



Role of Constitutional Patriotism in Pakistan's National Integration

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Abstract

In this research study, I investigated the issue of national integration in Pakistan. Academically, a huge attempt has been made to solve the problem. Almost all are concerned with the challenges, problems, and federation; none is concerned with applying the most viable constitutional strategy to the solution of the problem. Furthermore, theoretically, I analyzed constitutional patriotism, a mechanism that has been successful in several countries in promoting national integration. The literature available on the cases has been analyzed and generalized to the study at hand. Hereafter, the question framed to be answered is: to what extent does constitutional patriotism serve as a framework for promoting national integration in Pakistan, considering the country's ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity? To answer these questions, I have explained the nature of the problem and then described Pakistan's constitution in a way that allows for flexibility and adaptability to the key essentials of the constitutional patriotism model. The study is highly significant because it claims to be the first to address the problem within the framework.

Keywords: *Constitutional Patriotism; Ethno-Nationalism; Collective National Identity; Civic Culture*

Introduction

The Constitution is a kind of social contract; it defines citizens' rights and duties and provides a set of norms and rules from which government organs and institutions derive their powers and functions. It further outlines mutual relations among government organs and institutions and regulates interaction between the government and individuals. The constitution could enhance national integration in a diverse society. To maintain peace and prosperity in a state, obedience and commitment to the constitution are necessary. It may promote and ensure peaceful co-existence among its members. In today's globalized world, states are being diversified, and almost all states are facing crises of ethnic and sectarian conflicts. It is due to people expressing more commitment and loyalty to their minor personal interests instead of national interests. To overcome the problem, Jürgen Habermas (a German philosopher and socio-political theorist) popularized the theory of 'constitutional patriotism' in the 1980s. His theory of constitutional

patriotism aims to nationally integrate a war-torn and divided Germany. He advocated in his theoretical model for national integration and the unification of Germany. Ethnic and religious diversity and national disintegration are big problems facing modern nation-states. And it is a big challenge for modern nation-states to manage their diversity. Pakistan is an ethnically diverse state, and faces the challenge of national integration. The Constitution of 1973 is a social contract characterized as a document of consensus. But till now, national integration has not materialized. To materialize national integration in Pakistan, it is need to promote constitutional values in the form of constitutional patriotism.

Jürgen Habermas borrowed the basic idea from Dolf Sternberger (German philosopher and political scientist at the University of Heidelberg, 1907-1989). He understood constitutional patriotism as the love of the laws and common liberties. In other words, it is to be understood as a return to pre-national patriotism. He excavated the tradition of patriotism, which stretches back to Aristotle's views on the rule of law, which had been strongly linked individual with the state. But he closed constitutional patriotism with the concept of 'militant democracy' aims to be capable of defending itself against external enemies and maintaining internal order. While Jürgen Habermas developed the theory of constitutional patriotism in the context of post-war and post-holocaust Germany's divided society. He advocated constitutional patriotism as the only permissible form of political identification for Germany. Habermas portrayed constitutional patriotism as a conscious affirmation of political principles and constitutional values. He thinks that conventional identities no longer work. He called it a post-national and conventional identity. It could be constructed through specific discourses, and even disagreement about the constitution eventually emerges as a "constitutional identity" or a "constitutional culture." Constitutional patriotism is viewed more widely in a critical light and is subject to periodic evaluation and re-evaluation, with its parameters to be universal norms. It is a collective learning process in the real Habermasian sense. It is a culture for post post-post-traditional complex society. Constitutional patriotism provides minorities with a genuinely moral motivation to maintain the constitutional regime as a whole. With a language minority could contest majority decision. As well, it exerts moral pressure on minorities to uphold the system, which is why they give 'loser consent'. It provides a common language or mode of political problematisation or contestation within the shared normative framework. Constitutional patriotism claims the de-centering and mutual opening of existing constitutional cultures. It is upholding the practice of mutual learning and mutual deliberative engagement aims to outset "transnational norms building" (Muller J.-W. , 2007).

The major ethnic groups in Pakistan are: Punjabi, Pashtun, Sindhi, and Balochi. All the aforementioned groups have their cause of ethnic nationalism. In the constitution of Pakistan monopoly is given to any ethnic group. But each group considered itself deprived. Some groups are relatively deprived. The problem is grounded in the lack of implementation of the constitution and the invisibility of a sense of civic and constitutional culture in Pakistan. Even the ruling elites do not care about the constitution. Once, Pervaiz Musharraf said in an interview, "I think the constitution is just a piece of paper to be thrown in the dustbin. " (Musharraf, 2006)."

The ruling elites of Pakistan remained reluctant to accept the plural composition of society, and they are denied power sharing. Pakistan is a highly diverse or heterogeneous society in terms of its religious, racial, and ethno-linguistic composition. In this context, Stephen P. Cohen remarks that 'Pakistan is one of the world's most ethnically and linguistically complex states' (Cohen S. P., 2005). In terms of ethnic composition, Pakistan comprised the aforementioned five major ethnic groups. Unfortunately, very soon after the inception of Pakistan, the country became disintegrated on ethnic lines in 1971 (Mushtaq, 2009). Very soon after the inception of Pakistan, the unifying program ended by giving rise to ethnic, sectarian stratification, and each group demanded its recognition and space in the constitutional and political arrangements (Nazir, 2008).

Disintegration in Pakistan has been considered a challenge to the development of a stable democracy in Pakistan, due to stakeholders of nation-building and state-building failing to accommodate these sub-national groups in the constitutional arrangement. Far away from the milestone of achieving any meaningful progress in Pakistan (Khan G. , 2014). The proponents of constitutional patriotism theory argued that constitutional Patriotism is a political theory that seeks to provide a solution to the problem of disintegration in society.

1. Literature Review:

Scholarly works on constitutional patriotism as a strategy for conflict resolution and national integration have garnered significant attention in recent years in some academic forums. As Theoretically, constitutional patriotism, rooted in the works of Jürgen Habermas, emphasizes a post-national identity grounded in a shared commitment to democratic principles and constitutional values rather than ethnic or cultural ties. This approach is particularly relevant in diverse societies grappling with issues of national identity, integration, and conflict resolution.

In the groundwork, Habermas, J. (1992) suggests that constitutional patriotism offers a promising framework for fostering social cohesion and managing conflicts in pluralistic societies. By focusing on shared political values and principles enshrined in a constitution, it provides a basis for unity that transcends ethnic, religious, or cultural differences. This approach is seen as particularly useful in contexts where traditional notions of national identity are contested or divisive. Scholars argue that constitutional patriotism can promote a sense of belonging and shared citizenship among diverse groups, thereby contributing to national integration. It encourages active engagement with democratic processes and institutions, fostering a culture of deliberation and mutual respect. This, in turn, can help mitigate conflicts by promoting understanding and accommodation among different groups (Habermas, 1992).

One of the important works done by Jurgen Habermas (1992) is “Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy,” where he explores the relationship between law, democracy, and constitutionalism. He argues that law plays a crucial role in mediating between the factual world of social reality and the normative world of moral and legal principles. It includes: discourse theory of law, deliberative democracy, and constitutionalism (Habermas, 1992).

Similarly, another important work of the original philosopher of the theory is “The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (1962).” In this book, Habermas explores the development of a bourgeois public sphere in the 18th and 19th centuries and its subsequent decline. He argues that the public sphere is a critical component of democracy, where citizens engage in rational discourse to shape public opinion and influence the state. Here, also he developed the idea of constitutional patriotism, where he founded its philosophical foundation on the pillars of: “public Sphere” (an arena of social life where citizens engage in rational discourse to form public opinion) and “communicative action.” In the work, Habermas emphasizes the importance of democratic procedures and communicative networks in shaping collective identities and fostering a sense of belonging (Habermas, 1962).

Jan-Werner Müller's book, *Constitutional Patriotism* (2006), offers a nuanced exploration of a form of political identity centered on universalist norms and constitutional values. Müller argues that constitutional patriotism can provide a unifying force in diverse societies, fostering a sense of shared citizenship and democratic engagement. He introduced the key ideas in the theoretical debate as: mode of patriotic attachment, universalism, constitutional culture, and rational collective identity almost described the ideas given by Habermas (Müller, 2006).

The theoretical framework has been applied by scholars in "Constitutional Patriotism and the Public Sphere: Interests, Identity, and Solidarity in the Integration of Europe" by Craig Calhoun (2006). The work explores the concept of constitutional patriotism in the context of European integration, highlighting its potential to foster a sense of shared identity and solidarity among EU citizens. Calhoun argues that constitutional patriotism can provide a framework for reconciling diverse interests and identities within Europe. The writer applied the ideas developed by Habermas as constitutional patriotism, where Calhoun examines the role of constitutional patriotism in promoting a sense of European identity and citizenship, centered on shared values and principles. The public sphere emphasizes the importance of a vibrant public sphere in facilitating democratic deliberation and shaping public opinion on European issues. As well as discussing the challenges of building solidarity and a shared sense of identity among EU citizens, given the diversity of interests and cultural backgrounds (Calhoun C. , 2006).

Several studies on national integration in Pakistan have highlighted the problem of national integration in Pakistan. The scholars have examined the historical, political, and socio-economic factors contributing to the problem. These studies offer valuable insights into Pakistan's nation-building process, emphasizing the need for addressing regional disparities, promoting participatory governance, and ensuring equitable resource distribution. Some important works are to be reviewed.

The prominent scholar Rounaq Jahan's seminal work, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration* (1972) provides a critical analysis of the policies adopted by Ayub Khan's regime, which ultimately contributed to the disintegration of Pakistan and the emergence of Bangladesh in 1971. Jahan's study highlights the importance of inclusive governance, equitable distribution of resources, and representation in promoting national integration. The scholar has criticized the authoritarian nature of Ayub Khan's regime, which exacerbated regional disparities and alienated East Pakistan (Jahan, 1972).

Conclusively, several kinds of literature are related to the study. The main works examined were concerned with the conceptual framework. A small number of studies were concerned with the application of the theory, but the study universe was far from the case. However, there is enough quantity of pieces of literature concerned with the problem, but the gap identified in the studies is that some works are concerned with the problem but over-focused on explaining the problem rather than devising the best strategy or policy option as a way out. Some are mainly concerned with the solution devised by almost like to ensure the federation and central provincial relations, resources distribution, justice, and civil-military relations. It is very carefully and inadequately investigated that neither research has been applied, and a model of constitutional patriotism as a way out to the problem in Pakistan. Therefore, the study at hand is to be conducted by first applying the model and devising a way out.

2. Statement of the Problem:

Constitutional patriotism is a theory popularized by Jürgen Habermas; it was developed to integrate a divided plural society by creating a rational national collective identity, which is also called a kind of civic nationalism reflected as loyalty and attachment towards the law and constitution. Pakistan is the best empirical example of such a divided plural society or state. National integration in Pakistan ever remained a big challenge in Pakistan since its inception. Unfortunately, the challenge has not yet been handled despite several strategies that have been applied, like objective resolution, the 1956 constitution, and lastly, the 1973 constitution, followed by the eighteenth constitutional amendment, which is also called a mini-constitution. The problem is still a giant challenge to the state. As I observed while reviewing the literature, the solution to the problem still relies on the constitutional and legal method, but not through a status quo or a traditional way, as has been applied in the entire constitutional history of Pakistan. Several studies have been conducted on the problem, which is concerned with the federation, civil-military relations, and equal distribution of resources; neither study is founded to apply the constitutional

patriotism model. Which is mainly concerned with covering the gap between theory and practice. However, the constitution could not be implemented without the promotion of constitutional values. Major constitutional values are civic culture in terms of the love of law and the constitution of the state, rational collective identity, and the rule of law. Through constitutional patriotism, national integration could only be achieved in Pakistan. Therefore, the study at hand is conducted to provide such a way out of the problem. This study also claims that it will be the first academic attempt to follow such a pragmatic approach to the problem solution in Pakistan.

3. Methodology:

Methodologically, the study at hand is qualitative. Qualitative research methods involve an in-depth examination of complex social phenomena, focusing on meanings, experiences, and interpretations. These methods, including case studies, interviews, and content analysis, provide rich, contextual insights into social issues.

Therefore, the study is based on a qualitative method because no numerical and statistical formulas and processes have been used. It is largely focused on understanding of behaviors and attitudes of Pakistani citizens toward the constitution and state through in-depth exploration. The study is centered on the attachment and behaviors of Pakistani citizens toward the state and constitution. Therefore, it relies on the observation and inquiry of behavior of the people, opinions and perspectives of the experts, and public notable discourses. While decoding and analyzing the data post-positivist or interpretive approach has been used rather than sticking to into positivist approach. the positivist approach is probably not usable because no sophisticated scientific tools of measurement have been used during the field experience. Furthermore, in this research non-experimental design has been employed because the area of study, it impractical to experiment with the study. Due to it involves observing and recording behaviors, attitudes, and perceptions, these variables could not be controlled.

Data for the study is collected in both secondary as well as in primary forms. It requires secondary data, because the study at hand is to be the first academic work on constitutional patriotism in Pakistan, despite it being a peculiar case, but still, the light of inferences from other similar cases was needed for the study. I have secondary information on the case of the European Union, Canada, and India, as well as the study required conceptual and theoretical clarity; therefore, it uses some secondary sources from which the basic concepts, theoretical framework, and terms would derive. As for secondary data, the universe where documents have been collected includes libraries and other online platforms.

Data analysis in research involves systematically examining and interpreting data to extract meaningful insights, patterns, and relationships. Thematic analysis is used in the research because it allows for a rich and detailed understanding of complex social phenomena. It enables researchers to identify patterns and themes that may not be immediately apparent and to develop a nuanced understanding of the problem of national integration in Pakistan. Thematic analysis is particularly used for analyzing large datasets and for identifying themes under the theoretical framework of constitutional patriotism. By using thematic analysis, readers can develop a deeper understanding of the problem of national integration and can generate insights that are grounded in the study.

Furthermore, the study is based on comparative and interpretive analysis. The study has been used to compare Pakistan with other states in the ranking, such as in the rule of law, transparency, conflicts, and its resolution capacity, and division and integration in the society. Lastly, it has analyzed the loyalty of the people towards the constitution of Pakistan in comparison with the other states, particularly in the region of Malaysia. Conclusively, the thematic, comparative, and interpretive analysis techniques and tools are used in the study.

4. *Theoretical Model:*

Study of constitutional patriotism under an idiosyncratic and contested theoretical framework founded by Jürgen Habermas (a German political philosopher who belongs to the critical theory traditions and the Frankfurt School). His theory is also known as ‘Habermasian constitutional patriotism’, based on attachment to constitutional values. The key ideas of his theory and its application in Pakistan:

- **Collective Rational National Identity:** Collective rational identity in the context of constitutional patriotism refers to a shared sense of citizenship and belonging rooted in a country's constitution and its principles, rather than ethnic, linguistic, or religious affiliations. According to Habermas, constitutional patriotism fosters a collective identity based on rational deliberation, democratic values, and constitutional norms (Habermas, 1992).

In Pakistan, constructing a collective rational identity under the constitutional patriotism model would involve: promoting constitutional literacy and awareness among citizens, postering a sense of shared citizenship and belonging through inclusive constitutional narratives, such as Pakistan ideology and Islam. By encouraging rational deliberation and public engagement with constitutional principles. So, by embracing constitutional patriotism, Pakistan can cultivate a collective rational identity that transcends sectarian and ethnic divisions, ultimately promoting national integration and stability.

- **Grand National Characters:** it is a second important principle of constitutional patriotism which plays a crucial role in shaping grand national characters and developing comprehensive national values. It doesn't dismiss national symbols, but rather recontextualizes them to support a broader national identity. In Pakistan, this approach can foster a strong national character while preserving sub-national identities. The key principle is to prioritize national identity while acknowledging provincial and ethnic affiliations. This may spark debates, but constitutional patriotism builds on existing values and norms, not external ones (Muller J.-W. , 2007).

Through public discourse, Pakistanis can develop a grand national character that reflects their shared values. For instance, agreement on certain Islamic principles or values can become a respected part of the national character. Constitutional patriotism isn't about imposing foreign values, but about creating a collective identity rooted in the nation's own values and norms. By embracing this approach, Pakistan can cultivate a sense of shared citizenship and national belonging that respects diversity while promoting unity.

- **Universal principles as objects of patriotic attachment:** Constitutional patriotism is rooted in universal principles as objects that foster patriotic attachment, such as the separation of powers and constitutional rules (Michelman, 1999). These principles and objects are similar to Rawls' ‘constitutional essentials’ that promote democratic values and empower citizens, including minorities, to engage in open discourse and contest unjust decisions. (Muller J.-W. , 2007). In Pakistan, however, the constitutional arrangement has been criticized for privileging one ethnic group, leading to feelings of exclusion among minority groups. (Lackovic, 2007). This has resulted in resistance movements, such as the United Nations Alliance and the Pakistan Movement of all Oppressed Nations, which challenge the dominance of certain groups. To truly embody constitutional patriotism, Pakistan's constitution should prioritize inclusive principles that promote equal participation and representation for all citizens, regardless of ethnicity or background. By doing so, it can create a sense of shared ownership and belonging among its citizens.

Despite having a constitution deemed a “document of consensus,” Pakistan struggles with its application and resolving ethnic conflicts. Applying constitutional patriotism in Pakistan could provide a way forward, building on existing constitutional foundations while promoting a culture of democratic values and inclusive citizenship. This approach could help address Pakistan's challenges without requiring

drastic changes to its legal framework. Conclusively, constitutional patriotism provides a framework and principles for constitutional adaptation, promotion of values, and implementation of the constitutional provisions, which consequently would prove a conflict resolution strategy in a heterogeneous and ethnically divided state of Pakistan.

Constitutional Patriotism and National Integration in Pakistan: A Policy Option

Constitutional patriotism is an attachment to the constitution and law, which Habermas portrayed as it is a conscious affirmation of political principles and constitutional values. In its front, the conventional identities would no longer work. It is also known as a post-national and conventional identity. It could be constructed through specific discourses, and even disagreement about the constitution eventually emerges as a “constitutional identity” or a “constitutional culture.” Constitutional patriotism is more widely viewed in a critical light and subject to periodic evaluation and re-evaluation, with its parameters to be universal norms. It is a collective learning process in the real Habermasian sense. (Muller W. , 2007). It works as a civic culture for a post-traditional and complex society like Pakistan.

Pakistan is a multi-layered, diverse society, where a clash exists between majority and minority, the conflict in society in numerous in natures, such as ethnic, sectarian, and political. Always a minority perceiving threats of relative deprivation and identity crisis. Constitutional patriotism provides minorities with a genuinely moral motivation to maintain the constitutional regime as a whole. With a language minority could contest majority decision. As well, it exerts moral pressure on minorities to uphold the system which is why they give ‘loser consent’. It provides a common language or mode of political problematisation or contestation within the shared normative framework. Constitutional patriotism claims the de-centering and mutual opening of existing constitutional cultures. It is upholding the practice of mutual learning and mutual deliberative engagement aims to outset “transnational norms building.” However, the constitution could not be implemented without the promotion of constitutional values. Major constitutional values are: civic culture in terms of the love of law and the constitution of the state, rational collective identity, and the rule of law. Through constitutional patriotism, national integration could only be achieved in Pakistan.

Major initiatives have been taken into consideration for national integration in Pakistan throughout history, which have been implemented totally or partially. For instance, from the very beginning, a constitutional assembly was made to implant democracy in Pakistan, well suited to the soil of Pakistan, has frayed to bureaucratic authoritarianism. After nine years had lapsed, a Westminster model constitution was adopted, which proved politically unstable for the nascent nation, paving the way to the 1958 military coup. Following the transformation in the politics of Pakistan 1962 constitution was made very exclusively by Ayub Khan; he undermined and miscalculated the social and political dynamics of the country. The constitutional setup was very contradictory in its theory and practice, as well as with the natural federation of Pakistan, which was a non-consensus and exclusive document. It excludes the East wing of the country, which resulted in the great debacle of 1971.

Similarly, the 1973 constitution was adopted to address the issue of national integration very focused on the federation. After World War II, a major shift in global dynamics had taken place. The traditional federalism was outdated; a modern federalism had taken its place through amendments in the constitutions of the USA and Germany. The documents were made very inclusive and integrative following the Civil War in the USA. Pakistan has to modernize its federation. But it was prone to the game of thrones between military dictators and civilian leaders. As military leaders imposed the eighth and seventeenth amendments to concentrate the powers exclusively in their hands, and contrarily, civilian leaders had to promote civilian supremacy by adopting a federal parliamentary system through the 13th and 18th constitutional amendments. (Hamid Khan & Waqar Rana, 2022).

Assessing the Key Essentials of Constitutional Patriotism for Pakistan

To assess the key essentials of constitutional patriotism in Pakistan, several elements must be examined as: transformation of the public sphere, which has been made easier by the 18th constitutional amendment, while decentralization of powers, including abolishing the president's power of dissolution of assemblies and suppressing the concurrent list. On the other hand, a rational collective identity is to be constructed with the implementation and adaptation of constitutional provisions, for instance, commitment to national duties and promotion of collective national interest. Likely, grand national characters need to be incorporated in the form of respect for the constitution, national flag, and the founding fathers of the nation. Similarly, there are some principles of patriotic attachment and modes of commitment to a plural society that are essential for constitutional patriotism. All the essentials would foster a civic culture that would promote national integration and prosperity.

Need for structural transformation of public sphere in Pakistan: the public sphere refers to the place where people make their easily access, nurturing public autonomy; people openly discuss their points of view in a discourse manner about public issues. The transformation of the public sphere is a key notion of constitutional patriotism. It outlines reason-based values that support unrestrained freedom of communication in the public sphere and provides a deliberate democratic process for conflict resolution, and the constitutional communication and channelizing of political power together provide a basis for checking illegitimate power and confirming the legitimacy of that administrative power to ensure that either it is used in the interest of all citizens or not (Habermas, 1996). Habermas' deliberation and discourses are open to every individual in the free public sphere, which is not in control of the bourgeoisie. In short, he talks about free communicative actions for constructing rational base values. The public sphere in Pakistan is elite-dominated, which causes a sense of relative deprivation among the marginalized classes. Consequently, it creates a trust deficit atmosphere where people take even law into their own hands and disobey the elite's policies.

The public sphere in Pakistan is a diverse and vibrant arena, comprising various components that facilitate public discourse and engagement. Its key elements are: media, which play a significant role in shaping public opinions and spreading awareness. On the other hand, if the platform does not provide for open and inclusive engagement and discussion, then it detracts and keeps the people in an illusion. Despite, constitution providing for freedom of expression under article 19 of the constitution and so on in the article 19-A guarantees the right to information and similarly, Article 26 provides for non-discrimination regarding access to the public sphere (Government of Pakistan, 1973), Pakistan ranks 150 out of 180 countries in freedom of press (Reporters Without Borders (RSF), 2024). The ranking indicates a difficult situation for media freedom, which includes: violence against journalists, such as an attack on Jahangir Hayat while working for the daily business, Sami Abraham, and Iqrar ul Hassan were abducted by unidentified men. Likely, censorship in the media and self-censorship, government imposing restrictive laws such as PECA, and posing economic pressures as making them vulnerable to financial manipulation. Secondly, the most important public sphere is law-making and public debate forums such as Parliament. The politicians and public representatives are receiving threats and have less access to speech in the parliament. It encompasses allegations and extra-arrestment.

So, in Pakistan, public sphere is dominated by the social and economic elites, communications is not open to public, values are constructing in the way from top to bottom, and laws are making for elites 'like a tailor makes dresses for someone' so, consequently, system receives negative feedback and society face conflict and clash between masses and erosion of trust. It hinders public awareness and pushes them to disloyalty towards the constitution. If the public sphere becomes open and free, then people will construct rational values via open discourses. A vital and free public sphere is a base for constitutional patriotism. It works as a realm of social cohesion and cultural progress as well as a realm of critical

discourses. To attain a collective Pakistani identity, it might entirely depend upon a democratic and open public sphere.

Rational national collective identity and Pakistan: The second most important key essential of constitutional patriotism is rational collective identity. It refers to a shared sense of belonging and citizenship that is grounded in the social contract in terms of the constitution of the country. It is beyond a traditional ethnic and cultural identity, but relies on the social and religious dynamics of the state rather than importing a strange system. The concept emphasizes the significance of inclusive identity. For instance, for Pakistanis, only an inclusive identity is a religious identity, which was a significant mobilizing force in India for the Pakistan Movement. Still, it works as an inclusive force because 97% population of Pakistan is Muslim and has an agreement on the basic tenets of Islam. As Taqi Usmani once said, “We all the religious strains in Pakistan agree on the economic and political system of Islam, but falsely it is propagating as a disagreement (Usmani M. T., 2011).” The agitations against Israel’s war on Gaza proved in the streets of Pakistan as integration among all the religious sects of Pakistan, up to date two Palestine conferences were held, all the religious scholars and leaders showed solidarity and a united voice.

Constitutional would bring to forgot the past ethnic and sectarian conflicts because sometimes radical attachment with past resulting the alienation with the world which is facing. Looking back to the history and picking commonalty is a rational process to make a rational identity. By understanding a common history can be a cornerstone to critically improve a common future. Habermas dreams the public sphere that would produce a new rational social contract that can occupy the place of obsolete and pre-established culture as a basis for political identity. However, he works out with an overly fast dichotomy between traditional inherited identity and rational discourse (Calhoun C. , 2006).

Constitutional patriotism is not a kind of sense of traditional patriotism, but instead it includes a sense of significant self-criticism. It is not only about protecting or shells democratic and liberal norms of a constitution but also competing imperfections in their applications (Sáinz, 2019). Radical and reactionary politics is a core value in Pakistani politics, it is based on strong attachment with history, and predecessor, chanting slogan on the name of predecessors such as *Bacha Khani pakar da* (No need of progress but the old age pathway of Bacha Khan) and *Butto Zinda hai* (expressing that we are still follow the old age paths way of Bhutto) it do nothing with Pakistani state nationalism, but they put forward their local ethnic and elitist identities and vested dynastic interest rather than state interest. The local and sub-national identities foster conflict and undermine the broad national identity of Pakistan, which is a death blow to national integration. Local nationalism and local ‘chauvinism’ are the main causes of national disintegration and terrorism. It also forces state machinery to use violence and suppression. For instance, Baluch nationalism and *Sardarism* invite state violence because the state has a monopoly of violence to retain its sovereign authority; the extra-regional autonomy would challenge the national security paradigm, therefore, the state’s central security agency goes to uses force and extra-constitutional measures against Baloch rebels. Thus, sub-nationalism is an old view and obsolete; it works as a brake to progress in a sense of national integration, peace, and creative development. It is also a binary force to other local chauvinisms, such as Punjabi nationalism is a reaction to Baloch nationalism, vice versa. So, in Pakistan, traditional and sub-national identities mark national disintegration, obsolescence, political unawareness, and work as a brake to the collective progress; it needs to be replaced with post-national and post-traditional identity. Material for such identity would be incorporation of local languages in the discourses, reforming and strengthening the judiciary to bring justice, promotion of civic education, addressing of historical grievances of specifically Balochistan province and discouraging of promotion of social elites like Sardars in Balochistan, Khans in KP, Chaudhris in Punjab and Wadeeras in Sindh (Uppal, 2022) because the elites subordinating collective identity and promoting local narrow identities. To construct a rational collective identity therefore it requires common grand national identity markers or characters.

Grand national characters: In the context of constitutional patriotism, grand national characters refer to the collective values, principles, and ideals that define a nation's identity and guide its citizens' behavior. The character is essential for promoting national integration and social cohesion; therefore, it shall be embedded in the constitution of the country. The constitutional patriotism model has a significant role in building of Grand National character and the development of comprehensive national values. Usually, national characters, including national signs, territory, lingual and conventional forms of national identity, and constitutional patriotism, do not reject these symbols; however, they relegate them to a supporting role in the real world. (Müller, 2006).

In the case of Pakistan, this notion might seem strange, but the characters concerned are not imported but the legalization projection of the existing characters; in other words, constitutional patriotism does not make an artificial set of characters, but rather legalizes and rationalizes the existing values, symbols, and identity markers. It offers a debate and a discourse over the issue, and whenever, public reached an agreeable point, it would be called a grand national character. For instance, people of Pakistan agreed upon an element of Islamic law, or on any particular part of Islamic law, it would be treated as a grand national character it would be respectable. Similarly, the founders of the nation, federation, national flag, constitution, and objective resolution shall be treated as grand national characters.

Universal principles as objects of patriotic attachment: fourthly, a solid and indispensable idea to address constitutional patriotism in its real spirit is the notion of universal principles that should be included in a constitution as objects or elements of patriotic attachment. According to Frank Michelman (an American professor, legal scholar, and writer), the essential and universal principles in the Habermasian constitutional model are similar to Rawls' "constitutional essentials" in a particular political system. It includes: separation of powers, the constitutional and legislative rules, etc. Michelman also argues that the first element or principle of patriotic attachment put forward by constitutional patriotism should be a like notion of the constitution. This, as might be expected, does not hamper open discourse among citizens about any aspect of the constitution. The legal and democratic mechanisms of the constitution should spur on national or ethnic minorities to maintain the constitutional regime during discourse and dissent. Constitutional patriotism "empowers and provides minorities with a language and forum of communication to contest the majority's decisions whenever they experience that they have been act toward unjustifiably. (Muller W. , 2007).

Constitutional development, wheresoever, is a process of development of a social contract where minority groups perceive a threat to their rights and identity because the quantitatively dominant group has a megalothymic desire to suppress the minority. In majoritarian polities, small groups cannot contest against majority groups. Whereas, in the constitutional patriotism model, decision making is based on the principle in which the minority has a strong deliberative voice, where decisions are made based on qualitative reasoning rather than weighing quantity. In discourses, the minority can defeat the majority qualitatively by a strong and reasonable argument. The case of Pakistan and the problem of Pakistan becomes clear from the aforementioned explanation; in Pakistan's political culture public sphere and discourses are dominated by elites and the majority. Either it is traditional status that is a hindrance, or quantitative weighting that violates and sidelines the rights of the common minority, or the non-elitist minority. Ultimately, it led to relative deprivation, which results in conflict. Perhaps all ethnic conflicts in Pakistan are the consequences of elitist and majoritarian political culture.

However, upholding the principle of consultation and deliberation as part of *shura*, justice, equality, and accountability as defined in Islamic law is needed, where minority voices are heard and evaluated. Under Islamic law majority for the sake of the majority does not require policy making; rather, decisions are taken based on reason and concrete evidence (Usmani T. , 2017). The strong evidence, witnesses, and references are the criteria for legislation and decision-making. The principle of Islamic

shura, the principle of summoning shura, the principle of Islamic accountability and self-accountability as historically done during Umar (a second Caliph of Islam), the principle of equity-based allocation of values and obedience of law, and the obedience of *Amir* according to the Holy Quran, “obey Allah and obey the messenger and those in authority among you.” Similarly, in the last sermon, Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) said, “white do not have their superiority over black and the black over white, if a slave becomes authorized over you, should obey (Shih al Bukhari)”. So, Islamic law best guarantees the security of religious minorities, according to Montesquieu (a French political philosopher), only minority rights were historically proven by Umar bin Abdul Aziz's reign (Montesquieu, 1748) The principles have been proven as universal principles of patriotic attachment in Islamic history. The Constitution of Pakistan already provides for upholding Islamic law as sovereign command, “sovereignty belongs to Allah Almighty,” and the Islamic law is the supreme authority over the land (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973).

Mode of commitment to a diverse society: Another important aspect of constitutional patriotism is a mode of commitment to diverse societies. The subject for constitutional patriotism is plurality, not uniformity. Pakistan is the best model for a plural and diverse society. According to Stephen P. Cohen, in terms of religious, ethnic, and lingual composition, Pakistan is a highly diverse society. Cultural multiplicity in Pakistan has been distributed in all four cardinal directions: North, South, East, and West, each direction representing a different culture or values. In each direction, there are subcultures also contributing to regional diversity. All four federating units in Pakistan are demarcated on ethnic lines, but the problem faced by the federation all provinces are a colonial construct, which is a part of the divide and rule policy of the British. The demarcation would not be sincere with the federation, as some minorities are still questioning their recognition because their identity is in crisis. However, looking to the social diversity of Pakistan, as it has been mentioned earlier, it is a big challenge to national integration and stable democracy. Owing to the failure of proper constitutional arrangement and commitment to the constitution in accommodating such diversity and sub-national identities state is going through a constant conflict. Currently, in Pakistan constitutional arrangement is to be considered, which is indirectly blamed by the minority ethnic groups as a constitutional nationalism. Originally, the idea of constitutional nationalism was given by Herbert Hoyden (African writer and professor in political science at the University of Florida), who means it is a constitutional and legal arrangement that privileges one ethnic group or an ethnically defined nation (Lackovic, 2007). In some cases, and at some times, the marginalized groups in their social circles, informally called “*Punjabistan*,” feel themselves excluded from political and constitutional discourses.

Constitutional patriotism is a response to the challenges faced by a diverse society. It is a strategy for conflict resolution in a heterogeneous society, where it can receive credit rather than addressing the challenges of a homogeneous society. It would resolve the problem of ethnic, sectarian, and regional conflicts in Pakistan by promoting civic nationalism, fostering inclusive governance, and strengthening democratic institutions. To promote the values, the practice of it is necessary; by making practice in the long run, it would ultimately manifest as a culture which is famously known as civic culture.

Conclusively, Pakistan is a typical case of a ‘sick man’ which everyone knows its health. The country is passing through a state of constant legitimacy crisis, rebellions, martial laws, conflicts, and terrorism. Since birth, up to date, Pakistan has experienced three permanent constitutions. None of these brought any national integration in the sense of peace, prosperity, and justice for all. Despite, 1973 constitution being called the document of consensus and compromise but it still confronts problems like; lack of its application, a lack of obedience from the bulk of the population, as well as it seems a failure in the resolution of ethnic conflicts in Pakistan. While constitutional patriotism is a flexible, inclusive, and comprehensive conflict resolution model, it would be easily applied in Pakistan without any requirement for an abrupt change in the existing legal and constitutional framework. It might adjust its present constitution with something else. To foster such a constitutional culture, it is required to promote constitutional literacy, the conduct of constitutional clubs for discourses and deliberations utilizing media,

the encouragement of civic engagement and participation, and the cultivation of mutual respect and tolerance. Ultimately, the community of mutual allegiance would reach.

Need for a New Constitutionalism: An Analysis of the Policy Options

To address the challenges of national disintegration in Pakistan, a new constitutional framework inspired by constitutional patriotism can be adopted. This approach emphasizes the importance of strengthening federalism, reforming institutions, and promoting civic engagement. The key elements for it are strengthening federalism by enhancing provincial autonomy, and ensuring provinces have sufficient powers to address local issues while maintaining national unity, institutional reforms by reforming key institutions, such as the judiciary, parliament, and civil service, to ensure they are independent, accountable, and effective, civic engagement by changing the behavior of the people by encouraging citizens to engage in public debates, discussions, and decision-making processes. And for changing the orientation of the people, it further requires constitutional literacy by promoting constitutional awareness among citizens, highlighting the importance of constitutional principles and values.

By reforming and enhancing the federation as an integrative force, the federal spirit embodies the unifying forces that bind a political community together, striking a balance between individual and collective needs. This dynamic is rooted in a moral foundation comprising faith, mutual trust, partnership, dignity, friendship, loyalty, consent, consultation, compromise, reciprocity, tolerance, and respect. These elements collectively drive the evolution of the federation and national integration. For sub-state national identities to acknowledge the federation as legitimate, it must demonstrate sensitivity and sympathy towards their cultural-ideological preferences, interests, and values. A potential solution to the nationalities question lies in non-territorial or corporate federalism, which integrates the principles of personal autonomy and national unity. This approach ensures that no single nationality holds a privileged claim to a specific territory, instead applying autonomous status to individuals rather than territories (Burgess, 2006). By fostering a sense of shared citizenship and cooperation, federalism can accommodate diverse identities and interests, promoting a more inclusive and responsive political system. The success of such a system hinges on its ability to balance unity and diversity, ensuring that all constituent units feel valued and represented.

The contemporary constitutional discourse necessitates a shift in focus towards a novel constitutive inquiry: what kind of federating and democratic framework can effectively facilitate the perpetual processes of reimagining of nation-building, negotiation, and reconciliation that underpin the burgeoning demands for national integration? The objective of national integration is to enable the constituents of an open society to modify the constitutional rules governing mutual recognition and association in tandem with the evolution of their identities. (Burgess, 2006). This presupposes that conflict management yields neither imperial domination nor secession, but rather internal self-determination characteristic of a multinational federation.

The constitutional implications of this framework are unequivocal. The right to recognition entails not only the exercise of specific powers about political, economic, social, and cultural development through institutions of self-government and protection of distinctness but also a democratic voice in determining those powers and their interrelationship with other members of the multinational association. Furthermore, it necessitates the capacity to amend these arrangements periodically. The pursuit of justice, order, and stability requires a reconceptualization of constitutions and constitutional discourse to facilitate an ongoing conversation and debate that accommodates legitimate argumentation and reasonable disagreement.

It is feasible to accommodate religious differences in non-federal states by employing legal and constitutional means to safeguard and preserve distinct identities, as exemplified by the British Muslim community. This community possesses a distinct set of cultural values and a shared language but does not

pursue territorial claims or harbor an intrinsically political identity. It is noteworthy that our empirical focus has been confined to multinational federations, whereas other multinational states, such as Spain and the United Kingdom, which are not formally federations, have successfully managed their multiple nationalities. (Lijphart, 1999).

Generalizing the case of Malaysia, the case would be closer to Pakistan both demographically and geographically. Malaysia is a religiously and ethnically diverse state; Islam is the dominant religion there, as in Pakistan. Islam is an official religion of the state and has largely inspired the politics of the state. Therefore, Malaysia's constitutional framework presents a nuanced relationship between Islam and the state. While Islam is designated as the official religion, the constitution simultaneously safeguards the rights of minority groups to practice their faiths. Article 3(1) ensures that other religions can coexist peacefully, and Article 11 enshrines the fundamental right to freedom of religion, allowing individuals to profess, practice, and propagate their beliefs. This balance reflects Malaysia's commitment to multiculturalism and multireligiosity, where Islam's prominence is contextualized within a broader framework of constitutional protections for diverse faiths (Zakaria, 1987). While analyzing that it would not be wrong to do so consciously or subconsciously, constitutional patriotism to some extent prevails in the state. As a result, Malaysia's Islamic identity coexists with a commitment to preserving the rights and freedoms of all citizens, regardless of their religious affiliations.

Moreover, Malaysia is a federation, and the federal constitution of the state recognizes the special status of the Malays and indigenous peoples of Sabah and Sarawak within the federation. While Article 8(2) asserts that there should be no discrimination based on religion, race, descent, place of birth, or gender, this provision is subject to other constitutional clauses that permit differential treatment. Notably, Article 153(1) empowers the Yang di-Pertuan Agong to protect the special position of these groups and the legitimate interests of other communities. This article provides a framework for safeguarding the interests of the "sons of the soil" in four key areas: land reservations, public service quotas, business licenses, and educational assistance. These provisions aim to promote the socio-economic well-being of these communities, acknowledging their historical and cultural significance within the federation. By granting special recognition and privileges, the constitution seeks to balance the needs and interests of diverse groups, fostering a more inclusive and equitable society. (Burgess, 2006).

Various forms of autonomy, devolution, and consociationalism exist to accommodate sub-state nationalism. As Simeon and Conway have emphasized, federal institutions per se do not guarantee success or failure. (Lijphart, 2004). The effectiveness of a federation is contingent upon the societal conditions in which federal constitutions and political institutions operate, rendering broad generalizations about the efficacy of federation in multinational societies virtually impossible. Therefore, the right of recognition not only in the exercise of certain powers of political, economic, social and cultural development, using institutions of self-government, protection of distinctness, and federalism, but also in having a democratic say over what those powers are, how they relate to and are recognized by the other members of the multinational association, and to be able to amend them from time to time.

Here, the pursuit of justice, order, and stability requires the reconceptualization of constitutions and constitutional discourse so that there are an unending conversation and debate that allows for legitimate argument and reasonable disagreement. It is perfectly possible to accommodate religious differences in non-federal states using legal and constitutional means to protect and preserve distinct identities. The example of British Muslims demonstrates the existence of an ethnic group with a distinct set of cultural values and a shared language that pursues no territorial claims and lacks an intrinsically political identity.

Thus, reminded that our empirical focus has been limited to multinational federations and that there are equally interesting multinational states, such as Spain and the United Kingdom, that are not formally federations but manage their multiple nationalities with admirable success. Different forms of autonomy,

devolution, and consociationalism techniques and procedures exist to accommodate sub-state nationalism, and, as Simeon and Conway have emphasized. (Lijphart, 2004), ‘by themselves, federal institutions are no guarantee of either success or failure. The political scientist is confronted by a variety of different federal models, together with huge differences in the societal conditions in which federal constitutions and political institutions are meant to operate. This makes it virtually impossible to construct broad generalizations about the effectiveness of federation in multinational societies.

However, by promoting constitutional patriotism, the official status of the religion should be used as a force for national integration the for other identities than Islam, as a grand national identity would backfire. The Malaysian case is an empirical success story, where, being the Islamic constitution how the state has accommodated religious and ethnic plurality. By enhancing federation in Pakistan by aligning with constitutional patriotism and addressing the challenge of national integration, it can be achieved by materialization the federal structure is enshrined in the constitution, which provides for a bicameral legislature and division of powers between the federal government and provinces (Articles 141-143). However, the country's history has been marked by periods of military rule, centralization, and provincial discontent. To strengthen the federation, Pakistan can draw lessons from other multinational federations like Canada, where provincial autonomy and regional identities are respected within a unified framework (Burgess, 2006). This involves ensuring that provinces have adequate powers and resources to manage their affairs, while the federal government focuses on national issues like defense, foreign policy, and inter-provincial coordination.

Constitutional patriotism, as conceptualized by Jürgen Habermas, emphasizes loyalty to democratic principles and constitutional values rather than ethnic or national identity (Habermas, 1998). In Pakistan, this would involve promoting a sense of citizenship based on shared values like democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. Addressing national disintegration requires acknowledging and addressing the grievances of marginalized regions and communities. This can be achieved through inclusive dialogue, equitable distribution of resources, and recognition of diverse identities (Khan M. , 2018). The 18th Amendment to the Constitution, which devolved powers to provinces and increased provincial autonomy, is a step in this direction.

As Dr. Syed Irfan Ashraf said (a Ph.D. Scholar and Professor in Department of Mass Communication and Journalism at University of Peshawar) also said that 18th constitutional development is a significant step toward national integration but lacks of its implementation the challenge still faces the federation not all but some problems would solve, there are some issues which should be addressed and solved otherwise national integration will remain a challenge ever such as dominance of military establishment, not recognition of sub-national cultures and identities which are not separate from religion as both are co-exist as *Hujra Jumat* in village structure, issue of missing person and closed public sphere in term of media censorship, S.I. Ashraf (personal communication, March, 2024).

Practicing the Islamic principles of justice and equality as the supreme laws of the land, which are already embedded in the constitution, has an excellent real power to accommodate the diversity of the state. While aligning the eighteenth constitutional amendment with the spirit in a manner that involves decentralization of power and decentralization of capabilities, as the eighteenth amendment has transferred the crucial subjects like health and education to provinces, it had to build a basic infrastructural capability as well. Enhancing federation in Pakistan requires a multifaceted approach that promotes constitutional patriotism, provincial autonomy, and inclusive governance. By learning from international best practices and addressing local challenges, Pakistan can build a more robust and resilient federation.

Redefining the nation by entitling the sub-national identities into a public sphere: redefining the nation in the context of constitutional patriotism in Pakistan involves fostering a sense of shared

citizenship and loyalty to democratic principles, while acknowledging the country's historical roots in Muslim nationalism. Constitutional patriotism, conceptualized by Jürgen Habermas, emphasizes attachment to a specific constitutional culture that balances universal and particular values, encouraging critical judgment and civic engagement. In Pakistan's case, this approach can help transcend ethnic and sectarian divisions by promoting a shared identity rooted in the Constitution. The 1973 Constitution, a social contract between citizens and the state, provides a foundation for this identity, outlining fundamental rights, freedoms, and responsibilities.

The problem of national disintegration in Pakistan has been created by subordinating the grand collective identity to narrow regional and sub-national identities. The collective national identity in Pakistan has its roots in the Pakistan movement, where Jinnah and others had mobilized the Muslims through the rhetoric of Muslim nationalism. The plan was very clear in the movement, which aimed at a state largely inspired by Islam. (Dhulipala, 2015). During the Pakistan movement, the sub-national identities were not calculated; otherwise, the ethnic nationalism would have led to a backfire on the idea of the Pakistani nation.

In the contemporary era, ethnic nationalism has been replaced by political nationalism. The nationalism constructed through a social contract, the 1973 constitution in Pakistan, is a kind of social contract that creates a nation politically rooted in Muslim nationalism in the United India. Loyalty to the constitution is a compact, document of consensus and compromise, as well as it is an Islamic constitution, as compared to the previous constitutions and the constitutions of other Muslim countries. Islam is an integrative and cohesive force for the 97% Muslim population of the countries. According to Ismail Rehan (a Pakistani historian and religious scholar) he said that “among all Muslim states the constitution of Pakistan is better” he illustrated, the constitutions of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Iran he said that “the former justifies autocracy, while constitution of Iran represent just a sect not the entire Islam” he further added that “constitution of Pakistan can be re-examined and modified according to Islam” he also said that “the real beauty of constitution of Pakistan is ‘objective resolution’ in sense of its flexibility and its Islamic nature” according to him “the existing constitution should not be replaced with a new constitution but it can be modified according Islam” he also added that “the real issue for Pakistan is not a constitutional, but the it is the issue of undeclared rebellion of ethnic nationalist and tribal elites against constitution, theirs constitution is their material benefits and their parties manifestos” which is rise a question of constitutional legitimacy and relevancy” I. Rehan (personal communication, November 26, 2023).

The recalling of Muslim nationalism, defined by the constitution of Pakistan as being social contract, is immediately needed to overcome the problem created by ethnic nationalism. The political and Muslim nationalism should come before the sub-nationalism; the latter shall remain in the sphere of regional identity, subordinated to national identity. Constitutional patriotism, in Pakistan, can build a more cohesive and resilient society, where citizens are united by a shared commitment to democratic principles and the Constitution and Muslim nationalism. This approach can help address national disintegration by promoting a sense of shared citizenship and common purpose, while respecting diversity and regional identities, keeping in the subordinated domain.

The sub-national identities within a federal polity are empowered to engage in open and reciprocal negotiations, fostering mutual recognition and cooperation. This involves developing and refining their modes of interaction while fairly reconciling diverse interests and perspectives. A critical aspect of this framework is the cultivation of a healthy skepticism towards government, ensuring accountability and transparency in the exercise of power. In this context, federalism promotes a dynamic interplay between constituent nations, allowing them to negotiate and renegotiate their relationships, rights, and responsibilities. This approach acknowledges and respects diversity while ensuring that power is distributed equitably and that all voices are heard.

A system that recognizes and accommodates diverse national identities within a single polity will encompass: reciprocal recognition by acknowledgement and respect between constituent nations, fostering cooperation and trust, and healthy skepticism by a critical approach to government, ensuring accountability, transparency, and the protection of individual and collective rights. So, by embracing these principles, the federal polity can promote more inclusive, responsive, and effective governance, while respecting the diversity and autonomy of constituent nations.

Reforming institutions, capabilities, and territorial delimitations: institutional reform, capacity building, and territorial reorganization are crucial for promoting unity and addressing the needs of diverse communities. Effective intergovernmental coordination, centered on executive federalism, enables more efficient decision-making. Redrawing internal boundaries along ethno-linguistic lines can help accommodate diverse identities. Special category states receive preferential treatment in resource allocation, acknowledging their unique challenges. Regular evaluations of special status claims ensure that support is targeted and effective. Decentralizing politico-administrative structures empowers local communities and fosters inclusive governance.

A primary driver of national disintegration is the inadequate representation and participation of marginalized communities in institutions. Addressing this requires concerted efforts to ensure that all voices are heard and valued. By promoting participatory governance and representation, institutions can build trust and legitimacy, ultimately strengthening national unity. (PILDAT, 2020). This approach recognizes the importance of flexibility and adaptability in institutional design, allowing for the evolution of the systems that are responsive to the needs of diverse communities. By striking a balance between unity and diversity, for instance, a presidential system in the USA has promoted more effective, stable, and inclusive governance.

A Presidential system will prove stable, inclusive, and effective in Pakistan. But not in the sense that the presidential experiment was by Ayub Khan in Pakistan, which was more centralized and dictatorial. The experiment should not be counted for integration because it was a failed experiment, even though it had exacerbated the national disintegration, as a result, the volcano erupted in 1971. The presidential system in the USA model would uphold integration in the sense that it empowers minorities because the government does not belong to parliament, and the majority could be included in the government. But the prerequisite for it will be a two-party system, one grand party of religious groups, which can be possible because the religious groups have some commonalities. According to Taqi Usmani (an Islamic Scholar, great Mufti and an ex-judge of Sharia Bench of Pakistan) he said “despite sectarianism based on diverse interpretation of Islam all the sects in Pakistan are agreed on the political and economic system of Islam, the multiple religious parties existing in Pakistan are due to the difference of interest they are perceiving such as some are more inclined to just protect Madrassas some are concern with their security etc. But ironically, the minor differences are propagandizing to just keep them disintegrated. (Usmani M. T., 2011). Therefore, the religious group could co-exist as it has been witnessed in the different platforms, most recently in the Ulema conferences on Palestine, where a joint decree was issued for Jihad against Israel.

The multi-party system has a significant role in the destabilization of the system, whereas no single party can get an absolute majority in the legislature, which results in a hung parliament, further leading to deadlock in the decision-making process, and the legislature remains vulnerable to dissolution. On the other hand, due to a lack of an absolute majority, coalition governments are formed and remain vulnerable to dissolution whenever the coalition collapses. The next key factor that contributes to the political instability in Pakistan is the lack of normal periodic elections in the parliamentary system based on the Westminster model, where any time a prime minister can be removed through a vote of no confidence, it leads to a political crisis. On the other hand, the process of impeachment of president in the US model is a very rigid task never done in history. Whenever the office of the president becomes vacant,

there is a series of persons to fill the gap instead of going for a new election. Apart from the impeachment, the Congress is non-dissoluble organ of the government. If Pakistan needs to accommodate its social diversity and bring national integration, it requires political stability, which depends upon the reformation of the system.

Moreover, Pakistan needs to upgrade and enhance its institutional capabilities for the systematic reforms and transformations it requires to invest in climate-resilient infrastructure that can withstand climate-related disasters, such as floods, which is very crucial. This can be achieved through innovative financing solutions, like debt swaps, and allocating resources to climate-resilient projects. Leveraging digital technologies can improve public services, enhance citizen engagement, and increase efficiency. Investing in digital infrastructure, promoting digital literacy, and implementing e-governance initiatives can help Pakistan leapfrog development challenges. Similarly, economically related upgradation in capabilities needed based on people-centered economic reforms, such as taxation reforms, sustainable debt management, and promoting private sector investments, can stimulate economic growth. Encouraging entrepreneurship, innovation, and job creation can also help reduce poverty and inequality. Furthermore, strengthening healthcare systems while declaring health emergencies, increasing healthcare spending, and improving healthcare infrastructure can help address Pakistan's health challenges. (World Bank Report, 2020). Conclusively, a complete overhauling of the governance structure is required to promote transparency, and enhancing accountability can help improve governance.

Furthermore, the demarcation of provinces on ethnic lines creates tension and conflict among provinces. Provincialism is a problem faced by the country since its inception, as the tension appeared in central and provincial relations due to some agreements, mainly in the NWFP and Sindh. Firstly, Jinnah dissolved the government of the NWFP (KP) because the government under Khan Sahib had separatist and provincialist tendencies. It was a big setback for the provinces that had been the first to support and join Pakistan. Then Sindh provincial government opposed the Jinnah plan to have control over Karachi city. Due to a clash with the provincial government led by Ayub Khoro ultimately dissolved by Jinnah (Waseem M. , 2025).

The congress leader and friend of Mahatma Gandhi, Ghafar Khan so so-called Frontier Gandhi, was leading a movement for a great Pashtun kingdom comprising the current KP, part of Balochistan, and Pushtun areas of Afghanistan, not on Muslim nationalism, rather on ethnic Pushtun nationalism had sown the seeds of ethnic nationalism. Thus, provincialism and ethnic nationalism intertwined to go together. The joint force of provincialism and ethnocentrism proved fatalistic in 1971. Since onward, Pakistan faces a giant challenge of centrifugal force working in the form of provincialism and ethnocentrism. It is a big threat to national integration. Several policies and strategies are applied, but the threat is still ahead, largely posed by Baloch and Pashtun nationalists. The Balkanization of provinces and the dissolution of ethnic lines and nomenclatures of the provinces may handle the crisis. Furthermore, providing space to each group in discourse in open public spheres would ultimately abolish the sense of ethnocentrism and provincialism. A common Pakistani and Muslim identity would be the most possible solution to the differences.

Conclusion

Conclusively, the implementation of constitutional patriotism in Pakistan holds promise for promoting national integration, but it faces significant challenges. Despite Islamic identity, in the Indian sub-continent was a mobilizing force; still, the country's Islamic identity served as a cohesive force, but sectarian divides, ethnic nationalism, and provincialism pose substantial obstacles. The 1973 Constitution, with its Islamic provisions and flexibility, provides a foundation for constitutional patriotism. The 18th

Constitutional Amendment has modernized Pakistan's federalism, paving the way for greater cooperation and adaptability.

However, challenges persist, including ethnic nationalist tendencies, local chauvinism, and the influence of regional and global rivals. The construction of provincial borders and nomenclature has created artificial minorities, fueling conflict and hate. Shifting allegiance from tribal leaders and local elites to the Constitution will require long-term strategies, including education and political socialization. Ultimately, the success of constitutional patriotism in Pakistan depends on promoting civic awareness, engagement, and participation. Civil society, media, and educational institutions must work together to educate citizens about their rights and responsibilities, fostering a sense of shared identity and allegiance to the Constitution. With a committed effort, constitutional patriotism can help build a more integrated and cohesive society in Pakistan.

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