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### **Findings**

The effective use of religion as the basis for state formation of Pakistan by its leaders is a central thread of how the Pakistan state became a reality. However, as we have seen in this study, the problem is much more complicated. It is not that representation has been an issue in post-1947 Pakistan only; it was there in the pre-Partition communal politics as well. It remains also one of the reasons that the 'other' in the Pakistan movement is entirely an external one: There was hardly anything internal among the seekers of Pakistan or among the people for whom Pakistan was sought that would have urged them to unite and forge a loose but united national identity. Thus, the strategy of using the Muslim community for achieving political ends, which in fact was heterogeneous and diverse in interests, had no clear consensus on what form of state Pakistan would be. This profoundly affected its nation-building exercise.

Pakistan's early failure was its inability to come up with a workable constitution. The early stalemate occurring in the process of constitution making led to erosion of power from politicians to bureaucrats and the army. And it was this alliance of military and bureaucrats that took most of the decisions from the 1950s onwards. This came at the cost of the evolution of a political leadership and culture in the country, hindering the process of cultivating democratic culture at both provincial and national levels. Largely, the colonial institutions, the military and the bureaucracy would approach politics, social issues, and governance with attitudes of colonial machinery which had privileged law and order over participation of people. But these laws were misfit and obsolete to deal with the changed circumstances.

The interplay between the army, religious groups and political parties continuously tried to shape the country's politics. Given the fact that they could not come up with an understanding where each player would get an appropriate space, the balance has kept shifting from one to another. This remains to be a continuous process with each player competing for dominance. However, the army appears to be having an upper edge, given its strong organization and discipline within it. It reinforces its dominance through its structural control, which also allows it to call major shots in the everyday politics of Pakistan.

Apart from the contestation between these three major players of Pakistan, it is evident that the radical forces like the *Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan* and *al-Qaeda* are invoking the Islamic identity of Pakistan to garner support and calling for establishing a purely Islamic state. Interestingly, with respect to this challenge, the Pakistan state relies on the *ulema* of the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII), who, though critical of the Pakistan state at times for not following the Islamic jurisprudence, plays an important role in discrediting the militant groups calls for starting an insurrection against the Pakistan state.

Unlike religious groups, ethnic and linguistic groups face state suppression in Pakistan, leading to political conflicts and insurgency. On the other hand, a lenient approach with Islamist forces has not helped to stabilize or strengthen the state; in fact, these forces have turned out to be undermining the writ of the state more often than not. It is the vested and short-term interests of the various groups that have strengthened the religious groups and not led a proper democratic system to evolve in Pakistan.