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Pursuing National Integration: Role of Federalism in Pakistan after 18th Amendment

Muhammad Faisal,¹ Dr. Muhammad Aslam Faiz,² and Muhammad Saleem³

Article Information	Abstract
Received: June 03, 2022 Revised: June 08, 2024 Accepted: June 29, 2024	Federalism provides equal opportunities to the sub-regional groups in a state having diverse socio-political and ethnic identities. There exists a debate that process of national integration is more effective under federalism than any other form of government. It is fundamentally considered 'unity in diversity' model for the states. After 18th amendment, federalism in Pakistan has found new avenues to re-integrate the provincial identities, cultural groupings, political sub-regionalism and administrative hierarchy. This process focused on the transformation of democracy, good governance and institutionalism. This research presents a model of national integration which has been emerged in the aftermath of 18th amendment. State institutionalization, democratization and inclusive federalism are three important characteristics of this model. The main argument of this paper is, "a consistent and stable decentralization process in the present form of federalism can enhance the process of national integration in Pakistan". Furthermore, this study concludes that, constitutional supremacy and the institutional working is very important for developing more inclusive national integration in Pakistan.
Keywords <i>National Integration</i> <i>Pakistan</i> <i>18th Amendment</i> <i>Federalism</i> <i>Institutionalization</i>	

1 Introduction

National Integration is considered as more effective under federalism than any other system. F.G Carnell (1962), Mazrui (1971), Duchacek & Enloe (1977), K. C Wheare (1967), Ojo (1999) and Ali (1996) are some of the most prominent scholars who argued in favor of this conception. All these writers have arguments that in diverse systems of modern governance, federalism is more consistent, democratic, durable and efficient. In a federal state, the process of national integration stems to promote 'unity in diversity'. The 18th amendment was in 2010 by Pakistan People's Party-led coalitional political regime. The main objective of this amendment was to inculcate the federalism, democracy and national integration provisionally in line with constitutionalism. After this amendment, federalism in Pakistan has found new avenues. It has to re-integrate provincial identities, cultural groupings, political sub-regionalism and administrative hierarchy. According to an argument, "18th amendment breaks

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the previous power structure and introduced a decentralized system of administration in Pakistan. This decentralization provide a context where several institutional actors renegotiated their role and responsibilities in a contested atmosphere” (Rana, M.A, 2020). Furthermore, the process focused on transformation of democratic norms, good governance and institutionalization. It is evident that the process of national integration is taking roots in the existing system of federalism in Pakistan.

Greater voice for the provinces under provincial autonomy, re-regularization of National Finance Commission (NFC) Award, continuity in the electoral process/enhancement in the public confidence on democratic norms as well as institutionalization are some of the key developments for strengthening the process of national integration in Pakistan. However, these seems not more than ordinary working. The nation needs to boost unified accountability process in the political domain. Social taboos are consistently prevailing in our society. The system of local government is not present of fully functional. So, there is a need to resolve all these pitfalls.

This research is paper is divided into three main parts. Part one explains the conceptual understanding of the process of national integration in line with the concept of federalism. Second part describes the historical evolution of the process of national integration in Pakistan. The last part identifies trend of national integration in post 18th amendment phase. Additionally, this research presents a model of national integration which has been emerged in the aftermath of 18th amendment. Institutionalization, democratization and inclusive federalism are three important characteristics of this model. Main argument of this paper is; ‘a consistent and stable decentralization process in the present form of federalism can enhance the process of national integration in Pakistan’. Furthermore, this study concludes that, constitutional supremacy and institutional working is very important for developing national integration in Pakistan.

2 Understanding National Integration through the Lenses of Federalism

National Integration is a feature, which usually used in the political terminology. It is concisely express with regard to multi-ethnic states having diverse political culture. Sometimes, federalism and national integration used in same context while defining the concepts of governance and administration. It is a complex concept and often used in the meaning of nation-building, national development, political development, institutionalization, national cohesion and *unity in diversity* (Dudley, 1976). Its importance further raised, when constitutionalism gain popularity in the 19th century. There are several definitions of the concept of national integration. These are often contextualized into the ethnic, socio-political and cultural settings. In these definitions; homogeneity of the political groups based on the consensus-based political decisions, political cohesion of different ethnic groups and the geographical territories, and spirit of national is common. By concluding, we can analyze that national integration brings about sense of belonging in state elites, create nationalism and strengthen state institutions.

Nigeria is a unique case study while studying the process of national integration in the federal setting. The sate experienced many ups and downs in her politics and main streaming of ethnic groups both in civilian and in martial rules. This state is considered as the most diverse nation-state in the world. A Nigerian scholar propound that, federalism is a cosmetic mechanism for developing national integration in multi-ethnic states. He has the opinion that, national integration is a schizophrenic process where ethnic groups are managed in a constitutional way through elite cooperation in the political setting (Ojo, 2009). However, there are many other

scholars who do not agree with this conception and denied the validity. Tariton (1965), May (1970), Elazar (1987) and Ayoade (1988) have the opinion that, there are many examples where federalism has failed to promote national integration. This is true to some extent when we study pre-1980s the literature on this concept. This argument has no validity in the modern state system where countries having adopted federalism successfully adopting the national integration process and Pakistan is a fine example when we study its post 18th amendment period.

By précising all the discussion, it is evident that federalism can be a fair feature for establishing national integration, if the constitutional working is exercised. The government institutions properly paly their efficient role in the ambit of the constitution. The administrative departments exercise their responsibilities according the rule of business. In these circumstances, good governance prevails. Political maturity often take place. Political parties respect the public mandate. The provincial of sub-regional governments also specifically find ways for developing rule of law and solidarity. The public confidence hails. Hence, national integration evolve.

3 Evolution of National Integration in Pakistan

The formation of Pakistan was made possible with the political merger of provinces having Muslim majority. The colonial governance system was based on the unitary model of governance and mobility of resources and powers were in the hands of the central government. The people belonging to the newly established state bifurcated on regional, religious, ethnic, caste, creed and cultural lines. So, the process of national integration in these circumstances was seemed difficult. Under the preliminary pact known as objective resolutions (1949), it was decided that federalism and constitutionalism will be the important pillars which can create more stability in the process of national integration (Ziring, 1980).

This is worth interesting to note that, federalism often talk about ‘unity in diversity’ and autonomy for the sub-regional identities. These trends are considered very important for developing national integration in heterogeneous society. After the passage of the objective resolution in 1949, Pakistan adopted three constitutions (1956, 1962 and 1973 respectively), but provincial autonomy was missing in all these pacts (Bukhari & Faisal, 2013; Ali, 1996). Apart from this, Pakistan experienced four martial rules which thrived down the democratic norms. Acute centralization was seen. The political parties stagnated or suspended their political working (Alam, 2018). The process of national integration was halted. Political cohesion often miss-appropriated with religious and ethnic slogans. Smaller provinces, especially Balochistan, Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa often voiced for their political rights from the sitting federal governments. Province of Punjab, being a majoritarian population often being criticized by the political party heads belonging to smaller provinces.

It was revealed that true spirit of provincial autonomy and constitutionalism has been neglected, which halted the process of nation building, political development, national cohesion, and institutionalism in Pakistan. After 18th amendment, federalism in Pakistan has found new avenues to re-integrate the provincial identities, cultural groupings, political sub-regionalism and administrative hierarchy. This process focused on the transformation of the process of democracy, good governance, institutionalism and federalism in the country.

The political fields play a significant role for the development of national integration. The political parties work by considering the popular will. The public also exercise its power for

choosing able officer bearers. By considering these arguments, it is evident that the process of national integration in Pakistan did not take place on political field. That is why, various ethnic, linguistic, political, sectarian, regional and financial issues emerged in the time which still needs to be resolved amicably by the stakeholders.

4 Post-18th Amendment Scenario

Charter of democracy was signed between the two major political parties of Pakistan in 2006. This document provided a background for the adaptation of 18th amendment. It was revealed by PML (N) and PPP that, the true spirit of federalism will be brought back in the constitution of Pakistan. An integration process in different provinces will also be coordinated by the central government. The grievances of the public will be resolved through political process (Friday Times, 2006). This documented fulfilled the commitment of the two parties in 2010. 18th amendment was adopted. This amendment has provided the following possible aspects for the process of national integration in Pakistan.

4.1 Provincial Autonomy

Provincial autonomy under the original draft of 1973 constitution was not present in its true sense. It was committed in the early phase that, arrangements will made after 10 years for evolving consensus for provincial autonomy (Adeney, 2007). The 18th amendment provides sufficient provincial autonomy to the provinces. Colonial legacy of centralized ruling is no more. Provinces have now greater voices in many aspects. Political elites are being bargained on genuine political demands of the people (Waseem, 2010). The Federal government started Aghaz-e-Haqooq Package to minimize the grievances of the people of Balochistan.

The former FATA territory integration with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa under 25th amendment which sought to establish uniform system of administration for federally administered regions (Mahmood, 2023). These two major breakthroughs were adopted to re-integrate the citizens and develop national loyalties among them. Financial resources were mobilized. However, there is much need to develop confidence among the public of Balochistan and tribal belt in particular to run the national integration process. This confidence can be developed through composite dialogue, resource mobilization, provision of civil and provincial rights, establishing rule of law and stabilizing the good governance.

4.2 Re-organization of NFC Award

The 7th NFC Award created fiscal consolidation among the provinces. It addressed the poverty in smaller provinces, economic inequality in the provinces and infrastructural development in the different geographical territories (Mustafa, 2011). It is the consensual Award which has been unifying by all the provinces. This Award minimized the offensive voices of smaller provinces against the province of Punjab and try to create homogeneity among the provinces on the distribution of economic resources from the divisible pool. However, centralization in the economic resources continues despite the implementation of this award (Adeney, 2012). The award is marked a major transformation for making the criteria of resource distribution in an equitable and progressive way. It was a need based award. However, it failed to confine the full sense of equality among the provinces (Javed & Ahmed, 2019).

The present NFC Award was promulgated in 2009 which required to be re-evaluated after five years, i.e in 2014. Due to successive political instability in Pakistan, this did not reframed until now. Although different governments plan to exercise the constitutional domain, however did not find the mutually shared political will. So far, the review of new NFC Award is itself is big opportunity/issue to be resolved by the political forces in Pakistan.

4.3 Regularization in Electoral Process

The electoral process is the backbone for running the democratic political regimes in the modern state system. It is a lynchpin for strengthening and stabilization of democratic process. In this way it is equally impact on the working of federalism. More democratic electoral process contributes to stable federal regimes. In last 58 years, 12 general elections held in Pakistan. The electoral process delayed many times due certain political reasons. However, it is only in last 16 years, that certain constitutional cycle for the electoral process in Pakistan is practiced (Jabbar, 2024). It has been observed for the first time in the political history that fourth consecutive term is administering the central government and the provincial governments which are elected through the electoral process. Some scholars argue that, 4th democratic wave is in the process which has created nationalism and national cohesion in Pakistan.

Regularization in the electoral process has created a way of dialogue, consensus and communication tool among the provinces, political parties and the citizens/voters for creating national integration in public domain. However, there is still a debate that the electoral system needs reforms at greater level (Saleem Ullah, 2022). Amendments in the electoral laws are required to empower the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). These reforms must ensure impartiality of ECP in the electoral process. It must also abolish the dynastic political trends in political parties and also ensure undisputed and efficient elections in the country.

4.4 Strengthening of Democratic Norms

Democratic norms are taking root. Political parties and the elites are now more conscious about accountability process. Governance is now better than the previous regimes and is continuously improving. State institutions have started working in their constitutional domain (Faisal & Ahmad, 2021). There seems national cohesion in the government institutions in terms of working, administration and execution of the policies. However, there is need to institutionalize the role of parliament, parliamentary committees, the Council of Common Interests (CCI), National Security Committee (NSC) and the National Economic Council (NEC) (Husain, 2023). The parameters of accountability will be established by processing these measures. It can be established an argument that with strengthening of democratic norms, national integration will also take strong roots.

4.5 Evolution of Institutionalization

The 2008 governance transition in Pakistan provided an opportunity for institution building in Pakistan. This process is further expanded in 2013, 2018 and afterwards. The role of National Accountability Bureau (NAB), Election Commission, judiciary, military and other stakeholders is expected more professional and institutionalized as compare to the previous

political tenures. At all what is important is that all institutions needs to recognize the institutional position and then explore the constitutional role, responsibilities, duties and rights and intact to perform those duties under the shadow of the constitution. This process will create national integration and reduce the reservation of the smaller provinces. Previous system of power politics needs to be replaced with the broad nation based institutional performance.

For broadening the system of governance, major reform package is very important to be considered by the national and provincial administrations. Although the process is very complex, but upon its completion will provide liberal political regimes in Pakistan. A reasonably responsible government can work on this tendency.

5 Post 18th Amendment and Challenges to National Integration

Pakistani society and the stakeholders adopted federalism as a way to create regional homogeneity, cultural assimilation and to promote national integration. Due to successive changes in governance patterns over the years resulted into the reposition of challenges. Simultaneously, parochial approach to address these issues further deteriorated the governance stability resulting into more and more gap between the governance and social inclusion. Although federal transformation from the very beginning accelerated the society on inclusive path on political grounds but this approach remained deserted over the time. The successive political regime tried to establish a controlled system where decisions have taken on base of might is right principle.

The 18th amendment transformed the working of federalism in Pakistan to resolve the issues of national integration which are still prevailing. Following is a list of issues which needs to be resolved steadily depending upon the need, working and resolution framework.

5.1 A Federal Society with Multiple Divisions

Pakistan is a deeply divided society. These divisions are based on geography, culture, language, aspirations and last but not least are governance principles. Ethnic, religious and sectarian conflicts are common. The implementation of law and order is poor and inefficient. All these issues are associated with poor educational governability at the grass root level. The government lacks planning in achieving Education for All commitment under Dakar declaration 2015 and Vision 2030 targets due to poor planning in education system (IPRI, 2015).

There is an appropriate link between education and national integration. More education and literacy can establish a durable national integration. Pakistan's poor investment in education makes this nation as one of the lowest developing nation having reduced literacy rate which stands at 58 percent while 22.6 million children aged between 6 and 16 are not still attending the school due to poverty, meagre economic resources and poor family planning. The federal as well as the provincial governments needs to scale up the education system by endorsing quality education so that national integration can be established in true spirit.

5.2 Administrative Supremacy of Central Government

The 18th amendment has provided constitutional freedom to the provinces in various administrative matters. Certain constitutional measures were adopted to ensure division

between the federal and provincial governments. The amendment specifically distributes the powers and functions between the federal and provincial governments to promote national integration. However, many stakeholders still argue that provincial governments still not equipped with the relevant administrative features to exercise all these powers (Syed, 2010).

It is propounded that provinces have been provided constitutional supremacy strong legislative, administrative and financial autonomy. Some segments argue that this initiative has weakened the administrative structure of the state while providing a constitutional supremacy in administration in the name of law and order while fomenting bureaucratic chain (Hussain, 2019). The governor, chief secretary and provincial Inspector General of Police are still appointed by the federal government to control the administration of the provinces.

5.3 Patronage Politics

The political parties can instigate positive change in any country. They are responsible to promote national integration through electoral participation. They also establish civic practices in the society. The parties are considered as the real representative face of Pakistan. It has been argued that political parties will focus on acquiring public space in post-electioneering process. The people-specific and people-oriented policies may drive under public motives by these parties whether at national or at provincial levels. On the other hand, parties are now focusing on the relevant level of governing provinces to engage people in national integration process.

It is evident that small group of political elites aspire to become the stakeholder both in central government and in the provinces. The political parties are still controlled by the specific families stick to politics for very long time. Sometimes, it is argued that political parties are the vehicles which provide different political elites access to state resources both in the center as well as in the provinces. The party bonds internally too tie with family owned decisions in the administration. Reforms in system which can provide general public more political freedom can be implemented steadily (Shah, 2023).

5.4 Local Government Practices

The local government practice is essential for strengthening the process of national integration. The essence of national integration lies in consisting practice of local government to empower the people at the grass root level so that the issues may be addressed at their door step. Pakistan has not seen any consistency in executing the local government. In the post 2018 amendment, the provinces tried local government bodies for two times diversifying their local government laws. These two tenures also proclaimed many hindrances. It is argued that local bodies have not been allowed to work as constitution desire (Khan, 2021).

Furthermore, in distribution and allocation of resources among the provinces, inequality prevails. This inequality further grow social stratification and political polarization in the society which effectively generate bad governance. It is evident that Pakistani nation is deeply divided on ethno-linguistic and politico-religious lines. There seems institutional friction at various forums. Ideological clash and fundamentalism is also persists. Insecurity prevails in the people of smaller provinces. Due to these consistent challenges, fragile integration persists (Bangwar, 2022).

The stakeholder in Pakistan must try to address the prevailing issues of national integration on pragmatic principles exploring the reformed and decentralized state policies. For reinforcement of integration, Pakistan needs to promote inclusive economic development, provision of equal rights to its citizens, intending cultural assimilation, fair distribution of resources to provinces and last but not least is to establish national political outlook before the world through law of land, justice and well-being of the people.

6 Conclusion

Prosperity, integrity and development of Pakistan lies in promoting national integration. Our political stakeholders need to harmonize the socio-economic development on equal grounds. The political elites need people centric approach to resolve the ongoing issues. This issue can be resolved by ensuring democracy, institutional working in the ambit of constitution, empowering local government and guaranteeing equal rights to the people living in different provinces. Pakistan as official entity should de-emphasize on ethnic thinking. The parliament should adopt a proper way through national consensus to resolve the ongoing issues which are jeopardizing the process of national integration. The federal government is still more powerful in exercising political powers in the provincial domain in name of maintenance of public order. There is need to establish a framework under which it should be restricted to do so against the interest of the provinces. If the political parties, institutions and the political stakeholders obey the constitution in its true spirit, national integration can evolve in positive way.

National integration is not short sighted and short term process. It takes time. The time in a sense to really reform and steadily introducing accountability, rule of law, national interests, and the exercise of constitutional rights. Which are given by the constitution. National integration start with Grand National Dialogue. That dialogue should be parliament oriented and according to the constitutional principles. Although the time seems unstable but it should not be prolong further.

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*An earlier draft of this research was presented in “National conference on National Integration and Cultural Assimilation” which was organized by NIHCR & NIPS at Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad in collaboration with Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training & National Heritage and Culture Islamabad on October 26-27, 2021.

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Demand of the Saraiki Province and the Role of Political Parties: A Comparative Study of Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (2008-2018)

Rana Pervaiz Iqbal¹

Article Information	Abstract
Received: June 03, 2024 Revised: June 27, 2024 Accepted: June 29, 2024	The sense of deprivation often leads towards ethnic conflicts in state. The lack of social, political and economic opportunities create tendencies of demanding new units within the state. The demand of the Saraiki province is also an example of the demand of the deprived people. The Saraiki province has been a long wish of local people of Saraiki belt. Almost all the past governments did not heed proper attention and any mechanism could not be emerged for the Saraiki province. The Saraiki belt (Multan, Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan), despite the promise of equal rights by giving new province to them, the people of Saraiki belt were not facilitated even with the basic rights of education and health. The South Punjab may be regarded as periphery of the core for the federal and the provincial governments of Pakistan where both the governments are manipulating its resources and manpower. The south Punjab, in turn, gets further decrease in development and funds as Punjab is a large province which may not address the issues of a common man at its doorstep. Moreover, display of poor governance is seen everywhere as the required funds and power are not given to the Saraiki belt. Pakistan people's Party remained in power from 2018 and Pakistan Muslim League N steered the government from 2013 to 2018. Despite the promises and claims, both the parties could not even brought the Saraiki province issue to limelight. The objective of the paper is to find out the working of the political parties for the new Saraiki province. Applying descriptive and analytical method, this comparative study focused on the policies, performance and role of two major political parties, PPP and PMLN, regarding the formation of the Saraiki province in South Punjab.
Keywords <i>Saraiki province</i> <i>Role of Political Parties</i> <i>PPP</i> <i>PMLN</i> <i>South Punjab</i>	

1 Introduction

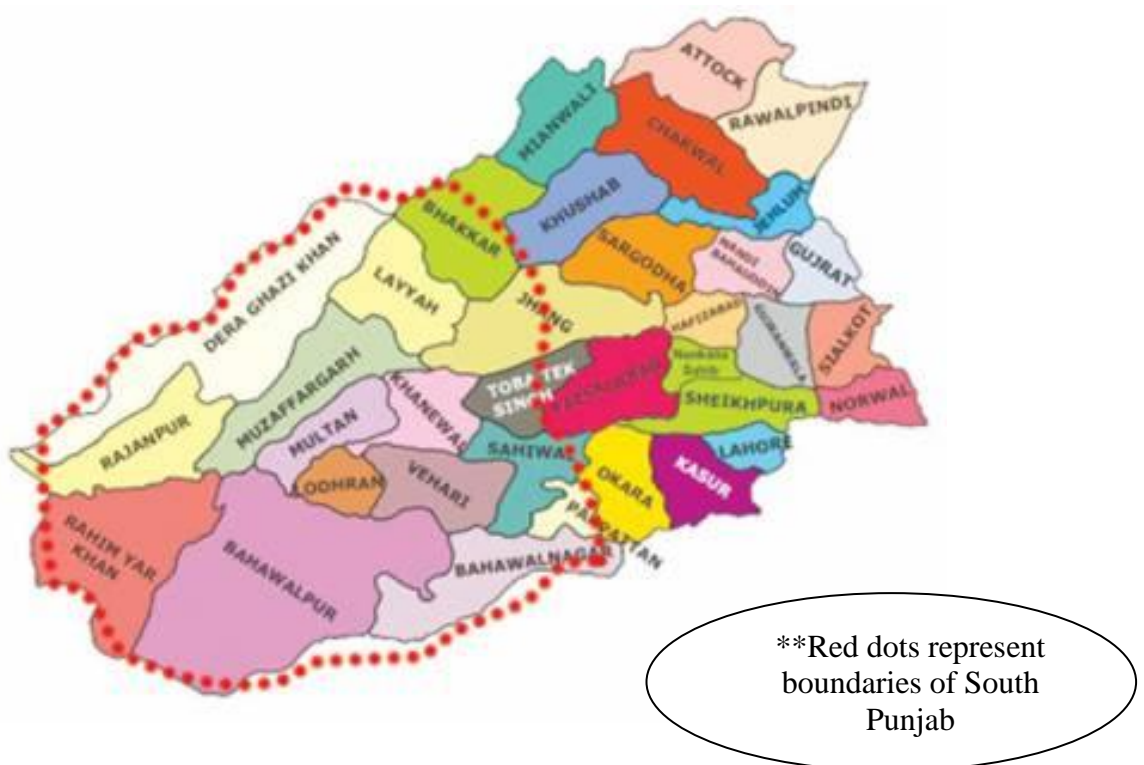
Punjab is the largest province of Pakistan. According to the census of 2023, the population of Punjab has increased to 127,688,922. The province is the largest in Pakistan for its population and there are multiple problems to run the large province with a huge population (Rasool,

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2018). The South Punjab region comprises over a vast area including Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lodhran, Khushab, Bhakkar, Layyah with many other cities and towns. According the census of 2023, population of South Punjab has been increased at a large scale. The census shows that Multan Division, Bahawalpur, and Dera Ghazi Khan Divisions make a huge population of 39.14 million in the south Punjab (Ali A. , 2023).

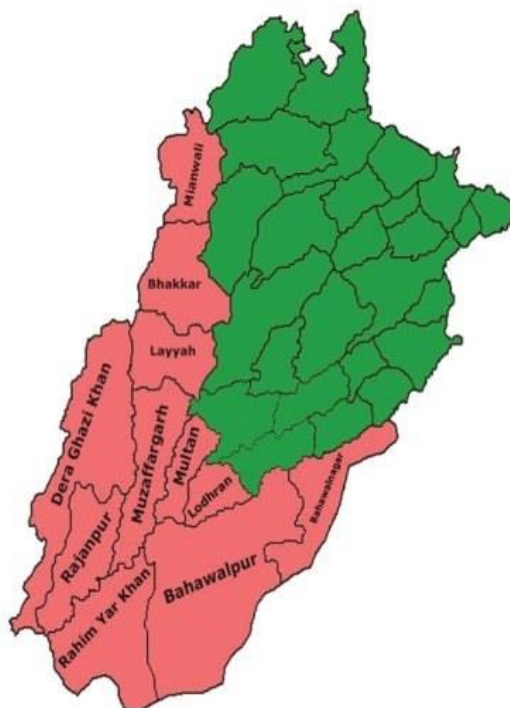
Despite the huge fertile lands and other important output for the country, the South Punjab presents pathetic condition of governance throughout the area. A heavy budget has also been allocated for the people of South Punjab, yet the development of the Saraiki belt is far behind as compared to other parts of the Punjab province. Creating a vast differences with the upper Punjab, South Punjab is mainly regressive, underdeveloped and most of the land of the South Punjab comprises of rural areas providing different valuable agricultural items to the whole country.

Map of South Punjab



Source: (<https://nation.com.pk/06-May-2012/south-punjab-larger-in-size-less-in-population>, 2018)

Possible Proposed Districts of Saraiki Province



Source: (<https://nation.com.pk/06-May-2018/south-punjab-larger-in-size-less-in-population, 2018>)

After passing of the 18th amendment, the people and Saraiki nationalists took this constitutional step as a remarkable opportunity to save their ethnic recognition and economic prosperity (Faisal, 2021). It is noteworthy that the provincial authorities have not reserved any of the quota in services for the people of the South Punjab. This has resulted the area's lesser number of share in both civil and military bureaucracy. Rest of the basic facilities as education and health, this region keeps lower standard of all the basic needs and lacks in advanced facilities. There is a clear difference in the proportional circumstances of the people of different districts of Punjab as there is a huge difference on social and economic gauges. In South Punjab districts of Rahim Yaar Khan and Rajan Pur, issues of education, students enrollment in schools, child's mortality rate, and the graph of the employment indicate huge difference between the districts of Central and North districts of the province of Punjab (Siddiq, 2015). To attract the people of South Punjab, one of the most adorable slogans is to give rights to the people of Saraiki areas with a new province well. The people of South Punjab, more or less, has also been a victim of this slogan and gave chances to every party who raised voice for the separate province for the people of South Punjab and for the preservation of the Saraiki language (M.Shaheen, 2015).

The conventional national political parties took numerous steps for the making of Saraiki province However, there is a diversion in the direction of these political parties after coming to power in the Centre and in the Province as well. Although the major political parties talk about forming a new province in the Saraiki belt, they did not move further in creating the province or bringing amendments in the constitution for this purpose. There is a perception among the politicians that forming new province in South Punjab may flicker out the demands of further units in other parts of the province and even to other federal units as well.

Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League (N) remained in powers for ten years. PPP ruled over the country from 2008 -2013. The Prime Minister of that regime also belonged to Saraiki belt - Multan. But unfortunately, PPP could not form a new province in the South Punjab. Although the Federal Government took initiatives in this regard, but the steps were labeled as a stunt to win the elections by the opposition parties of the tenure.

On the other hand, PMLN steered the state for next five years 2013 to 2018. The party announced before elections that it would work for the separate province of Saraiki Belt. But like its predecessor PPP, PMLN also remained unsuccessful to give a shape to the idea of a new Saraiki province. Unlike PPP, PMLN had got the provincial Government as well to implement the separate province scheme for the Southern Punjab people. But Saraiki province remained in process as the constitutional tenure ended of the PMLN.

The current article evaluates the policies, performance and proceedings of two major political parties of Pakistan PPP and PMLN for the new Saraiki province. The study presents the outcome of the work of the two major political parties of Pakistan for new province. There are many local parties as Pakistan Saraiki Party, Saraiki Qaumi Party, Saraiki National Party, Saraiki Qaumi Itehad, Saraikistan Qaumi Movement, and Saraiki Sooba Movement who are working for the Saraiki province (Nazeer, 2019). But the role of major political parties are of great importance in this regard as they are representing the local voices of the Saraiki people at the central level.

2 Literature Review

Muhammad Mushtaq and Misbah Shaheen write in the article "The Saraiki Province Movement in Punjab, Pakistan: Prospects and Challenges" that there has been a movement in process for many year for the Saraiki province in the South Punjab. But the movement is lacking management and proceedings. The relevant political parties are not paying attention towards the issue .Now and then the demonstrations seen but then a complete silence prevails which hampers the Government's attention towards the issue. If the regional parties want to get result of the movement they have to bring rapid changes in the policy of the agitation and demands for the new province (Mushtaq, 2017).

H. M. Hafeez writes in the article "Constitutional framework for formation of new provinces in Pakistan" that it is not easy to alter the boundaries of the province. Any government who wants to make new province within the present provinces, needs two third majority. The constitutional changes are prior to the rest of the arrangements and proceedings for the creation of new provinces (Hafeez, 2014).

S.A Zafar writes in his article "Is South Punjab Possible?" that PPP wants to make new province in South Punjab for many reasons. The PMLN has a large vote bank in Punjab and has been ruling the province for many years. PPP wants to increase its vote bank in South Punjab. Moreover, PPP also wants to get the rule back from PPP so that the population wise largest province may be a way forward for the federal government in the center (Zafar, 2018).

In a speech, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani Prime Minister of Pakistan (2008-2012) said that PPP is taking serious steps to make Saraiki province. He said that who would be more sincere to make new province in South Punjab as he himself belongs to the same area. He said that Punjab is large province which may be divided for so that small unit may work better for the people. The people of Saraiki belt raised their voice for their rights in 1970. Riaz Hashmi

leader of anti-One Unit movement, reached out to the Supreme Court with a writ petition. It was demanded from the federation to take steps for the restoration of Bahawalpur province. as it existed on the eve of 'One Unit' and had not restored like other provinces. It was argued there was a mutual understanding between the rulers of the state of Bahawalpur and Pakistan Bahawalpur would be given autonomous status by the federation if the one unit came to end in the years ahead (A.Katherine, 2015).

In the article "Saraiki Province Movement in Punjab: Causes, Prospects and Challenges" Muhmmad Asif, Manzoor Ahmad Nazir and Riaz Ahmad are of the view that Saraiki belt has the true grievances as they are being deprived of their rights for long time. The people of South Punjab has to travel to Lahore or Islamabad even for the ordinary matters of routine life. Such irritants have forced Saraiki people to raise the voice for the separate province.

3 Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the study are,

- To get insight the role of major political parties for the Saraiki province.
- To get knowledge about the steps of the work of Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz for the Saraiki province.
- To study about the constitutional steps of two major parties towards establishing new Saraiki Province by PPP and PMLN.

4 Research Questions

The study has been conducted on the following the research question:

1. What steps were taken by the two major political parties PPP and PMLN for the Saraiki Province?
2. What are the results of these steps for the new Saraiki province?

5 Significance of the Study

The current era has given political awareness to the people through different forums. The demand of the Saraiki province has long been wish of the South Punjab people. To form the future opinion for the political parties, the current study is important to get the knowledge about role of two major political parties in this regard. People may assess the resolutions of these two major parties The study may be helpful in establishing opinion about the performance of two major political parties for the new province.

6 Research Methodology

Descriptive and analytical methodology has been implemented to conduct this research. Data has been collected through secondary resources as articles, books, interviews and press briefings. Official websites of the PMLN, PPP and Election Commission of Pakistan have also been used to collect data. The researcher has tried his best to collect the data has through authentic resources.

6.1 Variables

i)Independent Variable

In the present research, role, policies and performance of two major political parties PPP PMLN for the Saraiki province has been interpreted as independent variable.

ii) Dependent Variables

The outcome of the role of two major political parties PPP PMLN for the Saraiki province has been used as the dependent variable.

7 Demand of Saraiki Province

There have been multiple inspirations about the protagonists of Saraiki province in South Punjab and antagonists of the new province based on ethnic grounds (Iqbal, 2021, p. 1). The comparison of development, opportunities and infrastructural advancement force the locals of South Punjab to advocate for the separate province for the people of South Punjab. There has been a solid response by the politicians in favour of the new unit in South Punjab but it could not be fulfilled for many grounds. Bahawalpur was also a province but gradually it was merged with the Punjab Province and could not be restored back on the provincial status (S.M.Abbasi, 1999).

The demand of the Saraiki province has been supported by the political parties. The local parties tried their best to get the favour of the major parties over the new Saraiki province. Due to some personal interests, the major political parties could not work properly for the creation of the new province in the South Punjab region. But the 21st century has witnessed some rapid changes in the movement of the Saraiki province. PPP remained in power from 2008 to 2013 and PMLN 2013-18. There have been significant steps for the creation of the new Saraiki province. The politicians know that the South Punjab has huge impact over the economy of the province with the high yield of agricultural items in Saraiki Punjab as compared than that in northern Punjab. Textile industry of Pakistan is supplied with fine cotton harvested in the fertile lands of the South Punjab. According to the estimation, wheat production of the South Punjab and the Saraiki belt provides wheat to the almost half of the region of Punjab (Butt, 2016). But despite these huge benefits as periphery to the core there are no such agricultural developments and industries as well in Saraiki Punjab. PPP and PMLN came to power but both it could not be reduced problems of the Saraiki region by creating separate province for them.

7.1 Role of Pakistan People's Party for the Saraiki Province 2008-2013

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) has been playing important role in the country's politics since 1970's. The party has given two Prime ministers to Pakistan named Zulfikar Al Bhutto who was the party founder as well and his daughter Benazir Bhutto. After the death of Benazir Bhutto, in 2008 elections, Mr. Gilani became the Prime Minister of Pakistan as PPP formed Federal Government in Pakistan. PM Gilani belonged to the Saraiki belt main city Multan. PPP has been advocating new province in the South Punjab. It was a perception among the voters of South Punjab that PPP might take such steps which would pave way to new province in South Punjab.

7.1.1 Pre-Election 2008 Campaign

The Pakistan People's Party remained in power from 2008-2013. Before elections, PPP went to the public of the South Punjab with the promise of the provision of their rights at their doorstep. The best solution of the problems of the South Punjab is to make new Saraiki province and it was promised with them. Almost all the senior leaders of PPP has been of the

view that the people of South Punjab have the right to get the province for the protection of their rights. Asif Ali Zardari and prominent leaders addressed in Multan ahead of the elections claiming to work for the rights of the people of South Punjab. Benazir Bhutto also talked of the rights of the people of South Punjab. But after her death, the party flag was raised by Asif Ali Zardari who promised to work on the footprints of Benazir Bhutto. So the election campaign was run by PPP to increase the vote bank with the issue of Saraiki province. Almost in both the elections (2008 and 2013), PPP announced to work honestly for the new province. The 2013 election campaign was different than that of 2008 as PPP had already presented bill in the National Assembly to work on the new province in South Punjab. In 2013, PPP was demanding support of the Saraiki belt so that the remaining work might be completed towards the new Saraiki province in the Saraiki belt.

7.1.2 Manifesto of PPP

Pakistan people's Party Political came in 2008 with the manifesto encircling the issues as:

- Would establish Social Equality
 - No compromise over the Sovereignty of the Parliament,
 - Working for the Provincial Autonomy,
 - Making best Devolution and the Local Government System,
 - Bringing of solid policy for the Status of FATA,
 - Implementing new strategies to Counter Terrorism,
 - Making sure of the free Media
 - Wiping out Corruption and enforce durable Accountability.
- (<https://www.ppp.org.pk/manifestos/manifesto2008>)

It is clear from the manifesto that new province was not promised in the manifesto yet it was an important clause of the speeches of the leaders of PPP before elections. People of Saraiki belt chanted the slogans with the party (PPP) to get the Saraiki province. Many local leaders joined PPP so that the cause might be achieved. In its first tenure 2008-13, PPP did not work for the new province except Resolution in National Assembly. PPP leaders often repeat the statement that only their party would take initiatives for the Saraiki province. Despite these assurances, PPP had to lose seats in 2013 elections which might be a result of not creating province in South Punjab (M.Khan, 2013).

7.1.3 Resolution of Bahawalpur Janobi Punjab Province in Upper House

The most important step taken by the PPP Government was to table the bill for the creation of the new province in South Punjab (Khan, 2015). The PPP presented the bill just before months when the tenure was going to be ended soon. The political parties seemed surprised over the move of the PPP ahead of new elections of 2013. On 6th March 2013, the Law Minister of the Government presented the bill for the new Saraiki province in Punjab. Surprisingly, PMLN did not support PPP bill for new province. The Opposition Leader of Senate Ishaq Dar said that PPP has moved this bill to get the votes in the next elections. The bill proposed that new province BJP Bahawalpur Janobi Punjab province would be established to address the issue of Saraiki belt people. It was added by the Law Minister that PPP opted Syed Yousef Raza Gilani from South Punjab so that the region might be flourished the feelings of deprivations be relieved. The perception about the bill presented by PPP Government was the same as opposition Leader in senate and many other members spoke out. Nevertheless, this

was a strong step for the new province in Punjab by any Government in the history of Pakistan.

7.1.4 Other Steps by PPP Government

It may be said that to argue about the Saraiki and Bahawalpur province might be read as political stunt just to manipulate the movement for Bahawalpur province. The Pakistan People's Party's has always been an open supporter of Saraiki province keeping in view the election winning aspect almost in all the general elections since 1990's. As quoted earlier, The Prime Minister Syed Yousef Raza Gilani claimed that no stone would be left unturned to create a new province in South Punjab as a Saraiki province. President Asif Ali Zardari (2014-19) came to visit Multan. He announced in Public Meeting that following the tradition of other provinces, new Saraiki bank would also be set up in Multan and other Saraiki belt cities to promote Saraiki. Moreover, he addressed to the businessmen of the Saraiki region to make a proposal for the new Saraiki province.

7.2 Role of PMLN for the Saraiki Province 2008-2013

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz remained in power in Punjab from 2008 to 2018. The Federal Government was also formed by PMLN in the center after winning the election of 2013. In the Centre, PMLN was the successor of the PPP which already had moved a bill in the Senate in March 2013 for the Saraiki province in Punjab. Bahawalpur Janobi Punjab province was proposed in the bill by PPP. In the following, we have studied about the work of PMLN for the new Saraiki province in Punjab.

7.2.1 Punjab Government 2008-2013

In 2008, General Elections were held in Pakistan. PPP formed the government in the center while Pakistan Muslim League got the Provincial Government in Punjab. Shahbaz Sharif was the Chief Minister of Punjab as a result of vast majority in the province. PMLN leadership was also aware of the demand of the people of South Punjab. Keeping in view the people's desire, PMLN also raised voice for the Saraiki province in Punjab. Throughout the tenure of rule in Punjab 2008-13, PMLN did not proceed for the Saraiki province. But in response to the PPP bill, the provincial government also passed bills for the new units in South Punjab. It was a political settlement just ahead of the end of the government so PMLN performed speedy work for the bills in the assembly. It was a policy of PMLN to discuss publicly the Saraiki province during the election campaign.

7.2.2 Pre-Election 2013 Campaign

After the completion of constitutional period, PPP rule came to end in 2013. During the election campaign, both the parties once again came to South Punjab with the old slogan of creating new province for the Saraiki people. During campaign, both the parties backed their slogan with the proof of passing bill for the Saraiki province although it was assessed as political manoeuvre for the people of the Saraiki region (Ali, 2012). But interestingly, PMLN also did not incorporate the new province issue or the restoration of Bahawalpur Province likewise PPP. The main features of the PMLN manifesto were:

- Independence of the Judiciary
- Energy Sector
- Privatization
- Keeping cordial Civil-Military Relations
- Parliament would be made sovereign,
- All the provinces would be granted Provincial Autonomy,
- Powerful Local Government System for well-being of the public,
- FATA problems and issues would be addressed.
- New Policies to Counter Terrorism,
- Media would be free.
- Corruption would be wiped out.
- Accountability. (<https://www.pmo.gov.pk/documents/manifesto.pdf>, 2013)

7.2.3 Resolution in Punjab Assembly

In March 2013, when PPP moved a bill for the new Saraiki province in Punjab, PMLN was shocked over the sharp move of the PPP. It was named an election winning stunt so that people might vote for PPP with the slogan of new province. PMLN did not support PPP bill for Bahawalpur Janobi Punjab Province. In response of the PPP resolution in the center of making Saraiki province, PMLN also made its mind for the people of the South Punjab. Bahawalpur Janobi Punjab province was initiated by PPP. But PMLN came with the proposal of two provinces in South Punjab. It was assessed as counter policy against the step of PPP. Both the parties tried to please the people of South Punjab so that they might get votes in the upcoming elections Of 2013.

PMLN move also worked to change the mindset of the public in the elections as it got votes from the areas which were considered a strong hold of the PPP. PMLN took the matter to serious note and presented two new provinces bill in Punjab Assembly. This step was a reaction of a bill presented by PPP in the Upper House. The Punjab Assembly, where PMLN had more than one third majority, passed the bill. According to the bill which the PMLN ruling party as the amendment is completed through legal process, Bahawalpur would be a separate unit as a province. There would be 15 general and three women's seats, bringing the total count of seats to 18. The proposed bill also keeps the call to fix the budget for the new proposed province. Along with 38 seats to the South Punjab province would also be allocated (Baig, n.d.). The same political policy was seen by PPP to cash the new province issue in the General Elections. Shahbaz Sharif led Punjab Government did not work properly and presented the new Saraiki Province bill in a hurry. PPP stood for one province while PMLN took one step ahead and announced to work for the two provinces in Punjab. This step increased the popularity of the PMLN for the next elections of the country.

7.2.4 Other Steps by PMLN Government

There are no solid steps by the Government of PMLN either at Punjab or at the Central level which might be regarded as solid for the creation of Saraiki province. Both PM Nawaz Sharif and CM Shahbaz Sharif supported the new province in Punjab, but both provincial and the Federal Governments did not move ahead than that of the statements and press briefings over the issue of Saraiki province. It is notable that PMLN got maximum votes from the upper Punjab. PMLN did not want to lose the grip over the province. For this, it has to make Saraiki

region a special focus with the slogan of new province for the Saraiki people. But, during the tenure, the party could not transform the idea of province to reality.

8 CONCLUSION

Federation can be more strengthened through the devolution of power. Small units of the state may bring big positive changes in any federal state (Javed, 2018). socio-cultural and politico-economic deprivation of the people of South Punjab is seen everywhere in the region. South Punjab has the grievances for depriving of the rights. The planning of most of the mega projects for South Punjab has never been entered to the physical phase. There has been a lot of promises by the political parties and their representatives with the people of South Punjab but in post elections period, only limited steps are taken for the masses well-being.

The promise of the Saraiki province has become a day dream for the Saraiki belt. Both PPP and PMLN have been using the slogan of new province in their manifesto, public gatherings and press briefings. But, both the parties remained unsuccessful in shaping out new Saraiki province in South Punjab. PPP moved bills for the creation of new province in South Punjab. Claiming it a stunt to win the elections, PMLN also presented two bills in Punjab Assembly so that the vote bank of the South Punjab might be saved. Both the parties used this step as a gateway to new province before Elections of 2013. But having common consensus over many issues inside and outside of the Parliament, both the parties could not forward the final manuscript for the new province. The study concludes that Saraiki province may be called an election winning slogan for both the parties. Both PPP and PMLN remained in power from 2008 to 2018, yet Saraiki province remained in blue print stage. Both the parties claimed to take solid steps and blamed each other of non-cooperation for the issue in the parliament. Hence, the new Saraiki province plan could not be successful due to personal political interest of both PPP and PMLN.

The major parties of the country tried to win the election with the help of local parties and Saraiki representatives. Both the parties have used the mindset of the people who supported new province in South Punjab. The poor governance and less allocation of budget for the South Punjab has constantly provoking people of the region to demand for the separate province. Yet, the two major political parties have not given the desired province to the people of South Punjab despite the rule for 10 years respectively. It may be concluded that more or less both the parties are at the same grade in working for the new province in Punjab. The credit of presenting bill for one province goes with PPP while PMLN passes PPP in representing bill for two new provinces in Punjab. In due course, people of South Punjab have the same status of deprived region.

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Exploring the Ethical Crossroads: American Exceptionalism in Foreign Affairs

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Article Information	Abstract
Received: May 24, 2024 Revised: June 27, 2024 Accepted: June 29, 2024	This article deals with the connection between the ethics, diplomacy and American exceptionalism in term of United State foreign affairs. In addition, the study inspects the chronological origins of American exceptionalism and its impact on the United State foreign policy. Also, provide a focus on historical event, policymaking and their moral and ethical implications. Furthermore, it provides analysis of challenges and dilemmas faced by United State. It aims to explore the role of American exceptionalism in transforming the United State actions on global stage and its impact on international relation with different examples. This article delves into a broad and clear understanding with how American exceptionalism affects decision-making process in foreign concerns. Additionally, the analysis also provides that how implications of different policies evolve the world order. The article concludes the tension between the national interest and other ethical principles. The goal is to give deep understanding between ethics and exceptionalism in United State foreign affairs.
Keywords <i>American exceptionalism</i> <i>Foreign affairs</i> <i>United States policymaker, dilemmas ethical challenges</i>	

1 Introduction

American's exceptionalism is intensely rooted with their dogma and played important role in transforming the America's policies in international arena. Because they belief that the United State has a special and unique place in the history and also holds specific place in world order. Furthermore, their ideology guide policy makers in past to deal with international affairs. However, their inhumaneness can be seen in ethical consideration and moral dilemmas that has major effect on policymaker's attitude or behavior when they deal on global stage. The American's is not another nation but they have different fortune and have right to spread its values globally. No doubt, their ideology often refers into interference to secure and promote democratic regime, dealing with human rights but behind the scene, they secure their own interest to maintain its status quo. In addition, it looks like that the United State act as a good maintainer in the world and they show that they are trying to maintain global order aligned with democratic doctrines.

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As American's exceptionalism is back-and-forth among nation's self-perception, moral deliberation and ethical concerns. The stiffness between respect to other state's sovereignty and democratic values impose moral challenges. The legislators tackle with questions about the justifiability of interference and the limits of military power. The tracking down American exceptionalism is not upfront and tension arises to uphold the democratic norms and faced tension with respect to diverse global perspective. The legislators faced a difficult task to maintain balance between the American's influence and interest and identify sovereignty of other nations. No doubt, when the campaigning the American values if it does not align with the international politics can cause significant clash on global stage. Moreover, the nature of international relations evolves day by day, so the new additional layers are also introduced within the global arena as in ethical concerns and redefining the approaches and policies.

1.1 Historical Background

To understand the American exceptionalism through history, it can be divided in following eras, as:

Colonial Roots: The American exceptionalism can be traced in 17th and early 18th century, when the early settler have faith in have a unique values for American colonies. During this time the European colonies were established with new world order based on their own politics, culture and religion but later on became the United States colonies with their own democratic institution and economic independence. Later on, this sense of great revolution leads to individualism with different renewals respectively. As the American exceptionalism take shape with time and suggested the America plays a pivotal role on world stage and they are different nation from others according to their norms, values and civic virtue. So they have right to spread the institution like liberty etc. In addition, later on which affect the other country's foreign affair. All events like The English civil war (1642-51), The Glorious Revolution (1688), The Great Awakening (1730-40) and the Enlightenment 17th to 18th century take place during this time period which leads to unique role on Americans in world's foreign affairs (Tyrrell, 2021).

Manifest Destiny and Civil War Era: During the 19th century the Manifest destiny term was coined and there believe was based on that they have right to expand their territory across the North America continent. Moreover, this ideology was close to the exceptionalism ideology and based on idea that America have sole mission to promote democratic institution and civilization as well. Nevertheless, during the expansion of United State as a colony they had faced ethical challenges like displacement of natives and extension in slavery, so they also criticized for their act of colonialism (Greenberg, 2022, pp. 1-20). The civil war in second half of 19th century was most important moment in the United States history because that war was the test of United State exceptional principle. The war tussled on issues of slavery and basic rights of the individual. However, by the Union's victory the country dedication leads to liberty and equality in real sense. However, the war caused the major division within the American society and reason of many challenges. While following the civil war the reconstruction period started during which US tried to restructure the South and free slaves into the society (Maurantonio, 2019).

Post World War-II and Contemporary Era: By the end of the World War II the United State became emerge as a super power, which strengthened Americans exceptionalism because, United State saw itself as the protector of democratic institution and capitalism. In addition, US belief that they are on special mission to transformed the world throughout the history. In other word after the World War II the “Pax Americana” concept began through which the United State have right to maintain peace globally and promote their values often through intervention. Furthermore, in this era United State by economy and military proven their presence globally and formed the international institution like United Nation and alliance like NATO. Moreover, this period saw United State tries to contain the communism especially in perspective of cold war, also by providing aid and rebuild the war torn of Europe through Marshall Plan. During this period Americans exceptionalism striking a major impact on foreign affairs to shape the world order in favor of United States interest and values. Furthermore, by the end of cold war the United State emerged as stronger superpower and enjoys hyperactive power by unilateral actions to shape the world affairs according to its interest. However, the countries like China and Russia enhance their military and economic strength and these transitions can be challenged for the Americans exceptionalism. Also in contemporary time, the world is more complex and more interconnected so traditional view of uniqueness has been challenged. As the US, first slogan was focused on national interest and international cooperation. So the United State moving away from the illiberal hegemony and tries to be more cooperative, nuanced and perhaps multilateral approach to its foreign policies to treat nations equally (Cambanis, 2020).

1.2 Role in Shaping Foreign Policy

American exceptionalism played crucial role in shaping United State foreign policy all the way through the history. As they believed that, they are on special mission so they have right to influenced diplomatic decision military intervention and international relation. An ideological context defines the role of nations in the global affairs. While the application of United States exceptionalism in the foreign matters upturns ethical problems. The policymakers faced questions or challenges related to interventionism, respect of sovereignty of other nations and balance maintaining between the American exceptionalism and culture diversity. The interference of military forces, economic sanctions and diplomatic pressure in the label of exceptionalism has need of careful deliberation. As Americans tries to maintain their status quo regarding human rights, promotion of democratic institutions and the global governance. Therefore, policymakers faced challenges while dealing with universal values and the autonomy of other nations. In addition, it leads to unending challenge in international affairs between the national interest and ethical participle. In short, American exceptionalism established two main theme within the foreign affairs; as United State as an exemplar nation and United Nation as a missionary nation. As an exemplar nation, United State is absolute of perfect nation so they right to promote their values regarding liberty etc. As a missionary aspect the United State have right to take influential action on global stage, not only in aim of protection of its own interest but also promote world order based on its values (Mccartney, 2019) (Restad, 2012).

American exceptionalism leads to many challenges for the policymakers because world politics nature has been evolved day by bay so the global environment also changed and circumstances of international affairs also shifted, such as cold war era to post-cold war era. Because the world changed in global village and nations are interconnected with each other. Therefore, policymakers need to maintain balance between the moral values and there

interest with its exceptionalism. However, the culture, moral codes and social norms varies nation to nation so here policymakers also faced challenges to respect other sovereignty and norms (Volle & wallenfeldt, 2023).

1.3 Research Questions

- What are the primary ethical complications faced United State to promote democracy in other states to justify their exceptionalism in foreign affairs.
- How democratic nation's (US) policymakers confronted with moral dilemmas in intervention policies?
- In what way the balance between promotions of human rights with national interest poses significant challenge for the United States.

1.4 Objectives

This study aims to provide a brief analysis regarding ethical consideration surrounding Americans exceptionalism and involves comprehensive examination of the values, principle and consequences with exceptionalism belief system. Moreover, provide how policymakers inspect the potential impact on international relation, sovereignty and human rights, and emphasized on clear understanding of ethical dimensioned are involved. In addition, an in-depth examination of the ethical implication of American exceptionalism is necessary for informed decision-making. This attitude often leads to involve inspecting the actual justification of interventionism, the impact on global governance and challenges associated with promotion of a specific set of values on the international stage. No doubt American exceptionalism stuck policymakers in moral and ethical dilemmas and these dilemmas may revolve around questions of culture sensitivity, respect for diversity and ethical use of economic or military power. By examining these problems provides vision into the rigidity of policy making in foreign affairs. Also provide a clear insight into the decision making process of policymakers. Furthermore, provide understanding how values and beliefs system affect the foreign affairs and provide that how it motivate and justify the policy decision behind the seen. Moreover, this study addresses how American exceptionalism, when intertwined with democracy promotion leads to ethical challenges in searching the equilibrium between democratic values and divers political system. In intervention policies, it aims to provides analysis about responsibility to protect, the use of military forces etc. the ties between human rights and national interest represent a major ethical challenge in United State foreign policy and this part of study aim to provides, how national interest guided by exceptionalism idea and hoe its intersect with the promotion and protection of human rights.

2 Analysis of Ethical Challenges in Promoting Democracy

In recent decades, the promotion of democracy abroad has been a central element of United States foreign policy. As polarization is significant challenge for United State but some polarization is healthy for the democracy because it enhanced the democratic norms within the society, as opponent with different ideas. Furthermore, it extend the political system in which every citizen has individual right, commitments and responsibilities towards others. Unfortunately, democracy has been summoned with questionable practice including interference in other states and exploiting the environment for the specific state interest over

other people or state. No doubt, democracy is an ethical ideal that have principles like nondiscrimination, no repression and stressed on justice equal civic education. To make stronger democracy there is need to absence of exceptionalism attitudes. The ethical challenges remain in balancing the promotion of universal values with cultural sensitivity. In addition, these challenges arise when one state interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign states. The promotion of democracy is somehow related with destabilizing exiting political structure and it goal to maintain the long-term democratic institution but it can lead to risk of and social instability that can result rapid changes. The idealist approach emphasize that the promotion of democracy align with universal values while realist approach argues that promotion of democracy can lead to power vacuums, instability etc. The ethical basis of promoting democracy related with legitimacy of democratic institutions and makes sure the free and fair elections, protecting the minority rights, account able governance and critical ethical consideration. But United State grapples with tension between promoting democracy and safeguarding its own exceptionalism. Let us explore some examples to understand that how ethical concern can cause of hurdle for policymakers while promoting democracy abroad, as:

- **Iraq (2003):** The United State interference targeted to launch a democratic government but after it leads to significant challenges such as sectarian issue and political instability. It raises an ethical challenge about the outcomes of democracy and Iraq war aftermath justifiably left American doubtful about democracy promotion. The American democracy has many flaws at first it's hypocritical and also far from perfect democracy; secondly, it consistent because they argued that they care about democracy but they aligned with some monarchies like Saudi Arab; thirdly, they failed in policies to promote democracy; last but not the least democracy is difficult to maintain because aid program not directly go where they needed the most (Bush, March 30, 2023). As the 60% of population of Iraq under the age of twenty-five and they have nothing knowledge about authoritarian rule and need to learn about democracy so different strategies such as citizenship and learning program in Iraqi institution aimed instill for the democratic principle among the students (Davis, 2005).
- **Ukraine (2014):** The western provision for pro-democracy in Ukraine elevated the question about the democracy promotion and cause of tension between other nations. Since by the end of cold war the United State has met with nuanced ethical dilemmas. In recent two decades, the United State actively provides back provision to civil society, independent media institutes and other critical democratic institution. However, this groundwork leads to 2013 Maidan demonstration. Furthermore, it not one day task but its long efforts and role for shaping the fertile ground for the promotion of democracy. Moreover, this ongoing unresolved conflict in eastern Ukraine highlights the terrifying consequence for democracy promotion (Korenke, 2017).

3 Analysis of Moral Dilemmas in Intervention Policy

The ethical foundation of intervention policies increases intensely moral dilemmas. The policymakers when navigating treacherous water is face moral challenges by guarding their exceptionalism. A central theme of United State is paradoxical dance between the strategic interest and moral imperatives. The concept exceptionalism is deeply connected with the American psyche that they are unique and superior nation in the world. Like in history, they show that they are expert in the governance and true leader of world and they are promoter of liberty etc. In addition, Americans believe that they have constitution contains groundbreaking features like bill of rights, freedom, federalism and separation of power. So

they have right to inspire globally that they are one and only hope for the peace and freedom. That is why they also have right to promote their values worldwide. Due to all of these exceptionalism ideas the policymaker grapple with ethical and moral challenges when deals with intervention policies. To understand the moral dilemmas examples are following, as:

- **Bosnia (1995):** in perspective of humanitarian intervention, particularly during the Bosnia conflict, the moral threats produce a consequence of emerging norms of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). The aim of this norm to protect the citizens forms the ethnic cleansing and genocide. However, the root problem of genocide violence often due to state retaliation against sub-state group such as armed forces. Also the expectation of diplomatic and military intervention to protect these groups, success can be attain on some little expected cost but sometimes met with failure due to retaliation of civilians and they cannot attain their political interest. In short, the norm of responsibility to protect ensures a genocidal violence and enhance the moral threat of revolt but not provide the complete defensive mechanism against intervention or retaliation. The cases of Bosnia Kosovo provide an example that how moral threats hypothesis comes out and how it leads to genocidal retaliation after the rebellion of specific groups. This is still challenge to modify the intervention policies to less kind of violation and moral threats (Kuperman, 2008).

4 Analyzing Human Rights vs. National Interest

The challenges faced by the policymakers to balancing between the human rights and national interest also it leads to tension between the universal principle and practical consideration. The promotion of human rights are central theme of democracy and United State uplift itself as guider of democracy and justice so also positions itself as a champion human rights on global stage. Therefore, policymakers tackled in promoting the human rights as a core element of United State foreign policy while justifying their national interest. In addition, legislators deal with rigidity between universal human rights values and demand of realpolitik. Furthermore, policymakers faced exceptionalism when choose a specific region on the name of human rights concerns. Because sometimes United State overlook tension by allies, strategic relation or national interest etc. Such as intervention in Kosovo in 1990's on humanitarian concern, while not intervention in other region with similar issues and this attitude leads to the double standard of United States foreign policy. No doubt, public opinion has significant impact on policy making so it is difficult to handle the policies for long time while dealing with human rights concerns and national interest. That's why two argument build up; first, is that human right should be foremost priority in foreign affairs and national interest should be related with ethical and moral concerns and this argument stand up for the universal rights; second, is that national interest is the absolute priority in foreign affairs even it means to compromise on human rights issues because this argument in favor of strategic alliance and economic partnership like Saudi Arabia. Some advocacy for the multilateralism means that collective action in promoting and protecting human rights (Zvobgo, 2019, p. online).

5 Analytical Statement

The American exceptionalism in foreign affairs exposes rich issues in ethical and moral complexities. The United State has historical narrative and that is genuinely connected with the concept of exceptionalism and effect decision-making process worldwide. So by analyzing these ethical and moral issues demands a clear understanding related to past, and fully acknowledge of present problems and commitment with the future foreign policy of

United State that actually reflect the balance between the American values and other changing aspects of connected world. As United State continuously engaged with the international community and upholds itself for true promoter of democracy, liberty and other values, so they must done collaboration with other nations through diplomacy and other inclusive approach to global affairs.

6 Recommendations

To deals with the ethical problems linked with American exceptionalism, need a multi-layered approach that prioritizes inclusivity, multilateralism, humility, cultural sensitivity and public opinion engagement. Some recommendations are fowling, as:

- The United State need to promote diplomacy because emphasizing on the shared values and mutual respect in diplomatic relation can help to build a more accommodating and unbiased international order.
- The United State should increase commitment with global governance and work with other nation's mutual effort to address different issue like climate change, global health crisis, economic inequality and this multilateral platform leads to effective decision-making and global responsibility.
- To provide a clear guidelines and criteria for intervention policies and universal principle should be adopted in any intervention action such as respect for sovereignty and also international laws should be fowled in the decision making process.
- In addition, United State need to be balanced between the democratic values and the cultural diversity is necessary. Because the nations are different in their cultural, social and political context, so the policymakers must be aware of diverse nature of nations.
- Also established a mechanism that continuously done ethical review of foreign policies. Because global nature of values changes day by day so there must be flexibility in foreign policy.

7 The Future

The future of American exceptionalism demanded for considerate and flexible approaches. As the United States connected with world so their ethical actions play a vital role in shaping the other nations positions and influence the international community. Traditionally, United State believed that they have unique and morally higher position due to historic, sociopolitical and religious causes. However, in future the three multiple dimension of American exceptionalism can be seen: First, liberal internationalist that advocates for the global engagement; Secondly, retrenchers that supports for the withdrawal from the institutions and alliances; Thirdly, America first that in favor of isolationist America role in global politics. Moreover, the socio-economic sites revels the disparities, so it is time to retire the label of United State are fully developed nation.

8 Conclusion

The promotion of human rights is central to democracy and the United States positions itself as a global champion of these values. U.S. foreign policy is integrated human rights and

often-encountering rigidity between universal human rights values and the demands of realpolitik. Exceptionalism arises when the U.S. prioritizes certain regions based on strategic interests, leading to perceptions of double standards. Two main arguments emerge one advocating for prioritizing human rights in foreign policy, aligning national interest with ethical and moral concerns and the other emphasizing national interest, even at the expense of human rights, favoring strategic alliances and economic partnerships. American exceptionalism in foreign affairs introduces ethical and moral complexities, influencing global decision-making processes. A comprehensive understanding of past, present and future issues is essential for a balanced U.S. foreign policy that reflects American values and adapts to a connected world. The U.S. must engage with the international community through diplomacy and inclusive approaches to uphold democracy, liberty and other core values.

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Food Security and Prospects of Water Resources: A Case Study of Kalabagh Dam

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Article Information	Abstract
Received: May 10, 2024 Revised: June 28, 2024 Accepted: June 29, 2024	Agriculture sector plays pivotal role in boosting Pakistan's economy. It represents around 45% of employment, contributes 21.4% to Gross Domestic Product and provides food to over 240 million people of the country. Due to rapid population growth, it is estimated that it will become around 403 million by 2050 (United Nations Population Fund Report, 2023). It will be challenging for the agriculture sector to meet the forthcoming food demand because the accessible resources to provide safeguards against food insecurity in future are conditional with the availability of fresh water which is the backbone of agriculture sector. The gap between the availability and demand of fresh water is becoming wider due to certain circumstances and it could be accomplished by constructing new dams. Within this debate, the project of Kalabagh dam is analyzed as the most feasible option while comparing it under four dimensions: availability, applicability, acceptability, and affordability. The disagreements among the domestic political groups are main impediments on the way to the construction of Kalabagh dam. Domestic political snags might be addressed through dialogues and compromises. The debate for engendering national consensus on Kalabagh dam and to comprehend the domestic political discrepancies, is evaluated within the prism of the theory of state-building.
Keywords <i>Food security</i> <i>Kalabagh Dam</i> <i>Domestic politics</i> <i>Water Security</i> <i>Theory of state-building</i>	

1 Introduction

The concept of security is primarily explained by two school of thoughts: traditional and non-traditional. Traditional security paradigm is based on realist construct and referred as 'the state of being free from threat or danger'(Narula, 2014), and is mainly presumed as the military security or security from external attacks. Similarly, according to non-traditional argument, 'security is more than the prevention from external attacks and is based on some other areas like economic security, health security, national and international security, environmental security, energy security and food security (Afolobi, 2023). Food security is directly concerned with this research. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), defined food security (FAO 2009: 8):

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[...] a situation that persists when all people at all times have social, physical and economic access to safe and sufficient nutritious food to meet nourishing needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.

Likewise, Naff elaborates food security as, ‘it requires a guarantee of sufficient food to fulfil a population’s minimum needs over an extended period of time, a policy usually expressed as self-possessed, domestically produced sufficiency’ (Naff, 1994). Generally, food security is defined as ‘the ability of a state to provide an assured access to food in an enough quantity and quality to meet basic food needs by all social groups and individuals at all times’ (Barrett 2020: 825). Additionally, for preventing the people from the scarcity of food, Article 25 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (WFP, 2023:Article 25) concedes the right of adequate food to everyone. Likewise, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (WFP, 2023:Article 11) explains the responsibilities of all the states to identify the right of all the citizens to be free from malnutrition. Moreover, due to growing increase in population, the food demand is steadily escalating as around 800 million people are under acute malnutrition and it is projected that 60% more food will be required to feed the humanity by 2050 (WFP, 2023). Thus, all the states intend to ensure food security by instigating all available resources to comprehend the food demand for their respective populations.

Likewise, food security is severe matter of concern for a country like Pakistan where around 37.2% of the population is estimated to be absolute poor and over 50% of children undernourished in one way or another, and 8 out of 10 children have no excess to eat right type and quantity of food (UNICEF, 2023). The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan also provides safeguards about food security as according to Article 38(d), the state will ensure the provision of basic needs of life including food for the people of Pakistan.

In this connection, agriculture sector plays central role in fulfilling the food demand of the fast-growing population with the growth rate of 2.55% and an increase of 3.5 million people on annual basis (World-meter, 2023). To comprehend food demand, the availability of water for agriculture sector is obligatory because more than 92% annual surface of water flow is appropriated for irrigation (Mohtadullah, 2016). Currently, water resources are gradually reducing due to urbanization, industrialization and swelling population. This is becoming vulnerable because it leads towards droughts. Likewise, climate change is also causing severe impacts upon supply and demand thereby adversely disturbing the prevailing water balance. In the existing circumstances, the country needs to expand its water storage capacity for continual availability of needed water by constructing new dams and the main aim of this research is to find out the main irritants relating to disagreements among the political groups about the construction of Kalabagh dam. Within this debate, this paper aims to address the queries as following:

- How does future food security relate to water security?
- How can a balance be struck between increasing food demand and decreasing water resources in a changing environment?
- What is the rationale behind prioritizing the construction of Kalabagh dam?
- What are the main differences/arguments among the provinces and the initiatives of the federal government to address these differences about the construction of Kalabagh dam?

The comparative study within the parameter of 4 a's (availability, applicability, acceptability, and affordability) is applied while comparing the significance of Kalabagh dam. For evaluating the role of domestic politics in food security, the theory of state-building provides acumen to apprehend the debate.

2 Overview of Food and Water Security

Water is the primary necessity for the survival of human life and fulfilling its nutritional demands but the proportionality between domestic use and for growing food is very high. For domestic usage, the minimum 50 liters whereas, for growing food for a person per day, it requires 2600 to 5300 liters (Rijsberman, 2005). Consequently, food security is conditional with water security as 50 to 100 times more water is needed to grow food as compared to water used for domestic usage.

The security of food and water are directly interdependent to each other as, for obtaining more food, more water will be needed and vice versa. Likewise, the role of agriculture sector in water equation is obvious, since it is responsible for around 70% of the withdrawal of fresh water and the scarcity of water means the availability of less than 70% of fresh water available for agriculture production (World Bank, 2023). The agriculture in Pakistan contributes in two ways, irrigated and dry-land (rain-fed). The 90% food production depends on irrigated and 10% on dry-land agriculture due to low rain fall and scanty (Qureshi and Ashraf, 2019). The irrigated agriculture is categorically dependent on the availability of fresh water but the gradual decrease in the production of agriculture due to shortage of water (as shown in Table1) diverts attention about the vulnerability of food security in future.

Table:1

Water Availability Versus Agriculture Growth

Period	Availability of Water in Million Acre Feet (MAF), % in Increase/Decrease over the Average System Usage (103.5 MAF)	Agriculture Growth Base: 2015-2016 %
2017-2018	-9.0	3.88
2018-2019	-18.5	0.94
2019-2020	-8.8	3.91
2020-2021	-7.0	3.52
2021-2022	-10.6	4.27
2022-2023	-29.8	1.55

Source: Indus River System Authority Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2023

Additionally, the water availability status of Pakistan is evaluated by the following four indicators:

1. According to Falkenmark Indicator, 'a country having water resources less than 1700 m³ per capita is considered to be water stress country (Falkenmark, Lundqvist and Widstrand, 1989). Likewise, the availability of water is less than 1000 m³ per capita, the country is water scare and if it falls less than 500 m³ per capita, the country is declared as absolute scarcity'. According to this indicator, Pakistan has crossed the water deficiency line in 2005 and if the situation persists, it will declare absolute scarcity country by 2025 (Ashraf, 2016).

2. Water Resource Vulnerability Index (WRVI) provides comparison about the annual availability of water with annual withdrawal (in percent) (Raskin, Gleick and Krishan, 1997:22-26). If annual withdrawals are within 20-40% of annual supply, the country is under water scare and in case, it crosses the 40%, the country would be severely water scare. In 2016, the WRVI for Pakistan was 77% that reflect the severe water scarcity condition (Ashraf, 2016).

3. Water Poverty Index (WPI) has five components: (i) access to water, (ii) water quantity, and quality volatility (iii) water usage for food, productive and domestic purposes (iv) capability for water management and (v) ecological aspects (Sullivan et al, 2003). According to WPI, if water is accessible but having poor quality, is considered a water scare country (Qureshi and Ashraf, 2019). A survey was conducted in 24 major cities and found that 80% samples of drinking water were not safe for human consuming (Ashraf, 2016). So, within the discussion of above-mentioned five indicators, Pakistan is considered as water-scare country.

4. According to International Water Management Institute's (IWMI's) physical and economic indicator: 'the states have not the capability to grasp the water stress by 2025 besides having adaptive potential are declared physically water scare while, the states having ample water resources but would not have to invest substantial amount on infrastructure to ensure the available resources for people are asserted as economically water scare' (Seckler et al, 1998:2). In Pakistan, the shortfall of water was calculated 11% in 2004 and was estimated to reach over 31% by 2025 (GOP, 2001). On the contrary, the floods in 2010, 2012, 2014 and 2022, indicate that Pakistan has enough water resources but due to insufficient economic resources and mismanagement, could not grab over floods. However, Pakistan is constructing Mohmand Dam and striving for funding for Diamer-Bhasha Dam but there is a dire need to construct the Dams having massive water storage potential. Thus, under the current scenario, Pakistan is considered in both economically and physically water scare country.

After evaluating aforesaid four indicators, Pakistan is at the verge of scarcity of water that would be a severe challenge for food security in future. To comprehend food security, it is prerequisite to enhance water storage capacity.

3 Prospects of Water Storages in Pakistan

Pakistan's insufficient water storage potential is the main reason of scarcity of water. Pakistan's per capita storage capacity is only 159 m³ while, it is over 5000 m³ in USA and Australia, Egypt 2362 m³, China 2200 m³ and Turkey 1402 m³ (Qureshi, 2011). Likewise, the storage potential of Aswan dam in Nile River is close to 1000 days, Murray-Darling Rivers and Colorado 900 days, Orang River in South Africa 500 days, while, India 320 days and Pakistan is just 30 days only (Qureshi, 2011). Due to insufficient storage capability, Pakistan has lost over 89 Million Acre Feet (MAF) of water during floods 2010, 2012, and 2014, and dreadful effects on crops, livestock, infrastructure and people (Ashraf, 2016:7). The existing Pakistan's water storage capacity is less than 10% of the average rain flow, while, it remains around 40% at the global level (Ashraf, 2008). The reservoirs have lost their existing storage capacity due to sedimentation, with the rate of 0.2 MAF per year and by 2010, the reservoirs have damaged 35% of their storage capacity (Qureshi and Ashraf, 2019).

Moreover, the irregular flow of water in rivers due to early start of snow and fast glacier melting at elevated temperature and the contraction of glaciers are serious challenges for the smooth supply of water for cropping. Under such circumstances, it would be required to expand water storage capacity by constructing dams. Besides providing water security, the dams will regulate not only the increasing intensity and frequency of droughts and floods but the minimum environmental flow of rivers will also be accomplished to prevent excessive imposition of sea water inside the Indus deltaic region. Thus, the construction of new dams will be more beneficial for assuring not only the food and water security but to augment energy security as well. Within this debate, the following section of this study intends to investigate the main proponents due to which the construction of Kalabagh dam will be comparatively more profitable as compared to the construction of other dams.

4 Advantages of Kalabagh Dam

Large dams regulate the smooth supply of water in canals due to having enormous water storage. Since the construction of Mangla dam in 1967 and Tarbela dam in 1976, no further developments were taken for enhancing the water storage capacity at the massive level. However, Pakistan constructed 68 small and medium dams during the last six decades with the storage capacity of around 8,000 acres (Khalid, 2013), but they had insufficient storage potential. According to Shums-ul-Mulk (former Chairman WAPDA), ‘the storage capacity of Kalabagh dam will be equal to 750 such dams’ (Khalid, 2013). Thus, the significance of large dams for the storage of water and for food security is palpable. Kalabagh dam has the significance in multiple ways and these are evaluated by applying 4 a’s methodology (availability, applicability, acceptability and affordability) as:

1. Kalabagh dam will be mainly filled during monsoon season (July- September) because overall 70 % flow of water in Indus River including the extreme flood peaks is observed during this season. Kalabagh dam will be filled after fulfilling the storage capacity of Terbala dam because the site of Kalabagh dam is around 210 km downstream of Terbala dam. Additionally, some small rivers for instance, Swat, Kabul, Soan and Haro, having the overall water capacity of around 30 MAF also join river Indus in the downstream of Terbala dam (Khalid, 2013). Currently, no reservoir is available for the storage of water of these rivers and Kalabagh dam will provide storage facility. Similarly, the stored water in Terbala dam is released in winter to comprehend the shortage of water, but the storage capacity of Terbala dam is not sufficient enough (Ashraf et al, 2014) and Kalabagh dam, will provide booster for the supply of water in river Indus during winter. By this way, with the construction of Kalabagh dam, the ‘availability’ of plenty of water will be observed especially in winter.

2. The construction of new dams is a continuous process because, the existing dams are consistently losing their storage capacity due to sedimentation. Due to this decline, the security of food due to shortage of water will remain uncertain. The construction of new dams will grasp food security and under such distressing circumstances, the ‘applicability’ for the construction of Kalabagh dam is palpable due to partaking massive water storage potential that will ultimately intensify food security.

3. Currently, two dams (Kalabagh and Diemer Bhasha) are under discussion due to their massive water storage potential. The comparative analysis about the construction of Diemer Bhasha and Kalabagh dam indicates that Kalabagh dam will be more feasible due to low

project cost, short time frame for completion and easy access to road and railway networks, as is anticipated in Table 2.

Table 2
Comparative Analysis

Specification	Kalabagh	Bhasha
Power Generation Capacity (MW)	3600 ^a	3360 ^b
Storage Capacity MAF (Million Acres Feet)	7.9 ^c	6.4 ^d
Project Cost (Rs)	0.96 Trillion ^e	1.4 Trillion ^f
Maximum Height Above River Bed (ft)	260 ^g	922 ^h
Diversion of Roads (km)	0	225 ⁱ
Completion Period	5-6 Years ^j	12-15 Years ^k
Flood Reduction Benefits (Million Rs)	1500 ^l	Not Yet Calculated ^m
Distance from Electricity Transmission Network (km)	8	322 ⁿ
Seismic Position	Low Active Zone ^o	High Active Zone ^p
Accessibility from Railway Network (km)	12 ^q	239 ^r

Sources:

- a. Iram Khalid, (January-June 2013) 'Hydro Politics in Pakistan: Perceptions and Misperceptions', *South Asian Studies*, Vol.28, No.1, p.18.
- b. www.thenews.com.pk. Montreal Engineering Company Canada (MONENCO) in 1984.
- c. 'Water Resources and Issues', accessed from www.slideshare.net/Muhammad-Sheraz-Javaid-Awan/kala-bagh-dam-presentation-by-wapda on May 17, 2023.
- d. www.thenews.com.pk. Montreal Engineering Company Canada (MONENCO) in 1984
- e. 'Water Resources and Issue
- f. Sana Jamal, 'Pakistan Begins Construction of Diamer Bhasha Dam', *Gulf News* (July 15, 2020).
- g. 'Water Resources and Issues
- h. www.wapda.gov.pk/index.php/projects/hydro-power/ready-for-construction, accessed on May 17, 2023.
- i. Amjad Hussain Malik, accessed from www.ieislamabad.org/events/energy-crises on May 17, 2023. j. Ibid.
- k. Ibid.
- l. 'Benefits of Kalabagh Dam', *The Nation* (March 13, 2013), accessed from www.thenation.com.pk/03-mar-2013/benifits-of-kalabagh-dam on May 17, 2023
- m. Amjad Hussain Malik
- n. Ibid
- o. Ibid
- p. Ibid.
- q. Researcher's own calculation.
- r. Ibid.

Therefore, 'acceptability' persists for the construction of Kalabagh dam to meet the upcoming challenges relating to water storage.

4. The decline in the storage capacity of dams indicates that after a certain period, they may destroy their storage potential. In the case of Kalabagh dam, it will not applicable because the storage potential of Kalabagh will sustain for more than 100 years with the capacity of over

3.2 MAF (Ali, 2017). So, Kalabagh dam will justify ‘affordability’ (the last precondition of 4 a’s) in the context of water security.

Both the dams have the significance due to their large water storage potential that demand their construction. However, the comparative analysis of 4 a’s indicates that Kalabagh dam is more advantageous that attracts the attention of policy makers for its construction on most urgency basis. The construction of Diamer Bhasha dam was initiated on July 15, 2020, but the construction of Kalabagh dam remains undecided due to political and technical disagreements and the objections raised by the smaller provinces, and these are analysed in the coming section.

5 Theoretical Amplification

The Theory of state-building gives understanding to address the concerns of domestic political groups in the context of Kalabagh dam. According to the theory of state-building, ‘It is a process that deals with all the levels relating to state-society relations’ (OECD, 2008). In federalized states, state functions are planned on various administrative and political levels. For effective political process and territorial administrative integration, the states intend to develop resilience by managing state-society anticipations at the governmental level from local to national (OECD, 2008). The relations among the various levels of the government must be given similar status. The mechanism about centre-periphery relations has significant impact on state-society relations where the unity and diversity relating to state and society are addressed in a constructive manner (OECD, 2008). State-building is mainly an endogenous process, and large number of local and national actors outside the state institutions have influence. Various initiatives are characterized under stress in fragile situations due to tensions between formal and informal institutions where each actor intends to establish a dominant position (OECD, 2008).

Commonly, it is projected that both international and domestic politics have substantial outcome on each other and certain key factors such as ideology, war and trade are placed to form political progressions (Gourevitch, 1978). The states have to perform double duties to comprehend both international and domestic apprehensions at the same time and several international negotiations are regarded as two-level game: International and national. At the international level, the central governments want to diminish the adverse impact of foreign developments and intensify their strength by satisfying the domestic political groups. At the national level, the domestic political groups intend to defend their power by aggravating pressure on the governments and the political elite groups to grasp their vested interests (Putnum, 1998).

So, the contribution of the theory of the state-building is obvious to address the apprehensions of domestic political groups about the construction of Kalabagh dam. For assuring food security, it is the responsibility of the federal government to take the domestic political groups on board and boost up its standing on both national and international level according to the theory of state-building.

6 Evaluation of Apprehensions About Kalabagh Dam and Clarification

Kalabagh dam remains controversial among the federal government and smaller provinces due to apprehensions raised by the smaller provinces about its construction. Comparatively, the provinces of Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) proclaimed serious reservations and

Baluchistan province has minor misgivings and the clarifications of federal government to address provincial assertions are given as:

6.1 Objections of Sindh Province

Sindh is the 2nd largest province regarding the population and majority of its rural population rely on agriculture to earn their livelihoods and the availability of plenty of fresh water is the backbone for its rural economy. River Indus is a main source of water for irrigation and the residents of Sindh are very much concerned about water due to becoming lower riparian. Whereas, Punjab province becomes the upper riparian and trust deficit is the main source of disagreement between lower and upper riparians that resulted the criticism on Kalabagh dam project and the key exponents of divergence are elucidated as:

- It was objected that after the construction of Terbala dam, the shortage of water was observed in river Indus during 1977-1991. According to Abrar Kazi, 'the availability of water was calculated as 123.59 MAF during 4 out of 5 years that was probably 80% of 3 western rivers (Chenab at Marala, Jehlum at Mangla and Indus at Kalabagh) (Kazi, 1996). According to accord 1991 (The Water Accord 1991), around 114.35 MAF water was measured for distribution among the provinces, while, WAPDA intimated 10 MAF as system losses and the remaining water (124.35-123.59) was 0.76 MAF that flowed into Indian Ocean' (Kazi, 1996).

- To address this issue, two committees were constituted by the federal government and according to the findings of both the committees, the surplus water of around 35.2 MAF will be available in river Indus below Kotri barrage on yearly basis (Khalid, 2013).

- It was argued that with the construction of Kalabagh dam, Sindh province will become desert due to shortage of water (Nawaz, 2011).

- In response, it was argued by the federal government that after the construction of Kalabagh dam, the additional 2.25 MAF water will be available for Sindh to save the salination of underground water, and additional 7 lac acers land will be brought under cultivation (Nawaz, 2011).

- The objection was raised about the High-Level outlet as the outlets of dam will be used to avert water from the dam that will deprive the Sindh's share of water (Nawaz, 2011).

- In response, WAPDA explained that the design of Kalabagh dam has no provision about the diversion of water from the dam. Additionally, for monitoring the volume of discharged water, a latest electronic telemetry system has been installed at all the barrages and important flow control points and it will be extended to Kalabagh dam to comprehend any objection about water distribution (Nawaz, 2011).

- Sindh province raised another issue relating to 'Sailaba' crops. Sailaba land is about 660,000 acers in Sindh. The crops in Sailaba land are cultivated on the soil moisture of floods. It was objected that with the construction of Kalabagh dam, the Sailaba land will not be cultivated due to shortage of water that will result the decrease in soil moisture (Nawaz, 2011).

□ For sustaining the soil moisture of Sailaba land, the flow of river up to 300,000 cusecs is essential that will be available after the construction of dam (Kalabagh Dam Project). However, with the construction of dam, the high intensity of floods will be controlled for avoiding agricultural and human losses.

- Sea water intrusion below Kotri Barrage is another serious argument raised by Sindh province. It was argued that with the construction of dam, the contraction of river flow will badly affect the quality of underground water that will increase sea water intrusion and adversely disturb the existing aquifer system.

□ To comprehend this, the federal government constituted a committee of experts in 2005 and according to Report, ‘the minimum escapage of 3.62 MAF of water throughout the year below Kotri Barrage will be sufficient to maintain river channel, accommodate the requirements of fisheries, environmental sustainability and to check sea water intrusion (Basson and Schutz, 2005:1). Moreover, according to Water Accord 1991, ‘the release of 10 MAF below Kotri Barrage to check water intrusion will be maintained’ (Water accord, 1991).

- It was argued that in the delta zone of river Indus, Mangrove forests are under stress and with the construction of Kalabagh dam, they will be further adversely affected due to the chances of shortage of fresh water.

□ Mangrove forests spread on around 3,20,000 acers along Karachi in the west to Run of Kutch in the East and around 95% species of forests are salt tolerant. There are various factors in the decrease of forests, i.e. uncontrolled cutting and overgrazing due to intense population pressure of Karachi. A study was conducted by the students of NED University of Engineering and Technology titled ‘What Really Threatens us and our Mangroves’ (Special Report/Water Crises, 2023). The finding of the study indicates that the main factor in the decrease of Mangrove forests is the limited frequency of tidal inundation and the forests might be increased by planting salt-oriented varieties and with the supply of fresh water on regular basis. With the construction of Kalabgh dam, the likelihoods of regular supply of fresh water will be assured.

6.2 Objections of KPK Province

- The major concern of KPK on Kalabagh dam project is that it will endanger the existence of Newshera town as the town and adjacent areas will become vulnerable in case of high floods due to backwater effect of dam that will block the flow of Kabul River, and the water level will rise in Kabul River that will be unsafe for the survival of the town.

□ WAPDA relegated this assertion and a computer-based study was conducted on backwater effect and described that the effect will end about 16 km downstream from Newshera (Special Report/Water Crises, 2023). Moreover, Mohmand dam is under construction on Swat River and it will be completed in 2028. The water storage capacity of dam will be around 1.7 MAF. The water will be stored during floods and by this way, Nowshera will become safe with devastating floods due to backwater effect (Bhutta, 2019).

- It was argued that the construction of Kalabagh dam will undermine the Rehabilitation project of Mardan Salinity Control. It was emphasized that the water level will become higher due to dam in the surroundings of Pabbi, Swabi and Mardan and will disturb the Rehabilitation project of Mardan Salinity Control (Nawaz, 2011).

□ Water logging can occur if the underground water level of Pabbi, Swabi and Mardan will lower with the maximum level of Kalabagh dam. The maximum level of dam will be 915 feet while, the lower ground level at Pabbi, Swabi and Mardan are estimated 970, 960 and 1000 feet respectively. Thus, Pabbi, Swabi and Mardan are 45, 55 and 85 feet above the highest level of Kalabagh dam. The dam will remain at the highest level for only 3 to 4 weeks during floods and will reach at 825 feet in June due to release of water for Rabi cropping. The progression of dam will not become a cause for salinity and water logging in Pabbi, Swabi and Mardan (Special Report/Water Crises, 2023).

- KPK voiced another important concern that its 4500 acres of land will be inundated in Kalabagh dam project including 100 acres will be the prime irrigated land (Nawaz, 2011).

□ It is apparent that the construction of dam without acquiring land is impracticable in anywhere at the global level, however, the advantages of dams counterbalance adverse circumstance. The total area of around 27,500 acres at the maximum level in a year just for 3-4 weeks will be acquired. The maximum land will be submerged from Punjab that will around 89% (24,500 acres) while, 11% (3000 acres) will be in KPK. In case of agricultural land, 97% (2900 acres) will be affected in Punjab and only 3% (100 acres out of 3000 acres) in KPK. It can be mentioned that around 5,000 acres of agricultural land was occupied for the construction of Islamabad-Peshawar Motorway (Special Report/Water Crises, 2023).

- KPK voiced another objection about the dislocation of population. According to Kazi, ‘around 34,500 people will be directly replaced and many of the people will be indirectly affected because their livelihoods are linked with river and with the construction of dam, they will face heavy losses’ (Kazi, 2003).

□ Overall affected dislocated population was estimated as 82,000 (48,500 from Punjab and 34,500 from KPK). These people will be compensated by giving the payments against their properties i.e. land, buildings and trees, according to market price as per Land Acquisition Act. Additionally, these people will be resettled along dam’s periphery in modern villages with all the amenities electricity, road networks, health and education. Likewise, more than 35000 job opportunities will be available (Ansari, 2018). According to Shamsul Mulk (former Chairman WAPDA and Chief Minister KPK), ‘Kalabagh dam will be helpful for eliminating poverty in KPK as more than 800,000 acres of land will be cultivated that is located within 100-150 feet above the level of river Indus’ Mushtaq, 2017).

- KPK is seriously concerned about the royalties of power generation from Kalabagh dam. Usually, royalties about power generation are given to the province where they originated. In the case of Kalabagh dam, the dam’s location is on Punjab-KPK border and the dam’s turbines will be installed in Punjab. So, the royalties will be paid to Punjab province which will not acceptable for KPK.

□ In response, Punjab province and the Federal Government gave assurances to KPK about the due share in dam’s royalties (Pakistan Water Apportionment Accord, 2010). This issue might be resolved by initiating constitutional arrangements through parliament.

6.3 Objections of Baluchistan Province

Baluchistan is not directly connected with Indus River. However, a Pat Feeder Canal carries around 1.53 MAF of water from Indus River (Guddu Barrage) and irrigates around 4,58,000 acers in Naseer Abad Division of Baluchistan. Baluchistan also has the apprehensions about Kalabagh dam as:

- It is feared that with the construction of dam, the run of water in Pat Feeder Canal will be reduced due to shortage of water.
 - It is objected that with the construction of dam, Punjab will unlawfully deviate water that would result the shortage of water in Baluchistan.
- Baluchistan's assertions indicate lack of trust on Punjab and are not based on ground realities. According to water accord 1991, Baluchistan's share of water (12%), (Nawaz, 2011:245), is safeguarded. Moreover, a plan is under consideration for the up-gradation of Pat Feeder Canal that will provide additional water to Baluchistan. Likewise, another Kachhi Canal with the capacity of around 1.3 MAF is under construction from Taunsa Barrage to Dera Bughti, and it will irrigate more than 5,00,000 acers (Kachi Canal Project, 2002). With the construction of dam, it would become feasible for the supply of water to above-mentioned canals on regular basis.

7 Existing Scenario of Kalabagh Dam Project

Punjab is the 2nd largest province with respect to its area and is bearing more than 50% of population. It mainly contributes in the production of agriculture sector and holds more than 60% share in the export of agro-based products. Punjab is required maximum share of water due to its output in agriculture sector and population size. Before accord 1991, Punjab's water share was 40%, (Ali, 2017) but after accord, it was reduced to 37% to accommodate the remaining provinces especially Sindh. Furthermore, it was argued that the Water Accord 1991 provided leverage to Sindh for large share of water for cultivation (Ghori, 2005). On the issue of Kalabagh dam, both Sindh and Punjab provinces have opposite stances, as Sindh is categorically against the dam because the dam will result the shortage of water, while, Punjab's view is in favor of dam as the dam will resolve the issue of shortage of water.

Likewise, with the construction of dam, Punjab will be the main victim for the loss of land and property as compared to KPK. As for Baluchistan province is concerned, technically, it cannot object Punjab about water shortage because its main supply is taken from Guddu Barrage which is located in Sindh. The dam has the significance for all the provinces especially for KPK and Sindh as Bashir A. Malik expressed, 'KPK and Sindh will become drought areas in near future if Kalabagh dam is not constructed' (Mushtaq, 2017). Even, Water Accord 1991 also endorses as, "need of new water reservoirs, where ever feasible on Indus or any other river of Pakistan" (Water Accord, 1991). On the issue of Kalabagh dam, the judgement of Lahore High Court (LHC) also persists as the Chief Justice of LHC declared that the project was approved twice by the Council of Common Interests (CCI) and according to the article 154 of the constitution of 1973, the Federal Government is bound to implement CCI's decision (Mahmood, 2012). Likewise, All the studies and reports are in favor of Kalabagh dam project but, the dam is criticized on technical grounds and these are mainly be discussed in this research, but the main wedge on the way to dam is lack of confidence and political rivalries among the provinces.

8 Way Forward

The main objective of this research confines this debate within the circumference of food security which is conditional with water security. Within this parameter, the significance of Kalabagh dam project is thoroughly be investigated and is concluded that the project will ensure water and food security. Thus, the importance of project demands its construction on top priority basis but due to inter-provincial disagreements and political enmities at the regional levels, this project remains controversial. It is the prime responsibility of the Federal Government to take serious initiatives for materializing this project and the theory of state-building provides incites to comprehend inter-provincial discrepancies and to grasp the main obstacle on the way to endorse confidence building at the national level. In this connection, two level game (national and international) according to the theory of state-building might be followed by the Federal Government as:

- At the national level, the reservation of domestic political groups can be addressed through dialogues and compromises. For instance, in KPK, Awami National Party (ANP) has comparatively inflexible stance against the dam among the remaining political parties in KPK. It is surprising that the vote bank of ANP transpires in areas (Charsada, Mardan and Sawabi) which have raised serious allegations against the dam and for sustaining its popularity, ANP dissents the issue of Kalabagh dam as political stunt. The objection of KPK on dam is merely on technical basis and it can be resolved by arranging seminars, media campaigns and by the briefings of the technical experts to the leadership of ANP. The aforesaid arrangements can divert public opinion in favor of dam in KPK and after that, a referendum might by conducted in KPK on this serious issue as the example of a referendum also persists in KPK at the time of Pakistan's inception (3rd June Plan, 1947).

Sindh province is the most critical opponent of this project. It is interesting that all the reports and studies indicate that Sindh would be the most beneficial province with this project. In this connection, the political party at the national level which has the strong influence in Sindh, Pakistan People's Party (PPP) must be taken on board. Media movement within Sindh might be started at the massive level to compel the general public that the main proponent of shortage of water is the absence of water reservoir. The objections of Baluchistan are interconnected with Sindh's and with the construction of dam, they would become realized. Additionally, mismanagement for allocating water share is the main source of inter-provincial trust deficit and it must be grasped.

- At the international level, the federal governments intend to establish good relations with international community to ensure their national interests. When Pakistan's international standing in the background of Kalabagh and Diamer Bhasha dam is evaluated, it is observed that for the construction of Diamer Bhasha dam, the international community is reluctant to finance this project except China. For Kalabagh dam project, almost all the international financial centres including International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank are ready to finance the project. So, the Federal Government must avail this opportunity by establishing national consensus and initiate Kalabagh dam.

9 Conclusion

Food security is a critical challenge for a country like Pakistan where the steady increase in food demand for a fast-growing population is severe matter of concern for the agriculture

sector. Availability of water for food security is obvious. In the existing circumstances where the accessibility of water is decreasing and food requirement is increasing, there is a dire precondition to assure the supply of water on regular basis by constructing new dams. To comprehend this issue, Kalabagh dam is suggested for construction because it has the significance due to its massive storage potential, comparatively low cost, prolonged livable and short time frame for construction. The main obstacles on the way of Kalabagh project are disagreements among the political elites of smaller provinces. All these divergences are incorporated on technical grounds but the factual fact of discrepancies is lack of confidence among the smaller provinces and the federal government. For assuring confidence building, the political elites of smaller provinces might be compelled through dialogues and by arranging the briefings of technical experts. Additionally, for upholding the awareness among the young generation about the construction of dams, the importance of water reservoirs must be included in the syllabus of text books. The last but not the least that a comprehensive media campaign for the construction of Kalabagh dam along with fascinating the sentiments for national integration might be initiated.

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Causes of Political Polarization in Pakistan from 1947 to 2024

Rabia Sadiq¹

Article Information	Abstract
Received: May 24, 2024 Revised: June 29, 2024 Accepted: June 29, 2024	Recently, political polarization has been one of the most rampant political processes across the globe. Stable, as well as unstable democracies, have been affected by political polarization. Since its inception, Pakistan has been a politically polarized country. Politicians have further widened the gap based on numerous issues to gain their political goals. Unfortunately, there has been unprecedented political polarization in Pakistan in the last few years. From the political elite to the masses everyone is politically divided. This division has contributed to the culture of hatred, abuse, and intolerance. There are several causes of political polarization including mainstream media, social media, the political elite, and income inequality around the globe. However, in this study, the main causes of political polarization in Pakistan are the media and political elite being discussed.
Keywords	
<i>Political polarization</i>	
<i>Political process</i>	
<i>Pakistan's politics</i>	
<i>Political elite</i>	
<i>Political divisions</i>	

1 Introduction

Political polarization is defined as the process or state in which the political attitude is different from the center and ideological extremes are being followed. Most of the time, political polarization is discussed in the scenario of the political parties. Different political parties have different political ideologies. It is not essential that polarization is dependent on different policies like right and left. People are polarized based on being religious or secular and traditionalist or modern. In addition to this, polarization is divided into two categories ideological polarization and affective polarization. In this study, political polarization at the party level and the public level is discussed. First, the causes of political polarization are elucidated across the globe. Like, media, political elite, and income inequality have been the causes of political polarization. Then, a comparative analysis has been made what are the causes of political polarization in Pakistan. This study explored that media and political elite have been the source of polarization in the case of Pakistan. Further, it explained Pakistan is facing affective polarization and disliking has been moved from the political elite to the public. Society is badly divided, and the process of democracy is under threat in Pakistan. The focus of this study is the explanation of the causes of political polarization, its consequences and solutions will not be discussed.

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2 Literature Review

2.1 What is Political Polarization?

Political Polarization is defined as a process of ideological differences in which people show hatred and mistrust for people of different political views and parties (Adnan, 2022). Representatives from the main political parties become politically divergent from each other but become convergent within the parties (Kim et al., 2016). A gap between the expectations from society and the functioning of the state institutions can contribute to political polarization (Ishaque et al., 2022). In political polarization, political attitudes diverge to ideological extremes.

Political polarization is discussed concerning political parties and the democratic political system. Mass polarization or popular polarization is the division of the electorate based on political issues, ideologies, and policies. It is a very common phenomenon; polities are normally divided. However, the degree of division changes from polity to polity. In some polities, the division is minor, but the division in some polities is deep and larger. There is no middle ground in polities with deep polarization. Thus, these are known as polarized polities.

Normally electorates take sides and see the political opponents as an enemy (political polarization-ECPS, n.d.). Political polarization can be a reason behind political divergence and political violence. Political polarization is very rampant in many countries and a serious threat to democracy.

Recently political polarization has been spread around the world. Many studies suggest that COVID-19 is the reason behind an increase in political polarization. It is a normal practice that people question the policies and system during a crisis. It is always not true that a difference of opinion is wrong. Political discussions and debates are paramount steps in the evolution and growth of democracy (Adnan, 2022).

According to sociologists DiMaggio, Evans, and Bryson, Polarization has features of both process and state (Callander & Carbajal, 2022). There are two types of political polarization, ideological polarization, and affective polarization. Ideological polarization is the difference in political beliefs, attitudes, and opinions. Affective polarization is polarization based on the political identity between the in-group and out-group. The liking for political allies and hatred for political opponents is assessed through affective polarization (Kubin & von Sikorski, 2021).

Scholars believe that other than the poles the actors in the middle have a great role in polarization. Poles behave based on the size and political strategies of the middle actors. It is hypothesized that poles balk to take extreme positions when middle actors are large. Thus, poles try to get the favor of middle actors (Corrales, 2005).

2.2 Causes of Political Polarization

Role of Media in Political Polarization: Biased information spread by media is contributing to political polarization (Yang et al., 2016). The Journalistic standards have declined. Journalism is propagating polarization by removing the margins between opinion and news

and facts and lies (Blankenhorn, 2018). Due to the fragmentation of the media, both ideological and affective polarization have increased (Kubin & von Sikorski, 2021).

Mass political polarization is caused by the way the media illustrates the news and facts. Partisan media and selective exposure influence political polarization. The partisan media and selective exposure make audiences develop polarized opinions because they see the news and issues through a partisanship lens. Journalists first select the stories to publish and then do the framing. Framing is the way journalists portray political issues and news, it also creates political polarization (Kim et al., 2016).

Media can influence the judgment and attitude of people on political issues. Partisan media portrays political opponents as extremists and decides on news reports accordingly (Yang et al., 2016). Mainstream media focuses on the differences between political parties instead of social issues. Any news that instigates political conflict can cause mass political polarization.

According to the social identity theory and self-categorization theory, group identity become paramount when differences between groups are strong thus forming perception and judgment. Similarly, politically conflicting news strengthens group identity and further develops perceived and attitude polarization. The media presents party-oriented issues to the public and the mass public perceives these issues with a partisan elite view that promotes political polarization.

Attitudinal polarization is generated by partisan media because people watch the news programs according to their political inclination and they see the issues through a partisanship lens that strengthens their partisan identity. Partisan media can instigate radicalism in extremist citizens. Partisan audiences prefer to watch news channels with similar points of view. For instance, Republicans watch Fox News and Democrats watch MSNBC and CNN (Kim et al., 2016).

Mass media affects public opinion by framing political conflicts or news. Before framing the news, they select the news as per their propaganda and the characteristics of audiences. According to the theory of the framing effect, people process and perceive information depending on how the information was framed and presented to them (Kim et.al, 2016).

The four aspects of any issue are presented in news framing and these four aspects are the definition of the problem, interpretation of the causes, evaluation of moral values, and recommendation for treatment (Robison & Mullinix, 2015). In news framing, the story is organized in a way to provide meaning to an issue. Certain facts of an issue are framed and highlighted in a specific way so a particular type of interpretation can be made. The tools used for framing by media are images, phrases, and words. Thus, the results of framing show that the reaction of people on any issue is dependent on how the conflict is framed and highlighted by the media.

However, framing is also affected by someone's existing knowledge of politics, attitude, psychology, and demography. To get audiences and high-rating news channels to highlight conflicts and controversies instead of consensus or positive parts. Therefore, the issue selection and framing practice of journalists promotes controversies and creates polarization (Kim et al., 2016). Although there are views that both mainstream media and social media do not affect polarization (Kubin & von Sikorski, 2021).

There is a huge concern that social media is hampering the process of democracy not just in unstable democracies but in strong democracies like the USA. Partisan media presents politics as a fight between two political archrivals that makes partisan identity stronger and increases polarization (Tucker et al., 2018).

Similarly, **Social Media** provides an opportunity for people to select the news of their choice and to ignore the ones with a different inclination. In this way, people choose the news and opinion they are already inclined to, and this strengthens their preexisting opinion (Kim et al., 2016). Social Media Echo chambers are one of the most important features of social media. Social media echo chambers limit exposure to different opinions and perspectives and favor the inclination toward like-minded groups and perspectives. People get a chance to join groups with similar interests. Group polarization theory states that an echo chamber facilitates people to strengthen their existing views and develops extremism in a group. Blogs and forums work as an echo chamber (Cinelli et.al, 2021).

People can access unlimited information, blogs, news, and webpages online related to their interests and political inclination. On Online forums, communities, and groups different people share different opinions. People intentionally choose to be exposed to more like-minded news. The online environment facilitates perceived polarization by portraying opponents as stupid, absurd, and extremists (Yang et al., 2016). Social media has a significant influence on building the opinion of people. It is becoming a normal practice that people to use social media to get news updates. Twitter is one of the biggest examples that people use to get updates instead of listening to any news channel and reading newspapers. In this situation, mainstream media has adopted the partisan approach more intensely. Resultantly, the masses are getting extremist and biased news and information from both mainstream media and social media and becoming more polarized.

Role of Political Elite in Polarization: Elite behavior reinforces political polarization. Voters take cues from the political elite. When people come to know that the political elite is strongly divided, they divert their inclination toward their party irrespective of the argument and its authenticity (Tucker et.al, 2018). First political elite polarizes and then the masses, and the political elite continues to accommodate polarization until they achieve their political goals (Callander & Carbajal, 2022).

Policy preferences, voting behavior, and partisan identities of the masses are consequences of elite polarization. The effect of elite polarization on the mass public is dependent on how the media portrays the political differences of the elite (Robinson & Mullinix, 2015). When the political elite is ideologically distinctive and express their differences openly, it gives a signal to the masses, and they start taking strong party position on the issues. Ordinary people try to align their political ideology with the ideology of their party. Thus, the masses become more polarized based on their party lines (Kim et al., 2016).

People try to find proof for their side of opinions. People believe that their opponents are doing everything with bad faith. People show reluctance to accept the reasoning and evidence of the opponents. These patterns of thinking and biasness directly feed the polarization. People start perceiving their political opponents as enemies and start showing aggression when there is a difference of opinion. This pattern promotes "us vs them" (Blankenhorn, 2018).

The use of aggressive language, extremism, and provoking political opponents show the polarized society. Either incumbent or opponents start taking more hard-core positions (Corrales, 2005). In the USA, elite polarization is a policy deadlock. Elite polarization is framed as problematic. Elite polarization pushes masses towards ideological poles and develops hatred towards opponents and decreases political trust. Over time uncivil and harsh rhetoric has increased by Democrats and Republicans in congress.

Issue polarization and incivility are empirically confused. For instance, during political debates, opponents call each other left-wing or right-wing which is a sign of disrespect but also shows the position of a politician on an issue. Research shows that there are two aspects of elite polarization issue position and incivility and both influence masses and develop political distrust.

Similarly, the elite conflict influences the masses. Attitude polarization among the masses is developed if the elite is polarized on issues but incivility promotes distrust of politicians. Thus, the two aspects of elite polarization contribute to affective polarization in masses. In both situations, people develop animosity and hatred towards the opposite political elite. There is a need to distinguish between issue polarization and incivility. Politicians need to develop a tolerance for political disagreements (Skytte, 2021).

The deep polarization and aggressive attitude develop due to the bad governance system. Good governance means the state and its institutions optimally use its resources to fulfill the needs of the masses, achieve the goals of development, and secure national interests. State institutions are very important for good governance (Khan, 2022).

Role of Income Inequality in Political Polarization: The strong correlation between income inequality and political polarization was first found by McCarty, Poole, and Rosenthal. An instrumental variable identification strategy has been used by Voorhies, McCarty, and Shor and they support that as within-state income inequality increases within-state political polarization also increases (Voorhies et al., 2015).

Since 1970, the increase in the political disparity among Americans is related to the rise in the unequal distribution of wealth (Gu & Wang, 2021). If there is income inequality, people are prone to choose political parties with more radical ideologies. For example, either people will support far-right or far-left political parties. However, there are more chances older people can opt for far-right political parties during income inequality. Thus, political polarization increases as income inequality increase irrespective of immigration and job market situation (Winkler, 2019).

Income inequality is used by both media and politicians to gain their interests. For example, partisan media presents the developmental projects of the political party they support. On the contrary, they show the economic and administrative failure of their political opponents. They highlight it aggressively. Similarly, on social media political parties present their developmental work and criticize opponents with evidence. Even leaders of different political parties highlight economic crises and developmental failures of opponents to tarnish their image. Therefore, income inequality and unequal distribution of wealth contribute to polarization and mainly it is used by the media and political elite to deepen the cleavage between the masses.

3 Analytical and Methodological Approaches

This study is a descriptive analysis in nature. The causes of political polarization are taken from the literature, and they are compared with the causes in the case of Pakistan. Based on the comparative analysis the more appropriate causes of political polarization in Pakistan are discussed. According to the literature on political polarization, media, both mainstream and social media, political elite, and income inequality are the predominant factors in the rise of political polarization. When the literature on political polarization in Pakistan is studied, the media and political elite are the major reasons behind political polarization. Therefore, this study focuses on and compares the role of the media and political elite in escalating political polarization. This study elaborates on how the attitude and rhetoric of the political elite have divided the masses politically. In addition to this, it explains how social media and mainstream media are portraying news to create a divide among the citizens of Pakistan.

4 Findings

4.1 The dynamics of Political Polarization in Pakistan

The current situation of Political polarization in Pakistan is very convoluted because most people do not show civility and acceptance for agreeing to disagree. Since its Independence, Pakistan faced polarization by the political elite on numerous issues like constitution development and the functioning and power of different political institutions. Recently political polarization is unprecedentedly high in Pakistan because 60 percent of the population of the country is youth, and it is involved in political debate. Political polarization is deep in Pakistan because most of the population is young. They are active on social media and unemployed. They criticize the politicians on social media for societal issues mainly economic crises. At the individual level, intolerance for political opposition is very common in Pakistan.

This year, high inflation, public discontent, political instability, a no-confidence motion against Imran Khan, the role of powerful institutions, and a damaged economy aggravated the political polarization in Pakistan (Adnan, 2022). The current clash of “Us vs Them” and “bad vs good Politicians” has divided Pakistani Society (Sohoo, 2022). Polarization has divided Pakistani society into “Us vs Them”, and damaged social cohesion and social bonding and propagated intolerance (Ishaque et al., 2022).

Pakistani society is divided on one of the main political issues of this time whether Imran Khan was ousted due to a foreign conspiracy or a new coalition government. The ouster of Imran Khan insisted youth express their disapproval of military and opponent political parties. People were already polarized; this incident manifested the divide. In addition to this, Pakistan is polarized in the name of religion and discrimination towards minorities. Pakistan is going through a state of cut-throat political polarization (Adnan, 2022).

Political Polarization is deepening with every passing day in Pakistan. Political polarization deepens because the public did not like the way the regime changed in April 2022. Secondly, Nawaz Sharif has been convicted numerous times but leading official government meetings from the UK is disapproved by people. 60 percent of the ministers of the current government are either bailed or have criminal charges. The public openly disapproves of them (Naz, 2022).

Trump's style of politics is in play in Pakistan. Pakistan cannot afford self-centered politics during the economic and governance crises (Shahzad, 2022). Undoubtedly, political polarization has significantly increased in Pakistan. According to the V-dem data, the political polarization in Pakistan in 1948 was -2.8 and in 2021 it was -0.31. (Source: V-Dem team, 2021)

4.2 Who is Moving the Process of Political Polarization in Pakistan?

In the situation of Pakistan, the most thought-provoking question is who is creating poles and making others follow the poles. Are politicians creating polarization and voters are following them and voters are polarized, and politicians are further deepening it? The answer to this question goes back to the history of Pakistan. The early years after the independence of Pakistan were very critical. The founding father died very early creating a leadership crisis. Army and bureaucracy interfered in politics. There has been rampant corruption, constitutional crisis, and bad governance since the beginning. State institutions like judiciary and executive never got a chance to develop. The growth of political institutions and the political process got hampered. Democracy has been an unachievable dream of Pakistanis.

So, there has been political instability and bad governance in Pakistan and people were never content with the political system. Unfortunately, in the last few years, economic crisis became worst. Pakistani currency devalued and the highest-ever inflation has been experienced by Pakistanis. The Pakistani economy is at the edge of collapse for the last few years. The average inflation rate from 1960 to 2021 was 8.2% per year. In 2021, the inflation rate was 9.5%. By November 2022, the inflation rate went to 23.8%. According to the UNO's Human Development Index, Pakistan is at 139 number out of 179. Pakistanis believe that traditional political parties, political instability, weak democratic values, dynastic politics, and corrupt politicians are the reason behind the turmoil in Pakistan.

Somer & McCoy (2018) said democratic crises produce political polarization. They further said political interests instigate harmful impacts of political polarization like protests and mass mobilization. Pakistani society has always been polarized based on religion, sects, and ethnicity. However, Political polarization was never that deep. This process of polarization started when Imran Khan became politically strong by the 2013 elections because he addressed the real issues of Pakistani society and targeted the existing political system and politicians. He accused politicians of corruption and bad governance. Pakistani people especially young and educated were already tired of the system and strongly believe in his accusations. They started to incline towards him. He lost elections in 2013 but he won in 2018 and made a government. His followers had great expectations of him. Even the staunch followers of other political parties shifted towards him because they believed he was not corrupt, and that he would bring change. Unfortunately, he failed to deliver. Other opponent political parties made a coalition named Pakistan democratic movement PDM and removed him with a no-confidence vote.

In this situation, loyal followers of Imran Khan got angry and started protesting. They even used social media to abuse opponents. On the other side, those who gave Imran Khan a chance, or other party supporters were not happy with him because he could not manage the economic crisis. There was discontent among the Pakistani nations, they were not happy with the status quo. Due to democratic crises and bad governance, there was already minor polarization. Imran Khan saw the discontent and unhappiness and appealed to people with that

and fueled deep political polarization in Pakistani society. Similarly, other political parties also have been using strategies to polarize people towards them. Thus, politicians instigated political polarization in Pakistan.

4.3 Role of Media in Political Polarization in Pakistan:

Social media provides a platform for people to share their political views without having acceptance. Social media inflames political polarization because generally, people do not respect opposite political views. Social media is facilitating the process of empowerment of individuals to express their support and discontent over a political issue. Social media bombards people with information and propaganda of their interest and this increases intolerance (Adnan, 2022). Political parties have social media teams that defame political opponents and use abusive language. As cyberspace lacks accountability, supporters of political parties use demeaning language for their opponents. Instead of engaging in constructive debate and exchange of opinion, people indulge in heated arguments. Social media is providing a platform for the exchange of abuses in Pakistan (Javed, 2022). Scholars suggest that the excessive usage of the internet can increase political polarization. The internet provides a platform to develop and engage in groups and communities with similar ideologies and minimizes the chances of interaction with opposite ideologies. So, political arguments and dialogue with same-minded people strengthen the existing political beliefs (Sarwar et al., 2020). Ali et.al., (2021) conducted a study to empirically test the relationship between the usage of social media and political polarization in undergraduate and graduate students from the universities of Lahore, Pakistan. The results show that social media engages citizens and leads to political polarization. In addition to this, the findings of this study state that social media enhances party loyalty and creates biasness towards out-groups. Therefore, political engagement and party loyalty deepen political polarization. The use of social media has become violent and uncontrollable in Pakistan. That is instigating intolerance and violence in the political behavior of the masses in Pakistan. Even educated people are unable to differentiate between right and wrong. Social media has been weaponized to secure political gains, but it crossed the lines and started criticizing state institutions like the military and judiciary. Masses of Pakistan are performing the task of enemy agencies by openly passing derogatory remarks to the army (Shahzad, 2022). Imran Khan and his supporter are indulged in aggressive social media campaigns. Imran Khan has been live-streaming speeches for youth. PTI has used social media very systematically. PTI has dedicated social media cells across the country (Gizbert 10:50).

Unfortunately, Pakistanis are unable to experience unbiased and neutral information and political opinion in mainstream media as well. Channels openly support political parties and promote political polarization. Some people criticize news channels that support any specific political party. However, some people prefer to watch biased news (Adnan, 2022). If media is socially and politically polarized, its consumers ultimately get affected based on their party affiliation. Politically polarized media shows news and content to create a positive image of a particular political party. Content credibility is used to check the polarization of media. Content credibility means a news channel is showing unbiased content. (Sarwar et al., 2020). Exposure to polarized news is the process that leads to a political divide. Media can influence the cognition process of the audiences. Media can make audiences aggressive and violent for their ideologies. Hostile Media Effect HME is a perceptual theory in which audiences can perceive information against their preexisting views. In 2001 in Pakistan a private news channel named Geo News was launched earlier there was only one state-owned news

channel. The launch of a private news channel was taken as the beginning of a well-informed nation, educated, and democratic nation. When Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf PTI demonstrated protests and sit-ins in Islamabad, Pakistani media got polarized. ARY News, Express News, and Sama TV took the side of PTI, and Geo News remained on the side of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz PMLN. While Dunya News and Dawn News remained neutral and less polarized. In 2014 Daily news reported that most of the talk shows and current affairs programs provide one-sided and biased reporting (Sarwar et al., 2020). When Imran Khan was ousted in April 2021 and PDM Pakistan democratic movement made government, people used social media to express that they do not accept imported government. “Imported Hakumat Na Manzoor” meaning “Imported Government unacceptable” became a popular trend on social media. PTI supporters used this trend to condemn foreign interference in regime change conspiracy. This trend has been used 5.5 million times on social media. On Twitter, this hashtag has been tweeted more than 3 million times.

4.4 Role of Political Elite in Polarization in Pakistan

Political parties in Pakistan facilitate propaganda generation which further enhances political polarization (Adnan, 2022). A new dimension of polarization in Pakistan is established on the political party affiliation that is promoting violent rhetoric, intolerance, abusive language, accusations, and incivility towards political opponents and instigating violence and disunity. The political elite has been playing a paramount role in polarizing Pakistani society on religion, ethnicity, languages, and ideology. Unfortunately, some political leaders have been instigating the rhetoric of civil war and revolution for their political goals which are affecting the state institutions and frustrating the masses. Pakistan has always been a polarized society. Social identity is determined by political party affiliation. It is becoming a norm to address political opponents with disrespect and hatred. The national integration of Pakistan is affected by the political polarization of the masses. The political culture developed by political parties is undemocratic, intolerant, and autocratic. Normally, political parties play role in national unity and integration because they have connections with the masses across the country. However, in Pakistan political parties have changed their role. The recent pattern of disrespect, long marches, abusive language for political opponents, intolerance, provoking the public against institutions, threatening revolution if political demands are not met, and hate-based violence have disintegrated Pakistani society. (Ishaque et al., 2022). The vested interests of the political elite are contributing to polarization in Pakistan. All political parties are power greedy. Personal differences and contradictions of politicians are creating violence and clashes among institutions. Even there is no middle way to reconciliation (Abideen, 2022). It has become difficult in Pakistan to distinguish between manipulation and guidance. Reasoning and evidence are absent in political debates in Pakistan. It is impossible to arrive at a point of agreement in the fragmented society of Pakistan. The avarice of the political elite has damaged social structure and national cohesiveness. There is a dire lack of political consensus and cohesiveness in major political parties and their leadership. The political elite is unable to negotiate and show agreement on serious matters like national security issues. Even this year the annual budget session in parliament could not proceed peacefully. A no-confidence motion to remove former Prime Minister Imran Khan has escalated the intolerance. There is a clear unwillingness to cooperate with political opponents on national issues (Tariq, 2022). Imran Khan used his ouster to motivate his supporters to join his rallies. During these rallies Imran Khan has been telling the masses after his removal, now the power is in the hands of corrupt politicians who are the reason behind the instability in Pakistan. The supporters of Imran Khan get furious and used the same disrespectful words for political

opponents that Imran Khan uses. Imran Khan is sending the message of the illegitimacy of the government to the public and pressuring the government with rallies and marches. On the contrary, other political parties see the ouster of Imran Khan as democratic and propagate the message to their supporters that Imran Khan is doing dangerous politics and affecting the peace and foreign relations of the country. Supporters of both sides believe their side of the argument is valid. Most importantly, the supporters of Imran Khan do not trust the military and government. Even though both sides have tried to use religion which is very dangerous in countries like Pakistan where religious cards can make serious damage. The main goal of PDM (Pakistan democratic movement) was to remove Imran Khan but they were not prepared to deal with the serious economic issues the country is going through. So, they are not able to take the country out of the economic crisis and give Imran Khan a reason to castigate them. A huge number of urban rallies and marches show the popularity of Imran Khan among the masses (Afzal, 2022).

An abusive culture has been raised in Pakistan. Party leaders do acrimonious speeches and call opponents demeaning names. This abusive culture has trickled down to the supporters. In April 2022, violent visuals from Punjab Assembly show the level of hatred and animosity among the political elite. The establishment has always been involved in political manipulation. Political polarization is unprecedented this time because it has penetrated households, streets, and offices. Resultantly, tolerance has diminished in Pakistani society. As political leaders criticize and demean their political opponents, their followers keep resentment and grudge in close relations based on political differences. Unfortunately, Pakistani youth is being used as a political pawn by the political elite (Tariq, 2022). The polarization among politicians is spilling over among the masses. The political elite is criticizing each other on TV, social media, and jalsas. Imran Khan is questioning the legitimacy of the current government based on alleged foreign policy and corruption. Earlier Imran Khan was being questioned by the current ruling coalition based on an allegation of being selected by the establishment. The most dangerous outcome of political polarization in Pakistan is the divide, hatred, and polarization among supporters of different political parties. Anecdotally, family ties, relationships, and friendships are affected based on political differences. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf has positioned itself as an anti-status quo political party. PTI and its supporters are not accepting the political legitimacy of their opponents which is escalating polarization (Javed, 2022). Another reason for political polarization is that people are tired of the traditional political systems and dynastic politics (Javed, 2022). The main support of Imran Khan is educated urban youth who disapproved and were disappointed by the dynastic politics of Pakistan (Hussain, 2022). Issueless politics are in practice in Pakistan. Instead of having healthy debates on challenges and political narratives, political opponents are being demonized. Political discourse is confined to derogatory rhetoric for political opponents. Even in the parliament important national issues are not discussed but verbal attacks on opponents are made. Consequently, some portion of the public has become indifferent to politics, and they see politicians as greedy elite fighting for power (Lodhi, 2021). The interpersonal implications of political polarization can be inhumane and derogatory behavior toward political opponents (Kubin & von Sikorski, 2021).

4.5 Discussion

The comparative analysis conducted in this study shows that the media and political elite are the reason behind political polarization in Pakistan. As (Hussain, 2022) mentioned the supporters of Imran Khan are educated urban youth who is against corrupt dynastic politics.

In this scenario, the only option they believe in is Imran Khan. Pakistan politicians including Imran Khan and his political opponents are playing the politics of polarization, hatred, and acrimony. They use abusive language for their political opponents. Resultantly, their supporters follow them. They use demeaning language for opponent political leaders on social media and in their day-to-day activities. This culture of hatred and abuse is polarizing society at the household level. For example, if a son is supporting Imran Khan and abuses Nawaz Sharif and Asif Ali Zardari and the father will be opposing Imran Khan, bitterness develops between father and son. Sadly, political polarization has trickled down to the household level. A lot of family members are politically divided. When political polarization reaches an alarming level, it divides families and relations. In the case of Pakistan, young people follow Imran Khan and use abusive language for political opponents. Most people above 50s do not follow Imran Khan. When their cousins and younger family members blindly follow Imran Khan and use demeaning language for other politicians, the intra-family political divide gets deep. According to a Gallup survey report 2022, 19% of Pakistanis said, all adult men and women in their families do not support the same political parties. While 81% of Pakistanis said all adult women and men in their family support the same political party. Thus, there is 19% intra-family level polarization in Pakistan. 19 out of 100 households are politically divided. Similarly, many news channels are associated with different political parties, and they promote their agendas. The supporters of those political parties when rigorously following those news channels develop their opinion accordingly. Instead of thinking and looking for proof of the news. The literature and evidence of the role of media in political polarization in Pakistan are the same. Biased information and partisan media rise the divide among citizens because people prefer to watch like-minded arguments instead of different ones. Likewise, the political elites have been contributing to polarization in Pakistan and all around the world because they divide their people to gain their political goals.

The results of Gallup Pakistan surveys depict the political divide in Pakistani society. According to a Gallup survey, 43% of Pakistanis were angry about the ouster of Imran Khan and 57% were happy. Political leaders have been encouraging their supporters to express their opinions. As the culture of abusive language is ingrained in Pakistani society. When these 43% were showing their anger with rude and offensive language on social media and routine conversations and 57% were expressing happiness in a belittling manner becoming a reason for division in Pakistani society. Moreover, 9 in 10 Pakistanis believe their political party and leadership are better than others. 3 in 4 Pakistanis agree that their political party is not perfect, but it is better than other political parties. So, this attitude of the masses shows that they are affiliated with their political parties. They believe they are better, and opponents are wrong. Once they believe the opposite side is wrong, they show disrespect to them and further widen the gap in society. 98% of Pakistanis agree that politically motivated anger and hatred have increased in Pakistan and there is a need to take steps to reduce this hatred and anger. In addition to this, Imran Khan said political opponents are traitors and as per the results of a survey 40% of Pakistanis agreed that opposition leaders are traitors while 60% did not agree that opposition leaders are traitors (Gallup Pakistan - Pakistan's Foremost Research Lab, n.d.). These surveys expose the political polarization in Pakistan. For instance, Imran Khan protested his ouster, and the media on side of Imran Khan portrayed this removal as injustice and enmity with ordinary citizens. This attitude of both Imran Khan and the media instigated anger in the masses. On the other hand, opponents of Imran Khan presented his removal as a relief to the public and their partisan media also showed the removal positively. So, opponents of Imran Khan expressed their happiness because they were made to see it this way. Furthermore, political leaders of both sides have been telling their supporters that they are right, and opponents are wrong. Like, Imran Khan said the opposition

leadership is a traitor. Mainstream media and social media cells of both sides also have been propagating this blame and insisting people believe that they are right, and opponents are wrong. As a result, 9 in 10 Pakistanis believe their political party is better than others and even 40% of people bought the idea that opposition leaders are traitors. Therefore, the results of these surveys and the literature reinforce the argument that the political elite and media play a predominant role in escalating political polarization.

4.6 The solution to Political Polarization in Pakistan

The solution to political polarization in Pakistan is education, tolerance of political differences, and a culture of constructive debate and discussion (Adnan, 2022). There is a dire need to reverse the pattern of political intolerance and hate-based politics (Ishaque et al., 2022). National interests, national objectives, and societal cohesion should be the fundamental goals of the political elite instead of their political goals, personal preferences, and ego. There is a dire need of political reconciliation among the political elite (Tariq, 2022). Similarly, the neutrality of media can also play a major role in reducing political polarization.

5 Conclusion

Political polarization can be a phenomenon to promote democracy and dialogue between political opponents. Ideological polarization can be the most suitable type of polarization to contribute to democracy and political dialogue. However, the extreme of anything can be deleterious. Extreme polarization can contribute to affective polarization. Affective polarization shows extreme hatred, intolerance, and unacceptance of the adversaries. So, affective polarization is pernicious to democracy and the growth of the political process. In this study, several origins of polarization are explained. Unfortunately, in Pakistan political polarization has failed to promote dialogue between political opponents but has promoted political instability. In Pakistan, major sources of affective polarization are the political elite and the media. The political elite has been using masses and ideologies to achieve their materialistic goals. Political elite has used their ideological differences to create divide between masses. Media is also being used as a tool by political elite to polarize people. Therefore, Pakistani society is facing political disorder due to polarization.

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