clashes we all are still in this puzzle that whether we are Islamic ideological state or secular modern ideological state. The elite disgusting role and weak institutions and fragmented people by the different groups of Pakistan are still in search for national integration (Jehanzeb, Parveen, & Rehman, 2013)

Lack of Ethnic and Cultural Integration

Every society which ethnically and culturally diverse want to be integrated nationally, for gaining, such national integration a national level common identity is adopted by the state authority for overcoming all the ethnic and cultural differences. A national and common cultural should be formed for all the diverse culture in which national level traditions, customs, festivals and symbols are adopted. Pakistan's multi-ethnicity and diverse culture is still the main impediment in the national unification. Major ethnicity always monopolies over all other ethnicity and culture and deprives all the small ethnic groups. Therefore, in Pakistan Punjabi is the major ethnic group having 48.2% of the whole population. Sindhi and Pashtoon have 11.8% and 13.1% respectively. Other than these Saraiki people are 9.8%, Urdu speaking 7.6%, Baluch are 4.2 and Hindko speaker are 2.4% population. Although the federal democratic system and multiparty system are adopted in our political structure for the integration of all these ethnic diversities but the unproductive role of elites, problem in the implementation of this integrating model and internal conflict of these ethnicities lead to the ethnic insurgency in different provinces of Pakistan. For example of Baloch ethnic in Baluchistan, Pashtun in Tribal areas, Muhajir in Karachi are the current example of the ethnic and cultural conflicts. Similarly, the difference on the language basis of Hindko speaker at Hazara district in KhyberPakhtunkhwa, and Saraiki speaker at D.I.Khan, are also having difference and clashes with the central authorities. The main reason behind all this issue is the unequal representation of all these ethnicities in the central government and the undue role of military and bureaucracy and long suspension of the constitution of the state and autocratic role of the leaders, which never give complete autonomous status and power to these ethnic groups. Problem exists on both sides in central authorities are also ignored these minor ethnicity and these minorities are also not comprising their cultural differences for the national identity. Therefore, the lack of autonomy of the provinces and center and regional clashes left this issue unaddressed. Issue exists also in our constitution, power division, weak institutions of the state and inactive role of our central elite in the integration of all these segments of the society into a single entity. So cultural diversity and ethnic clashes do not let the integration in Pakistan (Shah & Ishaque, 2017)

Political Polarization

Political polarization is also one of core issue of Pakistan political system from the very beginning. Due to the division of elite and ruling class of Pakistan on ideological and interests based in our political system always remained weak and unstable, so these political instability lead to the division and fragmentation. The political polarization which counter the one another on ideological basis such as nationalist to regionalists, secular to orthodox, rightist to leftist and many more are present in the political culture of Pakistan to counter and encounter each other. Other than this, the military and bureaucracy of our country always remained present in our political system of the country. These two institutions always interfered in the political and state affairs, which result in the weakness of political institutions and unfair policies of the state. Political integration and stability directly proportional to the national integration and stability of the country, when the nation is political stable and strong automatically will be integrated and developed. Therefore, this polarization of the political culture of Pakistan did not let the authority to exercise their authority freely and deprive all the political institutions from practicing the political and democratic practices. Once the complete authority has given to the central and regional government, then provinces will get their autonomous position and the military and bureaucracy will completely out from the country politics. There should be complete cooperation and harmonious relation among all the states and societies institutions and such strong institutions will never create any obstacles in the way of smooth policies making of the political institutions by which national integration will be possible in Pakistan (Hussain, 2009).

Economic Factor

Economic factor is the main determining factor in the integration of a nation. Economic development lead to the development and state building, and it directly relates to the political stability and national integration and development. Without proper economic development no nation cannot develop and prosperous. Economy for a state is considered just like a soul. When a nation is economically developed and people are satisfied with their economic need than the state will be an integrated and developed state. So when there is fair economic distribution in the all segments of the society by the authorities so there will be no feeling of deprivation and conflict between the central and units. Due to unequal and unfair distribution of economy by the central authority create the feeling of deprivation, jealousy and trust deficit. Small units and groups of the nation demand their equal share and major units demand for more shares due to their majority populations, other than this central authority implement those economic policies in the country, which are dictated by the foreign funded countries and donors. Due to their debt and economic support the authority cannot avoid their dictated polices which the local government opposes. Due to this internal mismanagement and external economic unfair policies there is always feeling of deprivation and sentiment of hate against the central elites exit in the regional authority, which not let them integrated as a single nation (Shah & Ishaque, 2017).

Religious Sectarianism and Militancy

Pakistan as Islamic states with Muslim majority having one religion but there are also religious sectarianism prevails since the independence of the country. Although Muslims have one religion with no differences but due to the some religious and personal issues of the Islamic leaders have divided the Muslims into a number of sects. This sectarianism emerged in the late 1950s when the riots between the Ahmadia group (those who do not believe on the finality of prophet Muhammad Saw commonly called Qadiyani) and Jamat-ul-Ahrrahr (those who were opposing this Qadiynai's group and called them Kafir). These clashes were on the peak in Punjab when Nizamuddin declared emergency there. These tussles among different religious groups were increased when Qadyani was declared as non-Muslim in the constitution of Pakistan. Then in Zia's era when Iran-Iraq war was started on the bases of

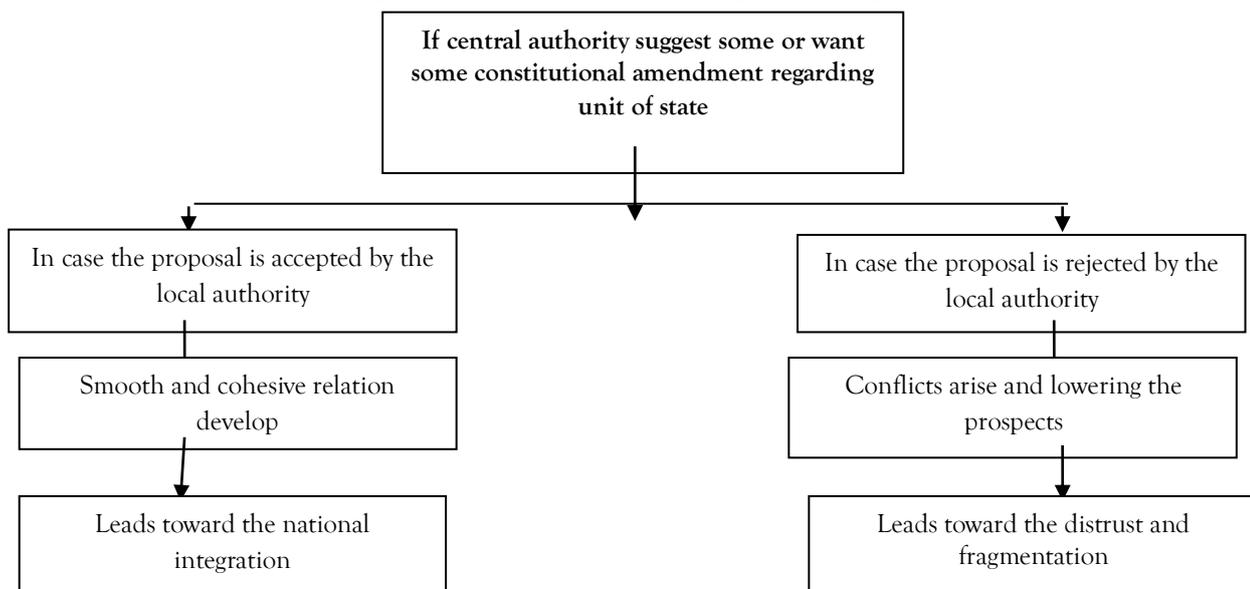
Sunni and Shia clashes. In Pakistan these Sunni-Shia differences was also reached to its peak. Shia group under the leadership of Mufti Jaffer Hussain made their own party Tahreek Nifaz-i- Fiqah Jafaria and started to struggle for their religious rights. The sentiment of Shai Sunni clashes in Iran-Iraq war also came here and from Wahabi Terrorist groups Sipah Shaba and Lashkar-i-Jangvai emerged in Pakistan. So such sectarianism we see in the shape of religious militancy in the later years in their new form as Taliban in Afghan Jihad and War on Terror. This religious sectarianism and militancy are still present in Pakistan. We suffered a lot from this militancy since Afghan Jihad, post 9/11 and till today we are in the grip of this militancy and non-state actors, which is indirectly controlling our state authority and not let us toward the integration, nation-building and development (Shah & Ishaque, 2017).

Elite- Mass Gap

A wide gap between elite and masses always exit in all the plural societies. If we look to the hurdles of the national integration in Pakistan, the elite-mass gap is a main factor in this process. In Pakistan there is a wide gap between ruler and ruled. Common masses have no knowledge about the state policies because they never included in the national policies. The voices of the common masses always suppressed and minor segments of the nation are never considered in the national policy-making. Therefore, this gap creates the sense of deprivation and hatred between rulers and ruled and due to the jealousy and trust deficit, they are compelled to back-out from the nation state and lead to the fragmentation and disintegration in the country.

Uncooperative and Biased Relation between Central and Regional Authority

Relation between central government and provincials’ government in Pakistan have very affecting role in the integration of the state if these both authorities develop good and cooperative relations than the state’s machinery runs smoothly and nation integration can be seen in the all matters of the state. However, due to bias and uncooperative relations then political deadlock occurred and all the state institutions, and we see this unnecessary delay by these authorities due to the personal or political difference in our state regulations. We can see the example in the figure below:



Adopted by the Stein Gross (2008) and reshaped by the researcher (page, 114) (Gross, 2008).
 By the analysis some of these obstacles and causes in the way of national integration in Pakistan we can say that besides these the common and basics points there are also a number of other factors exist which

can impede in the way of national integration in Pakistan such as lack of interaction among the different units of the society, corrupt and incompetent leaders, inactive institutions, mutual rivalry and divergence of interests of the leaders, lack of patriotism in our leadership, uneven economic development, lack of organization, weak and unstable political parties. These all are the main problem, which keep way the nation from the national integration.

Suggestions for Achieving National Integration in Pakistan

After the thorough analysis of the national integration, theories and model and main obstacles in the smooth process of national integration, here the researcher recommends some constructive techniques and suggestions for ensuring the national integration in Pakistan. Because unless and until we control the religious sectarianism, extremism, religious militancy, ethnic and cultural strife, language riots, internal conflicts of the units, trust deficit between central and regional authority, fair division of resources and state's powers among the units and overcome the mismanagement of all the states' institutions we cannot avail this national integration in its true meaning. Some constructive suggestions are given here:

- **Focus on the National Identity and Nationalism:** the state authority should give more focus on the national identity and nationalism, the feeling of regionalism, sectarianism and religious differences should be discouraged. The national identity should be prioritized over the regional and cultural identity. All the people of the state should prefer the national culture, language, symbols and national celebrations.
- **Religious Harmony:** Islam is the basic unifying force of all the people of Pakistan. All the religious pluralities and divisions based on ego and self-interest should be eliminated. Every citizen should be entitled with the equal right of religious practices. Authority should incorporate the materials related to the religious harmony and fraternity in the national curriculum. Other than, this there should be conducted such nationwide programmers and TVs' shows by Islamic scholars to teach the preaching of religious harmony and unification of all the Muslim groups. Media role is also very fruitful in the current technological era.
- **Economic Development:** Equal Economic development is the core element for the national integration. Economic development create all sort of prosperity in the nation, Trade should be improved in the country it not only increases the GDP and GNP but also give the jobs opportunity to the citizens which boost the economic prosperity. Other than this economic mega project at national and regional should be started; the project like CPEC should be focused in the pragmatic way for the economic development of the region. Economic institutions of the country and the policy of taxation should be reformed and reshaped for the national revenue and national development.
- **Equal Distribution of National Resources and Social Justice:** Parity, fair and equal division of resources and power of state should be ensured for the nation integration. However, the sense of inequality leads to the feeling of hatred and conflicts, which ultimately lead to the civil war in the country. Therefore, the social justice and equality are the very important factors in the national integration.
- **Discourage the Sectarianism and Ethnicity:** the sentiment of the sectarianism, tribalism and ethnicity should be discouraged at national and regional level by the state authority and elite of the state, which often create division in the state, and fragmentation of the society.
- **Focus on the Good Governance:** the central and regional authority should always focus on the good governance and result oriented performance of the institutions. Citizens should be

satisfied and a channel of accountability should be made for checking activities of all the institutions. The experts should take constructive ideas and reforms policies and the structure of the bureaucracy and other state's institutions should be improved for the immediate service delivery for the citizens.

- **Political Stability:** Democracy is the best type of governance system and federalism is the best mechanism for the integration of diverse society like Pakistan, but we will achieve the fruitful result when all the principles and prerequisites of this model are ensured. Each unit and province of the state should be treated equal. The underdeveloped and backward area like Baluchistan and Tribal Areas should be grant special attention and developmental projects, quota system should fairly ensure in all the civil and other services for all these deprived areas. Two approaches like dialogue and developmental projects are the best mechanism for the political reconciliation and stability of these deprived and backward regions of the country.
- **Strong Institutions:** the state and society institutions should be made strong and stable. They should work and implement their policy without the fear of any third factor. Judiciary the supreme organ of the state should be made very free and fair that without any external pressure deliver its services to the citizens.
- **Reviving the Role of Media:** Media plays a very central and key role in the integration and unification of the country. Media can erase all the cultural and communal differences. All the cultural amalgamation can be easily acquired through positive role of the media. Because in this advance and technological era all the people are connected by electronic and social media. Social media can create a strong national bond among the citizens of the state. It can play a very positive role in national integration. Reforms should be taken at national level by the state authority. All those materials and programs, which promote sectarian, ethnic and regional feelings, should be banned, and each programs, TV shows and talk shows etc. should reflect the national identity and national unity. By the effective role of media, people of Pakistan can be integrated (Shah & Ishaque, 2017).

Conclusion

In this paper, the concept of national integration was discussed thoroughly with special perspective of Pakistan. The researcher also discovered different models and approaches to national integration generally then specifically discussed the model of unity through diversity. Federalism was discussed as suitable approach for unity in diversity in Pakistan. The major prerequisites of federalism were also discussed in detail. After the 74 years of political struggle, we are still seeking national integration and applying different models and theories for getting the best result. National unification is an utmost requirement of national development and political stability. The researcher not only discovered some main hurdles in the way of national integration in Pakistan. Nevertheless, not only but also gave a possible list of recommendation for national integration in Pakistan. In which the researcher highlighted the focus on religious harmony, discourage sectarianism and ethnicity, strong state institutions, stop militancy, equal economic and resources distribution, accommodative role of state and positive role of media is very practical solutions of the national integration in Pakistan.

By discussing the parameter of some positive suggestions for the national integration of Pakistan, we can conclude that we are facing very serious challenges to our national integration. This sectarianism, regionalism, militancy, deprivation and negligence of the some regions of the country should be addressed immediately, because these are the main hurdles, which are weakling the state institutions and paves way for the fragmentation of the state. Reforms in education and madrasas' system and their

curriculum should be reformed and changed according to the need of the day. The backward areas should specially focused by the authority and get their loyalties by ensuring their rights and shares. Although we have taken some reformative steps in the national integration, like 18th amendments, economic projects and NFC but the effective implementation of all these reforms is need of the day. National integration is not a onetime practice; it is a slow gradual and continues process of the state, which can be achieved in a very long period. After the 74 years of the independence, we are still in the process of national integration. The effective struggle and positives reformative steps are the urgency of the time for this national unity and national integration.

REFERENCES

- Apter, D. E. (1963). Ghana in Transition. New York: Antheneum Publisher.
- Britanica, E. (1968). Encyclopaedia Britanica. USA: Chicago Press.
- Bukhari, M. H. (1999). Paksitan Ethnic Nationlism and Politics of Integration. Islamabad: HEC.
- Coleman, J. S., & Rosberg, C. G. (1964). Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa . Berkeley: University of california Press.
- Deutsch, K. W. (1953). Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationlity. Cambridge, NewYork: MIT Press, John Wily& Sons Inc.
- Dictionary, O. (1970). The Oxford English Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Etzioni, A. (1965). Political Unification: A Comaprative Study of Leaders and Forces. NewYork: Holt Rinehart and Winston Inc.
- Gross, S. J. (2008). Foregin Policy Decision Making: rational, psychological and neurological models. In S. Smith, A. Hadfield, & T. Dune, Foregin Policy: Theories, Actors Cases (p. 112). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hashmi, R. S. (2013). The Politics of Ethnicity: An Issue to National Integration of Pakistan. Lahore.
- Hass, E. (1958). The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces. California: Stanford University Press.
- Hodegs, M. (1978). Integration Theory' in Taylor, Trevor, ed., Approches and theory In International Relations. NewYork: Longman Inc.
- Hussain, I. (2009). The Dilemma of National Integration in Pakistan: Challenges and Prospects. ISSRA , 43-60.
- Jehan, R. (1972). Pakistan's Failure in National Integration. NewYork: Colombia University Press.
- Jehanzeb, Parveen, S., & Rehman, F. u. (2013). Challenges nad Policy Option to National Integration in Pakistan A Comparitive analysis. Journal of Law and Society .
- Khan, Z. (1983). National Integration in India Issues and Dimensions. New Delhi: Associated Publiushing House.
- Kwame, P. O., & Achola, P. P. (1981). A New Conceptual Model for the Study of Political Integration in Africa. The Journal of Developing Areas , 585-604.

A Theoretical Perspective of the National Integration in Pakistan

- Lijphart, A. (1969). Consociational Democracy. *World Politics* , 207-225.
- Lijphart, A. (1971). Cultural Diversity and Theories of Political Integration. *Canadian journal of Political Science* , 1-14.
- Lijphart, A. (1977). *Democracy in the Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Majeed, G. (2011). *National Integration in Pakistan; A Socio-Political Analysis of Baluchistan (1972-2005)*. Lahore.
- Morris, C. (1992). *Academic Dictionary of Science and Technology*. California: Jovanovich Publisher.
- Paddison, R. (1983). *The Fragmented State: the Political Geography of Power*. England: Oxford Blackwell .
- Peretomode, V. F. (1985). *Political Parties and National Integration; a case study of Federal Republic of Nigeria*. Oklahoama.
- Pettman, R. (1975). *Human Behaviour and World Politics (A Transdisciplinary Introduction)*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Puchala, R. J. (1981). *Integration Theory and study of International Relations*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Qazi, A. A. (1994). *Ethnicity and Education In National- buildind in Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.
- Rai, H. A., & Malick, S. O. (1989). *A Comparative and Developmental Politics*. Lahore: Aziz Publisher.
- Shah, S. J., & Ishaque, W. (2017). Challenges of the National Integration in Pakistan and Strategic Response. *ISSRA* , 35-48.
- Shakir, M. (1982). On National Integration. *Social Scientist* , 36-54.
- Weiner, M. (1965). Political Integration and Political development. *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* , 52-64.
- Wilson, T. M., & Donnan, H. (1998). *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*. UK: Cambridge University Press.