

Rehana Saeed Hashmi, Niaz Muhammad

Changing Dimensions of Nation-Building in 21st Century Pakistan: A Critical Analysis

Abstract

Nation-building has remained a big challenge for leadership in Pakistan. In the initial years, the policy of nation-building was based on religion and language. However, this policy failed to keep the two wings of the country united. As a result, the Eastern wing was lost which became an independent state called Bangladesh. In Pakistan, the existing literature on nation-building covers the period of the second half of the twentieth century. One can hardly find any worth reading work on this topic in the twenty first century. In this paper, an attempt has been made to fill the existing gap in the literature on nation-building in the first two decades of twenty first century. In this regard, special attention has been paid to the changing dimensions of nation-building from language and religion to factors like power-sharing, institutions, infrastructure, economic development and sports.

Keywords: Nation-building, Power-Sharing, Economic Development, Infrastructure, Civil Society, Media, Institutions, Sports

-
1. **Dr Rehana Saeed Hashmi**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan
 2. **Niaz Muhammad**, Lecturer Political Science, Government College Ladha, South Waziristan, KP, Pakistan

Introduction to Nation-Building

According to Rene Grotenhuis nation-building is an open process having no pre-defined results and there exists no straight forward path to achieve it. It is due to the open ended nature of nation-building process that it needs a different mind-set from that of state-building. It is a process-led and not result-led mechanism and only people with different dynamics and nature can decide their shared identity (Grotenhuis, 2016). Within the context of nation-building, particularly for post-colonial states like Pakistan, Rene Grotenhuis's argument about nation-building should be taken with a pinch of salt. While there is no doubt that nation-building is process-oriented, there are a few visible markers that can be used to predict the results. In case of post-colonial states, nation-building is often guided by two variables; pre-independence patterns of governance and post-independence visionary leadership. If leadership becomes successful in taking certain measures that gradually dismantle the patron-client economy and polity then the process

of nation-building can take place in a smooth manner. Singapore presents one such example and to substantiate this argument Michael Hill and Lian Kwen Fee's seminal work, 'The Politics of Nation Building and Citizenship in Singapore', is of great significance. However, if the post-independence leadership allows the pre-independence governance patterns to continue then a faulty foundation for nation-building process gets laid. Pakistan's nation-building process is emblematic of this faulty approach. Therefore, for post-colonial states, nation-building does not remain entirely process oriented. Onyishi Anthony and Eme Okechukwa's argument about nation-building hits close to home as compared to Grotenhuis's argument. According to Onyishi Anthony and Eme Okechukwa nation-building is an evolutionary process and takes long time. They argue that nation-building could be seen as architectural design or a mechanical model built on the bases of authority, plan and needs of the designer. It is the process of molding loyalties of citizens towards the state instead of prioritizing their parochial, regional and tribal or ethnic communities. They say that newly-independent states could achieve nation-building through short-term and long-term strategies. The short-term strategies include creation of national flag, anthems; national days and national myths etc. while, the long-term strategies consists of urbanization, industrialization, technological development and economic development (Anthony and Ukechukwa, 2014).

A more elaborate definition of nation-building has been given by Sinclair Dinnen in his article "*Nation-Building: Conceptual and Definitional Challenges*". He defines nation-building as *the process of creating the sense of "shared identity" and a sense of "shared community" among the people of various groups* (Dinnen, 2006). According to Kalu N, Kalu nation-building becomes a rehabilitation campaign for countries with devastated bureaucratic and institutional structure as a result of conflict or other crisis. In such countries nation-building means addressing individual, psychological, social and cultural needs of people. It therefore, needs to provide a structural framework for nation building (Kalu, 2011).

In Pakistan nation-building has been considered as one of the most challenging problems faced by the leadership. The ruling elite have to build a nation from various ethnic, linguistic and geographical groups. Furthermore, there was lack of capabilities and dearth of resources required for nation-building from scratches. The leadership, having no other viable alternative, relied on keeping the nation united through the traditional foundations of religion and language. Although, this policy still continues to this day, over times new dimensions of nation-building have been adopted. This article deals with the changing dimensions of creating a sense of "shared identity" and "togetherness" among people of various groups in the twenty first century Pakistan.

Historical Background of Nation-Building in Pakistan

Pakistan started its life in the late 1940s in an extremely challenging environment. In the beginning, it has to struggle for consolidation and survival with the development of strong institutions. Though the process of state building and nation building supplements each other but unfortunately nation building remained the most daunting task for the founding fathers. It is a well-known fact that in the United India, before partition,

Muslims ignored their ethnic and regional differences and were united to achieve the common goal of an independent state. In their struggle for independence, “Islam” and “Urdu”, a symbol of Muslim rule in India, gave them cohesion, direction and meaning. In the famous Allahabad Address, in 1930, Allama Iqbal pleaded that we are members of a society founded by the Holy Prophet. Consequently, religion became basis of Muslim’s struggle of State-building. Once an independent state was achieved, the situation changed considerably. Now Islam as a religion could not kept the Muslims united, as before independence (Akhter, 2009). Soon after independence, it became obvious that the task of nation-building needs more time, energy, efforts and resources. It has been believed that only a devoted leadership with sincere conviction could build a nation from scratches.

The post-independence Pakistan was more heterogenous but the ruling elite remained reluctant from the get-go to accept the plural composition of society. Contrarily, they refused to share power with other minorities and same in case of Bengalis with majority East Pakistan. From the very first day, stress has been led on a strong centre, denying and ignoring the demand of provinces for decentralization of power. Resultantly, the centralization of power alienated the provinces, thus strengthening the pressure of centrifugal forces. This strategy of over centralization backfired and resulted in the dismemberment of the state in 1971 (Kukreja, 2020). However, dismemberment of Pakistan cannot be solely contributed to the policy of centralization. The ethno-centrism of the politicians from West Pakistan is the real culprit that informed the centralization policy in a way that not only marginalized but also alienated the East Wing. This concerted ethno-centrism can be seen at play in the early parliamentary meetings and is a product of colonial effort to suppress and alienate Bengalis by labelling them ‘feeble and weak’.

The above-mentioned situation has projected two narratives of nation-building in Pakistan. The first narrative has been that of centralization of power and the second of decentralization of power. However, over the times the first narrative became the official policy of nation-building which stresses on language and religion as the basis of national integration (Cheema and Shamil, 2017). To this strategy, first opposition came from Bengal, when it was demanded that Bengali should be declared as national language along with Urdu. The Bengalis contended that language of majority must be accepted as national language. They started agitations and Dhaka University became the centre of nationalist activities when army opened fire on a procession of student that resulted in casualties (Majeed, 2010). Instead of solving language issue amicably, the ruling elite decided to put the genie into the bottle through oppression and suppression tactics. Although, language issue was resolved at the time of 1956 constitution by declaring Urdu and Bengali both as national languages (Choudhary, 1960), but, until that time, it has given birth to the feelings of parochialism and sub-nationalism. The language issue has been proved a hard nut to crack and still haunts policy-makers to this day. At the time of constitution making in 1973, it again came to the surface, when Sindhis, Baloch and Pashtuns demanded status of national languages for their regional languages. The ruling elite instead of learning a lesson from the past ignored the demand of ethnic minorities. The deep-sated bias that cost Pakistan its Eastern Wing has changed its target and

continues to persist in the twenty first century Pakistan too. That's why; language issue still hampers nation-building process. Even after a lapse of seven decades, the demand for declaring major regional languages as national languages came before the Senate of Pakistan through a private member bill in 2017 (Dawn, 2017). It shows that language issue is still alive. It also exposes the ethno-centric behaviour of the political elite towards certain marginalized groups that continuously present centralized decision-making as the only viable option instead of capacity development.

Nation-Building through New Power-Sharing Arrangements

As stated above, building a monolithic nation from an ethnically diverse society is a big challenge. In such a scenario pursuing and maintaining unity in diversity needs more than just a political will of the ruling elite (Talib, et al, 2013). Alexis de Tocqueville, while studying the United States political system, realized the danger of misuse and abuse of power by the majority. He argued that minority must be protected from 'tyranny of majority' in heterogeneous societies (Mansor and Abdullah, 2017). In Pakistan, according to some political scholars, tyranny of majority was not a perceived threat but an existential one. A tiny group of ruling elite, most of them migrants from central India, imposed their culture and language on teeming millions. As the elite group had been representing Muslims before partition, they had been heel bent to strengthen the status quo. The unwillingness of the elite group, to share power with other ethnic groups proved a stumbling block in nation-building process. In case of Pakistan, the problem of power-sharing has been two fold i.e. at central level among various institutions and secondly, between centre and provinces. It is important to discuss the root causes behind the problem of power-sharing such as the provisions in our constitution having its origin in colonial scheme of centralized rule designed under government of India act 1935, also the forces of state have always favored a centralized state structure and this has prevented proper federation to prevail and many other reasons. This power-sharing issue has quite an impact on nation building process which can't be ignored and it is visible from various examples we have seen throughout the history.

According to Koninklijke Brill nation-building is the most common process of the formation of collective identity for legitimizing the exercise of political power within a given territory. It is an absolutely indigenous process of devising a meaningful future by redefining the existing traditions, institutions and customs (Brill, 2005). The state of Pakistan realized this fact after nine years of its existence and a constitutional power-sharing formula was charted out in 1956 constitution. As per the formula, each wing has to have equal representation in parliament and also has to get the support of thirty percent members from the other wing for law-making (Khan, 2017). These arrangements never became operational as no general elections had been held under 1956 constitution. The 1962 constitution, in order to satisfy the ambitious martial law administrator, repeated the age old practice of consolidating powers in the Centre. Although, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as a civilian martial administrator, wanted a presidential form of government, with most of the powers vested in the hands of president, but, the uncompromising attitude of political opposition compelled him to introduce parliamentary form of government (Shahab, 1987).

Nevertheless, the real power-sharing has been observed with the creation of some institutions having representation of both central and provincial governments. A giant step in this direction has been taken when the 18th constitutional amendment was unanimously passed by both houses of parliament and ratified by the president. After the adoption of 18th amendment the concurrent list has been abolished and the subjects in it have been placed in part II of the Federal list. Thus, provinces obtained constitutional right to make-policies on federal subjects (Mirza and Fatima, 2020).

The most important institutions that contributed enormously to nation-building have been Council of Common Interests (CCI) and National Finance Commission (NFC). The Council of Common Interests comprises of prime minister, three federal ministers and provincial chief ministers. Thus, there exists parity between centre and provinces. The decisions in CCI are made through majority basis (Awan, 2020). In this way, it has given more say to provinces in federal matters directly, boosting the nation-building process. Another important institution contributing to nation-building process is National Finance Commission. It consists of Federal Finance Minister, provincial finance ministers and such other persons appointed by the president. The main task of NFC is revenue distribution between centre and provinces. It has adopted a new formula of revenue distribution with consensus of provinces, thus, enhances nation-building (Arshad, et al, 2019). Apart from working on issues between center and provinces, these institutions have also been working on resolving conflicts among the provinces such as revenue distribution issues, water issue, representation issues etc. Despite of all the things, these institutions haven't been that much successful in resolving the majority of issues specially those existing among the provinces and these issues have been the biggest hurdle in the way of nation building.

Most recently a new pattern of power-sharing has been introduced at central level. It has been believed that establishment has played a key role in giving a new direction to nation-building through division of power among various institutions at central level on ethnic and geographical basis. As per the new arrangements, the Prime Minister Imran Khan hails from Punjab, President Arif Alvi from Sindh, Speaker National Assembly Asad Qaisar from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Chairman Senate Sadiq Sanjrani from Balochistan and Vice Chairman Senate Mirza Afridi from erstwhile FATA. Although, critics argue that all these arrangements are useless because none of them has any actual powers. Notwithstanding, political scholars believe that these symbolic power-sharing arrangements plays a key role in nation-building in the long run. They believe that once this power-sharing formula is given constitutional status, it will satisfy the grievances of ethnic minorities. For instance, in Malaysia, a multi-ethnic state, a delicate balance of power among Malay, Chinese and Indians has augmented nation-building process. The bases of power-sharing in Malaysia are a grand coalition, mutual veto, segmental autonomy and proportionality (Talib, et al, 2013). Such power-sharing arrangements in Pakistan can alleviate the trust deficit of ethnic groups to play their role in nation-building. According to Sadaf Farooq et al, (Farooq, et al, 2008) most of the problems of nation-building prevailing in Pakistan have been attributed to weak institutions. In this regard a functioning and independent judiciary can play a pivotal role. Judiciary is

considered the backbone of nation-building as it improves national sovereignty and promotes social justice, thus, maintains an institutional balance.

The drawback of these power-sharing arrangements at central level is that it has no constitutional basis. The new power-sharing arrangements have been working on the behest of the establishment. It can be altered at any time without any constitutional or legal challenge. The power-sharing arrangements between centre and provinces have also remained fragile. For example, in CCI decisions have been made on majority basis. All members of central government come from the same party and they unanimously support or oppose a policy. The central government has to get only support of one province for policy-making. On the other hand, a province has to get the support of all other provinces plus at least one member from the central government which has a remote possibility in most cases. Similarly, the problem with NFC is that it has not been able to announce a new NFC Award due to the differences between centre and provinces on some fundamental issues regarding revenue distribution.

Nation-building through Infrastructure

It is a fact that ethnic inequality and exclusion increases the trust deficit among various groups and thus hampers nation-building. Contrarily, willing and capable political elite if provide basic welfare services like security, rule of law and infrastructure can create durable networks of support and co-operation among ethnic groups. Elite working for the interests of whole citizens instead of an ethnically defined circle of beneficiaries succeeds easily in nation-building (Wimmer, 2014). In the early years, the ruling elite in Pakistan failed to represent the citizens across the board. The lack of visionary leadership at that critical juncture hampered nation-building. The culture of nepotism, favoritism and cronyism, prevailing at that time, weakened nation-building which resulted in the dismemberment of country in 1971.

According to Benedict Anderson nation-building refers to socially constructed “imagined community” or “nation”. The main goal of nation-building is to eradicate pre-existing ethnic, religious, linguistic and geographical identities. He argues that nation-building may take many forms like infrastructural developments and economic growth. He believes that a well-developed infrastructure of communication and transportation networks increases interconnectivity and interdependence among citizens, creating a sense of belongingness in them and thus strengthens nation-building (Hoeft and Veenendal, 2019). Owing to the poor communication and transportation infrastructure, Pakistan faced a serious challenge of nation-building in initial years. To add insult to the injury, Bengal had been separated by India and situated at a distance of 1,000 kilometers. Thus, the lack of well-developed infrastructure was one of the main hurdles to nation-building.

According to Katrini Aboo Talib, et al, the official policy of nation-building in Malaysia has been devised on the basis of religion, language and royalty (raja). This policy failed in 1969 when tragic riots shook foundations of the state. The riots occurred due to unequal economic distribution and poor ethnic relations. The Malaysian leadership

sensing the gravity of the situation acknowledged the past mistakes and framed new policy of nation-building on the basis of New Economic Policy and National Cultural Policy (Talib, et al, 2003). In case of Pakistan, the official policy of nation-building was based on religion (Islam) and language (Urdu). However, this policy failed to keep the two wings of the state united. The main reason of its failure has been that leadership ignored infrastructural development and economic growth. Political scholars believe that economic growth, creating jobs and a well-developed infrastructure has been the prerequisite to nation-building. For instance, the Australian government has realized the importance of these factors and pursues a policy of nation-building through Economic Security Strategy (Rudd, et al, 2008).

In Pakistan, the importance of economic growth and infrastructural development has been realized in the late 1990s and 2000s. The first mega infrastructural project of this kind was the construction of Lahore-Islamabad Motorway (M-2). It was a giant step taken towards building a nation on new foundations in Pakistan. A similar transport infrastructure policy has been successful in nation-building in Spain. In Spain, the role of transport infrastructure has been recognized long ago. As a result, the Spanish government started road building in eighteenth century, railway creation in nineteenth century, motorway expansion in twentieth century and high speed rail project in twenty first century (Bel, 2010). These steps have been taken due to the realization of the fact that high infrastructure capacity, well-developed organizational networks coupled with low communication barriers enhances the likelihood of a speedy nation-building process. However in Pakistan, the most drastic and abrupt changes in terms of nation-building are expected to occur after launching the mega and multi-purpose flagship project known as China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The CPEC provides opportunity for nation-building through economic growth, energy projects and infrastructure development. Under this project, twenty one mineral zones and twenty seven Special Economic Zones (SEZs) have been planned to be built. Construction work on some of these projects has already been started. These projects will boost economic growth and interconnectivity, as a result will facilitate nation-building. Alongside this, twenty nine industrial zones, a rapid railway network and several transportation routes will connect every nook and corner of the country with the Corridor and with each other (Saoud, 2019).

In addition to this, the current government's project titled "*Naya Pakistan Housing Project*" has been considered an ambitious policy of uplifting the poor regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. These housing projects have been planned to be constructed in almost all major cities (Abdul and Yu, 2020). It is believed that it will contribute to nation-building by promoting multiculturalism and pluralism.

As per 2017 Census, Pakistan has been one of the top ranking countries in terms of population boom. It has also been given a high slot among the countries with world's youngest population. At present, urban population in Pakistan is sixty million. According to Pakistan Bureau of Statistics data, Islamabad, the federal capital, has recorded highest population growth than other cities. The data also shows that about four million people have migrated internally. The rate of out-going migration has been highest in ex FATA, due to militancy (Wazir and Goujon, 2019). Some recent researches have revealed that

Pakistan will achieve urban-rural population parity by 2050. The data shows that GDP per capita income is directly proportional to the rate of urbanization. In Pakistan, urbanization is happening with a faster speed. For instance, the population of Lahore has increased by almost thirty percent since 1998. This phenomenon of urbanization promotes multiculturalism which speeds up the process of nation-building.

As observed in the cases of Australia and Spain, infrastructural development contributes to nation-building. It has also played a positive role in nation-building in Pakistan. However, the problem in Pakistan is that a large area including Balochistan, Southern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, South Punjab, Interior Sindh and erstwhile FATA still lags behind in infrastructural development than other parts of the country which hampers nation-building.

Nation-Building through Politicization of Sports

The role that sports can play in nation-building is evident from the fact that The Global Millennium Developments Goals has declared sports as a “beacon of hope” for peace building and development. It is due to the fact that majority of people have been active participants in sports or passive spectators. According to some scholars, sport is not only a physical activity but an area of social interaction. Therefore, it has been viewed by United Nation agencies as a tool for peace building and development which directly contributes to nation-building (Keim, 2008). According to Nico Schulenkorf sports create moments of “togetherness” among diverse ethnic groups. In this way it brings a positive social change which strengthens nation-building. Besides this, proper organization of sports programs promotes friendship, healthy competition and intergroup understandings (Schulenkorf, 2010).

In Pakistan, dozens of sports have been played throughout the country. Some of the games are of local nature while others like cricket, football, hockey, volleyball, basketball, badminton, tennis etc are of international nature. Although, hockey is the national sport of Pakistan but like all other commonwealth countries cricket, a colonial legacy, has been considered the most popular sport. Soon after independence, Pakistan cricket team entered into International Cricket Council (ICC) family. In the initial years cricket has been played mainly in Karachi and Lahore. Almost all players at that time came from these two cities. However, after 2000s, the political environment of Pakistan and the region changed which impacted sports. When in 2001, United States attacked Afghanistan and toppled Taliban regime, the newly established coalition government started patronizing sports like all other sectors. Afghanistan cricket team soon got membership of ICC and started participation in international events. As we know, Afghanistan was a war ravaged country, so most of the players of cricket team came from the Pashtun belt on the Pakistan side of the border. As this opened a new window for Pashtun cricketers, they looked towards Kabul instead of Islamabad. It was at this time that policy-makers in Pakistan realized that to get loyalties of the Pashtuns they must be given representation in national team. There is no denying the fact that some Pashtun cricketers like Moen Khan, Arshad Khan, Younis Khan and Shahid Afridi have been

playing for Pakistan long before 9/11. However, most of the Pashtuns, playing for national team, have been selected after 2000s.

When the erstwhile FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have been hit by a wave of terrorism and extremism, Pakistan army launched counter militancy operations in Swat and ex FATA. The first major military operation of this kind, Rah-e-Haq I, has been launched in Swat in 2007 followed by Rah-e-Haq II in 2008. These operations forced millions of people to migrate to other parts of the country. It created a sense of alienation and deprivation in internally displaced people. It was at this juncture that Younis Khan, a Pashtun hailing from Mardan, was appointed captain of national cricket team (Samiuddin, 2009). When Pakistan cricket team won ICC T20 world cup in 2009, Younis Khan, while, talking to Nasir Hussain, at the time of closing ceremony, dedicated victory to the people of Swat. Although, it was a sport event but it had far-reaching political impacts. It was considered as an attempt to win the hearts and minds of displaced people which will create a sense of belongingness in them, enhancing nation-building.

Similarly, when Pakistan army started counter militancy operations in erstwhile FATA, Shahid Afridi, a Pashtun hailing from Dara Adam Khel, was appointed as captain (Samiuddin, 2010). It was considered as a political move to utilize sports for creating the sense of togetherness in people, enhancing nation-building. This process of politicization of sports continued and when operations were launched in Karachi against the lawbreakers in 2013-14, Sarfaraz Ahmed, an Urdu speaking cricketer from Karachi, was appointed as captain of national team. This decision has been seen as the continuation of the policy of nation-building through politicization of sports. The story of politicization of sports does not end here. In 2015, Pakistan Cricket Board (PCB) launched Pakistan Super League (PSL). It was viewed as a move by the PCB to shoot two birds with one arrow. On the one hand, PSL was supposed to wean youth from Indian Premier League (IPL) and on the other hand, to provide opportunities to more and more players from all over the country to perform and play at national level (Ghaffar, 2015). This strategy of nation-building, adopted by policy-makers, through politicization of sports, dominated the scene of PSL. As a result players from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were to represent Lahore Qalandars, Islamabad United and Karachi Kings. Similarly, players from Punjab were to take field for Peshawar Zalmi and Quetta Gladiators. This mega national event opened gates for some new faces to enter into the national squad. One of these emerging players was Muhammad Nawaz, hailing from Quetta, who was selected for national team. It is believed that main reason of his selection in national team is that he comes from Balochistan which hitherto had no representation in national team. Similarly, in the ongoing seventh season of PSL, Muhammad Wasim from Waziristan, playing for Islamabad United, has been selected for upcoming Zimbabwe tour. His case has been like that of Muhammad Nawaz, as Waziristan has no representation in national cricket team.

So, it has been rightly said that sports have played positive role in nation-building. In Pakistan, sports have been skillfully used for nation-building in the last two decades. Political scholars argue that this policy of utilization of sports for nation-building should continue in order to create the sense of togetherness and shared identity among citizens. Another advantage of using sports for nation-building is that it minimizes parochial,

ethnic and geographical loyalties. It creates friendship and sportsman spirit in players and spectators which strengthens nation-building. The negative aspect of politicization of sports is that selection on political basis, instead of merit, badly impacts the performance of nation team. Another, disadvantage of politicization of sports is that when talented players find the gates leading to national team shut, they go abroad and prefer to represent other countries.

Role of Public Organizations, Civil Society and Media in Nation-Building

Stephen P. Cohen in his work "*The Future of Pakistan*" writes that government could sustain a new balance through its conciliatory position to thwart the rising tide of ethnic consciousness. Pakistan has a diverse society and a nation has been in making from these diverse groups since independence (Cohen, 2011). In this regard, public sector organizations have played a positive role. In addition to organizations, having government patronage, a resilient and active civil society and media can play a positive role in nation-building.

According to Andreas Wimmer well-organized and well-developed voluntary organization increases the chances of co-operation and cut across linguistic and ethnic divides. The voluntary organizations, through their 'built-in' tendency contribute to nation-building in a diverse society (Wimmer, 2014). For instance, in Malaysia the active civil society has greatly contributed to the nation-building process. Janice Lay Huinga and Victor Terry King believe that civil society fill the vacuum existing between government and citizens. For this purpose, in Malaysia, National Youth Consultative Council has been established. This Council has been headed by the Minister of Youth and Sports. This Council has adequate representation of all ethnic groups. In this way the energies of Youth have been successfully harnessed for nation-building (Huinga and King, 2006). In Pakistan, the current Government recognized the potential of youth to contribute to nation-building. In order to achieve this goal Prime Minister Imran Khan announced the formation of Corona Relief Tiger Force. For increasing the efficiency of this Force a mobile app has been launched that connects the 90,000 volunteers of this Force (The News, 2020). The head of Tiger Force, Usman Dar, has recently increased its responsibilities. Now this Force controls prices in market and takes part in all other activities to assist the local administration (Butt, 2021). As we know, this force has volunteers in every nook and corner of the country. They have been working for common cause, thus, creating a shared identity which facilitates the process of nation-building.

Similarly, another organization, known as Progressive Students Collective (PSC), created in 2018, has been contributing to nation-building process for the last few years. This organization brings together students of every hue and color. They work for students cause regardless of their ethnic, religious, geographical and family backgrounds. This organization has representation of almost all ethnic groups in its Core Committee. In this way, it speeds up the process of nation-building as it cut cross ethnic and geographical identities. It creates a sense of common identity among the students of all institutions throughout Pakistan (Khan, 2018). Despite that, PSC has been opposed by some quarters in the country. The reason is that involvement of students in politics directly affects their

academic performance. Secondly, the presence of student unions and student wings of political parties creates administrative problems in educational institutions. Nevertheless, progressive politics provides an alternative narrative and platform to regional and nationalist leadership. It weakens ethno-nationalist tendencies and creates a secular and progressive collective identity. For instance, in recent times some renowned Pashtun nationalists like Afrasyab Khattak and Bushra Gohar has been constantly in touch with Progressive Students Collective leadership. Similarly, another well-known leader Baba Jan, hailing from Gilgit-Baltistan has joined the mainstream progressive politics. That's how; progressive politics strengthens the process of nation-building.

In addition to this, "*Hum Auratein*" and Women Democratic Front have started organizing women's march on International Women Day in almost all major cities. Although, this March has been vociferously condemned and criticized for its slogans and gestures, it still has a positive role in nation-building. It is a platform that brings women of different backgrounds together and creates a sense of a shared identity that of "womanhood" in them. In this way, it contributes to nation-building and national integration.

In modern times, the role of media in politics has increased many folds. That's why; it is called the fourth pillar of a democratic government. In the last few decades, media has played a crucial role in nation-building. It conveys the official narrative about nation-building and national identity with a missionary zeal to the citizens (Singh, 2015). In Pakistan, media has played a positive role in nation-building. It inculcates in the minds of citizens the sense of a shared identity, language, culture and history. It creates awareness about national heroes and their struggle for national cause. However, the negative role of media cannot be ignored. It has been observed many times that media shows its biasedness and most of the time has failed to present the issues and problems of many. For example, the issues of the Pashtuns and Hazara community have been neglected in past and this affected nation-building in Pakistan. So media should discuss and address the issues of all so that they don't feel neglected or alienated and this would in the long run be beneficial for nation-building in Pakistan.

Recently, social media has brought an information revolution. There is no denying the fact that social media works as a tool in the hands of foreign powers and fifth columnists to fabricate and disseminate false information to alienate citizens from state and government. However, it also has played a positive role in nation-building. It has enabled the ethnic and linguistic minorities to promote their own language and culture, thus, alleviates their grievances. Additionally, it has also worked as a 'safety-valve' because it has provided a platform to the disgruntled elements to freely express their complaints and grievances. Social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram have been widely used throughout Pakistan, thus, connecting the hitherto disconnected segments of society.

The Way forward

- 1) The current formula of power-sharing at central level should be given constitutional status, as it balances the relations among ethnic and geographical groups, thus, strengthens nation-building.
- 2) 18th amendment should be implemented in letter and spirit, as it works as an equilibrium in centre-province relations and contributes to nation-building. Also it has resolved many conflicts among the provinces such as of representation, powers, revenues etc. But still many have been overlooked and should be addressed in order to resolve the tensions among provinces.
- 3) Instead of language and religion more stress should be laid on economic development to boost nation-building.
- 4) Media and civil society should be engaged to address the implicit ethno-centrism of the political elite.
- 5) Civil societies and media should be given some space to operate, as they strengthen nation-building. Media should be transparent in its reporting and should address the issues of all without being biased.
- 6) Leadership should focus on the creation of well-developed infrastructure, as it increases interconnectivity and speeds up nation-building. In addition, cultural spaces should be created and cultural expressions should be encouraged to cushion the blow of identity politics and populist narratives.
- 7) The policy of politicization of sports should continue and, besides cricket, other sports can also contribute to nation-building.

It has been concluded from the above discussion that the changing dimensions of nation-building have strengthened inter-ethnic relations. The current power-sharing formula at centre and the power-sharing arrangement between centre and provinces after 18th amendment has developed a sense of trust, cohesion and unity among various ethnic groups. Similarly, the increasingly vocal and active civil society and media is bringing people from diverse ethnic groups together and thus facilitates nation-building process. Unlike the earlier strategy of nation-building through religion and language, the new policy of nation-building through economic development and creation of infrastructure has been very successful. Additionally, politicization of sports has contributed positively to nation-building in the last two decades.

References

- 1) Abdul.L. and Yu.T.F. (2020), “*Resilient Urbanization: A Systematic Review of Urban Discourse in Pakistan*”, Urban Science, Vol.4, No.76
- 2) Akhtar.N. (2009), “*Polarized politics: The Challenge of Democracy in Pakistan*”, International Journal of world peace, Vol.26, No.2, pp.31-63
- 3) Anthony.O. and Okechukwa.E. (2014), “*The Role of Cities in Nation Building*”, Singapore Journal of business, economics and management studies Vol.2, No.12,pp.11-21
- 4) Arshad.F. et al. (2019), “*The National Finance Commission Award and Centre-province Relationship: A case study of Pakistan federal structure*”, Journal of research studies of Pakistan Vol.No.56, Issue.no.1
- 5) Awan.S.M. (2020), “*Council of Common Interests*”, Quaid-e-Azam Univerist, Islamabad, Pakistan

- 6) Banting.K. (2004), "*Canada: Nation-building in a Federal Welfare State*", Cambridge University Press
- 7) Bel.G. (2010), "*Infrastructure and Nation building: The Regulation and Financing of Network Transportation Infrastructure in Spain (1720-2010)*", Research institute of applied economics, university of Barcelona, Spain
- 8) Bogaards.M. (2006), "*Democracy and Power-sharing in Multi-national states*", International journal on multicultural societies (IJMS), Vol.8, No.2
- 9) Brill.K. (2005), "*State-building, Nation-building and Constitutional Politics in Post-conflict Situations: Conceptual Clarifications and Appraisal of different Approaches*", Max planck yearbook of United Nations law, vol.9, pp.579-613
- 10) Butcher.J. (2008), "*Australian Under Construction Nation-Building-Past, Pand Future*", The Australian National University
- 11) Butt.T. (2021), "*Corona Relief Tiger Force has no task to Perform at Present*", Daily The News
- 12) Cheema.Q.A. and Shamil.T. (2017), "*21st Century and Pakistan's New Narrative for National Stability*", strategic studies, Vol.37, No.4, pp.133-148
- 13) Choudhury.G.W. (1959), "*Constitutional Development in Pakistan*", Longmans, Green and Co.
- 14) Cohen.S.P. (2011), "*The future of Pakistan*", The Brooking Institution Washington D.C, 2011
- 15) Derichs.C. (1999), "*Nation building in Malaysia under Conditions of Globalization*", Duisburg working papers of East Asian Studies, No.25
- 16) Dimmer.S. (2006), "*Nation-building: Conceptual and definitional Challenges*", Australian National University
- 17) Dzelilovic.V.B. et al. (2014), "*State-building, Nation-building and Reconstruction*", John Wiley and Sons, Inc. Publishers
- 18) Fakhoury.T. (2014), "*Debating Lebanon's Power-sharing Model: An Opportunity or an Impasse for Democratization Studies in the Middle East*", The Arab Sties Journal, Vol.22, No.1, Special Issue: Cultures of resistance, pp.230-255
- 19) Farooq.S. et al. (2008), "*Independent Judiciary and Nation building: A case study of Pakistan*", Global regional review (GRR), Vol.1, No.1,pp.97-113
- 20) Ghaffar.A. (2015), "*Interview with Chairman Pakistan Cricket Board (PCB) Najam Sethi*", The Daily Dawn
- 21) Grotenhuis.R. (2016), "*Nation-building as Necessary effort in Fragile States*", Amsterdam University Press
- 22) Hoefte.R. and Veenendaal.W. (2019), "*The Challenges of Nation-building and Nation Branding in Multi-ethnic Suriname*", Nationalism and ethnic politics, Vol.25, No.2, PP.173-190
- 23) Huinga.J.L. and King.V.T. (2006), "*Youth Organizations'Participation in the Nation Building of Malaysia*" Institute of Sports Studies
- 24) Kalu.K.N. (2011), "*Institution-building, not Nation-building: A Structural-Functional Model*", International review of administrative sciences 77(1) 119-137
- 25) Keim.M. (2012), "*Sports as an opportunity of Community Development and Peace Building in South Africa*", University of the Western Cape, South Africa
- 26) Khan.B. (2018), "*This is what you need to know about Progressive Students Collective March in Lahore*", The online propaganda
- 27) Khan.H. (2017), "*Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press
- 28) Kota.S. (2010), "*Undemocratic Lebanon: The Power Sharing Arrangements after the 2005 Independence Intifada*", World congress of Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES), at Barcelona, Spain

- 29) Kukreja.V. (2020), “*Ethnic Diversity, Political Aspirations and State Response: A Case study of Pakistan*”, Indian journal of public administration, pp.28-42
- 30) Majeed.G. (2010), “*Ethnicity and Ethnic conflicts in Pakistan*”, “Journal of political studies, Vol.1, Issue.2, pp.51-63
- 31) Mansor.W.N.W. and Abdullah.A.B. (2017), “*Tyranny of Majority and its Remedies: An Islamic Overview*”, International Institute of advanced Islamic studies, Malaysia
- 32) Mason.J.P. (1989), “*The Role of Urbanization in National Development: Bridging the Rural-urban Divide*”, U.S Agency for international development
- 33) Mirza.M.N. and Fatima.S. (2020), “*Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment and Democratic Consolidation in Pakistan: Sub-systemic and Normative Institutionalism*”, Pakistan journal of history and culture, Vol.XLI, No.2
- 34) Rudd.K. et al, (2008), “*Nation Building*”, The department of prime minister and cabinet 1 National Circuit Barton Act 2604
- 35) Saad.S. (2012), “*Re-building the Concept of Nation Building in Malaysia*”, Asian Social Sciences, Vol.8, No.4, PP.115-123
- 36) Saoud.M. (2019), “*The Influence of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on Pakistan’s Power Position: A Case Study on CPEC*”, Master’s Thesis, The faculty of landscape and Society
- 37) Schulenkorf.N. (2010), “*Sports Events and Ethnic Reconciliation: Attempts to Create Social Change between Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim Sports people in war-torn Sri Lanka*”, PhD Thesis, Auckland University of Technology
- 38) Shah.A. (2012), “*The 18th amendment: Glue or Solvent for Nation Building and Citizenship in Pakistan?*” The Lahore journal of economics 17, pp.387-424
- 39) Shahab.Q. (1987), “*Shahabnama*”, Sang-e-Mill Publication
- 40) Shamsuddin.O. (2009), “*Younis Khan relieved Shoaib Malik as captain of Pakistan Team*”, ESPN
- 41) Shamsuddin.O. (2010), “*Afridi Appointed new captain of Pakistan Cricket Team*”, ESPN
- 42) Singh.S. (2015), “*Journalism for Nation Building: With Special reference to Media Education*”, Journal of content, communities and communication, Vol.1
- 43) Staff Report (2020), “*PM IMran okays Corona Tiger Force Mobile app*”, Daily, The News
- 44) Talib,K.A. et al, “*Power Sharing in Malaysia: Beyond Unity and Political Duplicity*”, Asian Social Sciece, Vol.9, N0.10, PP.274-282
- 45) Visser.A.B. (2011), “*Nation Building in Major Sports Events: A Case of the IPL*”, Master’s of journalism and media studies, Faculty of huminities, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa
- 46) Wazir.M.A. and Goujon.A. (2019), “*Assessing the 2017 Census of Pakistan using Demographic Analysis: A Sub-national Perspective*”, Australian Academy of Sciences Welthandelsplatz 2, Level 2, 1020 Wien, Osterreich
- 47) Yousaf.S. and Laber.F. (2020), “*Does International Sporting Boycott act as a Social Identity Threat? The effects on the national collective self-esteem of Pakistani Cricket Fans*”, Sage Open Publishers