



RESEARCH PAPER

Identity Politics in Pakistan: Case Study of Saraiki Movement

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic identity politics in Pakistan is a complex phenomenon deeply rooted in the multi-ethnic fabric of society. This study explores the emergence, nature, and implications of ethnic movements, focusing on the Saraiki movement within the broader context of identity politics. The research objectives include understanding the historical and socio-economic underpinnings of ethnic conflicts, analyzing the dynamics of the Saraiki movement, and proposing recommendations for addressing ethnic grievances. The methodology involves a qualitative analysis of historical events and socio-economic data to elucidate the causes and consequences of identity politics in Pakistan. Results indicate that the Saraiki movement, stemming from ethno-lingual identity and socio-economic grievances, poses challenges to national integration. Despite promises by mainstream political parties, marginalized ethnic groups like the Saraiki face continued neglect and exploitation. The discussion emphasizes the need for inclusive governance, socio-economic development, and constitutional reforms to address ethnic grievances and prevent further conflict

KEYWORDS Ethnicity, Identity Politics, National Integration, Saraki Movement

Introduction

There are a number of aspects in relation to identity all over the globe including caste, religion, ethnicity, gender, tribes and politics. These markers of identity give birth to visible boundaries by developing complex social groups in society. In the presence of this complex structure when a group becomes powerful enough to dominate all other groups, identity crises start to take place in the form of economic disparity and political recognition. In this scenario, the weaker or marginalized groups of society design various strategies to secure their identity and interests (Abbasi, Malik, & Bukhari, 2021). Ethnicity refers to a sense of belongingness along Cultural, Political, Economic or Religious lines for a certain group of people. This is an indefinite and challenging term with a number of definitions. By some scholars, it is associated with cultural and social identities, while others associate it with biological identities. To some social scientists, it is in transition and embraces the impacts of external factors, while others believe that it is a fixed phenomenon. Ethnicity is defined as a socio-psychological phenomenon which equips a person with a sense of belonging to a certain group. Ethnic groups carry both objective and subjective dimensions. Objective dimension includes the formation of various social institutions and organizations to carry out certain social concrete practices. Subjective dimension refers to psychological boundaries which produce a sense of inclusion and exclusion (Isajiw, 1992). In case of Pakistan, most of the identity politics revolves around ethnicity. All the provinces of Pakistan represent different ethnic identities. These provinces are named after the ethnic groups which represent a major population proportion of that province like Sindh represents Sindhis, Punjab represents Punjabis, KPK represents Pathans and Balochistan represents Balochis. Added to this, every province is home to other minor ethnic groups except these major ethnic groups like Punjab is home to Saraiki, Sindh to Mohajirs, KPK to Hazara and Balochistan to Pathans, Punjabi and Saraiki. It reveals that multi-ethnic nature of Pakistani society is an undeniable fact and it is a responsibility at the part of state to accommodate all ethnicities both in economic and political sense (Muzaffar, et. al., 2018) Basic nature of any

society cannot be denied by the state, and the state has to manage according to the nature and demands of a society. Even while making policies and drafting laws for her citizens, state gives a consideration to both social structure and opinion of masses.

Unfortunately, in Pakistan, state seems unable to accommodate all ethnic identities with a highly centralized structure of federation. Inefficiency and lack of willingness to accept the multi-ethnic nature of Pakistani society changed the picture of Pakistani society where multi-ethnicity turned into violent ethnic conflict. Demands from different ethnic groups vary from provincial autonomy to separatism. These ethnic movements show various similarities and dissimilarities in relation to their nature, demands and impacts. Despite having various common and uncommon factors there is an undeniable relation among these movements. Being a part of a single society social integration and geographical proximity are inevitable, and both these features ensure the impact of one movement on the remaining others. Developments taking place in one movement ultimately produce an impact on all other movements.

Literature Review

Pakistan is home to multi-ethnic and multi-lingual social identities, no province of Pakistan is devoid of ethnic conflicts. Pakistan as a nation state formed first and its society developed a long after but the provincial societies and communities were historically developed and organized. Sometimes, these provincial societies recognize themselves differently in relation to national society (Qadeer, 2006). In a pluralistic society harmony can be achieved only when people belonging to varying ethnic identities live in a collaboration and peace (Hashmi & Majeed, 2015). All the provinces of Pakistan are named ethnically, but these provinces are also home to various sub-ethnic groups besides that major ethnic group which is represented through the name of province (Ahmar, 2013). South Punjab consists of three divisions and twenty-one districts and it is comparatively under developed area of Punjab. Saraiki region has a unique history, even the origin of Saraiki identity can be traced before the accession of Multan to Lahore in 1818. Since its accession, a sense of marginalization and deprivation started to take place in Saraiki people. The demand from Saraiki people can be further divided, the first set of people is demanding the restoration of Bahawalpur province, which lost her status in one unit scheme and its status was not revived after the abolition of one unit in 1970 and the second set of people is demanding a separate Saraiki province (Abbasi & Kalhor, Pokitics of Ethnic Identities and Conflicts; A Case Study of Hazara and Saraiki Ethno-Nationalist Movements in Pakistan, 2022). Multi-ethnic nature of Pakistani society is not a new thing as there are a number of states which are ethnically diverse. It is the responsibility of federation to accommodate all the people belonging to different ethnic identities. Unfortunately, in Pakistan federation has remained unsuccessful in the case of Bengal fiasco, and even in the post 1971 federation seems in problem as it has witnessed Baloch insurgencies, Pashtun separatism, Sindhi regionalism, Mohajir's mobilization, Hazara conflict and the Saraikistan issue along ethnic lines (Mushtaq, 2009).

Pakistan offers a combination of various ethnic identities which are varying in composition and different in terms of their language and culture. Punjabi is the largest ethnic group with 44.7%. The 2nd largest ethnic group is Pashtuns comprised of 15.4%. Sindhis are the 3rd largest ethnic community with a population of 14.1 %. Balochistan being the largest province by area comprised of only 3.6%. Other ethnic communities involve Saraiki, Mohajirs and Hazara which respectively compose 8.4%, 7.6 % and 2.5% (DeLuca, 2023). Ethnic diversity of Pakistani society allows it only to have a federal system but the type and nature of federalism is debatable. Pakistan represents a different case where the regional units established a federation, rather than a central government granting autonomy to its constituent units. Lahore Resolution 1940, underlined the confederal ambitions of all the regional units. Bengali, Sindhi, Pashtun and Baloch nationalists interpreted this resolution as the foundation of a new social contract among provinces, to become a part of a new state

(Waseem, 2010). In relation to the emergence of ethnic politics in Pakistan "One Unit Scheme" is of immense importance. Politically Pakistan had been already a centralized state with an authoritarian system, where "One Unit Scheme" allowed the state to further suppress the ethnic identities of all provinces by merging them into one unit against East Pakistan. This parity system incurred far-reaching consequences and compelled the constituent units of the state to revive their identity on ethnic grounds (Akhtar, 2013). Federal structure of Pakistan is complex and centralized, and unsuccessful in creating dual loyalties [both to the center and unit]. The Pakistani state right after independence unified the country around Islam and Urdu, while ignoring the ethnic and lingual identities of all social groups This fabricated or imposed identity at the part of state did not help to unite the people in the long run, as things started to deteriorate right with the inception of "One Unit Scheme" (Adeney, 2012).

Pakistani elite always viewed regional identities as a threat against their "National Project". It seems that the political elite is not ready to accept the ethnic diversity of Pakistani society. Phenomenon of vesting greater power in federation devoid provinces from some of their genuine rights in terms of politics, economy and identity. An integrationist identity was projected by the state declaring Urdu as a national language and Islam as state religion. National identity of Pakistan finds itself in a direct relation to the idea of religion. Religion is used to be considered an inevitable ingredient in the ideological basis of Pakistan, it always helped to strengthen the Pakistan's identity. Islam has been a prevailing force with its deep impacts on domestic politics. National security institution along with all other state institutions has been working to develop a relation between national identity and religion (Haqqani, 2005). Idea of associating religion with national identity is not the new one in the history of Pakistan. This idea finds its roots in the moment when a Muslim minority in sub-continent determined to get a territorial integrity and sovereignty through a political struggle (Muzaffar, et. al 2021; Jalal, 2014). Federation of Pakistan lacks consociational features and only practiced majoritarian democracy. Lack of consociation and inclusiveness at the part of federation not only suppressed the regional ethnic identities but also marginalized various groups in socio-economic terms (Adeney, Federal Instability in Pakistan, 2007). Most of the state institutions are inconsistent in their policies and undemocratic in their practices. Pakistan is often considered a pseudo-democracy where the culture of participatory governance is absent. Centralization of power is an eminent feature of political system of the country. The non-participatory practices in politics give birth to a sense of alienation and political marginalization among the deprived communities. This phenomenon often produced damaging impacts on the ties between state and society (Cohen, 2004).

Unfortunately, a deliberate ignorance at the part of state deteriorated the situation and the simple demands of these groups got politicized with a tendency of aggressiveness and violence (Rashid & Shaheed, 1993). In this situation, the phenomenon of ethno-politics started to take place, where the demands of people are politicized and turned into movements. A sense of alienation is evoked into them deliberately (Ahmed, 1996). In such a situation, minor ethnic groups usually suffer from a sense of fear and resentment at the same time. Political elite use this situation through propaganda to create a gap between state and minor ethnic groups. Nature and intensity of ethnic conflict depends on the role of government, weak governments prove helpful in aggravating such ethnic conflicts because of their structural flaws, poor administrative skills or lack of interest (Tepfenhart, 2013). Centralization by federation with a non-participatory governance and presence of dictatorial and authoritarian system is against the heterogenous nature of Pakistani society. This centralization did not allow the provinces to develop in economic terms. Economic under development and unjust distribution of resources deteriorated the situation. Unjust distribution of resources produced disparities which has now become the source of grievances of provinces against federation (Nazir, 2008). The passage of 18th amendment has revived the relations between federation and provinces to some extent. it is believed to be a prelude towards decentralization of power and inclusivity. On the other hand, this

amendment galvanized the sub-regional ethnic movements. Change of NWFP to KPK not only ignited the people of Hazara but also catalyzed Saraiki ethnic movement. Autonomy to the provinces has engendered new conflicts within provinces where major ethnic groups started to suppress the minor ones (Siddiqi, 2020).

Material and Methods

Ethnicity plays a pivotal role in shaping political dynamics in Pakistan. The interplay between diverse ethnic identities often leads to complex socio-political tensions and conflicts. Current research employs qualitative methods with a focus on descriptive and explanatory modes of inquiry. Content analysis of Saraiki leaders' speeches and manifestations has been conducted using a deductive approach to develop a comprehensive understanding of the role of identity politics in Pakistan and its effects on national integration, as well as to find solutions for this issue.

Results and Discussion

Identity politics is an international phenomenon which is believed to be the product of post-modernism on one hand, and the consequence of the 20th century world politics on the other hand. Identity politics is not restricted to a single social reality but it includes various faces like religious, gender, social, political, lingual, Cultural and ethnic identities. Ethnic conflict is one of the main areas fall under the comprehensive notion of Identity politics. There are a number of multi-ethnic societies in the world which have been suffering from the menace of ethnic conflicts including Canda, Switzerland, India, Malasia, Indonesia, Srilanka, Belgium etc. Likewise, the multi-ethnic nature of Pakistani society is not an exception.

Study reveals the fact that South Punjab movement is further divided into Saraiki movement and Bahawalpur movement. In the first place, Bahawalpur movement emerged when the status of Bahawalpur province was not restored after the dissolution of 'One Unit scheme'. Historical evidences show that Bahawalpur used to be a state and an agreement held between central government and the Maharaja of Bahawalpur in 1951 that the central government will not interfere in the provincial matters of Bahawalpur and subjects were divided between state and Bahawalpur province. Under the 'One Unit scheme' province of Bahawalpur was merged into one province of 'West Punjab' like all other provinces. This 'One Unit Plan' saw a severe criticism and faced an agitation from all provinces as it devoured the ethnic identities of all the provinces by merging them into a single unit. After Facing an enormous agitation this plan was dissolved in 1970 with the restoration of previous status of all provinces except Bahawalpur. In 1970's the province of Balochistan was created but the provincial status of Bahawalpur was not restored and it was declared a division of Punjab province.

This event produced a severe resentment among the masses of Bahawalpur who started an agitation to restore the previous status of the province. This was the same era in the decade of 1970's when Saraiki movement started to emerge. There is a difference between both these movements as the Saraiki movement initiated in the name of ethno-lingual identity and Bahawalpur movement had nothing to do with ethno-lingual identity but the restoration of its provincial status. Both movements had nothing in common and did not support each other, instead these movements were believed to be a hurdle in the way of one another. Lack of momentum in the Bahawalpur movement gave a space to Saraiki movement to thrive and a capacity to solely represent the region of South Punjab.

Saraiki movement emerged in the name of ethno-lingual identity. Historical significance and a rich history of Multan endorses the fact that Saraiki people have a unique identity which is dissociated from the Punjabi people. First Saraiki literary conference held in 1975, in which the word 'Saraiki' used for the first time. Saraiki people believe that Saraiki is not a dialect of Punjabi but entirely a different language. Saraiki people have been

struggling for the creation of a new province comprising on the divisions of D.G Khan, Multan and Bahawalpur on ethno-lingual basis. This demand on ethno-lingual basis was not only taken for granted by the central government but even it was suppressed by the central government. In the decade of 1990's central government tried to suppress the lingual identity of Saraiki people by declaring and publishing the Saraiki literature as a part of Punjabi.

In response to this movement of central government, Saraiki movement got a momentum and started to emphasis in an afresh manner on the creation of a new province. There is another dimension of Saraiki movement which is depicted in terms of socio-economic backwardness of the region, it is believed to be one of the fundamental causes of grievances exhibited by Saraiki people. South Punjab is an underdeveloped region in comparison to rest of Punjab in socio-economic terms, poverty ratio in South Punjab is high in comparison to the rest of Punjab. Socio-economic development of the region has never been a priority of any single government. South Punjab is an agrarian region and famous for the production of cotton but the masses of this region claim that the revenue generated by the production of cotton have never been utilized in the economic development of the region.

There is another condemning fact about this movement that no mainstream political party or government carried out efforts to peacefully acknowledge the ethno-lingual identity of Saraiki people nor they paid an attention to socio-economic development of the region but only aggravated the situation by politicizing the issue. Instrumentalists believe that identity issues are politicized by the powerful ones or elite in order to gain an advantageous position. It just happened in the case of Saraiki movement where all mainstream political parties made false promises to Saraiki people for the creation of new province in order to widen their vote bank every time for upcoming elections. This attitude of mainstream political parties led to the politicization of this ethnic conflict. A debate held and even a bill was proposed for the creation of Saraiki province in National Assembly by Pakistan People Party but this effort has never been translated into a tangible reality.

These mainstream political parties further aggravated the situation by insensitivity and politicization of the issue, these parties hurt the sentiments of Saraiki people for time and again and added fuel to fire by the enhancement of their resentment and grievance. 18th amendment also played its part by engendering intra-provincial discords. This 18th amendment is the most celebrated development and believed to be a landmark in the journey of democratization of the country. Where this amendment enhanced the powers of provinces by giving them an autonomy, there it helped to subjugate the already suppressed and marginalized ethnic groups. This amendment ultimately produced intra-provincial discords by giving a great autonomy to provinces. It has already been discussed that all the provinces in Pakistan are a home to more than one ethnic group.

18th amendment, no doubt, is a milestone in political history and development of democracy in Pakistan but this amendment is not devoid of certain flaws. Transfer of an immense powers to provinces is questionable as the provinces are not capable enough to deal with various subjects transferred to them by federal government. Provinces lack in their management capacity and resources to deal with various projects. Mishandling at the part of provinces has been giving birth to a number of problems on one hand, this over empowerment has enabled the mainstream political parties in the provinces to suppress the political and ethnic identities of smaller groups. For instance, under the article 140 A, the subject of local government has been given to provinces. Now, mainstream political parties have done experiments with local body structure just in order to ensure the fact that minor political parties would never able to be a part of mainstream politics. suppression of minor ethnic and political groups has been leading to serious intra-provincial discords.

About Saraiki movement, usually, it is believed that it is not a giant movement in its capacity of creating impact and leadership like Sindhu-Daesh or Balochistan separatism movement. Despite it, there is a consensus on the notion that this movement is one of the emerging ethnic-movement, which has been established in the largest province of the country. This movement poses a threat to national integration by posing a challenge to the largest province of the country on one hand, and producing an influence on other ethnic movements on the other hand. This movement is also unique in another sense, Dera Ismael Khan is aligned to D.G Khan in north, one of the divisions of south Punjab. There are Saraiki people (though little in number) also live in KPK, Sindh and Balochistan. Unique geographical location of D.I Khan can help to propagate this movement in Saraiki people living in other provinces. In this way, this movement can create a larger influence by joining hand with the Saraiki people of other provinces.

The possibility of such an event is not envisioned yet because in the recent scenario, there is a little chance that this Saraiki movement gains this level of influence. In case, this scenario takes place and Saraiki movement becomes influential enough to create an impact in other provinces (due to the geographical proximity of D.G Khan and D.I Khan), it will be able to pose a great challenge to the largest province of the country. Already, there have been a number of grievances among all provinces in general, and all the three provinces are against the dominance of Punjab in particular. If Saraiki movement gets momentum and widens its influence in adjacent regions of all other provinces, then there is a chance that all Saraki minority from all the provinces join hands and pose a serious threat to the political, social and economic contours of the largest province of the country.

Identity politics on a whole, poses a challenge to Pakistan in a number of ways. Geo-strategic location of Pakistan and strained relation with her immediate neighbors make this state externally vulnerable. At internal front, Pakistan has been facing a number of socio-economic challenges. Role of religion in Pakistani society is not only fundamental but in the name of religion, there are a number of socio-religious challenges. The whole picture depicts that Pakistani social fabric is highly intricated with a lot of challenges. In the presence of such a delicate social fabric any conflict can trigger a war with serious and irreversible ramifications. So, Pakistan as a state is not only externally vulnerable in the presence of tough immediate neighbors but it has to face internal challenges in the form of complex social structure also. In this scenario, identity politics poses a serious challenge to both Pakistani state and society, and Pakistan does not have the capacity to bear the burnt of challenges which are the product of identity politics.

Recent picture portrays a bleak image of Pakistan, now there is a need to understand that what went wrong at the part of state which ultimately engendered such conflicts. Right after the inception of Pakistan, state tried to draft a uniform identity in the name of Islam while ignoring the ethnic realities of all groups. Urdu was proposed as the national language to create uniformity among different lingual groups while denying the lingual identities of various groups. In response to this effort of homogenization, state has been facing various ethnic conflicts from the demand of creation of new provinces to separatist movements. Having a homogenous identity is desirable when all people represent a single nation, but it does not allow a democratic state to suppress the regional identities of people. This approach was highly against the spirit of democracy and this homogenization at the part of state produced a vertical trust deficit in country.

Imposition of Urdu as a national language produced an immense resentment in people belonging to different ethnic groups. Urdu was the language of Mohajir community did not form the more than 7% of total population of Pakistan. Pakistan used to be a theocratic state in terms of ideology, but it has never been a theocratic state in practice. This phenomenon gave birth to a dilemma in the consequence of which Pakistani society became over Islamized while lacking fundamental religious morals. Unfortunately, Religion became the most debated and the least practiced phenomenon, and this debate led to an unended

split in religious ideologies which are manifested in the form of religious sects. Religious politicization became a common practice and like ethnic politics it became an offshoot of identity politics in Pakistan. There are even the cases when a relation can be traced even between these religious identities and ethnic identities.

The other major phenomenon which led to this state of conflict and confusion is the role of federation. Throughout the political history of Pakistan [until the introduction of 18th amendment] federation has remained highly centralized. Idea of centrality of power aggravated the situation by engendering politically, ethnically and economically marginalized and deprived groups in society. Centralization of power allowed only a limited people to have a political and economic representation. This is an unfortunate fact that despite being a democratic state, the federation of country remained unsuccessful in handling the plural nature of society by accommodating all ethnic identities. Federation in Pakistan lacks consociational features and just believed in centrality of power. Democracy in Pakistan has been practiced only as a process instead of being a cultural practice. Lack of democracy both at the part of state and society led to a number of horizontal and vertical conflicts.

For a multi-ethnic society, federation is believed to be the most feasible structure of government. The role of federation matters a lot, if a federation remains successful in ensuring the participation of all stakeholders and developing a consensus among all groups of society belonging to different identities, then the relation between state and society strengthens. Participatory governance, inclusivity and consociational nature of federation carry the capacity to entertain all segments of society belonging to varying identities. In case of Pakistan ideas of both consociation and participation have been lacking. This lack of consociation, inclusivity and participation at the part of federation has changed the very nature of ethnic conflicts or in other words it has transformed the demand of having an acknowledgement of an ethnic identity into a severe ethnic conflict. This happened with almost all the ethnic movements in Pakistan when their justified demand did not fulfil and in response a resentment produced among masses which transformed a peaceful demand into a violent conflict.

After 18th amendment things have been started to change, this amendment reduced the centrality of federal government by delegating powers to provinces. There is no doubt in the fact that 18th amendment is an indelible political development in the history of Pakistan. It helped to empower provinces by reducing the powers of central government, but it does not have the capacity to entertain the ethnically marginalized groups living in different provinces. In fact, it has aggravated the situation by giving more powers to provinces. The conflict which has been seen between provinces and center before 18th amendment now, it can be witnessed between mainstream political parties and minor political parties, in other sense a conflict between major and minor ethnic groups. after the 19th amendment central-provincial discord has been turned into intra-provincial discord. So, 18th amendment does not have any clause which ensures the political, economic and ethnic representation of marginalized communities.

Conclusion

Above discussion throws light on the fact that identity politics is comprehensive phenomenon comprising of various offshoots which have been producing varying impacts on different states. It is perceived to be a global challenge and Pakistan has been facing this menace mainly in the name of ethnic conflicts. The very nature of Pakistani society is multi-ethnic which cannot be denied. Unfortunately, this multi-ethnic nature of Pakistani society has been partly suppressed and partly denied by the central government throughout the history of Pakistan. The suppression or a deliberate rejection of this reality at the part of federation made the situation worse. Saraiki movement is one these ethnic movements which has been emerging with a number of potential threats.

According to instrumentalists, politicization of demand turns these demands into conflicts. The elite or the influential ones deliberately politicize a demand and generate a conflict from that particular demand in order to get some tangible economic and political advantage. Unfortunately, it has been happening in the case of Pakistan in general and in case of Saraiki movement in Particular. False promises have been made to Saraiki people by the mainstream political parties every time. This attitude has added fuel to fire and Saraiki movement got momentum. Instead of making false promises of creating a new province, it would be better if all mainstream political parties work on the socio-economic development of the region. Their demand for the creation of new province have been reinvigorated after 18th amendment in which provinces got more autonomy and the threat of suppression of minor ethnic groups at the hands of mainstream provincial political and ethnic groups has enhanced. This threat has produced a new sense of insecurity in already marginalized and deprived communities.

The creation of a new province is a delicate subject in a country like Pakistan which is externally and internally vulnerable because of its geo-strategic location and its socio-economic challenges respectively. Creation of a new province in the name of ethnic identity can give birth to new demands by various ethnic groups. This move will lead towards the series of unending demands by various other groups which cannot be fulfilled by the state. Instead of focusing on the creation of new province, state must focus on accommodating the ethnically marginalized groups in the mainstream political and economic structure. In case, this process of accommodation does not ensure to redress the grievances of masses and demand the inevitability of creating new provinces, then the new provinces must be created on administrative grounds. Instead of ethnic ones.

Recommendations

Pakistan has been facing the menace of identity politics in the name of ethnicity. This issue has been much politicized and constantly posing a challenge to peace. Following are some recommendations to handle this situation

Center in Pakistan has been moved towards decentralization of power after 18th amendment. This is encouraging but federation must go for developing consociational features and ensure the representation of all major and minor ethnic groups in central government. Inclusivity must be ensured by the federation in order to end the trust deficit among ethnically marginalized masses.

Centre must focus on the socio-economic development of backward regions like South Punjab in order to eliminate a sense of deprivation among deprived masses. After having more autonomy, provinces should prioritize the socio-economic development of these certain regions which have been kept underdeveloped for a long time.

There is a need to carry out constitutional efforts like the encouraging move of 18th amendment, in order to ensue representation of these ethnic groups like Saraiki people in mainstream politics and economic development both at provincial and federal level. Creation of new provinces is a delicate subject, there are other efforts, if carried out faithfully may help to revert this demand. Creation of new provinces in the name of ethnic identity is common in various states, but in case of Pakistan situation is different.

In a multi-ethnic society the creation of a new province in the name of ethnicity would trigger unending demands by various groups. Geo-strategic location of Pakistan does not allow it to do the experiments of that sort.

In case, these solutions do not exhibit any betterment or these moves remain unsuccessful in redressing the grievances of marginalized communities, then the new province of South Punjab or any other province should be created on administrative grounds.

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