

THE QUEST FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN PAKISTAN: PAKHTUN PERSPECTIVE

Zahid Khan,* Syed Wasif Azim,*
Wajid Mehmood,* and Adnan Khan*

Abstract

The paper identifies significant fault-lines both within the policy making and policy implementation which obstruct the much desired virtue of national harmony and integration in Pakistan. Normally, it appears that most of the federating units, socio-cultural entities and groups offer a very strong sense of nationalism and patriotism with the state of Pakistan but there are some gray areas which need serious consideration. Nevertheless, a level of uneasiness and frustration on the part of some groups and units in respect of the mode and method of governance and policy directions can be felt in one way or another. For example, Balochis, Sindhis, Saraikis of South Punjab, and Pakhtuns question the policies of federation and seek their due shares and rights as enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan. The history of the centre-province relations in Pakistan does contain some bitter memories, where the rights of the smaller provincial unites were compromised and subjugated in favour of the stronger entity. It's high time to learn some lessons from the past and lead the process of nation-building and integration by taking such steps in policy-making which may help bring the fragmented pieces together cementing a stronger, prosperous and integrated Pakistan.

Keywords: *Federalism, Centre-Provincial Relations, Integration, Relative Culturalism, Rights, Exploitation, Socio-Economic Deprivation, Fair Share.*

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- * Zahid Khan, Ph.D scholar and Lecturer, Department of Regional Studies University of Peshawar.
 - * Syed Wasif Azim, Ph.D. scholar Deptt. of Political Science UOP and visiting faculty.
 - * Wajid Mehmood, Ph.D scholar Deptt. of Politcal Science, University of Peshawar.
 - * Adnan Khan, M.Phil scholar and Child Protection Officer, Child Protection and Welfare Commission KPK.

Introduction

National integration is the creation of a feeling of oneness where the diversities are recognized and respected by imbibing a sense of nationhood. Modern states mostly cherish the noble idea based on the principle of unity in diversity. National integration refers to a sense of territorial nationality which overshadows or eliminates subordinate parochial loyalties. It asks that for national integration to occur in a nation a significant number of citizens must develop identification with the nation that supersede identification with ethnic, cultural or religious groups, acquire political awareness, share common norms and values and develop attitudes favourable to the display of integrative behaviour among people of different groups.¹

Pakistan, like most of the states in the world, is a 'Multiethnic' and 'Plural' modern state, facing problems with the formation of a 'common Pakistani Nationhood' since its birth (1947).² This is evident by the formation of Bangladesh out of East Pakistan in 1971, making Pakistan the first state in post-war era that witnessed disintegration. Like many states of the world, this problem is severe and threatening today for the state of Pakistan.³

The project of nation formation of Pakistan and the event of 1971 have been discussed by many scholars. Some scholars argue that the process and project were manipulated by the elite of Pakistan, while others argue of a discourse on Power and Community. Ethnic communities of Pakistan have challenged this project of Pakistani state, like Sindhis, Balochs and Pakhtuns.⁴ Volumes of research work have been done on this issue of Pakistan. These researches have highlighted the failure of Pakistani state in making the project of 'nation making' successful and handling the plurality of ethnicities in Pakistan, arguing that state has been a failure when it comes to tackle the grievances of ethnic minorities in the country. The ethnic gap between different ethnicities of the country has further been widened by the use of force and Islam as a dividing factor.⁵

However, as this study highlights the issue has been treated solely as a political one, without proper analysis, this seems an injustice with the issue at hand. The researches treat ethnic sentiments and categories as

¹ Gurpreet Kaur, "Understanding National Integration and Challenges in its Way", <<http://www.confabjournals.com/confabjournals/images/810201381117.pdf>>, accessed May 2015.

² Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of Punjab, 1996), 332-40.

³ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 354-70.

⁴ G.W. Choudhry, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan* (London: Law and Brydone Ltd., 1969), 120-30.

⁵ Syed Abdul Quddus, *Islamic Polity in Modern Times* (Lahore: Ferozsons Pvt. Ltd., 1987), 155-86.

'real world ethnic groups', creating problems both in scholarship and handling the problem. There is a need for looking into the issue through debates of Anthropology and Sociology, coupled with politico economic lens. This will help in understanding the roots of the problem and will provide a good base for the integration process in the country.

Pakhtuns are the second largest ethnicity in Pakistan. There have been different scholarly studies on the society, economy and politics of the region, both from anthropological and political perspectives. Recent research argues that Pakhtuns are showing a growing sense of belonging to Pakistan, however, it also identifies that they consider it a 'multiethnic Pakistan' and primarily identify themselves as Pakhtuns. However, some studies argue that Pakhtuns have integrated into the state of Pakistan.⁶

There is an ongoing protracted conflict in many Pakhtun regions. The chain of militant activities started by the religious extremist group Tehreek-e-Nafaze Shariyat Mohammadi (TNSM) in 1990's has yet to be eliminated. Fata region of Pakhtun population is under military operations since last decade for the presence of extremist militants under the banner of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan formed in 2007. There have been suicide attacks and militants' targeting of almost every state/governmental official, institute, politician and public space. The war has taken many lives of Pakhtuns and military men.⁷ A thin piece of research argues that the war is Pakhtun's nationalist struggle in the cover of Sharia or religion, but many scholars don't have the same opinion. The conflict amplified from 2004, when Pakistan armed forces started military operations. However, peace has been restored in many regions of the province. This religious extremism has earned a bad name and stereotypical projections of Pakhtuns as 'primitive' and 'fanatic Muslims' in Pakistan, which directly affects the relations of Pakhtuns with the state and the subsequent integration project of Pakistan.⁸

There are reasons to both the problems of Pakhtuns and religious extremists. Regarding Pakhtuns it is pointed out that they were forced by the state after independence in the first few decades to accept and adopt the new situations as historically they were under the encapsulating systems of many empires and colonizing states. The complex socio-political and tribal structures were not taken into account by the state of Pakistan. The recent conflict seems to add to the issue by affecting Pakhtuns way of life.⁹

⁶ Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: opposition and memory in the North West Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 10-15.

⁷ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift into extremism: Allah, the army and America's war on Terror* (New Delhi: New Elegant Printers, 2005), 215-220.

⁸ Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism", *Comparative Politics*, 13:4 (1981): 379-385.

⁹ Yasmeen Aftab Ali, "Understanding Pakhtunwali", *The Nations*, August 6, 2013.

Issues and concerns of Pakhtuns and Pakistan

The notion that Pakhtuns have assimilated into the state of Pakistan and no more represent themselves as Pakhtuns but as Pakistanis, is challengeable. The elections of 2008 showed that majority of Pakhtuns voted for a nationalist political party (Awami National Party) and also that recent research shows that Pakhtuns still identify themselves as Pakhtuns primarily. However, research suggests that Pakhtuns do not have irredentist demands of separation (like Pushtunistan issue) but identify themselves with Pakistan as a state and Muslims as Ummah. There are issues and concerns when it comes to Pakhtun's relations with Pakistan. This study will elaborate some important factors.

Nation making project of the state (official nationalism)

When Pakistan came into being in August 1947, it comprised of many ethnic nationalities. Punjabis, Pakhtuns, Sindhis, Balochs and Bengalis were identifying themselves as distant nationalities. One thing that was common amongst the majority was that they were Muslims. Pakistani state in a move to unify its people and regions started a nation-making project. This was built upon existing commonalities along with carving many others. Language (Urdu), Religion (Islam), Culture (Sub-continental) were put together to make a whole Pakistani culture. This official nationalism was imposed from above by the state of Pakistan on all the communities, in spite of its evolution and emergence from below.¹⁰ However, this was viewed by communities (other than Punjabis) as ruled by a powerful and privileged class, termed as '*Salariat*' by Alavi, (1987) in the name of national identity. Rather it should have been a discourse or ideology that promotes hegemony rather than disintegration.¹¹

An analysis of the components of this project shows that regarding socio-cultural setups, there were issues. For example Urdu was imposed as the only state language, neglecting Bengali, Sindhi, Punjabi and Pashto, which created problems for the state. Bangladesh was formed on the base provided by the language controversy. Pakhtuns seldom use Urdu in everyday life, Punjabis still are dualistic (formally speaking Urdu but maintain ethnic identity by speaking Punjabi) and Sindhis have been the most severe opposition to Urdu, however, Urdu has penetrated most ethnicities in Pakistan, but not to a significant level. It has provided an argument to nationalists to oppose the state.¹²

Likewise putting Islam at the heart of this process has problems in itself. The extreme Islamization of the state, resulting from this project has

¹⁰ Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan* (London: Hurst and Company, 2009), 2-8.

¹¹ Ibid., 8-13.

¹² G.W. Choudhry, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, op.cit., 124-130.

consequences. On one side, extremist movements have roots in it; while on the other side, Marxists, leftists and seculars have backed the nationalists to oppose it. This has at times strengthened nationalist and ethnic sentiments, creating problems for the integration process of Pakistan and weakening the state subsequently. It has further divided the society on sectarian basis and has added to 'Ethicizing Islam', where Sufis identify themselves with Sindhis, modernists with Mohajir and Deobandis with tribal Pakhtuns. This has serious consequences for the integration process of the state, when it comes to the case of Pakhtuns. Pakhtuns face difficulty in accommodating themselves in an exclusive Muslim Pakistan, with no ethnic dimension to the identity, though they want Muslimness in a multiethnic Pakistan.

Significantly, this issue is related to other ethnicities of Pakistan like Sindhis, Balochs and Bengalis in the past. It is very important for policymaking processes of Pakistan to keep different ethnicities integrated in the country that will subsequently help in the smooth running of the state.¹³

Constitution and state representation

Pakistan was unable to frame a constitution for around 9 years since its inception.¹⁴ Adding to that was the imposition of Martial Law by President Ayub Khan. Replaced by other constitutions and the formulas like One Unit have had consequences for Pakhtuns and other ethnicities.¹⁵ The initial role of the founding father of Pakistan, constitutional centralization of the state and limited autonomy has added to the fragmentation of Pakistan. Pakhtun nationalists have always used this card of provincial autonomy as the condition for allegiance to Pakistan since the time of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. However, the constitution never addressed this issue of Pakhtuns, for many reasons, prominently because of the fear of disintegration and due to Army's rule for most of the history.¹⁶ An overwhelmingly large population of one province (Punjab) has given this ethnicity a much higher proportion in state institutions. This helps in increasing their proportion while corroding others with time. Pakhtuns (both elites and masses) since decades and especially under Punjab dominated right wing party Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) have been objecting to these imbalances. This has serious consequences for

¹³ Farzana Shaikh, op.cit., 81-90.

¹⁴ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development, 1947-1999* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 35-49.

¹⁵ Hassan Askari-Rizvi, "Political Impediments to Development", in *Development challenges confronting Pakistan*, ed. Anita M. Weiss and Saba Gul Khattak (London: Kumairian Press, 2013), 81-92.

¹⁶ Dr. Arshad Rizvi, *The Political System of Pakistan: A Constitutional Study* (Lahore: Paramount Books, 2014), 160-171.

National Integration in Pakistan. Centralization of the state has added to the ethnic problems in Pakistan and state's failure to share power with indigenous ethnicities are the issues which have helped Pakhtun nationalist elites to effectively mobilize masses in their support. Moreover, like other regions of Pakistan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, too, has faced rigorous modernization accompanied by its attendant, dislodgment and negligence.¹⁷

The British recruited Pakhtuns in the army in large numbers. After the independence 19.5 per cent recruitment in the army came from NWFP. This situation continues to be the same.¹⁸ Pakhtuns have always looked southwards for its economic activity rather than northwards. (Afghanistan) Pakhtuns have been moving towards the south for better investments, jobs and commerce. The public sector is even ruled by the Pakhtuns and is not dominated by the people of other regions.¹⁹ The 18th Amendment recognized these tensions, and Article 27 of the Constitution now provides "that under-representation of any class or area in the service of Pakistan may be redressed in such manner as may be determined by Parliament."²⁰

Colonial legacy

Importantly, Pakistan has been unable to get out of the colonial mindset. It seems to be ruled under the same mindset.²¹ Pakhtuns like other ethnicities have reservation over the changing of masters only, from British to Pakistan. The terms like rural verses urban, tribal verses settled, traditional verses modern, still reflects the colonial impressions on Pakistani state. This has driven the policies of the state to modernize its people. Pakhtuns having different socio-political setups have challenged this.

Drawing lines for dividing people on ethnic and racial basis is also a colonial legacy. Imperialist used to divide different communities in such a way which could facilitate their rule and provide them opportunities to hold it for maximum period of time.²² For example in Pakistan this division is very prominent. This had never been fruitful for a new federation of

¹⁷ Ahmad Salim, Iskander Mirza, *Rise and Fall of a Person* (Lahore: Gora Publishers, 1997), 202-214.

¹⁸ Hassan Askari-Rizvi, op.cit., 34-45.

¹⁹ Abubakar Siddique, *The Pashtuns: The Unresolved Key to the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Haryana: Random House Publishers, 2014), 30-40.

²⁰ The Constitution of Pakistan, The Eighteenth Amendment Act, 2010, <<http://www.pakistan.org/pakistan/constitution/amendments/18amendment.html>>, accessed 12 May 2015.

²¹ Ashley J. Tellis, Pakistan's Political Development: Will the Future be Like the Past in *Development Challenges Confronting Pakistan*, 225-230.

²² Charles Funderburk and Robert G. Thobaben, *Political Ideologies; Left, Center, Right*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1989), 10-13.

Pakistan where a single ethnic group (Punjabis) had majority. Resultantly this communal group is having more shares in the bureaucracy and military, thereby having more say in the state affairs. After sometime, other small ethnic groups started perceiving themselves as colonies of the larger ethnic group. This proved to be very harmful for the integration of Pakistan. Many movements within the federating units started for provincial rights, provincial autonomy and self-determination.²³

This has created problems between Pakhtuns and Pakistan and is a potential threat to the integration process of the state. However, efforts have been made for decades by Pakhtun nationalists who interpret it as the foundation of a new social contract among provinces, to become part of the new state.²⁴ Talking about other ethnicities in this regard, arguing that these people were from urban middle class and had received "Anglo-vernacular education rather than a classical education in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit"; patronage was bestowed upon them because of their help in "Indian mutiny". They were rewarded in many ways and got special attention in education. Lands were granted to them and new canals were created. This drew them into the political leadership of the Muslim League and ultimately Pakistan where they worked for safeguarding the interests of the landlords.²⁵

On the other side, other communities of the Muslim's population got fewer shares in the colonial patronage. Bengalis although more educated than Punjabis were "under represented" in that patronized class. In Sindh although some non-Muslim elite were included in the main stream, yet after partition they were forced to leave and a vacuum was created which to some extent was filled by Urdu speaking Mohajirs. Mohajirs became partner with the Punjabis in Pakistan and supported the notion of indivisible and united Pakistan.²⁶

Balochs like Pakhtuns and Sindhis were also under represented in colonial and "Pakistani" *Salariat* class. This under representation produced a sense of deprivation in these communities and ultimately gave birth to regional rivalries. The rulers of Pakistan could not bridge the rivalries and addressed the grievances of the deprived groups. This further added to the backwardness of these communities in term of economy, politics and social structure. Moreover, the people developed a sense of agitation, and resistance started against the central government. Political system which was already weak further weakened that facilitated the emergence of local and regional identities rather than focusing on single Pakistani identity. Similarly, drawing lines for dividing people on ethnic

²³ Lawrence Ziring, op.cit., 110-120.

²⁴ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 222-25.

²⁵ Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, op.cit., 356-366.

²⁶ Ibid.

and racial basis, as discussed above, as a colonial legacy has been fatal in the case of other ethnicities, like Bengalis.²⁷

Politics of the elite and leaders

Pakistan in this case is very much unfortunate, for, after the death of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, it could not produce a charismatic national level leader. Moreover, the political leadership had made some big mistakes in the initial turbulent years of Pakistan. The removal of Dr. Khan and Ayub Khuro's ministries in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (the then NWFP) and Sindh, can be termed as a very undemocratic behaviour of the leadership.²⁸ Similarly, in Punjab conflict arose between Mamdot and Daultana which ultimately resulted in the dismissal and dissolution of Punjab ministry and legislature in 1949.²⁹ Bengalis on the other side were busy in shaping, formulating and demanding their share and representation in the newly evolving constitution. For them, Bengali language and culture were more important than Urdu and Pakistani culture (which they consider Punjabi culture).³⁰ Fazl-i-Haq government was dismissed on a petty issue of a statement regarding united Bengal. Also in centre, seven governments were dismissed within the first eight years of Pakistan. This clearly shows the incompetence of the leadership in making a national government and integrating different units of the federation. That is why Pakistan could not become nation in being but nation in hope.³¹

In the argument of Jaffrelot, Pakistan's ethnic problem and tension is the result of elite manipulation against the state's centralization of resources. He proposes that these elites used ethnicity as an instrument for their own demands. Exploring through history of decades, he explains that as Pakhtuns, Balochs and Kashmiris are present across the borders of Pakistan; it drives the foreign Policy of Pakistan with Iran, India and Afghanistan, as the elites manipulate the ethnic portion of Pakistan.³²

This shows that elite's political manipulation is very important to be addressed. In the case of Pakhtuns it was Ghaffar Khan in pre- and post-partition era in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa who took the field against elite's manipulation of the masses in the name of federalism, democracy and Islam. Pakhtuns were driven by these political leaders in the movement

²⁷ Farzana Shaikh, op.cit., 46-55.

²⁸ Basharat Hussain Qizilbash, *Federalism in Pakistan: early Years* (Lahore: Pakistan study Center, 2001), 30-40.

²⁹ Dr. Arshad Rizvi, op.cit., 109.

³⁰ Hassan Askari-Rizvi, op.cit., 83-88.

³¹ Lawrence Ziring, op.cit., 110-130.

³² Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origin, Direction* (London: Anthem Publishers, 2004), 30-40.

and Pakistani State's behaviour with them was considered to be one with all Pakhtuns.³³

Importantly after failure in national politics, political leaders became ethno-centric. It was mainly because of the feelings of marginalization and unequal opportunities in the affairs of state. For example Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardi who had been an active member of Muslim League from 1936, formed a Bengali base political party "Awami League" in 1949. Similarly, G M Syed who once was an advocate of the cause of Pakistan termed his struggle in favour of independent state of "Sindhu Desh". Bacha Khan, though from the beginning was holding ideology of Indian National Congress, was forced to be more ethno-centric when Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry was dismissed in 1948. Ayub Khan and Ziaul Haq although banned political parties during their reigns, yet feelings of ethno centralism deepened.³⁴ Zia's Islamization, involvement in Afghan Jihad and harsh policies towards Pakistan People's Party, added a further blow to the issue of ethno-centric politics.³⁵ In his times the religio-ethnic factor was more prominent. Other political leaders including Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, Pervez Musharaf and Asif Zardari, all failed to end ethno-centric politics and grievances of small ethnic units i.e. Baluchistan and Pakhtunkhwa are still on the rise providing the local leadership to further widen the gap between centre and federating units.

The political elite, therefore, played an important role in further dividing the ethnicities and federation of Pakistan. In the words of Wilcox, "If Pakistan is to become one nation, it requires years of common history and experience under gifted leaders, who, while maintaining consensus within their own circles, recognize their obligations to the broader public."³⁶

State's role

State is one of the most important resources for a community as well as the sole distributor of the available resources, occupying a very central role in the whole process of the country. Cultural differences among ethnicities in the state are not sources of conflict and ethnic violence, till the time they are exploited by the state or at least ignored by the state. State's role coupled with elite manipulation drive differences to conflicts among ethnicities or state and a minor ethnicity. In the case of Pakhtuns, state has been playing a significant role. State's avoidance of the socio-cultural features of Pakhtuns, in institutions and media has resulted

³³ Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand O Jaddo Jehad* (Pashto) (Kabul, 1983), 730-40.

³⁴ Safdar Mahmood, op.cit., 117-23.

³⁵ Sreedhar, John Kaniyalil and Savita Pande, *Pakistan After Zia*, (New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1989), 86-95.

³⁶ Wilcox, Wayne Ayres, *Pakistan: The Consolidation of a Nation*. (New York: Columbia University Press, (1963), 221.

in gaps between them and the state. State shall use its resources and machinery to bring harmony and flourish equity in the country, rather than to suppress ethnic cultures and ethnicities.³⁷

Resources

Resources include socio-economic and political opportunities, even the state itself. It is very clear that all ethnicities in Pakistan have a sense of ownership to the state of Pakistan equally. This encompasses the institutions of the state, its machinery and the socio-economic opportunities. In Pakistan it may include civil military bureaucracy, water resources, energy recourses etc. Pakhtuns, when they were least represented in civil military bureaucracy of the state, were having strong grievances against the state, but today are accepting the state of Pakistan.

It has been argued that national harmony and peace is achievable through distribution of resources with justice (those needing more shall be given more). When people are even deprived of necessities of life, they come in conflicts with those powering the resources and the state, as can be seen in the case of Pakhtuns, when it comes to water for energy. Pakhtun's discourse on Pakistani nation is often limited and is identified with the distribution of resources, along with the dynamism of inter-ethnic power.³⁸

Political and economic opportunities and resources are so compelling that it helped in reducing the separatist and irredentist demands of Pakhtuns to the extent that scholars thought of complete integration of Pakhtuns in Pakistan in near future. However, there are issues between Pakhtun majority province and the centre state of Pakistan when it comes to resources and their distribution with the central government. It includes royalty of hydroelectric power generation, poor system of irrigation, low presence and working of large scale industries, unemployment and most importantly the issues associated with the current wave of violence in the region, placing the province third in the list of social services. The state is both a resource in itself and a distributor of resources. Under the Local Government Ordinance 2001 local governments have the authority to plan and spend the funds according to local priorities in accordance with the budget approved by the budget council. Federal government should try to take into confidence the government of different provinces regarding formulation process of various domestic and external policies. In this regard this year National Finance Commission (NFC) is to work out a component to distribution of assets between national government and the areas for the following five

³⁷ G.W. Choudhry, op.cit., 133-150.

³⁸ Ashley J. Tellis, *Development Challenges Confronting Pakistan*, op.cit., 225-237.

years. How will it benefit the Pakhtuns? The efficiency of the process has been remarked upon not only by academicians but also politicians.³⁹

Conclusion

National integration and harmony cannot be achieved without understanding the character of the nation. The dream of unity and harmony will not see the light of the day unless we intrinsically believe in the validity of different beliefs and approaches. No nation and country can stay in peace at home and on the borders without fusing among its hearts and minds the virtues of tolerance and adaptation. For countries like Pakistan which is the home to different religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups, the need and urgency to develop the feelings of national integration stand important. One has to accept the fact that despite all differences, Pakistan is one political entity. We have to co-exist with each other peacefully, respecting the culture and religion of our fellows. The policymakers and those in control of important post and positions, too, need to reconsider their priorities and directions. It's time to take some lessons from our failings in the past and avoid committing blunders that have cost us one wing of the country. It's time to dispense justice and maintain equality that will help look positively towards all segments of our nation. It's time to bury our past with all its bitterness for good and endeavour for a better, prosperous and united Pakistan.

As a matter of fact Pashtuns, like any other community, stand heart and soul patriotic citizen of Pakistan. To question their patriotism and loyalty will be a big misjudgement and injustice. The misperceptions and misunderstanding of the early days of our nation in respect to some of Pakhtun leaders have long disappeared. For Pashtuns irrespective of which part, province, region, or administrative unit they live in, Pakistan stands "First", and they live and die for Pakistan. Let us pray and struggle for a better, united, respected and prosperous Pakistan.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis the study proposes some policy recommendations which are listed below:

- To frame a structure in which representation is given to all ethnicities or provinces properly, not based only on population in which few are benefited. Senate shall be empowered more to keep that balance and cope with the constitutional problems. It shall also have a major focus on distribution of resources and enhancing provincial autonomy.

³⁹ Abubakar Siddique, op.cit, 203-220.

- To involve, engage and motivate people from all ethnicities and provinces in institutions of the state, in order to promote the sense of ownership of Pakistan. It should primarily focus high level civilian and military bureaucracy along with other institutions.
- Serious efforts should be made to attract key leaders into reconciliation negotiations to minimize the elite manipulation of people by political ethno centric leaders.
- Administration of differences in Pakistan obliges a methodology of political transaction and needs to run as one with the reinforcing and extending of the majority rule process.
- The process of enhanced decentralization needs to be initiated in Pakistan to minimize the autocratic role of one powerful unit.
- Democratic enhancement could also be achieved through public discussions on governance, peace and militancy. The standing and steering provincial committees can play an important role in this regard.
- State need a straightforward enumeration with standard interims that mirror the advancing demographic patterns in Pakistan. Most likely, it helps the state to distribute the assets and to view the future development and needs of ethnic gatherings.
- It is obliged that state needs to develop the methodologies in view of auxiliary and perceptual viewpoint. Auxiliary included, political engagement, political changes, social giving's and critical bargains while the perceptual incorporates the expunction of misperception achieved in the general public. This might be possible when there is trust and close connection with the fighting gatherings: the ethnic gatherings and the state power.
- The 18th Amendment is a hint of something to look forward for the nation and its usage can bring the change at grassroots level by lapsing money related and political influence.
- State's role in fostering a modern political culture among citizens is also important. This helps in making ground for federalism, democracy and better participation and lesser conflicts between units and people.
- Involving general public from all units in constitution making process is important to enhance national integration.

- Demands of all the segments and units should be incorporated by the state so as to foster harmony and peace in the country.

Removing colonial and imperial impressions from institutions, education system and politics of the country by the help of all stake holders in the country.

