

The Core Constituents in the Process of National Integration: A Thematic Study

Gohar Ali Iftikhar

Ph.D. Scholar Department of History & Civilization Studies, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan & Lecturer, Ali Trust College, Islamabad, Pakistan

Correspondence: gohar.a.iftikhar@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The process of history has unveiled that the composition of human society is an outcome of diverse historical processes and experiences. It leads to the formation of identities ranging from personal, collective, social and cultural identities. In this retrospect, the progress of national integration has been materialised. The phenomena of national integration are common; however, its understanding, interpretation and manifestation levels differ. Every society, community and nation has defined and defied it in its pertinent context. The present study is a thematic work on the process of national integration focusing on the core constituents which had played a decisive role. It seeks to explore how core constituents became the driving force of national integration and how different countries applied it. Furthermore, the study attempts to describe and analyse thematic patterns in the context of National Integration.

Keywords: *National Integration, Historical Processes, Constituents, Thematic patterns.*

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Introduction

National Integration is a process where different units or parts of a society come together to form a single unit or society. Integration can be applied to different parts of a country. Integration can be applied between states, regions, and cities in a country. Integration can be applied between different communities as well. Integration is a two-way process. If a particular region or community is not accepting of others, they cannot be a part of the larger society in the country. Therefore, all communities must come together to form a strong bond at the national level. A solid national bond can only be formed when every individual and community believe in the idea of a united nation. When people come together in a country, they learn new things from each other, share their experiences and knowledge, and they understand the problems of others. They develop a feeling of trust in one another, which has the potential to last for generations. National integration brings about positive change in the country, which can result in significant progress in the field of economy, politics, and so on.

Political Integration and National Integration

National integration is far more important than political association, according to Moin Shakir. Political integration is defined as the transformation of challenges into opportunity to find the solution to formulate a new power centre (Shakir, 1982). National integration is higher than political association. The author used the phrase communal identity to describe the Indian nation's integration issues. Political and economic growth are contingent on national integration. To balance national and communal identities, the author stresses the need to create an understanding among the majority, minority, and ethnolinguistic groups. The article emphasises the significance of creating a balance among community, national, and ethnic identities. It argues that national integration must be achieved in addition to national integration (Shakir, 1982).

Huntington is of the opinion that representative governments work most effectively when all citizens have the right to vote and are held accountable (Huntington, 1991). Rourke, on the other hand, asserted that liberal democracies cannot be restricted to free and fair elections; rather, they must uphold the rule of law, freedom of speech, independent courts, and separation of powers (Rourke, 2007). Salihu Bakari in article *National Integration in Humanities and Development: The Way Forward* wrote the objective and subjective features of national integration. Bakari is of the view that entities based on geography and the symbol of national expression are objective features of National Integration (Bakari, 2017). On the other hand, subjective features are socio-cultural things, such as memories of history, a consciousness of distinctiveness and collective destiny. The author analyzed the features of National Integration in context to Nigeria. Bakari further classified it vertical and horizontal. Vertical is indicating to structure of social classes in the society. Horizontal is focusing on diverse ethnic groups and challenges of integration.

Nationalism and National Integration

The absence of a commonly accepted definition of nationalism has caused confusion in the literature. In 1836, *nationalism* was defined as a kind of "national sentiment." Nationalism was thought of as either a communal spirit that bound a population together or as a demonic emotion that could only be sated by national power. A doctrine that asserted "humanity is naturally divided into nations, nations possess certain characteristics that can be identified, and national self-government is the only legitimate form of government," has also been defined as nationalism. These definitions provide a good idea of what nationalism is, but they do not specify the necessary and sufficient conditions for its application (Martin, 1975). So, nationalism is a society's distributive system organized as a result of intensified and organized group demands. It is an improvement on previous definitions of nationalism. In order to develop nationalism, the five requirements specified in the definition must be fulfilled. Nationalism is organized in response to typical social pressures, according to Fishman. It is organized and structured in its demands. The organization among the groups is necessary for goal-directed activities. The demands are articulated rather than emotional or ideological. Because it is possible to detect a connection between nationalism and specific values, even while recognizing its association with patriotism, it is possible to distinguish it from sentiments like patriotism.

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According to nationalist studies, the process of integrating culturally and socially distinct groups into one territorial unit and creating a national identity within that unit is referred to as integration. According to Claude, assimilation involves minorities agreeing to abandon their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences with national majorities with whom they live and assimilating into nationally homogeneous communities. In addition to this, majorities must also accept and facilitate assimilation. The conception of integration as a process of bringing together culturally and socially distinct groups into one territorial unit and creating a national identity is contested. Furthermore, the primordial ties that must be surrendered as a result are those that constitute the "givens" of social existence: immediate proximity and kinship connections that are woven into the religious, linguistic, and historical fabric of a society (Martin, 1975).

The argument is based on the premise that relatively permanent factors such as geography, race, religion, or shared culture and heritage, which have existed for centuries, cannot cause a nationalistic surge. Modernization, which includes a shift of power from the state to institutions, a diversification of institutions, and an increase in social mobilization, rather than these relatively permanent factors, generates sufficient quantitative alterations in a populace's lifestyle to engender a societal change in their level of organization. It does not imply, however, that nationalism cannot emerge in a traditional society. As Apter shows, traditional societies vary in adapting to modernization. It is necessary, however, for modernization to occur in all societies in order to enhance their level of organization to the point where they can make demands at the societal level.

Nationalism is generated by modernization indirectly through societal integration and directly through relative deprivation. The amount of modernization is directly linked to the amount of integration. The amount of modernization is inversely related to the extent of relative deprivation. An integrated group is necessary for the organization of demands. Group integration is inversely related to the amount of relative deprivation. Since the capacity of organized groups to express nationalist demands is inversely linked to relative deprivation, relative deprivation also varies inversely. According to Hans Kohn in *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background*, the emergence of nationalism in England paved the way for integration. According to Kohn, 'A great surge of nationalism swept through the whole country, religion was de-politicized, and parliament gained supremacy over the king. The basis for a new era was laid into which 'Renaissance' and 'Reformation' were transformed and incorporated. Its light was first seen in the 18th century in Europe.' The Enlightenment influenced the French Revolution, and the rise of nationalism is its legacy. National unity became widespread and laid the foundation for nationalism. Nationalism consequently became the medium for social integration (Kohn, 1946).

Nationality, Community, loyalty and National Integration

A number of writers have written about National Integration. According to Karl Deutsch, a "shared sense of nationality and community is established on the basis of shared experiences." (Deutsch, 1953) Lucian W. Pye indicates that the evolved institutions express the collective objectives of the community and maintain the order and community beliefs and people transfer their loyalties from smaller groups, tribes, and clans to the central political system (Pye, 1972) According to Deutsch,

shared experiences are fundamental for establishing a shared sense of nationality and community. However, in Pakistan, all geo-ethnic regions have distinct experiences. As a result, a collective shared experience may exist in which regional heroes and histories are blended. Since both goals can be achieved through the bottom-up strategy, Pye argues that the entire population may achieve a sense of political participation.

Political Participation, Political Parties, and National Integration

National integration has been crucial in comparative politics and political development research. The popularity of national integration in these disciplines stems from the fact that most analysts agree that national integration is an essential aspect of political development (Weiner, 1965). Since the concept of development is so heavily focused on creating modern nation-states, the prominence of national integration in the development literature is not unexpected. There is usually an increasing concentration of political allegiance at the national level due to several factors, including the expansion of mass literacy and communications (Deutsch, Social Mobilization and Political Development, 1961). As a result, there is a corresponding decrease in the importance of local and regional allegiances.

The following analysis will use the terms "national integration" and "nationalization" interchangeably. It should be noted that national integration does not imply the homogenization of the relevant populations since other cleavages, such as race and social rank, are typically present in nationally integrated societies. National integration occurs when citizens' spatial or geographical placement in society does not predict their political preferences and actions. When this transpires, sectionalism (i.e., behavior based on subnational affiliations) becomes politically insignificant. In accordance with the literature on national integration, these subnational affiliations are gradually replaced by national orientations as time passes.

According to Robert Scott, one of the most critical reasons behind inefficient public policy development in Latin America is the absence of integrating and nationalizing political parties. According to him, one of the most important reasons is that "the absence in most party systems of nationalizing and integrating political parties that can act as auxiliary political structures to bind together the operations of an expanding polity is one of the most important factors contributing to the problem of effective public policy formation" (Weiner J. L., 1966). In other words, he believes that some political structure must perform the integrating job, and parties may be the most suitable structure to do so during political development. LaPalombara and Weiner concur that single parties and competitive party systems may play an important role and further "formulate policies which will amalgamate parochial and national interests" (Weiner J. L., 1966).

Some analysts contend that nationalization processes have continued in Western industrialized societies in the twentieth century. These same social forces are seen as critical in Western societies. For example, literacy rates have increased in Western societies during the twentieth century, as have communication and transportation networks. In addition to other factors, geographic mobility is believed by many to have fostered national integration by fostering new national orientations at the expense of more local or regional ties (Alford, 1964). Political parties can make national appeals because of the social changes that political parties articulate.

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Parties articulate such social changes, which allow national appeals to be transmitted throughout the state by claiming new political issues. In his study of American state politics, V. O. Key noted that presidential election results were being nationalized over time, with the decline of sectional groupings leading to new political issues. (V. O. Key, 1983) According to Schattschneider, American politics became nationalized in the twentieth century, with the New Deal having a crucial role in this process. The New Deal's combination of new governmental responsibility for overall public policy management was what made it so important. (Schattschneider, 1958)

In the opinion of Key and Schattschneider, the 1930s elections in the United States witnessed a nationalization of politics, which took place in all regions except the South (Schattschneider, 1958). They suggested that nationalizing politics would result in more competitive party politics, as parties would be more accountable for their alternative programs. Similarly, Stokes has found that local and sectional electoral forces have fallen dramatically in Britain and the United States since the beginning of the twentieth century (Stokes, 1975). Nationalization of party voting and turnout occurred at the same time.

According to Stokes, one of the most significant results of these alterations in both nations is representation. Even though national forces are more potent in Britain than in the United States, nationalization will proceed to greater levels in both countries (Stokes, 1975). In addition to being more nationalized, British MPs and American members of Congress will adhere to their party affiliations more closely and become more concerned with the public's reaction to national programs and leaders. At the same time, legislative parties are more cohesive in Britain than in the United States. It is interesting to note that Stokes' argument parallels the claims of many analysts that Western legislatures are losing ground to political executives and that the centralization of the latter enhances their national impact (Jones, 2016)

Analyses of Canadian politics in the late 1980s and early 1990s emphasized the importance of national political integration and political parties for two primary reasons. First and foremost, many writers considered that Canada was still far from being a cohesive national unit and suffered from an acute national identity problem. According to this line of thought, the primary barrier to national integration was the continuing strength of Quebec's ethnic, linguistic, and religious identities, which kept it separate from the rest of Canada. According to the second interpretation, partisan participation has been and should be a significant element in Canada's national identity. Political parties play a critical role in establishing national identities in countries where politics is underdeveloped and institutions supporting it are lacking, argues John Meisel (Meisel, 1967).

Nationhood, Political Institutions and National Integration

National integration has been a vital issue in political development. The developmental process is theoretically determined by individuals and groups transferring their allegiance from subcultural objects to political institutions at the national level (Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, 1953). This requirement for national integration is necessary to ensure the legitimacy and effectiveness of regimes facing modernization issues. Although this process is typically used to interpret countries' experiences in the Third World, it may also be used to interpret the historical evolution of western industrial nations. National

integration is likely to be more complete in these countries if sufficient popular support is provided for the institutions of these regimes. The process of national integration is reasonably complete if we provide sufficient popular backing for the regime's institutions.

The idea of development does not apply well to the German case, especially from unification to World War II. Although the German people appear to have held a long-standing and well-established notion of nationality, their history still needs to produce the political institutions on which their loyalty might confidently be based (Conradt, 1978). The German Empire, the Weimar Republic, and the Third Reich are three examples of the political systems that the Germans experienced. Despite being relatively brief, these regimes were quickly revealed to have lacked the loyalty and confidence they might have commanded. Therefore, the Federal Republic of Germany provides us with an excellent opportunity to test this notion. West Germans can exploit their federal structure to invest in regional and local political institutions and networks to assert their identification and loyalty. Therefore, from a developmental perspective, our question is whether Germans prefer to associate with national political organizations or express themselves politically through subnational political organizations.

Scholars have explored and attempted to answer how unification has taken place in the German Federal Republic. Three individual areas of exploration have been identified that are associated with this query. First, investigators have looked at the level of positive opinion for the West German government, concentrating on factors such as perspectives on the legislature, freedom of expression, past governments, political competition, contentment with democracy, government, and regime, and faith in the government, political interest, and political efficacy (Loewenberg, 1973). Second, the connection between political parties and related social psychological variables has been looked at to trace the evolution of emotional connections to political bodies such as political parties (Baker, 1978). Third, the division of opinions, including proof of its alteration over time, has been investigated (Pappi, 1970).

Researchers have a broad consensus regarding the shifts in the public's perception of the West German government. Early studies showed an inconsistent attitude towards the government and the regime, showing that no clear opinion had been formed. Nevertheless, more recent studies have demonstrated a change in opinion from the citizens, which aligns with an uptick in support for national political institutions. It is now generally accepted that there has been a significant transformation in the views of West Germans and that there are also generational variations in the amount of backing. It has been persuasively argued that the attitudinal changes in favor of national political institutions demonstrate that the process of national integration is in line with what is anticipated from development theory.

Nevertheless, it would be more convincing if a behavior measure supported this inference. An excellent example of such a behavior measure is the patterns of support for political parties that can be inferred from analyzing voting behavior in Germany. In 1970, older people in a new state were expected to express their identification and loyalty to the political institutions that concentrated authority by supporting them. We have seen that this hypothesis was confirmed by data showing

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the connection between party support and the "West German party system," whereas the correlations between the parties separately were not. The 5 percent barrier clause blocking party representation in the Bundestag is one of the contributing factors in establishing national party system integration. This mechanism has been effective and a consolidating force that consolidated political organizations already in operation at the national level. This tendency and the concomitant narrowing of the spectrum, spanned by the party system, may contribute to solidifying national support for the party system. On the other hand, the localization of electoral support for the respective political parties and its stabilization suggests that caution should be exercised in accepting evidence of growing national integration in the Federal Republic. Several scholars have reported that support for localized political forces is increasing. These findings include a rise in the perception of local issues' importance in elections, a long-term decline in social characteristics' importance as a guide in politics, an increase in the significance of party organizations at lower levels, and an intrusion of new political issues that cross-cut traditional cleavage structures. The party system may be seriously weakened if the trend toward a "disintegrating" society continues, in which Cleavages are separated from traditional structures, and traditional cleavages no longer coincide with political parties. These tendencies are viewed as "disintegrating" by the population. If they continue in the future, they may undermine the party system's support structure and undermine the regime's legitimacy and effectiveness. The success of the 'Green' parties in several local and state elections is an example of this.

Political Ownership, Economic Empowerment and National Integration

As Rupert Emerson wrote "are not yet nations in being but only in hope." (Emerson, 1960). After independence, the citizens of these countries are sobered by the difficulties of building a nation when their enthusiasm subsides. In these new countries, a population fraction identifies with Socialism, Communism, religious revivalism, Western liberalism, and other ideologies. Because of how they have been socialized, Western-educated citizens cannot resolve their personal identity issues and distrust each other deeply (Pye L. W., 1966). Regional issues are emphasized, and local prejudices are catered to due to mutual distrust and inability to commit to one ideology.

Because of limited resources, the paucity of technical personnel, and other factors, government output generally needs to match the high expectations raised during the days of the independence movement's political fantasy. The frustration-aggression complex generated as a result helps populist regional movements to develop. Because of parochial feelings, the vertical distinction between the illiterate and the educated, the rich and the poor is blurred, and horizontal divisions along ethnic, linguistic, and regional lines become even more marked. The problem with regionalism, as it pertains to democratic development, is not its elimination but its reduction to manageable proportions. According to Almond and Verba, a diversified political culture is produced by regionalism with a low-intensity level (Verba, 1963). According to Almond and Verba, a democratic society is supported by a mixed political culture; therefore, explicit policies and formulas must be developed for allocating political power and economic resources among competing regions. Institutions and formulas must be established to counteract regional forces. Regional forces will gradually become less intense if people in the significant regions accept the formulas and institutions. The more difficult task is to create shared attitudes,

beliefs, and political orientations among a politically significant portion of the populace. These overarching political values will enable citizens to feel connected and identify with one another, thereby overcoming solidarity and identity problems. Thus, political development in the post-colonial states is based on national integration as a two-part issue: reducing regional divisions and developing a coherent set of political values.

Politico-Economic Balance and National Integration

Societies characterized by cultural diversity are prone to balkanization but are not inherently so. It is not the case that balkanization occurs in societies with cultural diversity as a consequence of managerial failings at the economic and political levels. Societies characterized by cultural diversity may be perceived as having severe conflicts due to economic scarcity and exposure to exploitation by a political elite seeking support in a democratic society. The conflicts that arise in politics are, in fact, a tactic to exert pressure and negotiate for a fair political-economic agreement rather than completely breaking away from the national mainstream. If the political-economic system is solid yet flexible enough to meet reasonable demands, it can manage and transform conflicts that aim for unreasonable and excessive bargaining into productive partnerships. In that context political development is “a process of meeting new goals and demands in a flexible manner.” (Diamant, 1966).

Cultural pluralism, which may result in conflict, is not necessarily detrimental to national integration or the emergence of a democratic political community. It may, in fact, provide firmer traditional moorings which may safeguard against Lerner's “revolution of rising frustration” (Lerner, 1963). These moorings, even if they are rationalized, should not be regarded as socio-economic status quo. They must be subsumed, even altered, but not wholly substituted with a secular, modern loyalty structure that can only be built around a new sense of community based upon shared goals, common values, and destiny consciousness. It is neither a plea for tradition nor a socio-economic status quo. 'Tradition' and 'modernity' may interact dialectically to produce a secular loyalty structure. As Huntington argued: “involves the extension of political consciousness to new social groups and the mobilization of these groups into politics. Political development involves the creation of political institutions sufficiently adaptable, complex, autonomous and coherent to absorb and order the participation of these new groups and to promote social and economic change in the society.” (Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 1968).

In the Indian context, the theoretical perspective described above considers the interaction of cultural pluralism, national integration, and democracy. It is important to note that cultural pluralism manifests itself in a wide variety of ways, including regionalism (language included), religion, and caste. Therefore, these three areas are the most important in operationalizing cultural pluralism. National integration is also a contextual subtheme in the particular context. It is important to note, in addition, that cultural pluralism is the central theme, and national integration is a contextual subtheme in the specific context.

It has sometimes been claimed in the Indian political literature that regionalism does not have to be inversely related to national integration and democracy. In order to better illustrate this argument, one must examine the nature of regionalism itself. Regionalism, as in other contexts, is a nebulous term in India. It encompasses a

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desire for self-identity and self-fulfillment on the part of a region, as well as a sense of relative deprivation on its part (not always supported by rational economic analysis, let alone rationalization). One should keep in mind that regionalism significantly impacts national integration and democracy in addition to its positive content. Indian political analysts in the past have neglected it.

Regional Identity, Language and National Integration

Regionalism was much less active during pre-independence than after, but assuming it did not exist was incorrect. There were limited economic opportunities, limited political avenues, communal politics obsession, and a preoccupation with national liberation in the post-independence period. Regionalism, however, had been growing since the Acts of 1909, 1919, and 1935 were enacted. During pre-independence, the Justice Party in Madras and the Akali Dal in Punjab were prime demonstrations of regionalism in India. Regionalism development saw three significant milestones in the post-independence phase. The initial achievement was establishing a democratic government that was dedicated to nation-building based on principles such as democracy, national unity, secularism, and social justice. Every part of the nation began to compete for an equitable deal, and any sector's dissatisfaction or lag in competition could lead to regionalism.

The creation of bigger states out of smaller ones was also a consequence of integrating the princely states. The citizens of the new states suffered from divided loyalties as a consequence of the discontinuity between their territorial boundaries and structures. The formation of new states caused a split in the loyalty of the citizens as they were torn between their old territorial boundaries and the new ones. This led to the emergence of distinct state personalities. The popularity of the princes in their former territories and their unpopularity in other territories resulted in the development of regional sentiments around the old territorial units.

Moreover, the process of linguistic reorganization reduced the number of states from 28 to 14 and 6 centrally administered territories. For instance, when new states were created, Bombay was divided into Gujarat and Maharashtra, and Punjab was split into Punjab and Haryana. India's historical, cultural pluralism, and regionalism are based on its geo-cultural component, which consists of several elements. Other components are also important in conjunction with this component and other groups of components. In fact, their true significance can only be grasped from a conjunctive perspective. Geographical boundaries often define people's identity, but it is not always essential for their existence. In India, territorial boundaries represent the blending of historical footprints that are occasionally retrieved through economic and political support. Memories of old territorial identities still linger, but new and significant ones like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa have emerged. Though exaggerated, this emphasizes the central point.

Regionalism is strengthened in either a positive or a negative manner by linguistic homogeneity. People unite emotionally and work to improve their common destiny through language, expressing their shared life, thought structures, and values. Language has the potential to unite people emotionally and make them work to improve their common destiny as well as to increase their bargaining strength. The creation of the Punjabi Suba is an excellent example of this. However, regionalism is not precluded by the same language. The Telangana issue, where economic concerns outweigh linguistic homogeneity, is a great illustration. Language riots

occurred in Assam and Tamil Nadu, demonstrating the inflammability of language due to its ability to shape an emotional identity.

The relationship of minority linguistic groups with the majority linguistic group in a state is one of the issues related to linguistic reorganization. Assam, for example, is home to Bengali linguistic minorities and linguistic groups that are majorities in other regions. It is possible to categorize minorities into two groups: those that are majorities in other regions but minorities in Assam and those that are not majorities anywhere. In contrast with other problems, language is used to distinguish regional languages from Hindi or English as a means of communication. This cultivated a discourse on the functionality of language at societal, regional and country level “can different states in India communicate with each other if English is withdrawn and Hindi does not emerge as a link language?” (Harrison, 1960). It is also bolstered by history, including cultural heritage, folklore, myths, and symbolism. The development of the Dravida Kazhagam (DK) and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Tamil Nadu is an excellent illustration. Before establishing the present state boundaries, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh had cultural identities that survived past state boundaries, which may have split them along regional lines. However, history cannot always withstand the force of harsh political and economic realities, as the DMK's switch from secession to autonomy within a federal framework demonstrates.

Conclusion

National Integration in a Pluralistic society is a multilayered and changing phenomenon. The idea of National Integration is commonly perceived as a generalised and oversimplified process, which it is not. In a heterogeneous and multicultural society, it is not easy to comprehend the parameters to identify the developmental processes and patterns of National Integration. Every nation, country or society has experienced a particular historical experience and progress of history. Moreover, every nation and country has its identity, language, culture and history. Interestingly, one of the most important causes of modern-day borders and boundaries of the countries are the outcome of interpreting and applying National Integration in a relevant context. The possible common grounds of national integration are politico-economic rights and socio-cultural balance to create political ownership, loyalty and participation towards a country. Furthermore, the political or economic claims of a group, community or society need to be acknowledged and addressed, which can lead to national discourse and a border consensus. It can provide a practical framework and policy input for the policymaker legislature. Afterwards, it would be the legislature's domain to address economic backwardness, political grievances, and public interests to provide a strong base of National Integration.

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