

Religion, Sectarianism and Media in Pakistan: Challenges for Religious Harmony and National Solidarity

Dr. Babrak Niaz

*Assistant Professor, Department of Media Studies,
University of Balochistan, Quetta
Email: babrakniaz@yahoo.com*

Dr. Malik Adnan

*Assistant Professor, Department of Media Studies,
The Islamia University of Bahawalpur
Email: dr.adnan@iub.edu.pk*

Abstract

Religion no doubt creates an effective bonding among people and their ideological philosophies. Such bonds of unified cause show integrity among national interests and state to form a healthy society. But many pieces of research revealed disagreement among people relating to a different school of thoughts and ideologies even being Muslims and it is due to their belief systems in different sects that may lead to religious conflicts and social problems as evident in the history from the birth of Islamic world. The humanoid social lifecycles greatly depend on religions, media and politics as these are the dominant apparatuses in any society especially in Pakistan. In today's world where media has become an integral part of our society, such ideas are communicated through it to the masses that contribute significantly towards forming a peace but sometimes conflicts as well. National solidarity largely also depends on such philosophies which on the whole impact on the socio-economic actions, administrative bodies, social lifestyles and beliefs with reference to everyday behavior. This research paper critically examines the status of sectarian issues as originated since the birth of Pakistan and its impact on society with regard to various beliefs and ideologies in the country. The study deals with the qualitative approach and reviews the literature on media, Islam and sectarian issues. Moreover, this study also shed light on the unknown aspects of national solidarity, national identity, governance and development in all communities living in Pakistan. It also presents the media implication while provoking religious identities in order to ensure national interests and binding people by overcoming the challenges and obstacles. This study also gives a detailed brief of politics, media and sectarian bonding as well.

Keywords: Religion, Media, Islam, Sectarianism, Religious Harmony, National Solidarity, Pakistan.

Introduction:

Solidarity exactly means the appropriate composing of constituents for generating the whole hog. Undoubtedly, portions, tailored could not compose if all of them are well-matched. Basically, it's the major requirement of desegregation. There must be harmony, unification as well as desegregation in the whole nation if a state or region wants to endure it. Nationwide desegregation is the process to attain nationwide unity, constancy, affluence, solidity as well as enthusiasm for a unified and determined state. The political, economic, philological, financial and revolutionary difficulties faced by Pakistan always conflict with our national comfort. A well-knitted and unified state is a duty to defend against all tasks of peace and stability in Pakistan. The danger of national disintegration is constantly present when one is dealing with the complex existence of multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic communities of its entity, with specific socio-cultural circumstances. This poses Pakistan's individual customary dilemmas in achieving national solidarity.

Therefore national solidarity in Pakistan will create a national community in top of the current multiplicity, shared dogmatic social structures, the common state and a common sense of uniqueness.¹

Mass Media Revolution:

Each arena has changed from the emergence of radical media. The media has had an experiential tremendous impact on all aspects of life, including infrastructure, economic, IT and religious beliefs. Since the media control in these areas, a relationship has been established. The media played a significant role in public affairs and politics. This role of the media is not only a contact of the press but even the contemporary and modern media has a forum from which political leaders and political parties are able to connect their mandate in order to support electoral campaigns. In addition, upper management managers often use media to preserve the status quo.

The media has an effect on the public attitude and views through its entire clock coverage procedure. Following 9/11, media engagement in religion was highly pragmatic. This part of the media about the belief was meant to suggest that Islam, its beliefs and ideology were a methodological concern for the Muslim World, with respect to a radial component. In our country, there are countless connections between the religion, the State and the mass media, since Pakistan is a professed Islamic state and its administrative and revolutionary matters have a glorious sense of faith.²

Religion and Pakistan:

Religion has extensively assessed itself as the non-media problem, and insufficient individuals have been informed of the use of media on the basis of belief. Now that the countries are usually secular and tend to avoid spiritual discourse on the web, uncommon non-secular countries use the channels as a spiritual forum. With the advent of TV and other media in late 1950, it was calculated that the new means were more important than journals because of the fact that a number of individuals were not able to read or, under other conditions, could not have sufficient money to buy a news item only in the interest of news; different media TV channels were used in various drives.³

Religious Sectarianism:

The secular conflict in Pakistan took the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. In Pakistan which has hosted many Shias since Iran, after the Iranian revolution with the export treatment and long struggles against the U.S.S.R invasion of Afghanistan, there have been significant challenges to the stability and security of the State. The sectarian Fatwas from religious scholars and organizations have added fuel to the fire. Secular organizations like Sipah e Sahaba, Lashkar e Jhangvi, Jaishe Muhammad and Harkatul Mujahedin have carried out their violent operations, which have been the result of an early Shia response.⁴

Religious division plays a significant part in sectarian conflict, but the key factors contributing to sectarianism include power struggle, the political environment, the cultural atmosphere and economic progress. In Pakistan, even the perpetrators use religious methods to appeal to the people for political purposes. History has shown that certain public policies at the national level are an advantage and there is often a power struggle among different players in the area. Often they attempt to overthrow state power by killing millions of people. Unquestionably, Pakistan is accusing Iran and Saudi of sectarian striving, as both countries sponsored and educated its citizens. It is also a well-known fact that Pakistan is subjected to the war of another to someone. This blatantly foreign interference contributes to the fact that most people in Pakistan are unaware of the internal complexities of sectarianism. There are several internal and external sectarian complexities. Throughout the sectorial division, Mal governance and politics throughout government both locally and nationally plays a crucial part. The culture of weakening principles, e.g. the absence of Islamic ideals in society, religious exclusion and intolerance

towards the opposing group. It can also be said that the essence of sectarianism has a numerous complex obsessions which cannot be easily described in one single sentence.⁵

Emergence of Sectarianism in Pakistan:

The conflict has been recognized in Pakistan since its different origins, but Islamabad has been facing new waves of militancy since the last two decades, that is terror and sectarianism. Sect refers to the category of people who have different views of the same faith (International Crises Category, 2005). Secularism in Pakistan is the most destructive cause of the country's religious, financial, political, and security order. Pakistan has been the first country in history to ever be built on the world's map in the name of religion. Pakistan has emerged as a Muslim majority state with a Muslim population of over 90%. The main aim behind its development was to give the Muslims of the subcontinent a prosperous environment that would lead their lives independently by teaching of Islam and practicing Islamic values.⁶

The nation's founder, Quid e Azam, was aware that Pakistan has different sects and numerous ethnic groups. Therefore, he warned the country of the evils of such conduct on several occasions. In 1948 he said in Dacca, "If you want to make yourself a country, this provincialism has been given up for God's sake. Provincialism was a curse, sois Shia, Shia, and so on."⁷

The sectarian issues were insignificant at the time of Pakistan's revolution. But the sectarian conflict grew within a few years after independence. The conservator of the constitution requests that all clauses be included in the 1949 Purpose Resolution⁸. Simultaneously, all Shia groups were set up to protect Shia communities 'interests. The big body is Idara-e-Tahafuz-e-Haqq-e-Shia. It was established in 1953. At that time too, the mourning processions and the Muharram processions were confronted by Schios and Sunnis.

Media and National Security:

The media's misuse of freedom in matters of local and security has caused the administration to act and prohibit those TV channels which anticipate not tolerating the responsibility of liable freedom. However, in the context of the state, the media seem to take an exciting and progressive turn.

While many private television channels have been broadcasted, international pictures in the cinemas are also not restricted to make the films which produce money. Several social experts have strengthened the viewpoint of autonomist and spiritual theory that helps nations understand the rising light of contemporary art. The national and moral ideology is intended to make the cluster's individual in contemporary policies. The values, patriotism, national identity and media contribute to them. Studies have also suggested that faith and patriotism characteristics be closely correlated with mass education. Patriotism, however, is a contemporary ideology that affirms the establishment of a particular, recognized social community as nation-states.

Rourke and Boyer identify patriotism with specific characteristics, like a group of individuals with a common past, commitment and ground, but patriotism is the name of sensitivity in a cluster that connects personalities to fight for a particular goal and establishes expectations for what is good and bad for them. The patriotism and the conviction are also consistent as one of the characteristics of patriotism; and, gives individuality to individuals and collections that have finished their patriotic mythology, traditions and practices, philosophy and linguistic history and the understanding of people from one another, the historic knowledge and essential activities among others. Moreover, believing as a tool of patriotism as an alternative by itself will involve an important part in the creation of a nation.

Ideology and Pakistan:

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is the first symbolic entity on the world map. Pakistan had been recognized by a well-known ' Objectives Resolution' on the basis of the two-nation principle which then embodied Pakistan in the legal construction. This 1940 resolution is said to be the foundation of our legitimate agreement and the indicator of Pakistan's legitimate development. The continuous and less gradual postponement of composition, however, could lead in deception to the creation of a potential self-governing structure, a criterion for the federal system. The concept of independence was artificially suppressed by such unsustainable growth that misinterpreted the provinces.⁹

War on Terror and Pakistan:

The government issued licenses for private TV channels in 2001. Following 9/11, state media, the print and electronic media also tended to reflect the west media in the war against terror. Nevertheless, ideologies are not inescapable in Pakistan, but the common people are aware of the basic and

rudimentary values of Islam, the very electronic media in this situation have made a superb contribution to the spiritual awareness of the common people. The fact that the common people have a strong affinity for faith in our society continuously intimates religion and politics; hence, the political leaders seem to use the spiritual cover for their political and national welfare. In fact, the media recognize the value of faith in the community's daily life and many newspapers and outlets are involved in misusing faith in politics in order to create adjustments, to alter their communities. The use of freedom by the media in matters of local and general security has made the government act and ban television channels which anticipate that they do not recognize the responsibility of the accountable press. In antiquity of the Republic, however, the media is looking for a radical and stimulating turn. Although a number of private channels have been on air international images as well as films, in order to make the industry profitable. In order to support the media's independence, freedom of speech is a dissimilar quote which allows each group to express itself separately and jointly. This independence threatens the state's national security.¹⁰ The media paid this discernment later on 9/11, when Islam was related to extremism and Muslims were identified as terrorists; and later our media became an imitation of the Western media. On the domestic front, sub-nationalist foreign power-supported trends, socio-economic disparities and the effects of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the revolution in Iran, were some of the global factors that kept the governments distracted by deliberate advice and negotiations on internal issues. Whereas the challenges of national identity as an Islamic State, a moderate State, a Socialist State, etc. are also connected factors, socio-economic inequalities, dogmatic insecurity and that terrorist extreme are also additional deviators which impact on Pakistan's national solidarity.¹¹

National Solidarity:

Pakistan will be much better able to face the challenges of the changing strategic landscape in the contemporary national and regional climate, provided that internal stability and harmony are capitalized for a synergistic response. Nevertheless, several unequal socio-political and socio-economic factors have created a degree of concern among the masses that need to be addressed as a matter of priority, in order to enhance national solidarity and to prevent anti-State elements from using the security forces and other state institutions that are fully funded by the government. This paper is an attempt to illustrate current national solidarity problems by suggesting a way to promote national unity and solidarity. The article is developed by answering the

following question: -What are the theory and philosophical aspects of national solidarity in order to understand the subject? From history to contemporary times, what are the problems of national solidarity in Pakistan? What should the strategic response of Pakistan to strengthening national solidarity be.¹²

Nationalism and Pakistan:

Patriotism and ideology are a special characteristic for Pakistan. However, Pakistan was not founded by patriotism, but rather by religion. Patriotism was pragmatic in Pakistan for two designs; one based on faith and another built on the land. After Pakistan was established, the state included five separate provinces, which generally had separate populations available in the state. The spiritual aspect of politics was reduced later in 1947 and policies based on local communities were created. The identity of the communities has usually changed as if Sindh's is Sindhi and Punjabis is Punjabi. At the managerial and dogmatic point, this degree of transition was known for the weaker situation. The media played its distinct role, which meant that the population was shifting. Later 2001, when several air channels were running, the specific linguistic networks of the areas were often on air.¹³

Nationalism and Religion:

Nationalism and faith in subdivisions (Shia, Sunni) ultimately generate fears over Pakistan's interior stability. Pakistan's government has been rising the big inner issues for several years, which have led to rage and civil action in the country at its worst. Pakistani media has been failed in uniting different cultural and linguistic groups; rather they have shown the changes. Cultural radicalism challenges the current establishment in relation to racism. As far as spiritual radicalism is concerned, the media component is pragmatism not as so sedentary as the country. However, the media have tried to align Islamic philosophy with various communities in the country that follow the same moral values.¹⁴

Challenges of National Solidarity for Pakistan:

In this country, there are various ideologies, the state and media connected in this direction as Pakistan is an Islamic state and the concept of faith majestically includes its administrative and dogmatic practices. In the meantime, the establishment of Pakistan consisted of two main newspapers, the Dawn and Jang, and, later on, the TV channel, with just one State for five

decades. The administration approved the licenses for private TV channels in 2001. After 9/11, and all about the war on terrorism, the Pakistani media were looking to mimic the West's media, both print and electronic media.¹⁵

While religion is not an indistinguishable topic in Pakistan and in this situation common people are conscious of basic and fundamental values of Islam, the electronic media have contributed superbly to the spiritual understanding of the common people. In Pakistani civilization, religion and politics are constantly intimated by common people's near affinity with religion, so that administrative tend to use their political and State interests by using their spiritual conviction. Moreover, the media recognizes the importance of faith in the daily life of the people and many TV channels and press are engaged in political deception in order to make a difference for their party.

Religion, Sectarianism and Religious Extremism:

In order to foster national solidarity, religious unity with interfaith dialogue and reconciliation is an important requirement. Only ethical principles that uphold human dignity can be founded upon enduring peace and sustainable national solidarity. Religious freedom is every citizen's right and every government's sincere duty. This right must be guaranteed and preserved, for it has immense potential for national solidarity; there is tremendous potential for mutual respect and religious freedom to improve national solidarity.¹⁶

The fundamental problem in Pakistan is the religious interpretation delegation of clergies educated in Madrassa, granting them exclusivity and control over religious matters. In the post-Afghan jihad scenario matters were deteriorated when religious reactionary powers prospered because of indulgence from foreign players. Over the years, sectarianism has emerged as Pakistan's most complex security and stability problem. Conflict seed was sown when various religious sects interpreted Islam differently and maintained that their respective religious interpretation was exclusively legitimate. In Pakistani society, such a myopic religious discourse has not been a unifying force but a part of split and disharmony. Religion itself is not dogmatic or anti-innovation, but discerning perceptions and radical trends in individual activities have intensified as the West is attempting to mark Islam and has interfered in Afghanistan and Iraq since 11th September. Subsequent developments in Pakistan have further complicated the solidarity process by

encouraging extreme, militant, terrorist and hate.¹⁷

Strategies for Enhancing National Solidarity:

No one denies that Pakistan was founded in accordance with the Islamic and Pakistani constitution that respects all communities living here for religious freedom. Discouraging the debate on type Islam suitable for the region, instead of engaging in endless discussion, should concentrate more on development and socio-economic prosperity. Every citizen ought to be honored with his love for Pakistan, which must be brought about by national growth and equal opportunities for all. All educational institutions from schools to universities should have detailed strategies for the rejuvenation of the younger generation and nationalization and national pride through training and co-curricular practices.¹⁸

Religious Harmony:

Religious authorities must show the true sense of Islam and discourage secular feelings. Religious messages against religious and radical interpretations must be established by the appropriate departments. This is also recommended that broad media initiatives be coordinated to educate religious scholars from all denominations and backgrounds on religious unity, acceptance and inclusion and not separation along religious lines.¹⁹

Politics and Governance:

The role of government will include outcomes, action rewards, and creation of performance standards, on-going transparency for all agencies, the delegation and decentralization of powers, building capacity and shifting bureaucratic culture. The provision of public services, the implementation of justice and improved productivity should be further emphasized. Several good governance reports from the reform commissions are available; however, the overall problems of political will and reform capacity need to be addressed. The legal system, in particular the lower judiciary, is often considered to be a fundamental aspect of national solidarity as a provision of justice. Specific opportunities for the eventual mainstreaming of marginalized and impoverished parts of society should be given to boost national solidarity of the State. Women's empowerment, population reduction, health initiatives of social action, etc. are the time needed. Rising unemployment issues must be

addressed with prudence and urgency.²⁰

Reviving the Role of Media:

In cultural amalgamation, the media should have a greater and more efficient function. Strong counter actors of sectarianism and extremism must be widely debated. It can foster social harmony, counteract the influence of foreign media and foster Pakistan's real soft picture. It is in the right direction to the Media Code of Conduct; nevertheless, we should make it legally more sensitive.²¹

Future Perspectives:

In view of the disastrous East Pakistan tragedy of 1971, it cannot be expected to reduce the possibility of the remains of the Pakistan collapsing. Therefore, Pakistan's prospects are in balance to a certain degree. Pakistan is now represented in a combination of over-centering, economic chaos, social strangulation and religious radicalism. The administration found that the policy was pressured or disordered to counter internal threats. As a result, people appear to become cynical and isolated from the government and the economy. There are likely to be concerns amongst individuals about persistent corruption of the law enforcing organizations, management problems and huge financial pressures. The mutual competition between small capitals will then intensify disintegration. The origin of uprisings in Pakistan, however, is not unrestrictedly cultural; but the dogmatic framework has increased dramatically at the same time and has become more regional than national. The republic's social system is flagging, too. In the near future, independence activities along with three political, financial and violence disasters are likely to gain momentum. This can literally weaken the country along with the constant flagging of national institutions. It essentially proposes the flagging of national solidarity and the unification of political characteristic economic, racial and spiritual forms²².

The country definitely has a great capability, but there's still a lack of willpower to overcome political and economic shortcomings. Nonetheless, today's economic priorities are weak and the country's most likely future is very bleak if the new government fails to address immediate problems. The mixture of uncertainty, conflict and social structure fragmentation can easily result in a highly dysfunctional policy without a working inclusive system. In the long run, the combination will undermine the political system and boost

Islamic movements. Currently, the country is prone to suicide and bombing blasts. Sadly, most of our leaders failed to grasp the operational situation's emphasis and compassion.

The persistent fighting has close down the nation from all sides and made a divide among the population, the officials and the security forces. Moreover, the actual agreement between many cultural groups was challenged by significant differences centered on local and regional interests on the expense of the national one. But after the latest myriad catastrophes, the world is in trouble and it seems as though there is a war against all. At this vulnerable point, the State demands national benefits to the detriment of the individual citizens' self-interest. With the presence of the current many catastrophes, an unstable equilibrium in the near future could continue for a long time and in the coming years, Pakistan will have enormous importance in making the situation compatible and in resolving the internal threats listed above. We have made no effort to hold the nation united up, but whether the country uses its chances or embraces defeat remains the issue.²³

National Solidarity-The Way Forward:

A strong democratic principle is a must to establish a viable institutional framework for the ongoing growth of the political process. Politicians must ensure the dominance of institutions by means of carefully considered preparation with consensus between many national pillars. The absolute and tyrannical governments will not be guarded by any of the political parties. The stakeholders must work to create a nation and ensure their respect for the Constitution and must also address the challenges that the State is facing. This leaves the state gratified, which is one of the corporate values.

For Pakistan, as the Constitution of 1973 had believed, a centralized government structure is crucial. In order to restore national unity, components are rewarded and the lack of trust is expanded, inter-provincial and central-provinces relations are reinforced, and the propensities for independence are diminished. Thus, the transition and release of provincial independence is a step towards rewarding the government. Our regulations must be applied to domestic and national political institutions, while disappointing regional institutions. Unlike in the past, we must ensure every citizen's political participation so that no one but him touches and the shared national identity will grow. In addressing the problems that the nation is actually facing, media will play an efficient role. It should be used to recover the nation's lost reputation at world level and the administration should reflect upon it an appropriate resource for winning the people's feelings and concentrations, vital

to the nation's honesty and harmony. Via open debates and loyalist philosophers' plays, one can easily slight changes between various classes in society and multiple political parties.²⁴

All social issues affecting cultural, political and state solidarity need to be eliminated. Such include bigotry, inequality, society's inequality, critical thinking skills, weakness, avoidance, tribalism, etc. To end or so impartiality and synchronization, essential for national harmony and integrity, we must treat equally all cultural groups, and guarantee the protection and promotion of their languages and values. Just financial growths in all the provinces need to be guaranteed. Consequently, we have realized nothing through violence; therefore we have to accept political tactic to meet national programs. We must, instead of unthinking and ad hoc approaches, honestly make up the state of FATA in a deliberate, methodical and scientific manner. In order to combat the aggressiveness of FATA, management must adopt the multi-function strategy of the revolutionary, army and socio-economic development.

The topic is so sensitive that if we do not deal with it quickly, we can praise other areas of the world that would harm the country's reputation. To form a joining front, we need to seek national agreement on all matters of tactical place. Political parties must extend their focus beyond chastity and see for the country's highest interest. This helps to assess issues efficiently and effectively, thus adding rising self-confidence and seeking mutual solutions to difficulties. It's not time to get all the others out of control, but it's a time to use arguments to outsmart enemies of the nation by finding correct answers to our difficulties.²⁵

Discussion & Conclusion:

The mixture of national unity and solidarity has continued to lead to significant changes in graphics, financial disparities, mismanagement, equality between the ruler and the governing government, lack of nationalism, manipulation of the national character and trust, lack of sacrificial mind and a sense of duty to the country. Together with other varieties, they establish and build social agreements in Pakistani culture. Instead of decentralization and provincialism, we must establish in ourselves the spirit of allegiance and patriotism and actively offer the cause of national solidarity. Each is responsible for his or her proper part in the building of a country. The normal situation demands that the nation's knowledge detracts from the state and civilization. At the national level, the regional reconstruction institutions are inadequate to resolve the profound problems of decentralization, sectarianism

and aggressiveness.

Citizens from all backgrounds must work together to avoid unknown views and ideals. They must be more involved. However, it is agreed that one matter alone cannot hold the nation united, so we must consider numerous problems which can stand up to national solidarity in combination. Over-reliance on any single factor would result in failure to achieve national solidarity without taking the others into consideration.

Sectarianism and governance issues are some serious challenges. Our education system and our madrassa reforms must be given urgent attention. Baluchistan is another vulnerable area that needs dialogue and growth to return it fully to the mainstream. But the centrifugal forces are slowing, despite several challenges. For regional autonomy and economic development, we've taken a number of steps. 'Sindh Desh' and 'Pashtunistan' slogans are no longer heard. We are moving in that direction and we look forward to Pakistan being stronger. National Solidarity is not a single process but tends to be a gradual development over a long time. The need for time, which must be actively pursued as the ultimate national cause, is the commitment towards stability, sense of identity, unity and national solidarity.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

(References)

1. Mirza, Saleem. "National Integration", published in 'Advance Contemporary Affairs' by Imtiaz Shahid, Book. 58, 6th Issue, p4-24., (2008).
2. Memona, Firdous. "National Unity" Pakistan Observer (Islamabad), (2008).
3. Jahan, Rounaq. *Pakistan: Failure in national integration*. Columbia University Press, (1972).
4. Hassan, H. "From the Pulpit to Ak-47: Sectarian conflict in Jhang, Pakistan." Pakistan Journal of History and Culture 32, no. 2 (2011): 67-87.
5. Haqqani, H. "Sectarianism in Pakistan." In Pakistan politics forum., (2008).
6. Khan, Sarfraz. "Major Consequences of the sectarian militancy in Jhang, Pakistan." Academic Research International 1, no. 3 (2011): 73.
7. Kaileh, S., and V. Shams. "What is Sectarianism in the Middle East?." Open Democracy, (2014).
8. Kalin, Michael, and Niloufer Siddiqui. *Religious Authority and the Promotion of Sectarian Tolerance in Pakistan*. US Institute of Peace, (2014).
9. Abbas, Hassan. *Shiism and sectarian conflict in Pakistan: identity politics, Iranian influence, and tit-for-tat violence*. Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, (2010).
10. Erez, Edna. "Protracted war, terrorism and mass victimization: Exploring victimological/criminological concepts and theories to address victimization in Israel." Nato Security through Science Series E Human and Societal Dynamics 13 (2006): 89.
11. Herman, Judith L. *Trauma and recovery: The aftermath of violence--from domestic abuse to political terror*. Hachette UK, (2015).
12. Sodaro, Michael J., and Dean Walter Collinwood. *Comparative politics: A global introduction*. McGraw-Hill Companies, (2004).
13. Khan, Ziauddin. *National Integration in India: Issues and Dimensions*. Associated Publishing House, (1983).
14. Ali, Mehrunnisa. *Politics of federalism in Pakistan*. Royal Book Company, (1996).
15. Jahan, Rounaq. *Pakistan: Failure in national integration*. Columbia University Press, (1972).
16. Rana, M. A. "Agenda of Religious Political Organisations." Pak Institute for Peace Studies, (2011).
17. Khan, Zulqarnain. "Sectarian Rise in Pakistan: Role of Saudi Arabia and Iran." Researcher in Government and Public Policy, National Defence University, Islamabad, Pakistan, (2015).
18. Memona, Firdous. "National Unity" Pakistan Observer (Islamabad), (2008).
19. Waseem, Mohammad, Tahir Kamran, Mukhtar Ahmed Ali, and Katja Riikonen. "Dilemmas of pride and pain: sectarian conflict and conflict transformation in Pakistan." (2010).
20. Musarrat, R., and S. Khan. "Terrorism and Politico-Religious Extremism in Pakistan Post 9/11." Journal of Public Administration and Governance., (2014).
21. Grare, Frédéric. *Pakistan: the myth of an Islamist peril*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (2006).
22. Paddison, Ronan. "The fragmented state: the political geography of power." Oxford: Blackwell, (1983).
23. Majeed, Gulshan. "Problems of National Integration in Pakistan." Journal of Political Studies 21, no. 2 (2014): 67.
24. Zaidi, S. Akbar. "Democratic Decentralisation in Pakistan: A Contradiction in Terms in Problems of Good Governance in South Asian Countries: Learning from European Political Models." (1998).

*Religion, Sectarianism and Media in Pakistan: Challenges for Religious
Harmony and National Solidarity*

Policy, Social. "Development Centre (SPDC)(1999) Social Development in
Pakistan." Annual Review, Social Development in Economic Crisis. Karachi: Oxford
University Press, (1999).