

Ethnic Politics: An Issue to National Integration (The Case of Pakistan)

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ABSTRACT

National integration has remained an evolving pursue in all the post-colonial divided societies. Although various approaches and strategies of national integration have been opted , but the situation remained complex. The state of Pakistan is also facing problems in the creation of national integration. These problems are due to conflicting socio-political fibre of Pakistani Society which was not handled properly. The diverse fibre of Pakistani Society was based on its ethnic composition. The state adopted an authoritarian policy to expand and consolidate its power and position. While responding authoritarian policy, ethnic groups provoked ethnic politics and started movements for the preservation of their identity. With due course of time, these ethnic movements become a challenge to the national integration. The study has its focus on various approaches to national integration. The research has also highlighted that although federalism is the best suited system for plural societies but effective working of federal institutions is required. For the creation of national integration, assimilationist strategy should be avoided and a pluralistic approach must be incorporated. Central government's role as facilitator can diffuse the tension and brighten the process of national integration.

Key words: Ethnic politics, national integration, federalism, identity, authoritarian policy, divided societies, assimilation, pluralism

Introduction and Meanings of National Integration

History has demonstrated that creation of national integration is a complex process. To unify contrasting identities under one government becomes so difficult at the time when all the groups require a conducive environment for their cultural, economic, and political inspirations. In poly ethnic societies with conspicuous customs, language and identities, the task evolves an abstruse nature. In an effort to understand the challenging relationship between ethnic politics and national integration, operational definition of integration is necessary to explain. Weiner (1965) refers the term integration as, a process that unites culturally and socially discrete groups into a territorial unit. In this way, the established national identity is helpful to overcome the problems between central authority and subordinate political groups. In addition to that it links the government with governed (p.55).

Shakir (1982) presented that the main thrust of national integration is to create congruity among various groups and transform them into a political community. For the economic and political upbringing of that community,

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national integration is an essential condition (p.36). In multiethnic societies, creation of harmony and thrive for national integration are important concerns.

Contrary to the mentioned definitions of national integration, the understanding of former British Home Secretary Roy Jenkins (1966) is also pertinent, quoted in a briefing paper of open society Foundations Institute for Strategic Dialogue. According to Jenkins,

Integration is perhaps rather a loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think we need in this country a 'melting pot', which would turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of Carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of stereotyped Englishman. I define integration, therefore, not as a flattering process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. This is the goal we may fall a little short of this full attainment, as have other communities both in the past and in the present. But if we are to maintain any sort of world reputation for civilized living and social cohesion, we must get far nearer to its achievement than is the case today (p.2).

The definition explains the importance of balance among diverse ethnic groups. It is the duty of the state to create social cohesion through balanced policies. The phenomenon is more critical in developing post colonial states rather than developed states.

The political and social system of developed states, perform as a melting pot so that wider national interests are safeguarded. Here people are socialized to be more conscious of their national identity rather than ethnic ones. Among the modern industrialized societies, the United States of America presents the best example, where ethnically diverse groups, with different back grounds merged in American identity and are sharing equally the democratic rights. People with different origin like Italian, Korean, Spanish and Indian etc, have developed a larger American identity. Despite the fact that they are also associated with their particular ethnic group, ethnicity is not a hurdle towards national integration. The reason might be that state is not instrumental to suppress one ethnic group or creating differences among them (Sodaro, 2008, pp.148-150, Birch, 1989, pp. 7-12). Another example is Canada, where more than one ethnic group live and speak their separate language. Although, in Canadian domestic politics, the language issue has remained very important for years but the government is successful to resolve it through a workable language policy. To alleviate many of its ethnic groups, the Canadian government has introduced the multicultural policy, so that everyone should feel as Canadian. (Sodaro, 2008, P. 150)

Unlike developed and stable democracies, ethnic identities in fact emulates with national identity in less developed and unstable democracies of the developing world. Here, association and loyalty with ethnic groups always poses a serious threat to national integration. Severe ethnic conflicts have been observed in societies which remained under the colonial rule, like the states of South Asia and Africa. One can easily find the racial, cultural, lingual and, religious differences. The innate problems of these states are the destitution of the internal strength, ethnic polarization, social fragmentation and institutional weaknesses (Phandis and Ganguly, 2001, p.19). In these societies, social and political organizations are neither formed strongly nor able to socialize people to syndicate their loyalties towards the state. Consequently, the nature of ethnic conflict is not interpersonal but towards state. Due to animosity with state, its policies are perceived as anti ethnic, resultantly, state fails to create social cohesion and national integration.

Most of the scholars wrote about national integration as a process of nation building. Sklar (1967) declares that to fill the ever-widening gap among various communities, national integration is a positive measure. He further explains that “national integration is an expensive concept implying the creation of durable bonds of unity with in a state”(pp.2-3)

In the following section, those measures have been discussed which state adopts for creating national integration.

Approaches to National Integration and State Strategies

The approaches to national integration can be limited within the modernist and post modernist school of thought. The Modernist approach discusses primarily, societal trends, whether it is inclined towards unification or not. Their basic concern is about successful nation building project. They want to convert different social, cultural linguistic and religious groups into a congruous whole. Karl Deutsch (1963) is the main provocateur of this school of thought. Who is quoted by Vetik (2000) in his article “Democratic multiculturalism: a new model of national integration. According to deutsche the merger of different ethnic groups into one whole, help them to develop their loyalties at the national level. He stresses that for the smooth socio-economic progress, successful assimilation is a precondition. Apart from national views, most of the scholars criticized the modernist approach. For them, assimilation policy is a potential threat to the national integration. This group is known as post-modernist. The important voice in this approach was raised from Walker Connor. He is the principle antagonist of modern school of thought. He favours to preserve cultural differences. Connor (1972) has presented credit to the technological advancements (communication and transportation) for increasing the cultural awareness and the conscious building about “self” and “others”. He believed that in this environment if state forced to assimilate minority groups into majority, the social conflict becomes

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unavoidable and in most of the circumstances it could be turn into ethnic war. (PP. 330-332)

To avoid centrifugal tendencies and cultural fragmentation, the governments of poly ethnic states often introduce three types of state policies.

1. Assimilation policy.
2. Exclusion policy
3. Pluralist Policy / Multiculturalism

Assimilation Policy

Assimilation model is based on social integration. Distinctive cultures are tried to incorporate fully with the national culture through the policy of assimilation. For this purpose, states used to introduce common language, religion, cultural norms, values, symbols, and festivals. The assimilation could be achieved through the process of socialization and change when an ethnic group and individual relinquishes their social attributes and take up of the dominant group (Inglis, p.23). Moin Shakir (1982) in one of his article about national integration quoted a classical expression of John. S. Mill about assimilations. He cited,

Experience proved that it is possible for one nationality to merge and be observed in another; and when it was originally an inferior and more backward portion of the human race, the absorption is greatly to its advantage. No body can suppose that it is not beneficial to a Breton or a Bosque of French Navarre, to be brought into the current of the ideas and feelings of a highly civilized and cultivated people to be a member of the French nationality, admitted on equal terms to all the privileges of French Citizenship, sharing the advantages of French protection and the dignity of French Power than to sulk on his own rock (pp.36-45).

According to the argument of Mill, the policy of assimilation is helpful to eradicate estrangement and unifying the society. Currently, France is the obvious example of an assimilation model. After French Revolution the successive governments made aggressive assimilation of minorities for the purpose of nation building. The centralized and uniformed policies about education and cultures helped to convert people from diverse backgrounds in to French people.

The urban Kurdish minority in Turkey has accepted the assimilation policy of the government and integrated themselves into mainstream political, economic and social affairs. While in some areas it is resisted violently and Kurdish national movement demanded official recognition of the marked Kurdish language and culture. The Iraqi and Syrian governments policy of Arabization and Iranian efforts for Persianization are also against the Kurdish identity.

Notwithstanding that the acculturation is substantial for national integration, yet it is widely debated on different forums. Some observe it a dangerous and most centrifugal approach. Walker Connor (1994) is one of the scholars who insisted that advancement in communication and other sources have increased cultural awareness among minorities. They have become more sentient about their cultural distinctions from other groups (pp.24-26). In another seminal study, Lijphart (1977) elucidates the importance of interpersonal relationship among different ethnic groups. Though this type of interaction enhances the understanding and contributes towards homogenization, on the one hand, but in plural societies, it is likely to originate strain and antagonism on the other. In the latter type of societies, clear drawn boundaries among various ethnic groups and limited contact decreases the chances of hostility (p.88).

Assimilation policies seem alluring as far as the dominant elite are concerned. Although some ethnies willingly accept and assimilate into dominant culture but when states impose it by force, it compels the ethnic groups to rebel against the authorities. A glaring example is the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, when one national language was introduced by the state authorities in 1948 and it was challenged by the other group, widely protested and became a major reason for dismemberment.

Exclusionary Policy

Exclusionary policy is based on the concept to minimize contacts with ethnic minorities. It is also explained by differentialist model, whereby conflicts are managed and resolved through a process of elimination of ethnic minorities (Quinn, 2004, p.120). Its acute pronouncement is physical genocide which was observed in Rwanda in 1994. It was a bi-communal society with major features of segregation, differentiation and imbalance. The worst kind of ethnic riots has been observed from 1990 to 1994 when approximately 800,000 people were killed in Rwanda (Quinn, 2004, pp.120-121).

Apart from genocide and ethnic cleansing, the prevailing form of exclusionary approach is the policy of segregation which largely hampers the involvement of ethnic minorities in the main stream society. Neither do the states show their concern towards minority groups nor do they take initiative to accommodate. The apartheid policies in South Africa setup an extreme example where the elite white minority enslaved the majority native people for decades. In USA segregation policy was used against the African American (Negros) for a long time.

In the contemporary period, the most wide spread tool for the physical elimination of minority, is not a genocide or ethnic cleansing but refers to state policies, delineating the cultural identity of a group. These measures could be forced religious transmutation, destruction of cultural markers, massive relocation of population and promulgation of new language etc. Exclusionary

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policies are re-emerged in the wake of 9/11 incident, particularly in Western Europe and USA, in relation to Muslim immigrants from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. They are the main victims of restrictive immigration laws.

Pluralist Policy

Despite the fact that assimilation and exclusion practices are the vibrant features of contemporary poly ethnic states, even then pluralism exists all over the world. A plural society is defined as a “social order, consisting of institutionally segmented cultural groups living side by side, yet without mingling in one political unit. One cultural section monopolize power, controls the state apparatus and dominant over others (Smith 1974, pp.86-88). Pluralism works as a policy objective which makes the role of the state very important. State practices are more or less geared to accommodate the diverse and conflicting interests of the main ethnic groups.

The policy objectives are carried out through the preferential programmes in the job market, favourable action in the education system and work place, and a mutually agreed electoral mechanism in the political system. The concept of incorporation of individuals and group in society is the key effort towards national integration.

Contrary to the mentioned idealist approach, there is discontent among ethnic groups. Therefore, multicultural states adhere other forms of government within this parameter. The consociational and federal form of governments are widely accepted and experienced to solve ethnic problems and aggrandize national integration.

The Consociational Approach

Consociational or a grand settlement invokes the arrangement to secure the interests of major ethnic groups. The term allude that two or more ethnic groups come together and create consensus that they will recognize each others' rights and interests. They will share a common government. That is formed on an agreed set of rules. Lijphart (1977) who conceptualized the consociational model adverts its applicability especially to plural societies in developing countries and western world. He described four features of this model,

- a) Government by grand coalition.
- b) The mutual veto or concurrent majority rule.
- c) Proportionality in recruitment to decision making bodies and the public services and in allocation of public funds.
- d) A high degree of autonomy for each segment to run its own internal affairs (p.25).

These features do not mean to homogenize an ethnically heterogeneous society, but unequivocally acknowledge their separate identity. The after math of this policy approach is to make a plural society, thoroughly plural.

Federalism

Apart from consociational model, used to obviate ethnic conflict, federalism is another system that used to reconcile diversity within the structure of a single state. In the post cold war era, when ethnic tension captured international attention, federalism was adopted as a mean to regulate ethnic tension, not to exterminate ethnic differences (Mc Garry & O'Leary, 1993, p.4).

Federalism applies to homeland people who seek a significant measure of autonomy and self rule within their territory. They also get a share in participation in the affairs of the state. The governments of federating units and centre both are recognized supreme authorities with in their own jurisdiction that is why federal structure of state has potential to harmonize the lawful demands of different ethnic communities based on language, religion or race. It is commonly described that federalism creates unity among diversity.

Apart from the fact that federalism is mused as the best pattern of pluralism where different ethnic communities co-exist peacefully. There are some states having federal systems in appearance not in essence. The former Soviet Union was a federation in form only. Actually it was a unitary state because its different institutions, political party, and economic planning agency had strong centralized trends. The similar case has been observed in Ethiopia and Nigeria. In both the states, constitution proclaimed ethnic minority rights but the central government impose its decisions by force. The inner authorities have strong control over land resources and public revenues.

The study has its focus on Pakistan, so the next part is about the nature of ethnic politics in Pakistan and its impact on national integration.

Ethnic politics and the issue of national Integration in Pakistan.

Ethnic heterogeneity and cultural pluralism is the major attribute of Pakistani society. Syed (1984) has evaluated the factor of ethnicity specially history, language and culture as the supportive elements for creating nation- hood and promoting national integration. While developing arguments, he explains that ethnic, historical and cultural factors are not divisive because the historical study of all the factors with in this geographical boundary indicates an amalgam of various regional groups. According to his debate, the Aryan and Dravidian elements put strong influence in all of Pakistan's regions. In this way Pakistanis are the product of many foreign and local influences (pp. 185-186). Syed's notion favours the instrumentalist's approach, that ethnicity by itself cannot damage but it is the state and elite groups who use it and stresses ethnic differences to get share in power. One of the glaring examples is the creation of Bangladesh. In the early years of Pakistan, the establishment was reluctant to accept the reality that socio-political and economic interests of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) have become oscillated that diminish the importance of

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religion (a common bond of unity), that was, once the source of strength (for the Indian Muslims). The lingual inspiration became powerful to transform an ethnic community into a nation (Fazal, 2002, p.180; Sayeed, 1967, p.188; Islam, 1990, p.16). In this transformation the role of leadership was very critical. On their appeal and mobilization, ethnicity became a divisive factor for Pakistani nationhood.

Due to reasons, in Pakistan's history, religion and language are considered two important attributes in the formation and deformation of nationhood. Before partition religion was used as first, to distinguish Indian Muslims from Hindus and second, as a mobilizing factor for Muslim community and for the creation of their ideology (Jaffrelott, 2004, p.11). In this perspective, the Muslim leaders used the slogan that "Islam is in danger" and mobilized Muslim community throughout India but at the same time, Ziring (2001) criticised the religious factor as unifying force because in 1971 the theme could not preserve Pakistan (p. 29). In another study, Ziring (1995) again expressed that Hindu dominance and Hindu threat to Islam was not the only factor, which constituted the Muslim Nation in India because fear from others has not enough potential to create a committed community (p.89-90). In the same perspective, Alvi (1988) has also clearly expresses that struggle for Pakistan in the colonial period was not an ideological move for the manifestation of an Islamic state, and Muslim nation, but the movement was for the realization of an urban educated community whom he gave the name a salaried class. (p. 66) He further explains that during Pakistan movement, the salaried class (Indian Muslims) belonged to diverse ethnic groups, different regions and representing different social classes and interests, organized themselves, developed and allied to achieve some materialistic objectives (p. 67).

The debate about religion and language (the two important attributes of ethnicity) claimed as responsible factors in the formation of Muslim nation in India, rationalize the perception that no doubt religious strength successfully mobilized the Muslim nation in India but it is failed to maintain its strength as a unifying force. As far as the language is concerned Jalal (1995) claimed that Pakistani nation is linguistically diverse and culturally diffused nation (p. 278). Before partition, the importance of regional or local languages was neither diminished nor highlighted. Quaid-i-Azam delivered his speeches in Urdu, English and other regional languages. After partition, when Urdu was declared as the national language of Pakistan and a source of communication, it was considered a threat for regional identity. The transformation of thoughts from "loyalty to state" to regional or social identities is the main subject of this research.

Evolution of Ethnic Politics in Pakistan



Note: The map shows East and West Pakistan and physical distance between them.

The divergent social and political fibre of Pakistan is based on its ethnic composition, which is multilingual and multi-national. The five inherited nationalities were defined as Punjabi, Blochi, Sindhi, Pukhtoon, and Bengali. Mohajir and Siraiiki's are the other two groups emerged later. The Muslim Nationalism lost its contextual significance immediately after the creation of Pakistan. The emergence of nationality movement, particularly Bengali, invoked its importance on the basis of significant cultural and linguistic identity. Later, their demand for a separate homeland over their ethnic associations, was the first milestone in the evolution of ethnic politics in Pakistan (Nauman, 1990, pp.192-3). Various factors are responsible in the development of Bengali ethnic consciousness. In the early days, during constitution making the leadership and state both refused to answer some important questions of representation and source of communication. Muhith (1992) declares that issue of language was the subsidiary issue because the real matter was the share of East Pakistani's who were in majority. Whether they will get enough representation and share the honour as the language of majority of Pakistan (p. 61).

The Bengali nationalists acquired a secular connotation. They focused on cultural identity, especially on language, and they were the first who protested against the state policy as declared by Quaid-e-Azam in his address to the students of Dhaka University.

The State language, therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of the sub-continent, a language which, more than any other provincial language embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition, and is nearest to the language used

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in other Islamic Countries (Jinnah, 1960, p. 90).

Students of Dhaka University refused to accept Urdu as national language. However it was not limited to the language issue only, the Eastern wing of Pakistan started to consider itself as periphery, which is colonized by the Western Wing. Despite the fact, that imbalance between East and West Pakistan was a legacy, and could be managed with efficient state policies the managers could not concentrate on it to set it right. The migratory elite, urban middle class, bureaucracy and the army believed in the centralization of power and mono-ethnic tendencies. The establishment took some unpopular measure to create national unity like one unit plan. Following table is helpful to describe some of the policies and their outcome, which developed the ethnic politics in Pakistan.

Table 1.3.1: State Policies to create unity between East and West Pakistan

Policy	Description	Outcome
National language policy	Ruling elite tried to impose Urdu as national language for promoting unity.	Not accepted. three language movement, created Bengali nationalism
One unit plan	Policy of centralization hope to unite the two wings	Alienated Bengalis due to little share in the power circle.
Federal capital in West Wing	Extensive economic development in West Wing at the export surplus of East Wing	Originated a sense of deprivation among East Pakistanis.
Creation of a power circle of civil military bureaucracy	The alliance ruled the country and Bengali had little representation	Created disaffection among Bengali.
Political migration	Posting of non Bengali civil military personnel in Bengal	Perceived as ruled by aliens. Later-on it was converted into a separatist movement.
Elections	Both the political parties refused to accept the results	Dismemberment

Compiled by the researcher

The policy of centralization had a main purpose to unite the two wings but it became the cause of further alienation of Bengalese in the main stream politics. They had little share in the strong centre, and their representation in military and bureaucracy was nominal. Following table will be helpful to understand the phenomenon.

Table 1.3.2: East-West representation in the upper echelons of the CSP in 1955

Rank	West	East	East as % total
Secretary	19	0	0
Joint Secretary	38	3	7.3
Deputy Secretary	123	10	7.5
Under Secretary	510	38	7.3

Adopted from Jahan,R. (1972). *Pakistan: failure in national integration*. New York: Columbia University Press (p.26)

Table 1.3.2: East-West Representation in the military office class 1955-56

Service	East Pakistan	%	West Pakistan	Percentage	Total
Army	14	1.5	894	98.5	908
Navy	7	1.2	593	98.8	600
Air Force	60	8.6	640	91.4	700

Adopted from Jahan,R. (1972) .*Pakistan: failure in national integration*. New York: Columbia University Press (p.25).

The economic policies of Central Government elite encouraged faster growth in West Pakistan albeit the major export item was Jute. Its export surplus was used to develop industries in west wing. The twenty five years of unified history of Pakistan shows significant economic imbalance between the two wings. The economic disparity aggravated the politicized ethnicity of Bengali nationalism and converted it into a secessionist movement which sought external support; though the military crackdown of state on East wing created international aggression. The soviet response in this connection reflected its deep concern in the region. The US response was in favour of political settlement. Within the region, China clearly supported Pakistan and accused India for supporting the secessions leaders and movement (Bhuiyan, 1982, pp. 234-247). India supported Sheikh Mujeeb’s exiled government and trained their liberation army Mukti Bahni. Bhuiyan admitted that it was an open secret that the real logistic support to Mukti Bahni was provided by India (p. 206). This intervention led to the breakaway of East Pakistan in 1971.

1.4 Post 1971 Quest for Identity, Ethnic Politics and National Integration



The dismemberment of Eastern wing not only truncated Pakistan’s territory but a sizeable population also. The new Pakistan consisted on West Wing remained ethnically heterogeneous. The present ethnic configuration of Pakistani Society after 1971 is highlighted in the following table:

Table 1.4.1: Major Ethno Lingual Groups in Pakistan

Ethnic Group	Percentage (1981)	Number of speakers (millions) (1993)
Punjabi	48.17	60.9
Pashto	13.14	16.8
Sindhi	11.77	15.0
Siraiki	9.83	12.6
Urdu	7.60	9.7
Blochi	3.02	3.8
Hindko	2.43	13.1
Brahvi	1.21	1.5
Others	2.81	3.6

Adopted from Rehman, T. (2006), *language and politics in Pakistan Karachi: Oxford University Press.* (p.1)

All the important factors and the major components of ethnicity, the territorial or provincialism, the cultural association include religious and lingual distinctiveness, are found in Pakistan. To address the issue of ethnicity and to avoid its possible negative implications, once again a federal system has been adopted under 1973 constitution, with three lists of power the federal, the provincial and the concurrent list. The federal list of power comprised on the subjects like defence, foreign affairs, citizenship, currency, communication sources, taxes, and public debt. Apart from these affairs other subjects included national highways and roads, maritime shipping, agriculture income and census were important. In the second provincial list, following subjects were introduced, railways, minerals, oil and natural gas and industries. The third or concurrent list topics included, the civil criminal law, transfer of property and registration, population planning, social welfare, environment, tourism and electricity. These were the shared subjects between centre and provinces. On the basis of this sharing of power, it is argued that 1973, constitution built a strong centre with lowest level of provincial autonomy. Due to the reason NAP leaders from Balochistan showed their dissatisfaction and said that the concurrent list is “an instrument of central government’s intervention in the political affairs (Baloch, 2011, Int). The framers of the constitution had a belief that the concurrent list will dilute the powers of centre, and the continuous political process will help in magnifying the role of provinces (Maluka, 1995, p. 248). Apart from this division of power, bicameral legislature was formed. The lower house, National Assembly was elected on population basis and upper house, Senate, on equal representation for the provinces. Initially, Senate had no authority over finance and budget. In later years during president Musharraf’s government, through 17th amendment, money bills are now presented to the Senate (Samad, 2013, p.4). Despite the fact that federalism did not fulfil the inspiration of its founding fathers, even then the constitution makers thought that it is the best suited system. For further strengthening the federalism numerous institutions and strategies had been drawn to manage ethnic diversity and improving the centre and provincial relationship. Article 154 of the constitution permits to construct a “Council of Common Interest” (CCI). It is

appointed by the President. Four Chief Ministers and four federal ministers were appointed by the Prime Minister (P.M). The CCI's has to formulate the policies in accordance to the provincial list of powers, especially on the matters of oil, gas, water, while the subject of electricity from the concurrent list also come under its control. Another function of CCI was to address the complaints and provincial grievances. Syed (2006) criticized the role of CCI as an ineffective body because it follows the directives of the executive only (Dawn, 3, September).

National Economic Council (NEC) is the other body for promoting federalism. According to the Article 156 (1) President has the authority to constitute it. Its members include Prime Minister, as the Chairman, the Chief Minister and one member from each province, to be nominated by the Chief Minister. PM can also appoint four other members. Its major task involved reassessments of the economic conditions and devise policies for economic development. Another important institute is the National Finance Commission (NFC). It is instituted to develop proposals including the financial issues. It is also constituted on the advice of President for five years. Federal and provincial finance ministers are its important members. The work of NFC has remained controversial because it operates under federal control and the main criterion for federal award is population which is also highly contentious.

Despite this constitutional design, the civil institutions are thrown out twice in 1977 and 1999, by strong military coups. In both the situations, the original constitution was suspended. Different amendments became the part of 1973 constitution, which changed its spirit from decentralization to centralization of power. The federal intervention into the federating units can easily be evaluated while taking an eye view of the history of Pakistan.

Table 1.4.2: Central Governments intervention to federating units

Year	Description
1947	Congress ministry in NWFP had 'the support of 33 members out of 50'. But it was replaced by a Muslim League ministry.
1947	Sindh assembly opposed the decision of central government to take Karachi out of the control of Sindh and passed a resolution unanimously. The Chief Minister of Sindh had to pay for this resolution and he was dismissed soon.
1948	Inclusion of Kallat state into Pakistan
1955	One-Unit Scheme (amalgamation of provinces and states into the province of West Pakistan.)
1962- 69	Ayub's Presidential period (Federal system operated like British Vice regal system of 1930s.)
1970-71	Military Action in East Pakistan and its separation
1972-73	End of tripartite accord and dissolution of Baluchistan government. NWFP government resigned as protest.
1977-88	Constitutional amendments by Military Regime undermined the parliamentary and Federal nature of the constitution.
1988-93	Dissolution of provincial assemblies (1988, 90, 93)
1994	Governor Rule in NWFP and installation of favourable government
1995	Governor rule in Punjab and installation of new government
1999	Removal of Nawaz Sharif government along provincial government
2002	17 th Amendment has undermined the federal character of the state.

Adopted from Mushtaq, M. (2009). *Managing Ethnic diversity and federalism in Pakistan*. Electronically retrieved from <http://www.eurojournals.com/ejsr.htm> at 10:30 p.m. on 10th April, 2011.

Conclusion

During the long military rule from 1977 to 1987 and from 1999 to 2008, the federal institutions became inactive due to the reason. Pakistan fulfils minimum requirements of federalism. The constitutional and political centralization authorized the central government to intervene in the affairs of federating units. On the other hand, federating units are politically incapable to satisfy smaller groups, resultantly different ethno-linguistic movements used to show their strength.

Following table is helpful to understand the nature of ethnic conflict in Pakistan:

Table 1.4.3: Some Considerable Ethno-lingual – Nationalist movements: Nature of Conflicts

Period	Group	Location	Nature of Conflict
1973-1977 2002-2005*	Baloch	Baluchistan	Insurgency against central government which was forcefully crushed by PPP Government major reasons of revived movement are denial of adequate representation in the government, Political Migration, issue of royalty of natural resources, Target killing.
1973. 74-77 2009-2010	Pashtun Hindko	KPK*	Counteraction to dismissal of elected government and against intervention in Provincial matters. Hazara Sooba Movement on the basis of Hindko dialect.
1980-1985 2003*	Mohajir	Urban Sindh	Against the Central authorities lack of representation in bureaucracy and Army against quota system, loss of identity, killings in Karachi.
1960-70 1988-2009 to date	Saraiki	Southern Punjab	To gain language rights against Punjabi dominance and creation of Separate Province, Siraikistan.

Source: Compiled by the researcher

- In 2005, the government forcefully crushed the Baloch insurgency in Kohlu District (third operation against Baloch nationalists) the Balochi nationalist fervour regain its strength.
- Mohajirs raised their voice against the discriminatory policies of PPP Government in 1973-77. In 1980s, they captured the attention on national scene while representing the lower middle class. Military operations against Mohajir activist in 1992. It remained the Part of various coalitions on national and provincial levels.
- Khyber Pakhtun Khoa (KPK) is the new name of North West Frontier Province (NWFP).

To avoid the conflictual situation and satisfying the ethnic groups, 18th amendment was launched in 2010. This amendment abolished the concurrent list and powers are clearly distributed between federal and provincial governments. Despite these arrangements, ethnic issue in the provinces further complexing the environment of nationhood and national integration.

Suggestions

At present for the creation of social cohesion and national integration the state must keep in mind the following considerations,

- No doubt federalism has proved to be the best design for multi-ethnic societies. Its acceptance for social and political pluralism will further be helpful to integrate different ethnic groups in nationhood.
- Ethnic factor should be considered, while shaping up the national policy otherwise, ethnic groups will remain important contender to the state.
- It is required that state has to evolve the strategies based on structural and perceptual perspective. Structural involved, political engagement, political reforms, social giving's and significant compromises while the perceptual includes the expunction of misperception brought about in the society. This could be done when there is trust and close interaction with the contending parties: the ethnic groups and the state authority.
- Political participation through regular free elections must be ensured in which every group should have to participate
- Unity in diversity must be protected. Any policy to create forced assimilation could be disastrous for federation. Concerns of diversity must be mirrored in the existing federal institution.
- State should have to conduct a transparent census with regular intervals that reflect the evolving demographic trends in Pakistan. No doubt, it helps the state to allocate the resources and to view the future growth and needs of ethnic groups.

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