THE POLITICS OF ETHNICITY: AN ISSUE TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION OF PAKISTAN (THE STUDY OF BALOCH, MOHAJIR AND SIRAIKI IDENTITIES)

THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY
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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB, LAHORE – PAKISTAN 2013
CERTIFICATE

This is certified that the present thesis entitled, The Politics of Ethnicity: An issue to National Integration of Pakistan (The study of Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki identities) is written by Ms. Rehana Saeed Hashmi, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore for the requirement of Ph.D degree in Political Science. To the best of my knowledge the thesis is based on original research.

Prof. Dr. Umbreen Javaid
Department of Political Science
University of the Punjab,
Lahore
Dedicated
To
Tanvir,
Asma and Nida
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The Thesis Seeks to understand the nature of Politics of Ethnicity and its relationship with national integration. In third world’s plural societies, ethnic politics has remained a great challenge. Pakistan is also a plural state having variety of ethnic groups. The ethnic heterogeneity has remained a constant challenge to the state authorities and the issue of nation building and creation of national integration is still a major task.

It is seen in the research that the state of Pakistan always used centralizing and authoritarian policies to create national harmony. The state wanted to transform ethnic identity into Pakistani identity. The authoritative tactics of the state manifested ethnicity into ethnic politics. The dismemberment of East Pakistan in 1971, was the ultimate result. In the post 1971 period same policy was applied. Resultantly, ethnic groups from the four federating units, developed ethnic consciousness. In this research, three ethnic groups Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki are selected to find out the main factors which politicized their ethnic association.

The Researcher argued in this research that when state denies the demands of sharing political power or adequate representation in political and administrative institutions, conflictual situation develops between state and ethnic groups. It is also highlighted in detail that the political, economic and social factors determine the salience of politics of ethnicity. Apart from highlighting the factors responsible for politics of ethnicity and conflictual environment, the researcher also pointed out four variables to measure the threat for the national integration of Pakistan. These variables are the role of leadership of a particular ethnic group, the role of the middle class, their mobility for the particular cause, role of state and its policies in diffusing or escalating conflict and the role of external support for particular ethnic cause.

The research also incorporated an extensive survey from the three ethnic groups of three provinces Balochistan, Sindh and Punjab. The research leads to a conclusion that some structural and perceptual perspective should be evolved to create national integration. For this purpose the role of state is very important. Instead of following the old repressive policies, political engagement, political reforms and social giving can bring about change in the plural societies like Pakistan.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of Pakistan in 1947, the national framework has been weak. Islamic ideology which was the mobilizing force during freedom movement could not maintain its pace. The intricacy was due to the conflicting socio-political fiber of Pakistani society, which was not handled properly. The diverse fiber of Pakistani society was based on its ethnic composition. The five indigenous ethnic groups were Punjabi, Baloch, Sindhi, Pakhtun and Bengalis. The state adopted an authoritarian policy to expand and consolidate its power and position. In response to authoritarian policy, the Bangalis started a movement for the preservation of their identity. The state used its authoritarian mode for the creation of national integration but failed and resultantly Bangladesh was created. The effort to quell ethnic movement for the creation of national integration was not fruitful. East Pakistan became Bangladesh, but the state did not learn any lesson and continued its policies. At present the state of Pakistan consists of Baloch, Pakhtoon, Punjabi and Sindhi ethnic group while Mahajir and Saraiki groups have a claim of fifth nationality of Pakistan and they are struggling for it.

In the post 1971 period, the issue of nation building and national integration is further highlighted by the state authorities. They fail to co-opt a strategy to create unity in diversity. Instead of adopting the strategy of empowering ethnic groups and giving them maximum share in politics and economics, coercive measures have been used to crush the anti state sentiments. Consequently ethnic groups are not only involved in inter ethnic conflict but developed serious concerns with the state.
Theoretically the main focus of this thesis is on ethnicity, politics of ethnicity and national integration. The concepts are elaborated in detail with the help of existing literature in the disciplines of political science, international relations and political sociology.

In the debate of ethnicity, the three approaches primordialism, instrumentalism and social constructivism will be discussed in detail. While discussing these approaches the researcher has developed the argument that though the primordial basis of ethnicity is not fluid in nature yet, it could be influenced politically. The second concept is politics of ethnicity and the main argument is that, state has a central role in its evolution. It is also explained that ethnic groups are mobilized for the persuasion of their demands and one of the major demands is to get political power. In politics of ethnicity, political power includes adequate representation in political and administrative institution’s share and control over local resources and use of particular language for communication. If state denies these demands, conflict develops and ethnic groups are politicized. To strengthen this argument the work of Paul Brass is discussed in detail, who believes that the political and economic conditions determine the salience of ethnicity. In his argument ethnic elites perform instrumental role in ethnic mobilization. A theoretical model has been drawn in this regard to show how ethnicity is politicized and which factors enhance the conflictual situation. Another model related to the life cycle of ethnic conflict with state is also designed. These two models are drawn after studying various societies including Pakistan, where ethnic groups have serious concerns with state. The third major concept is national integration. It is an evolving pursue in all the post colonial divided societies. The researcher has incorporated different approaches related to national integration.
For this research four variables have been drawn from the existing literature to measure the threat for national integration. These are:

- The scholars of politics of ethnicity have written about the importance of leadership. Strong and charismatic leadership has the ability to convince its community for the pursuance of ethnic objectives. In the three studies it is monitored that how ethnic leadership is performing its role.

- The second variable chosen for this study is the role of middle class. Various approaches about middle class are incorporated in this study. This variable is also appropriate in the study because in the catastrophe of East Pakistan in 1970’s, middle class mobility was one of the most important reasons.

- Role of state in enhancing ethnic politics is also the key argument of the researcher. Its role is evaluated to measure the threat for national integration.

- The last variable, chosen for this particular research is the role of external involvement in escalation and de-escalation of ethnic conflict. Various theories have been formulated to show the external linkages of ethnic groups. In Pakistan’s case, the state has experienced the external involvement in East Pakistan crisis. Bengalis had developed ties with Indians and with their support, hamper the process of national integration.

Apart from theoretical debate about national integration and its various techniques discussed in the literature, the researcher visited Quetta (Balochistan), Karachi (Sindh) and Multan (Punjab) and conducted interviews and surveys from the Baloch, Mohajir, and Saraiki ethnic groups which were selected as the case studies for this research. This survey consisted on two questionnaires. In the first questionnaire different questions were asked related to the national identity, national integration and state policies. The sampling frame consisted of 50 students, 40 middle class
professionals (MCP) and 10 politicians from each community. The students of Masters and M.Phil were chosen. Major reason behind is that the students are part of the youth who will probably control the future relationship between the state and society. The middle class is considered the back bone of any society and it is present in all the ethnic groups. Their effective mobilization is important variable in escalation and de-escalation of the conflict. The third category belonged to politicians, only those politicians were selected who remained important office bearer, from each community. The second questionnaire consisted of comparative questions. The questions were asked to measure the threat for national integration from the three case studies. The respondents belonged to the middle class professionals including teachers, intellectuals, thinkers, poets and researchers. It is also done from Quetta, Karachi and Multan. Although it was difficult to conduct these surveys from the three provinces but for the originality of the research it was necessary. Anyhow the results of this survey further strengthened the main argument of the research.

As for as the selection of the three case studies is concerned there are some specificities and commonalities among them. The distinction is that the three ethnic groups belong to diverse social structures. The Baloch belong to a tribal system having strong territorial association, the Mohajir is an urban based community having no historical association with any of the territory they are living, and Saraikis belonged to a purely agrarian society having strong affiliation with their language and culture. As for as their grievances are concerned, discussed in detail in this research. Here the most pertinent issue is to discuss the commonalities among these groups.

- First commonality is relevant to their lingual association. They consider language is an important marker of identity and they are often called as lingual identities.
- The three ethnies started their movement for the preservation of specific identity.
- The Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki’s started their movements in the reaction of the state policies.
- Another factor is that these ethnies do not have any conflict with each other but they have concerns with state.
- The last factor is intra-ethnic division, despite having cultural and lingual commonality, they are divided on minor issues. The study has revealed that very often these intra-ethnic conflicts are used by state authorities to divide the power of ethnic groups.

The main argument of the research is that state performs a key role in the development of politics of ethnicity. In response to state’s role ethnic groups are mobilized positively or negatively. So the conflictual situation is created by the state. The other important thing is that ethnic conflict should not be perceived as a conflict among or within ethnic groups, but it should be perceived as conflict with the state. In the present study, ethnic conflict is also studied in a conflictual situation where state has important role in the formation and de-formation of conflict. In this way state and government are the words, used interchangeably. Despite the fact, that many scholars have opted that the state is a set of institutions which exert its power over society. But the researcher believes that government without state or state without government cannot perform, both are essential for each other. That is why both are used identically.

**Literature Review**
A thought provoking research is conducted about the ethnic origin of nations. The study has developed a larger debate about the origin of nations. It also analyzed genealogy of nations, in particular their ethnic roots. The book basically deals with the primordialist approach of ethnicity. The author explained various elements governed the ethnic formation. Among them he discussed the class and ethnies in agrarian societies. He pointed out two era’s of ethnic formation of a nation. First, the pre-modern era and second is related to the modern period. Apart from the fact that book is relevant and helpful in understanding the ethnic origin of nations, it is equally helpful to understand the politicization of ethnies.


A very important research is conducted on nation, nationalism and sub-nationalism in “Nations as Zones of Conflict”, different logical arguments have been given to accept and reject the modernist’s arguments that nations are based on older ethnic formations, which have crystallized in the process of conflicts arising from missionary religions, imperial expansion, warfare, long distance trade and mass migration and colonization. Exposed to multiple challenges, most ethnicities that survive have layered or multiple past that may be embedded by several institutions. The writer also criticized modernist’s conception that nations as invented traditions are capable of easily overriding pre-existing loyalties. The focus of study is on the point that a revivalist nationalism crystallizes from the conflict between traditionalism and modernization. The study rejects the assumption of European and Christian superiority, revivalism proposed a revolutionary ethnic model of
humanity built on self-actualizing nations. Different cultural conflicts among sub national groups are also discussed as part of their structure of politics, economic and social policies, and status of social groups. These conflicts are discussed in part by the geopolitical position of nations, and in part by the fact that nations are shaped by several historical legacies.


- A very important piece of work on ethnicity and political identity presents a comprehensive framework for studying ethnic policies. The first three chapters are based on a comprehensive discussion and definition about ethnicity-primordialism. In discussing “primordialism” the writer highlighted the concept of ethnicity that held sway through most of the twentieth century. This primordial understanding of ethnicity has been supplanted by two different approaches to ethnicity that is named as “instrumentalism” and “social constructivism”. Instrumentalism views ethnicity as the means to some specific political end and as such it is focused on the goals of ethnies rather than the origins. They believe ethnicity is changeable. They also believe on its deep roots in person’s identity because it is somehow fundamental, but they disagree on what makes it fundamental: biology, culture or myth. “Social constructivism” is also theoretical school of ethnicity with a view on the fluid nature of ethnic identities. It is similar to instrumentalism in that it identifies the role of political and economic factors in molding ethnicity. However the point of difference lies in the origins of ethnies. While discussing the theoretical frame work, the author also made some case studies based on different attributes of ethnicity. Therefore the case of “Quebec” to illustrate
ethnic conflict that is defined by the issue of language included, and Yugoslavia to identify a case where ethnic conflict is defined by religion and culture and so on. The theoretical framework of present study is based on these theoretical approaches.


- Another important work on internal conflicts within the state is presented in the book “Religious politics and communal violence”; Although, all the writings in the book are not directly related to the undersigned study, but its chapter seven ‘Ethnic conflict and Civil Society’, presents a brief theoretical aspect about ethnicity. The writer explained different terms like ethnic, ethnic conflict and civil Society in very specific manner.


- One more important work “the Idea of Politics”, presents the theory of integration. In this study the author discussed different stages from conflict to integration and then presented the theory of integration. According to the author, integration is the process unifying a society, tending to transform it into a harmonious city, based on an order recognized as such by its members. This study is helpful to understand the theory of integration. It also gives a brief understanding that how conflicts within state lead towards violence.

Another important research is conducted on ethnicity and nation building. The book is important in a sense that it not only discusses the approaches of ethnicity but provides a critical appraisal on the theme of ethnicity and nation building. The study poses a broad framework in the first chapter and it is followed by an overview of the ethnic mosaic of south Asian states. It is also discussed that how various regimes in South Asian states handled the challenges of social diversity. The book is more appropriate for the present study because the research revolves around five case studies regarding their autonomist-secessionist manifestation of secessionist movements. Finally, the study blends the major strands of the relationship between government, society and economy focuses on the causes which lead to the containment of ethnicity in some cases and its exacerbation in others.


A very important contribution is made by Paul. R. Brass(1991). His research is based on the theoretical extension of ethnicity and nationalism. The study focuses the issue that there is nothing inevitable about the rise of ethnic identity and its transformation into nationalism among the diverse peoples of the contemporary world. Rather the conversion of cultural differences in bases for political differentiation between people, arise only under specific circumstances which need to be identified clearly. The author also makes a point that elite competition is the basic dynamic that precipitates ethnic conflict under specific conditions, which arise from the broader political and economic environments rather than from the cultural values of the ethnic group. Brass confirms that the theory is consistent with the assumption that
ethnic identity is itself a variable, rather than a fixed or given disposition. It also discussed the critical role of elite in the relationship with state. A critical importance of the relationships established between particular elite groups and state authorities is elaborated in this book.


- Another seminal work is edited by Edward Mortimer and Robert Fine(1999). The study is helpful in understanding the concepts of nation, nationalism, and national identity. Two chapters ethnicity, its making and nature of ethnicity are the most relevant to the present research. While defining these concepts, the study continues to provoke debate about the relationship between ethnicity, national identity and state sovereignty.


- Another significant piece of work is related to ethnicity, nationalism, its evolution and nationalist movements and ethnic politics. The study presents its argument in the perspective of Western World, in the Communist World and in developing world of South Africa and the Middle East. The book has incorporated the changes occurred in the world, with reference to disintegration of USSR, creating the supra national organizations etc. Within these developments the researcher introduced the relationship between ethnic politics and national integration.

In another research the author, Wieland (2006) has discussed the politicization of ethnic groups. He selected Bosnia, India and Pakistan and made a comparative analysis of nation building in the Balkans and the Indian sub-continent. This study focuses on Muslims of Balkans and Indian sub-continent. The researcher tried to find out the intra-ethnic conflict within an ideological state having one nation on the basis of religion. Though the research is not directly relevant with the present study, even then it provides sound literature about the origin of Indian Muslim nation. The author contributed in a sense that it provides a detailed logical discussion about ethnic groups, ethnicity, subjective and objective concept of nation and nationalism.


A significant piece of writing about ethnic conflict is edited by Kenneth Christie (1998). In this research, theories of ethnicity are incorporated with the politics of ethnicity. The collection of article covers different dimensions of ethnic conflict. The theme presented in this book exposes that ethnic unrest and communal strife is fairly resilient not only in the third world but also in developed societies in the 20th century. The book also focuses ethnic conflict in tribal politics.


Another vital research on the subject of ethnicity, and its attributes is edited by Hutchinson and Smith. The book not only incorporated a wide variety of debate about numerous features of ethnicity but it also discusses the issue of
politics of ethnicity. Under this debate various factors are highlighted, which becomes reason of ethnic politics.


- A very important study is made on ethnic conflict in 2004. The book is important because various theoretical bases have been associated with ethnic conflict. The basic approach is to understand the internationalization of ethnic conflict in different regional contexts that integrates international relations and comparative analysis. Four explanatory frameworks are also used that contribute to the diffusion and the escalation of ethnic conflicts in plural societies. The author examined two types of ethnic conflicts. One, in which conflict in one country directly affect neighboring countries and second, in which non state actors are involved or outside ethnic groups are involved in the internal conflicts. Different explanatory frameworks in the escalation and diffusion of interstate ethnic conflict are also helpful for the present study. Lobell, E. S & Maucerri, P. (2004). Ethnic Conflict and International Politics: Explaining Diffusion and Escalation. Newyork: Palgrav Macmillan.

- To understand the politics of third world countries, B. C Smith’s (2003) contribution has much importance. Though the book presents the theories of political change and development in the third world, it also highlights the social structure of their society. This part of the book “Nationalism and Secession” is directly relevant to the present study. In this part the role of the middle class is discussed appropriately under various theoretical perspectives.

- A very useful book about south Asian ethnic movement discusses its various forms. The nature of ethnic conflict in Pakistan is highlighted by various articles. Veron Hewitt (1998) explains the provincial identity of Baluchistan. While Iftikhar Malik talked about ethnic conflict in Sindh. Both the studies are helpful to understand the main actors behind these conflicts. In both the cases of Sindh and Balochistan the articles throw light on the state’s unnecessary, painful and coercive role.


- Another useful book that is most relevant with the present research is about conflict and peacemaking in multiethnic societies. The volume is divided in to five parts and three segments. First part gives a review of the history and nomenclature of ethnic conflict with special perspective from developed West and traditional societies of the Third World. Then it presents a selection of ways to look at ethnic conflict. Part two to four offers case studies of various ethnic conflicts. The unique thing is that it is an analytical mix presenting the attempt to integrate explicitly empirical and theoretical contributions from the scientific study of individual and group behavior into politics.

• An important work about ethnic conflict is contributed by Esman (2004). The book is helpful to understand the origin of ethnic conflict while explaining the scope of ethnic pluralism and the varieties and complexities of ethnic conflict in the contemporary world. Principal terms and concepts are also evaluated. The book has explored the sources of ethnic pluralism, the processes, peaceful and violent, by which ethnic communities are mobilized to protect and promote their collective interests. The most readable part is chapter five which discusses various roles that governments play in generating and managing ethnic conflict and the transnational and international forces that impinge on ethnic encounters.


• Another significant work is done by Staven Hagen. The book discusses ethnic conflict in various plural societies. In the first chapter, problem of ethnic conflict is discussed. While explaining its theoretical basis, the crucial issues of ethnic identity formation are also outlined in detail. It is also elaborated that how ethnic conflicts affect socio-politico and economic life. As all the domestic factors, influenced by ethnic conflicts are discussed, the international implications of ethnic conflicts are not ignored. The book gives a comparative view that how some strategies of the state are failed, and some become successful. Apart from discussing the nature of conflict of various countries located in different continents, Pakistan is also a major part of this study.

Another valuable work is presented about ethnic conflict regulations in India and Pakistan. The book presents a comparative study about India and Pakistan. It is explaining the federal design, which is especially made for plural states. The author discussed in detail the problems of federalism in South Asia. It gives a comparative picture of federalism in India and Pakistan with constitutional methods adopted by both the states. The book gives comprehensive analysis about instability and stability in the two main states of South Asia. The book not only discusses the historical factors which shape up the present picture, it also explains the future prospects for both the states that how the conflicts could be avoided.


A research is conducted in which the author is of the view that the sense of a common ethnicity, history, language, culture and a satisfactory experience of living together in a political union, contribute to the development of nationhood among people. The uniting potential of these factors, as they operate in Pakistan are examined in this book. The book also emphasized on the performance of political system and the role of governing elite, either they are performing in a democratic order or not. This scholarly search also explains the historical factor of ethnicity that Pakistani's is the product of many foreign and local ethnic influences. There is an aboriginal and then a Dravidian substratum in the ethnic composition of each of the main regional groups. In spite of this, the author discusses different attributes of ethnic politics which divided the nation into different ethnies. Some ways and means are also suggested to promote national unity. Two rival theories of the
relationship between the political system and national unity have been
discussed in the book. One is advanced by the ruling elites, including the civil
and military bureaucracies. The focus of this approach is on “Strong Center”
for the creation and promotion of national unity. The other theory is supported
by the counter elites, who manage “group feeling” in their respective territory.
They rejected the elite’s prescription as antithetical to national unity and
integrity. They wish to reduce the authority of elites. They maintained that
only a democratic and federal polity can create the political peace and mutual
trust. The book is helpful for present study.

Vanguard.

- On the subject of ethnicity and nationalism with reference to South Asia and
  Europe a very important study has been made by Area Study Centre,
  University of Karachi. The book covers different aspects of nationalism in
different parts of the world but the writings related to ethnic politics in
Pakistan are helpful for the present study. The authors discussed economic
and political dimensions of ethnicity, and the growth of Mohajir and Baloch
ethnies. They also integrated the problem of ethnicity, with Pakistan’s
national unity and security. They argued that ethnic feelings provide a fertile
ground for the assertion of centrifugal forces.

Tahir, A. N (1997). The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe and
South Asia (eds). University of Karachi and Hanns Seidel Foundation.

- A very significant work about the futility of ethnic politics in Pakistan is done
  by Feroz Ahmad (1999). He discusses about different ethnic groups in
Pakistan, the evolution of their group identity and the social and economic conditions of the state in which they interact. Researcher gave a detailed analysis of the time when Pakistan came into being, and the challenges of identity, the nascent state faced. The explosive nature of Pakistan’s ethnic problem and the role of state has been underlined while discussing the East Pakistan crisis, armed resistance in Baluchistan, and situation in interior Sindh. The author highlighted the problems faced by ethnic groups in Pakistan and the factors which are potential threat to national integration.


- Another very important study about Pakistan failure to national integration gave a thought provoking analysis about the policies adopted by Central ruling elite in Pakistan after its emergence. The author argued that due to discriminatory policies of central government national integration became an issue in Pakistan’s politics. According to her, Pakistan emerged as a nation state but failed to become one nation.


- Another important book “Contemporary problems of Pakistan”, is based on different articles written by famous political scholars who are keen observers of Pakistan politics. The book addresses different political problems of Pakistan including the problem of ethnicity. One of the articles in this book presents a detailed and critical analysis of Sindhi - Mohajirs rift in Sindh. This article is helpful to understand the origin of Mohajirs in Sindh, their contributions in the development of post independence Sindh and the role of the political leaders, bureaucrats and the military as well.

- The concepts of regionalism and the status of ethnic minorities in Pakistan are the focus of the research conducted by Surrendra Singh. The author gave an overview of the politics of regionalism in Pakistan. The study has its focus on the Sindh province but a brief description is also made about other regions of Pakistan, especially the Punjabi region, the Pakhtoon regionalism, and the Balochi regionalism. The scholarly work also presented a brief analysis of East Pakistan Crisis, and the establishment of Bangladesh. This research is helpful for present study in a way that how the different governments respond to the demands of the ethnic communities of the mentioned regions, and the regional politics with the inspiration of regional identity is dangerous for Pakistan's national integration.


- A very useful and important work is done by Tariq Rehman about languages and their political implications in Pakistan. The scholarly work started with the theoretical preliminaries where author defines key concepts such as
“language planning”, its connection with “power” and “politics”, “identity-construction” and “Ethnicity”. The second important portion is related with the British language policies and it is expressed that language was an important tool of imperialism. After discussing in detail the imperialistic policies of Britishers, in the proceeding chapters the author made a detail account of different important language movements in Pakistan. The author concludes that modernity, introduced by British government brought about radical changes in language policies and distribution of power. The author is also of the view that language is the heart of ethnicity. It was a major symbol of ethnicity for Bengalis, while it was important, though not the sole symbol, for the Mohajirs. Bengali language based ethnicity was strong enough to challenge the domination of the West Pakistan elite and contributed to the creation of Bangladesh. After a detailed account of merits and demerits of language based ethnic movement the writer concludes that language policies are so intimately related with politics that, if they change, the political map of Pakistan will also change.


- Ethnic conflict in Pakistan is also highlighted in another book, written in the perspective of regional security, ethnicity and governance. The contributors of this book discuss the ways in which a number of South Asian countries, having experienced colonial rule and achieved independence, sought to establish strong centralized states and bureaucratic modes of governance, but whose current history beset with problems. The book analyses some of the implications of this general problems, focusing on the issues of governance and the nature of state in post colonial societies.
• A very valuable work about ethnic politics in Pakistan has seen in Adeel Khan’s(2005) book. The book explains various issues related to ethnic conflict in Pakistan. The book presents a clear picture of centre state relationship and the oppressively centralizing policies of the Pakistani state. He discusses in detail the absence of representative rule, provincial autonomy, and ethnic and regional discontent. The book deals ethnic conflict as a political issue, and a struggle for power between the dominant and the non dominant.


• A very important piece of work is presented by Shaheen and Javed Rehman. The book presents a detailed analysis about indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities in Pakistan from a legal perspective. The book proposes to compile and analyze the legislation, subsidiary legislation and guidelines that affect the rights of ethnic minorities at both national and provincial level.


• An important work about Pakistan discusses in ideological basis of its creation. The book expresses the importance of a positive national identity. It is explained in a way that Pakistan appears to be an unachieved nation precisely because of the persistence of ethnic identities which may even be described as nationalities. The author has edited a variety of articles written in the perspective of Pakistan's ethnic mosaic.

- An autobiography of Khan of Kalat state is also vital for the study. The author reminded the part of every event in pre and post independence period, unfolded many secrets for the future researchers. It gives a detailed account of accession of Kalat state with Pakistan. Though the book describes only single point of view, even then it is useful for the study of Baloch ethnie.


- To understand the social construction of Baloch Society in post 1947 period, Mehmood Ali Shah’s book is also pertinent to study. The study brings step by step development of local government system in Balochistan. The book also focuses on the role and influence of these systems upon tribal and less developed society of Balochistan. It also highlights the socio-economic structure and the administrative system of the tribes belonging to different ethnic groups.


- An important contribution towards socio-cultural and political aspect of Balochistan is written by Kundi. The book provides an interesting analysis/description of many socio-cultural, political, economic and administrative aspects of Balochistan. The book comprises of number of articles published in the leading national English dailies. Many of them highlight the ancient and historical legacies of the province having been totally ignored in press.

- Another very important work about Balochistan highlights the strategic and political importance of Balochistan for the security of Pakistan. The study has incorporated the consequences of Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979. It also tries to explore various options available to Pakistan and probable courses of action open to it after the signing of the Geneva accord. While discussing the geostrategic significance of Balochistan the author argued that since Balochistan is a link between South Asia, the Middle East and Central Asia, it enhances the geo-political importance of Pakistan.


- A very important work on Balochistan’s historical and political process is done by A.B Awan (1995). The book is written in two parts. First part is mainly descriptive, with historical background for the main narrative. Part two relates to post-independence Pakistan and the evolution of political process during this time in Balochistan. The book discusses the nature of Baloch ethnic group. Awan beautifully explained the Baloch struggle from a nomadic lifestyle to the consequences of British rule which added new dimension. After British period the book describes the evolution of political events and processes in Pakistan. Apart from discussing domestic variables, the book also highlighted the influence of Russia, on neighboring Afghanistan, militarily, politically, economically and culturally.

• Selig S. Harrison’s (1998) contribution about Baloch nationalism is also vital for present study. The book is a Baloch centered and treats Baloch nationalism as a dynamic, self contained phenomenon worthy of attention in its own right rather than as a subordinate aspect of the larger problems of Pakistani and Iranian nationalism. The book examines Pakistani and Iranian attitudes relating specifically to the Baloch and their demands, focusing in particular on how these attitudes condition the Baloch movement and affect the prospects for compromise between the Baloch and Islamabad. The book also explains the principal grievances, underlying Baloch demands for autonomy and the possible elements of an accommodation between the Baloch and Islamabad.


• A Very informative work about the situation of Urban Sindh especially Karachi has been given by ABS Jafri (1996). The writer categorized the book into four sections with a relatively brief and crisp introduction to the Karachi phenomenon. The writer has adopted an unorthodox strategy to refresh the memory of the reader with pertinent developments, events and facts which have a direct and indirect relation with Karachi crisis. A chronology of events is also there to cover the period from 1990 to 1994. The work is helpful for the study because the author used actual events, statements, statistics and facts. In the second section of the book different comments on major events has been collected and the third section is a detailed and thoroughly documented appendix which provided supporting evidence for the writings of first two section.

- Biographies and autobiographies are important sources to get original information. "My Life's Journey" is the book of the same kind. It covers important phases of Mohajir politics in Sindh. The book also uncovers various facts about the development of Mohajir identity move. Mr. Altaf Hussain wrote about all his grievances with the state and repeated again and again that Mohajirs were the fifth nationality of Pakistan and MQM was their sole representative. The word Mohajir and MQM are used interchangeably in this book.


- Another significant work about Mohajir community in Sindh is done by Osker Verkaaik. He offers a fascinating inside look at present day political violence in Pakistan through a historical ethnography of Mohajir Qaumi Movement. Verkaaik has presented MQM as the most remarkable and successful religious nationalist movement. According to him, MQM has mobilized much of the migrants (Mohajir) population in Karachi and other urban centres. The notable thing is the specific approach of Verkaaik about Mohajirs. He combined two perspectives on political violence. He believes that MQM has introduced a new style of politics and new forms of political mobilization. The book has focused on three different aspects of urban youth culture; violence; Islam, and a lucid unbalancing aspect. The book is like an ethnography to
show how these aspects of an emerging urban youth culture have influenced the MQM and changed the style of Pakistani politics.


- The Oxford has presented a very vital study about ethnicity in Sindh. The book presents a debate about Sindhi and non Sindhi and explains the genesis of MQM particularly in Karachi and generally in Sindh generally. The book presents the dynamics of Mohajir politics. It is mentioned that the origin, source of population, and course of movement has very little in common with the political process pursued outside urban Sindh or anywhere else in Pakistan. Apart from this debate the ideological controversies about the creation of Pakistan are also incorporated with this book.


- Another work on the same issue of Mohajir ethnicity is helpful to understand the Mohajir mindset or Mohajirism. The author tries to analyze the role of MQM in the politics of Sindh and Pakistan. The author is of the view that myth of the Mohajir is too overworked, overdrawn, overlapped and has become tiresome. The need is to abandon it firmly and finally so that they could act like others as citizens of the same state.

• Shehzad Manzar (1994) has presented a significant view about the racial problems of Sindh. In his book he argued that post colonial states adopted European ways of creating nation states. For this purpose, strong central governments introduced. Same formula was adopted by Pakistani state. Consequently, different ethnic groups started to protest against the policies of central authority. The book has incorporated all ethnic movements which were started in Sindh province. Racial conflicts of Sindhis and development of Mohajir politics in Karachi are the two main topics of this book.


• Another research is conducted in which the author focuses on Saraiki language. The book discussed the origin of Saraiki language its growth and development. The evolution of Saraiki language had been mainly contributed by the dialects of ancient Pre-Aryan, Dravadian and Dardic group of languages. The hordes of invaders from the Central Asian Region and the Pamir mountain ranges brought to the plains of the Indus Valley an amalgam of dialects, which had a tremendous impact on the development of local languages. The book is helpful to understand how Saraiki language is different to other languages of the Punjab province.


• For the understanding of Saraiki ethnic movement “Saraiki Wasaib” is an important book. The book describes the specialties of Saraiki culture with sound historical background. A variety of writings are collected including Shackle’s style and themes in the Saraiki mystical poetry of Sind, Wagh’a Saraiki area- the centre and the circle. Various other articles are also
included which show the cultural distinctiveness of Saraiki areas specially Multan. Main theme of this book is to discuss that Saraiki language is not the part of Punjabi but has its own history, tradition and orientation. The writers claim that Saraiki has more rich vocabulary than Punjabi, so it must be treated exclusively.


- Another important contribution regarding Saraiki issue is presented by Azizuddin. The book is about the diaspora communities found in Pakistan. These are ethnic minorities. The book has two wide purposes. First, to identify the rights of Sindhi, Baloch and Pakhtoon nationalities second, to identify those who are part of authorities and perform as the helping hand in their activities of suppression. The book starts with the happenings in East Pakistan. It is argued that the state did not learn any lesson from the East Pakistan debacle, and rest of the ethnic communities in different territorial units of Pakistan have started thinking in that way. The book has highlighted various factors which are the cause of distrust.


- Another important study about Saraiki region is presented by Dr. Umbreen Javaid (2004). The book carries analysis of the politics of Bahawalpur and the behavior of the local people. The book explains the distinct nature of Bahawalpur region and it incorporated the Bahawalpur Sooba Movement also. The book covers the political activities, main stream political parties and regional parties.

- An analysis of Saraiki grievances is given in “Brief for Bahawalpur province”. The book provides fundamentals of Saraiki ethnic movement. It is the first book from Saraiki area, which showed the anti state feelings. Major focus of the book is to revive the status of state of Bahawalpur, which was independent before partition, the Nawab of Bahawalpur legally merged the state with Pakistan but administratively the state affairs were conducted by the Nawab. When one unit was introduced, the Bahawalpur state became part of West Pakistan and after its withdrawal, Balochistan was declared a separate province but Bahawalpur State was merged with Punjab. The book follows the struggle of Bahawalpur region for their separate identity.


**Statement of the Problem:**

The study has its aim to examine and analyze the politics of ethnicity and its impact on Pakistan. The basic assumption is that “state policies are responsible for the development of “politics of ethnicity” in Pakistan. On the basis of this assumption following questions have been made to analyze the factors, problems and outcomes of the ethnic politics:

Q . 1. What is the basis of ethnic politics in Pakistan?

Q. 2. How politics of ethnicity is a hurdle to national integration of Pakistan?
Q. 3. To what extent the state is responsible for the development of politics of ethnicity?

Q. 4. How did Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki ethnic communities transform into ethnic politics?

Q. 5. What is the demand pattern and the response of the state towards these ethnic communities?

Q. 6. How and to what extent the ethnic communities of Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki are threat to national integration of Pakistan?

Q. 7. Can effective leadership and middle class of a particular ethnic group contribute to the pursuance of their demands?

Q. 8. How national integration can be achieved in plural societies like Pakistan?

Significance/Justification and likely benefits:

The significance of the research lies in the fact that the main focus is on explaining the nature of ethnic mobilization, demand patterns and response of the state. The study has tried to understand the grievances of the Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki ethnic identities. A very notable point is that the present research has its focus on ethnic conflict with state rather interethnic tussle. It has been discussed in detail and supportive literature is also used to develop the argument that ethnicity in its original form is harmless for the creation of nation building, though the element of threat is present. The state
policies make the threat enable. The ethnic leadership, mobilized middle class and external support are the factors which multiply the intensity of the threat. The research has incorporated extensive literature to support the argument. Quantitative data is also used to strengthen the argument. The aim of the study is to make this research convincing and useful for future researchers and policy makers.

**Objectives of the study:**

Curiosity is the base of knowledge. This is in the nature of human being to know about the world around, and to uncover the covered realities. The objectives and the aims of this research are mentioned as;

- To find out those factors which are responsible for disharmony in the perspective of national integration in Pakistan through a comprehensive literature review on politics of ethnicity.
- To incorporate those factors which are politically manure by the Balochi, Mohajir and Saraiki ethnic identities.
- To synthesize the politics of ethnicity in Pakistan on the basis of certain rational arguments and questions. The three case studies have been chosen as a tool to analyze the main problem.

Keeping in view, the mentioned objectives, the study has tried to evaluate the “response” of the governing system regarding ethnic demands and to find out a mechanism that would be helpful to create national unity.
Research Methodology:

Research methodology is the science and philosophy behind all research. It goes into the heart of how we know, what we know and allow the researcher to understand the different ways in which knowledge can be created. “Methodology” also enables the researcher to be critical and analytical in the face of knowledge being presented as fact. Research methodology has two basic approaches, the qualitative and quantitative. The present study is based on both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative approach is applied by theorizing, and theory formulation and the quantitative approach is used to evaluate survey in the shape of bar graph based on the questions regarding the two surveys. Apart from these approaches, both primary and secondary sources have been used for the present study. Primary sources include surveys from the selective population, and government documents, while secondary sources are books, periodicals, journals, magazines, newspapers and internet. All these sources remained helpful to interpret data and to reach a logical, realistic and practical conclusion.

Place of work and facilities available

The place of work has been the Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, New Campus, Lahore; others included the Seminar
Division of Chapters

The research has been divided into six chapters. It starts with the introduction following the literature review, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the research, likely benefits and significance, research methodology and the research plan.

Chapter one is based on the theoretical framework of the thesis. The concepts of ethnicity, politics of ethnicity, and national integration are discussed in detail. While interpreting these concepts an extensive debate is incorporated. The role of state is also discussed in creating national integration. The researcher has developed the argument that multi-ethnic societies should not be dealt ordinarily and state should adopt such policies which guarantees the specificity of the ethnic identities. In the perspective of politics of ethnicity, a model has been drawn to show that how ethnicity transformed into politics of ethnicity. With the help of the existing literature a life cycle of ethnic conflict with state is also drawn. In the theoretical debate of ethnic politics and its consequences to national integration, four variables have been taken out from the literature to measure the threat of ethnic politics
to the national integration. These variables are the role of leadership, middle class, states role and support of external factors.

Chapter number three, four and five deal with the case studies of Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki ethnic identities. A seminal pattern is designed to study these ethnies. The study starts with the historical development of their ethnic identity, following their ethnic narrative. The nature of the issue of the three case studies is also discussed in length to get better understanding. While discussing the development of conflict, violent clashes between state and ethnic groups are also discussed in chronological order. In the three chapters, important state policies, relevant to particular ethnic groups are also highlighted. These are the underlying factors which aggravated the intensity of conflict. At the end, it is also evaluated that to what extent ethnic leadership has remained affective in creating ethnic awareness? How middle classes of particular ethnie perform, for the development of Pakistani nationhood or for ethnic identity? What has been the role of state in aggravating or minimizing the conflict, and to what extant these groups have been successful in creating external linkages and getting their support. The concluding chapter six has three parts. Part one presents an overall summary of the thesis. It also incorporates the survey result which was conducted from Quetta, Karachi and Multan by the researcher. The second part of the thesis deals with the findings drawn on the basis of the survey and the detailed study. The last part presents some suggestions that how state can avoid the conflictual situation and reduce the intensity of ethnic politics.
CHAPTER TWO

Ethnicity and National Integration:

A Theoretical Formulation
2.1 Introduction

Ethnicity is an important feature of human identity that manifests differently in different societies. It reflects diversity in the society whose internal harmony and stability depends on how ethnic diversity is accommodated in a pluralistic framework of the state and society. The existing literature about ethnicity presents a clear picture of its origin while the literature about nationalism gives understanding about ethnic politics. Most of the scholars like A.D Smith (2000), John Breuilly (1993) and Paul Brass (1991) agree that the concept of nationalism enhance the understanding about politics of ethnicity.

Owing to the fact, that politics of ethnicity is a constraint to national identity and a threat to the process of national integration, it remained the major concern of the governments in multinational societies. The present study will give a detailed account that how the ethnicity is politicised and increases its complexity as a threat to national integration.

This research, the researcher argues for the importance of politics of ethnicity as a key variable in the process of national integration. Without comprehending this factor it is difficult to systematize the process. To present an adequate analysis of the challenges of politics ethnicity to national integration, a detailed study of ethnicity is required to cover each and every aspect.
2.1.1 Meaning and Evolution of Ethnicity

The root word of ethnicity is “ethnic”, and derived from the Greek “Ethnos”, that carries variety of connotation (Smith, 1987, p.21). The most common usage appears to be the sense of a number of people living together. The same sense has been used in English from the mid fourteenth to mid nineteenth century, when it gradually began to refer to the study of racial characteristics (Griffth & Callaghan, 2003, p.96). The first use of this term in academic writings in English language is attributed to an American sociologist David Reisman (Eriksen, 2002, p.4). Since 1960 ethnicity and ethnic groups are the common words to describe the concept of belonging and classification of people and group relationships.

Ethnicity or ethnic identity is a self ascriptive, a way, in which people describe themselves and their identity. It is also a form of classification, by which groups are classified and constructed by others (Holston, 1998, p.148). In Social Sciences, the sense or connotation of ethnicity is racial or ethnological (Harper Dictionary of Modern Thought, 1988, p.285). According to Rex (1996), “Ethnicity is a social feeling, feelings of belonging to one group, whether these groups are in minority or immigrants. Groups develop on the basis of kinship or the result of a special
project, ethnicity evolves in permanent as well as situational groups” (p. 88).

Max Weber (1978) also defined ethnic group and ethnicity in the same way, He said,

Those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of a customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation: conversely it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists (p. 389).

“Milton J. Esman (2004) defined the concept in a way that,

Ethnicity or ethnic solidarity expresses a profound human need to belong, a source of physical and psychological security of fictive kinship that expands the boundaries of family relationship to an extended network of individuals that share the same culture and the same historical myths and collective memories (p.7).

Andrew Heywood (2000) has explained ethnicity that, “it is the sentiment of loyalty towards distinctive population, cultural group or territorial area” (p.226).

All these definitions and explanations about ethnicity show that absence of any one binding condition makes the concept more inclusive. However the concept illuminates that ethnicity has some objective and subjective markers. These signs and attributes are important factors in the formation of in-group and out group. The subjective markers are cogently associated with the qualities of individual given by his associates at birth or
through a process of socialization. These attributes are volitionally adopted by an individual. Often, these traits are externally visible in group activities, racial features, and family characteristics. Conversely, the objective markers are the psychological affection, mental and emotional processes help to identify with a particular culture or to coalesce with an ethnic group to seek guidance. While summarising this debate, it could be argued that no doubt subjective and objective traits define ethnicity and ethnic group but as far as the realization and identity of a group is concerned, “Politics” should also be studied as an important variable. In this way, state plays a primary role in the rise of ethnic consciousness within a group, that's why it is also pertinent to evaluate that political environment and political conditions, under which the ethnic group develops ethnic consciousness.

With the focus on the political variable the undersigned research presents a comprehensive comparative view about the theories of ethnicity and politics of ethnicity. The basic purpose is to develop an understanding between social and political aspect of ethnicity.

2.2 Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity

The study of ethnicity requires a deep sense of understanding about its nature. Various scholars have theorized ethnicity. Their varied impression generated distinctive theoretical debates. Some scholars have viewed ethnicity and ethnic groups in the reflection of Max Weber, whose explanations about ethnic group were as mass status groups. His basic
concern was to combine their subjective and objective aspects. Other than Weber, the theoretical debate about ethnicity was also generated among primordialists, instrumentalists and social constructivists. One of the leading scholars, Smith has presented the most comprehensive analysis of these theories. He has believed on the subjective character of ethnic identity which relies on meaning, memories, myths, symbols, sentiments, values, attitudes and perceptions to convince people and to mobilize them to work for the preservation of their ethnic identity (Freeman, 1998 p.18). Some writers have agreed with Smith’s argument about ethnicity and ethnie but on the other hand, some have presented their own distinctive views. For better understanding, a detailed study of theoretical preliminaries is necessary. The following section discusses about the theories of ethnicity.

2.2.1 Primordialism

The word primordialism gives the reflection of ancient beginning, development, and a natural state of being. Primordialists’ landscape of ethnicity is connected with blood ties or kinship. They assume that the fundamental ethnic identity of a person is fixed at birth and cannot be changed. They also view it, historically rooted because it slants towards family ties, the most important definitive element. Particular geography and homeland is also relevant to this concept. In the formation of primordial perception, the role of natural boundaries is very important which restrict kinship groups. In the words of Joiremen (2007) “the natural boundaries like rivers, mountains and forests are also the potential factors to define the traditional homelands of specific ethnic groups” (p.19-20).
The concept of Primordialism was introduced into social theory by Edward Shills who derived it from Tonnies’ famous distinction between Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft. The former referred to societies, based on the values of individualism and rationalism while the latter denotes communities characterized by strong and comprehensive solidarity. It was to be found in families, some other primary groups, villages and tribal societies. (Freeman, 1998, p.19; Shells, 1996, p.130). Geertz (1963) followed the pioneering distinctions of Shills and emphasized the importance of cultural givens like religion, language, race, nationality and customs to which people attach a primordial quality. His definition of primordiality is given as follows:

By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the given, or more precisely, since culture is inevitably involved in such matters. The assumed ‘givens’ of social existence; immediate contiguity and live connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable and at times, overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one’s kinsman, one’s neighbour, one’s fellow believer, ipso facto, as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself (pp.105-110).

He further argued that people of the new states are animated by two powerful motives. First, their desire for recognition as a responsible actor whose wishes, acts, hopes and opinion could influence the policy
makers and they are recognized by their specific thought, second, their wish to have their own state. The first desire of the group demands identity and public acknowledgement of themselves, while the other aim is practical. They want to develop, better living standard, more effective political system and above all for perform their role in international politics. In the new states where the society is usually multiethnic, multilingual, and multiracial, the population tend to regard this natural diversity, (Geertz, 1963, 108-113). To subordinate these specific identifications under a generalized commitment for the welfare of all, might create the risk of loss of identity either in the shape of absorption with in other culturally different group or a linguistic community that is able to imbues that order (Rex, 1996. pp.82-85).

Joshua Fishman (1980) and Walker Connor (1994) the other well known primordialists also examined the historical origin of the ethnic bond. They studied Hebraic and Hellenic cultures and showed that the liberal and materialist assumption of Western intellectuals, that nation is the product of modern development is wrong but having historical and cultural origin including kinship, language and religion.

Some primordialists show flexibility in their belief that under specific circumstances a person might change ethnic identity. For instance, at a young age, a person gets different chances to adopt ethnic association culturally, linguistically and regionally. The primordialists are set apart on the issue that ethnicity is fixed or changeable. Another great deal for disagreement is on the issue that whether it is biology, culture, race, or some
other factors which defines the boundaries between various ethnic groups and make ethnicity effective in pursuance of their interests.

2.2.1.1 Biological or Natural Primordialism

The first form of primordialism is the belief that ethnic identification arises from something inherent in the biology of human beings. Ethnicity has always been experienced as a kinship phenomenon, a continuity within the self and within those who share an integrational link to common ancestors. Ethnicity is partly experienced as “being bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh, and blood of their blood” (Fishman, 1980, pp.84-97). They believe that ethnic identities are unchangeable and determined at birth. Ethnicity is an ascribed quality, like a person’s sex or age.

Those who conceive primordialism as the continuity of blood ties are known as socio-biologist. They try to use scientific approaches to explain social behaviour. These philosophical basis include Darwanian natural selection, evolutionary biology and genetics (Kellas, 1998, pp.12-15). While discussing Geertz concept of natural primordialism Rex emphasized on these factors which are missing in Geertz debate about ethnicity. These factors are necessary to form an ethnic group and to create the feelings of ethnicity. First is the emotional satisfaction as being the member of a group, second, is their common belief in the myth of origin or the history of the group which makes the boundaries of that ethnie and third, the social relations which are not only important but have a sacred position. Moreover, linguistic and religious beliefs also play vital role to strengthen the membership.
The firm belief of socio-biologists in the biological explanation of ethnic sentiment has made them a rigid group albeit there are other primordialists who view identity as partly genetics and partly contextual. According to them if biological explanation of ethnic group which leads to the debate of genetic selection for group survival is sufficient, then it is easy to evaluate that ethnic conflict may be genetically determined (Stavenhegen, 1996, pp.18-19).

### 2.2.1.2 Cultural Primordialism

The second approach to Primordialism is cultural. Their spokespersons have emphasized that culture is the critical tie, helpful to bind people. They argue that culture is entwined with ethnicity and ethnicity is in born (Joiremen, 2007, p.24). Ethnic identity and continuity is maintained as the result of the transmission within the group. The transmission is possible through a process of socialization. In this process, education is the main element which helps to internalize the values. Although the process is not so fast, it is slow, yet it tries to inculcate the basic norms and customs to particular group. It constitute the core of the ethnic culture. Core culture is reproduced and transmitted from generation to generation through shared norms, and values. Through cultural mechanism the basic norms of an ethnic group are defined (Stavengen, 1996, p.20). Cultural primordialists also argue that ethnic identities and associations, continue only as the result of persisting social interactions. They are subject to modernization, modification
and revitalization (Freeman, 1998, pp.19-20). Geertz (1963), the most famous of all the primordialists, also supports the importance of culture informing ethnic identities. He argues that “Every individual is born into a particular culture that structures his belief and identity (p.130). He has built a connection between extended family members that is based on more than the blood ties. Some common attributes within cultural premises like language, religion and customs serve to bring people together into an ethnic group. These commonalities impute some common political objectives and interests to the people.

All the biological and cultural primordialists have emphasized that the role of culture is important to organize ethnic identities. Within the cultural parameters, factors like religion, region and territory have very important places but the most substantial of all of them has been given to language. It is not only a visible marker of ethnic identity but nationalism also (Kellas, 1998, p.19). In the process of nation building, language is considered an important issue in state policies. In this way language policy of a state could be instrumental for social and cultural change. It means that ethnic conflicts begin on the basis of language. In a pluralistic society, where one language dominates the other languages or dialects and consciously or unconsciously displaces other tongues, the suppressed groups feel threatened of their ethnic identity. The status of language for them is a symbol of group identity. Needless to say that language and ethnicity constitute identity and for setting political agendas as well. Primordialists believe that an authentic language has the potential to define the borders of
ethnicity. Language influences the culture and the individuals of a group because it is a source of communication and expression.

### 2.2.2 Instrumentalism

Instrumentalists believe that ethnicity is a means to achieve some specific ends. These ends could be political and economic. Contrary to primordialists, they focus on the goals and objectives of ethnic groups. They claim that ethnicity is changeable that is why the debate about its origin is irrelevant. They have pointed out, that ethnic identity is dependant on different variables, like situations or specific conditions, within which it forms and gains importance. When the objectives are achieved, sometimes it is completely disappear or sometimes merges into some other group. Barth (1969) the advocate of instrumentalism believes that the genetic, linguistic and cultural markers are defining qualities of ethnic groups but he disagrees with the idea of fixed nature of ethnicity. His primary assent is the changeable nature of ethnic sentiment (p.10-19). Michael Hechter (1986) has presented a new concept of instrumentalism with the help of rationale choice theory (p.268-277). The theory assumes that the promotion of socio-economic status is the main cause behind individuals act of developing associations. They want to minimize the cost and maximize the benefits. He maintains that among different alternatives, ethnicity is one option (p.268-277). People join ethnic association or hide their affiliation only because of its advantages and disadvantages. Group association gives them strength to present their demands and get favourable decisions (Yang, 2000, p.47). The advocates also propagate that an individual’s ethnic group could be
identified while examining his/her choices and actions. Ethnic identities and social classes are analogous to each other. As the social organization is changed with due course of time, the ethnic association is also changed. They accentuate that leadership and circumstances have the ability to manipulate ethnic identity (Jones, 2003, p.79). Moreover, they projected ethnic identity or ethnicity as an instrument to get some sort of benefits. In this effort, the role of leadership is very important that mobilize people towards ethnification and then covert it into political movement. Brass (1991) is one of the best spokes persons of instrumentalist approach, who studied the role of leadership with regard to ethnicity. He studied Indian society, having wide variety of ethnic, linguistic and religious groups. Brass views that in the plural societies, where every individual has a complex personal identity, ethnicity often performs a role of a bridge between the group members and the ruling elite. He has further argued that this is the leadership which create and transform ethnic identities due to its fluid nature (p.22-26). Brass has presented a micro study of different minority religious groups in South Asia especially in the colonial period, where leadership developed these groups into ethnically self conscious communities. He also pointed out that when ethnic groups are formed and developed a structural organization, then it becomes easy to mobilize people (pp. 172-176).

Cohen (1969) has also presented the instrumentalist views in his study about the Urban African custom and politics. He has discussed the importance of situation in the formation of ethnic identity. His study evaluated the pre and post colonial period in which the Nigerian tribes behaved differently. Their tribal, religious and lingual identity compelled the
colonial rulers to give them special treatment. After independence, when they took control of their government, the state policy was in favour of one national identity, which became the cause of conflict among different tribes. Despite the fact, that Nigerian government viewed all tribes and ethnic groups as Nigerian, the minority had less share in power. They struggled for their separate identity on the basis of certain religious sects. So a new situation was created to politicize their identity. Cohen strongly claimed that ethnicity is a political phenomenon rather than biological, or cultural (pp.198-203).

2.2.3 Social Constructivism.

Like instrumentalists, social constructivists have also viewed that ethnic identity is changeable, and fluid in nature. Both focus on the role of political and economic factors in reshaping ethnic identity, even then the major variant between them is about the origin of ethnicity and the nation.

They believe that all the ethnic expressions are not opportunistic. Ethnicity is invented by human imagination and it is an intellectual construct (Esman, 2004, p.34). Owing to the belief that ethnicity has no natural basis, they have considered its fugacious character. This type of ethnic association which spring up after social interaction is likely to be fortuitous, mostly dependent upon changing circumstances (Esman, 2004, p.35).

Social constructivism is comparatively a recent phenomenon, closely linked to post-modernist persuasion that ethnic division is the brain
child of power elites (Yang, 2000, p.46), bowed to strengthen their position in society for powers. The competitors have control over educational policies and institution. They have power to steer the communication networks and exercise influence to mould the group affiliation by using official resources. Under this school of thought, it is argued that ethnicity is partly ascribed and partly volitional. Daniel Bell (1975), one of the writers about social constructivism has expressed that previously, identities were related to one’s tribe, religion or culture, now individuals are free to select their identity. The association with any group is a self conscious decision. Bell believes that people can have numerous ascribed identities but all these identities are not formed to achieve benefits (p.160-171).

The theory of social constructivism is used in three perspectives. First, the people try to define themselves through the creation of imagined communities. Second, people can close their identity by themselves and prefer one over the other and third, the theoretical idea that ethnic groups are not defined by themselves but by others.

Social constructivism has been criticized for being solely concerned with group formation rather than goals and political agendas. The theory does not focus on the conditions which forms the group, and how the groups disappear. Lack of attention on these questions has created sharp differences with instrumentalists notwithstanding that both have much more similar factors.
Major attributes of the three theories have been highlighted in the following table.

### Table 1. Comparison of three models of ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Primordialist</th>
<th>Instrumentalist</th>
<th>Social Constructivists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Origin of identity</td>
<td>Innate and ancient</td>
<td>Manipulated and varied in time</td>
<td>A combination of innate characteristics and socially generated myths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals of ethnic groups</td>
<td>Undefined</td>
<td>Political and economic gain</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of leaders</td>
<td>Undefined</td>
<td>Critical in defining goals</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity attribute of</td>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity viewed as conflictual or neutral</td>
<td>Conflictual</td>
<td>Conflictual</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expiration of identities</td>
<td>Not possible</td>
<td>Can disappear when no longer politically expedient</td>
<td>Can disappear for a variety of reasons.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While concluding the approaches of ethnicity, it may be stated that ethnic association is an important bond within the society. As far as its origin is concerned, all the theorists have presented their opinion with logic and rationale. The primordialists stressed on the objective markers, while the instrumentalists and social constructivists focussed on its fluid nature and defined political and economic objectives. The contemporary trends in plural societies also support the instrumentalists and social constructivist’s views. Group association on the basis of language, race, colour and religion is also
manipulated politically. So primordialists who ignore the element of politics while discussing its basis are unable to defend it, despite raising their concerns about socio-politico and economic gains.

The next part highlights the concept of politics of ethnicity. It will be helpful to understand the nature of ethnic conflict with state. It is based on the main arguments that how politics of ethnicity develops, and leads towards conflictual situation in which the state becomes a major contender.

2.3. Politics of Ethnicity

Political dimension of ethnicity makes it so powerful and potentially so destructive that ethnic passion has become the main reason of countless wars, revolts, and conflicts. As James G. Kellas has estimated that due to ethnic violence ten million lives were lost during 1945 to 1975. In 1990 to 94, approximately 800,000 people lost their lives in ethnic warfare between Hutus and Tutsi tribes in Rwanda and Burundi. From 1991 to 1995, Croatian government officially reported 13,583 deaths and approximately 40,000 injured in the homeland war. During the same period, after the fall of soviet Union, Bosnia Herzegovina experienced the worst kind of ethnic violence, where 200,000 deaths were observed. Apart from Eastern Europe and Central Asian states, the states of South Asia like Sri Lanka, Burma, India Kashmir and Pakistan are also the potential areas for ethnic Conflict (Kellas, 1998, p.1). Smith (1995) claims that in United Nations more than ninety percent states are ethnically heterogeneous (p.10) and Cohen (1993) also analyzed in his study that there is no ethnic group in a country having fifty
percent of the whole population (p. 235). Due to the fact, in all the regions ethnic conflict has been a major concern for governments and ethnicity does matter for politics.

In the context of politics of ethnicity most of the theorists of nationalism like Kohn (1939), Hechter (1975), Breuilly (1993) and Ernest Gellner (2006) are agreed that nationalism is a political principle in which state performs a central role in its evolution. While arguing the political principle, they explain that politics is about power. In this way the political perspective of nationalism leads to the mobilisation of ethnic group where persuasion of political power becomes the main objective. Under this approach ethnic groups also perform as political actors having desire to get political rights. These political rights might be described as increased representation in political and administrative institutions, share and control over local resources and use of specific language (an identity marker) as medium of instruction and communication. In case of denial of these demands from state authorities, conflict develops and ultimately the ethnic groups politicised.

In pluralistic societies, ethnic conflict is a usual phenomenon and the conflictual situation is also the cause of different cultural and economic issues. Culture includes, religion and language the most dividing forces while the economic is concerned with the allocation and distribution of resources (p.185).
While discussing politics of ethnicity, Kaufmans (2009) has highlighted the importance of group members. According to his views, the involvement of ethnic groups in a conflictual situation is based on group membership rather than economic interests (p.204) but Varshne (2005) emphasized on the importance of cultural and economic issues. In his point of view ethnic conflict is a usual phenomenon in plural societies and the conflictual situation is the cause of cultural and economic issues.

Many theorists who describe politicization of ethnicity or development of ethnic conflict have accentuated the significance of various factors. Brass (1991) argues that these factors could be unequal distribution of resources, social gains, and opportunities to rise and survive (p.41). In spite of the fact that the mentioned concerns are very important but the Realists perception as described earlier is very important, who believe that internal structure of the state and the government is also important in the development of ethnic politics. The domestic political environment of divided states characterizes the development of ethnic politics.

### 2.3.1 Development of Politics of Ethnicity

The presence of two or more than two groups with different attributes with in the same political system is a necessary condition for the development of ethnic conflict. Ethnic disagreements are either among various groups or with state authority. The study has its focus on ethnic conflict with state. Brass’s contribution is very important in this regard because he discussed in length the complexities of a political system, responsible for the rise of ethnic group as a challenger to state authority
In his debate about politics of ethnicity and ethnic groups as a challenge to state authority, he develops his arguments with the support of instrumentalists. He argues that political and economic conditions ascertain the salience of ethnicity. Ethnic elites perform instrumental role in ethnic mobilization and raising their demands. Ethnic conflict is function of different political factors and it becomes important when state responds.

To understand the role of the state in enhancing ethnic conflict or managing it, the scholars have differentiated it on the basis of developed states and third world’s states. Among these theorists, John Migdal (1994) and Robert Jackson’s (1990) work is very important for this present study. According to Migdal, state and society has a close relationship. State cannot function separately so their relationship is very dynamic, both struggle to preserver authority.

In this context Migdal argues that (1994) the struggle between state and ethnic groups which found within society not only generate conflict but sometimes create alliances. These alliances are useful for the state in transforming the nature of ethnic conflict in favour of the domination and hegemony of the state (pp. 9-12). The other important work presented by Jakson (1990) who presents the role of third world states as far as the ethnic conflict is concerned. He presented third world states as quasi states (p.1). These states are formed after decolonization process. These states are granted independence by developed states who firstly, believe in the provision of collective goods for their citizens. Secondly, these states work with the collaboration of society in distributing benefits. Unfortunately these norms are not transferred to the post colonial states. Resultantly,
independence became beneficial for a dominant group and most of the ethno-national groups continued to suffer (pp. 40-41). Under this theoretical construction of Jakson, the third world states have weak institutions and less capacity to address relative deprivation among various groups, that's why ethno nationalist sentiments gain momentum. Resultantly, identity movements highlight the differences between the contending parties over incompatible goals.

To conclude the debate about the development of politics of ethnicity, following figure can be helpful to understand the development of contest between state and ethnic bands.
Figure 1: Major steps in the development of ethnic conflict with state in plural societies

State Authority

Assimilation Policies for Integration

Out Come

Threat to Vital Interest of Ethnic Group
Perception of Internal Colonialism
Insolence Against Honour

Formation of Structural Ethnic Organization

Revival of Ethnic Narrative
Mobilization of Ethnic Community
Persuasion of Demands

External Involvement

Ethnic Conflict diffused or escalates
Though ethnic conflict arises and very often is managed by societal and state level, by all means, it is necessary to highlight those factors, helpful to transform ethnicity into ethnic politics.

### 2.3.1.1 State Authority

Keeping in mind the debate about politics of ethnicity and development of ethnic conflict this figure is drawn. According to the debate the developed states have strong state institutions and democratic norms, which help them to solve the problems of pluralism. USA, UK, Canada and Switzerland have various ethnic groups but they developed a strong constitutional mechanism to solve the problem. The post colonial states lack these values. Power gain and despotic rule is their basic aim that is why these states are unable to solve the ethnic problems peacefully. In most of the cases like Sikhs in India, Tamils in Sri Lanka, Moros in Philippine and Baloch in Pakistan have strong conflict with the state.

### 2.3.1.2 Assimilation Policies for Integration

National unity and ideology are the major political concerns in post colonial societies, that is why they used to apply assimilation strategy. This strategy is applied by the dominant groups. These groups might not hesitate to use state force in their own favour. So the state’s policies favour the powerful and dominant group. All the resources becomes exclusive property
of the dominant group. If the policies are made with consensus then national unity develops otherwise minority ethnic groups show resentment and creates conflictual situation.

2.3.1.2.1 Threat to vital interest of Ethnic Group

Due to state policies, ethnicity becomes political and violent. Ethnic group perceives its vital cardinal concerns in danger. The protest could be launched against government or another ethnic group, dominant in the power circle. Identity moves also crop up when weak governments fail to design ethnic contacts with formal guarantees provided by the constitution. As in 1960’s and 70’s, in Yugoslavia ethnic tension increased because of new constitutional arrangements of the state. They decentralized the federal structure, giving more autonomy to six republics and two provinces. The concerned ethnies were not satisfied at the allocation of resources specially economic policy did not serve the desired objectives. The weakening of the central government ignited the feelings of insecurity among various ethnic groups, (the Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims and Slovenes) and fosters the emergence of ethnic security dilemmas. The domestic factors directly led towards an environment of competition in which each band was involved in the struggle to gain power. The hostility spread from Slovenia to Croatia and from Serbia to Bosnia. The Yugoslavia case has indicated that abated political institutions often persuade a crisis of legitimacy. The crunch amongst groups further enhanced if they are not satisfied with the economic and political policies. Ethnic groups then challenged the government’s right to rule. In South Africa, the apartheid policy of the white compelled the
congress Youth league to mobilize resistance. Their heinous resistance was due to the threat of permanent dis-franchisement, dispossession and, powerlessness. The Palestinian resistance against Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza is regarded as their legal right against the illegal act of Jewish settlers. Sometimes, immigrants are also resisted by the native people, because of a threat to their jobs, wages and because they share all the benefits, the native enjoying (Esman, 2004, p.72).

2.3.1.2.2 Internal Colonialism

Internal Colonialism is a term described by Hechter (1975) that it is a situation in which the core (Central government) tries to overpower the periphery, (the weak provincial territory or ethnic group) politically and to exploit it materially. Hechter's substantive study reflects the process of nationality for nation in Great Britain. He presented Britain as powerful and culturally distinct core having dominant positions over economy, finance, and political system. The People in peripheral areas started a nationalist movement at the time when inequalities between core and periphery increased.

In all multinational states where one ethnic group or a coalition is empowered, the term internal colonial is also appropriate. The most glaring examples of internal colonialism are the north west territories of Canada, the problem of Quebec in Canada, Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan) of China, the Palestinians in Israel, and the Tamil Sinhala conflict in Sri Lanka. In these states, the dominant ethnic group is getting economic and political benefits
at the cost of other groups and territory. The State of Louisiana in USA is another example. Here the port of New Orleans has a pivotal role in the US economy. Yet the Louisiana State is one of the poorest and not getting as much benefits as other states are acquiring. Rounaq Jahan (1974) also borrowed this expression and used it while describing the situation of East and West wing of United Pakistan (p.299-300).

### 2.3.1.2.3 Insolence against honour.

Another outcome of assimilation policy is the perceived affront to the honour of a community. Self-esteem is much important for collective identities. Horowitz (1985) has important contribution in finding out ethnic conflict in divided societies. He combines the instrumentalists and primordialists thoughts that role of self-esteem is utmost important in the life of ethnic groups. His analysis is based on the fact that this self esteem is derived from the success of the members of the ethnic groups in different fields, especially in economic and political. Ethnic groups often respond emotionally when they notice that their dignity is impugned. They look for ways to vengeance. A violent resistance has been observed in Sudan, where the state tried to impose the Arabic language and Islamic penal code to those groups of society also, which were non Muslims and non Arabic (Kasfir, 1991, p365-366). They responded violently against the state authorities by discerning it an insult to their culture. In Sri Lanka, the Tamil, Sinhala conflict on the language issue (singer,1991, p.270) and in united Pakistan (prior to 1971), the issue of language between East and West wing gained importance and the ethnic identity politicized.
2.3.3 Formation of a Structured Ethnic Organization.

Ethnic groups try to develop their ethnic organization in the form of ethnic political party. An ethnic party is patent to represent itself for the promotions of the cause. The party mobilises the in-group and exclude the ethnic outsiders (Chandra, 2004). The World’s most acute and lengthy ethnic in counters involve the support of structured ethnic organizations. In Burundi, Tutsi and Hutu tribes, each organized their own ethnic party. This is not the only example in the world, different states in different regions have created their political parties and pressure groups on ethnic lines. Nigeria, Malaysia, Fiji and India, are the significant examples, where each of the major ethnic regional group has formed their ethnic party organization. Ain functions of these parties are as follows.

2.3.3.1 Revival of Ethnic Narrative.

The structured ethnic organizations revive their ethnic narration. The ethnic narrative is also vital to the study of ethnic politics. It often addresses the subtle and affective psychic identity needs of an ethnic group. For concerted realization or commemoration, ethnic narratives are sometimes constructed or invented by ethnic intellectuals. These narratives could be based on the ideology, language, symbols or historical myths. Their fervour towards specific narrative often acquit and legitimate their activities. In the Republic of Georgia, the conflict between Georgians and Abkhazians was basically lingual but latter turned into political. Serbian and Croations
also struggled for their linguistic identity. In India, Hindutva persists the superiority of Hindu cultural traditions. In these cases, the lingual, religious, and regional rhetoric was revived by the specific political parties.

Ethnic narratives, whether invented or ascribed, through generations are at the heart of ethnicity. Ethnic account succour to achieve specific objectives, constitute powerful tools to re-evaluate their historical basis. Through ethnic narratives the ethnically designed objectives attain justification.

2.3.3.2 Mobilization of Ethnic Community

Mobilization is the precondition for perpetual ethnic conflict. It produces sentimental approach and politically eloquent concordance among the members of a group. It is the second important task that ethnic groups perform thematic mobilization can differentiate among groups and create bonds on the basis of we-they and in-group, out-group ideas (Williams, 2003, p.152). In various divided societies like Fiji, Canada, Ireland, former Yugoslavia, former Soviet Union, Belgium, India, Sri Lanka, Sudan etc, ethnic bands and their parties have politically mobilized the traditional communities to form another distinguish nationality. Prior to 1947, Muslim nation was created after strong mobilization of their ethnic narrative.

2.3.4 Persuasion of Demands

A well organized and structured assembling, whether it is a political party, armed militias, guerrilla groups, or a nationalist movement, can successfully articulate and perused the demands. These demands could be political, economic and cultural.
2.3.4.1 Political

The issue of representation and autonomy or control of territory and establishing sovereignty is the fundamental and ultimate political demand of contending ethnic groups. The conflict between Palestinian and Jewish is exclusively political. Both are claiming their absolute right on the territory. The Beijing’s claim over Tibet for political and military control, Serbian and Albanian’s claim over Kosovo and future of Kurdish minority in Iraq are vibrant example of political demand.

2.3.4.2 Economic

Most of the researchers and scholars of ethnicity are agreed that the root cause of ethnic conflict is economic (Williams, 2004, pp.75-76). Bates (1974) clearly pointed out that ethnic groups and other rational agents always has conflict over scarce resources (p.14) It becomes a logical base of conflict in many societies. Different ethnies confront with each other and faced off against government when they have clashes about different economic issues like, access to control over resources, unequal allocation and distribution of capital. The power holders always secure their economic interests. If economic grievances among contending parties have been cut out, their political discontent will become irrelevant (Stavenhagen, 1996. p.294).

2.3.4.3 Social
Language and religion are the dominant social concerns. Both have the potential to generate ethnic conflict. As the language has symbolic and instrumental value, the religion reflects the collective identity and a belief system. In poly ethnic states, cultural issues often urge the need to create a viable workable policy that could be acceptable to each ethnic group. The success and failure of that policy is also determined on the degree of mobilization of ethnic demands. If ethnic bands are much specific in the persuasion of their requisitions the results would likely be as in Sri Lanka, Sudan and in Pakistan.

2.3.5 External Involvement

External involvement is another important development in ethnic conflict with state. Overt and covert involvements are the two forms of external factor. The former helps the government to make a legal agreement between the groups and reduce the ethnic tension while the later escalate the conflict because of hidden motives. The escalation of ethnic conflict is observed in those states where central state institutions are weak and invite external predation. Tamil Sinhala conflict in Sri Lanka and dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 are the glaring instances of tacit foreign involvement in the issue which escalate and later converted into a secessionist move. The case of South Africa is one of the examples of overt international involvement, where native black community was protesting against the apartheid policy. The movement further encouraged by international actors to enforce economic sanctions on the state. Though the participation was indirect but it helped to diffuse ethnic conflict in South Africa.
To conclude, it has become clear that ethnic conflict is a responsive act against state policies. It gains momentum when not dealt by the state authorities properly. So at the same time state is the oppressor and suppressor of ethnic conflict. The next part highlights the life cycle of ethnic conflict and its various stages.

2.4. Life Cycle of Ethnic Conflict
The development of ethnic antagonism expresses that it is an evolutionary phenomenon with complete life cycle. The followings are distinct but overlapping stages in the life cycle of inter-ethnic engagement.

Figure 2: life cycle of Ethnic conflict in divided societies:
2.4.1  **Pre Conflict Stage: Nation**

In this stage, there is no distinction among different ethnic groups. They seem as one nation. The problem arises due to the grievances and improper strategies of ruling elite to overpower different groups.

2.4.2  **State Policies**

Numerous policies are designed to deal with different situations. State strategies are used either to incorporate different groups into national politics or to exclude them. In both the cases, power elite require unconditional support and it is carried out through strong nationalist ideology which often raise anti state sentiments among other community members. The partisan role of state and openly representation to a single ethnic community is responsible factor to malign itself.

2.4.3  **Mistrust**
Although the element is intangible, but it could be measured through a vibrant gap between the ruling elite and ruled. Both become reluctant to communicate with each other that ultimately widen the breach.

2.4.4 Conflict Stage

The anti-state feelings lead to a conflictual situation in which various communities are distinguished by insiders and outsiders. Different socio political and economic conflicts are being raised to show the dispossession.

2.4.5 Re-formation of Nationality

With the passage of time, the weak ethnic groups started reforming their nationality, when their grievances and concerns are not addressed properly by the government. While asserting traditional narratives, they transform their ethnic identity. For the successful re-formation of their nationality a group of intellectuals and activists is mobilized to motivate and chart a meaningful strategy to unite diverse individuals under one ethnic association.

2.4.6 External support

This stage has very important position in the life cycle of conflict. At this point, the groups under re-formation seek external help for the recognition of their separate identity. Moreover, they call for support to those
states having trans-border cultural relationship. The pattern of external involvement is not the same in all states but it depends on the nature of a conflict and relationship of that community. Various intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also participate as foreign activists. Resultantly, heighten a nation’s awareness of its division and lowered their ability to fend off military intervention.

### 2.4.7 Conflict Escalation

The above mentioned factors contribute to amplify the antagonism. In spite of the fact that occasionally, external involvement is helpful to manage the conflict, even then internationalization of the issue is an important cause of a violent conflict, and it often escalate the conflict.

### 2.4.8 Secessionist movement

This is the stage, when decisive measures are being taken. The set agenda of an ethnic group gets a new shape and raise their voice to break away and establish sovereignty over their homeland. They want to be the masters of their own destiny, so that the state laws and policies will echo their traditions and cumulative interests.
Ethnic conflict demands that it could be handled on a very early stage, otherwise it has serious consequences on the process of national integration. The next section is an attempt to create conceptual understanding of national integration while discussing various approaches. It also highlights that how state policies for the creation of national integration ethnic conflict.

2.5. Ethnic Politics: An issue to National Integration

History has demonstrated that creation of national integration is a complex process. To unify contrasting identities under one government becomes so difficult at the time when they require to have a conducive environment for their cultural, economic, and political inspirations. In poly ethnic societies with conspicuous customs, language and identities, the task evolves an abstruse nature. In an effort to understand the challenging relationship between ethnic politics and national integration operational definition of integration is necessary to explain. Weiner (1965) refers the term integration as, a process that unites culturally and socially discrete groups into a territorial unit. In this way, the established national identity is helpful to overcome the problems between central authority and subordinate political groups. In addition to that it links the government with governed (p.55).
Shakir (1982) presented that the main thrust of national integration is to create congruity among various groups and transform them into a political community. For the economic and political upbringing of that community, national integration is an essential condition (p.36). In multiethnic societies, creation of harmony and thrive for national integration are important concerns.

Contrary to the mentioned definitions of national integration, the understanding of former British Home Secretary Roy Jenkins (1966) is also pertinent, quoted in a briefing paper of open society Foundations Institute for Strategic Dialogue. According to Jenkins,

Integration is perhaps rather a loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think we need in this country a ‘melting pot’, which would turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of Carbon copies of someone’s misplaced vision of stereotyped Englishman. I define integration, therefore, not as a flattering process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. This is the goal we may fall a little short of this full attainment, as have other communities both in the past and in the present. But if we are to maintain any sort of world reputation for civilized living and social cohesion, we must get far nearer to its achievement than is the case today (p.2).

The definition explains the importance of balance among diverse ethnic groups. It is the duty of the state to create social cohesion through
balanced policies. The phenomenon is more critical in developing post colonial states rather than developed states.

The political and social system of developed states, perform as a melting pot so that wider national interests are safeguarded. Here people are socialized to be more conscious of their national identity rather than ethnic ones. Among the modern industrialized societies, the United States of America presents the best example, where ethnically diverse groups, with different back grounds merged in American identity and are sharing equally the democratic rights. People with different origin like Italian, Korean, Spanish and Indian etc, have developed a larger American identity. Despite the fact that they are also associated with their particular ethnic group, ethnicity is not a hurdle towards national integration. The reason might be that state is not instrumental to suppress one ethnic group or creating differences among them (Sodaro, 2008, pp.148-150, Birch, 1989, pp. 7-12). Another example is Canada, where more than one ethnic group live and speak their separate language. Although, in Canadian domestic politics, the language issue has remained very important for years but the government is successful to resolve it through a workable language policy. To alleviate many of its ethnic groups, the Canadian government has introduced the multicultural policy, so that everyone should feel as Canadian. (Sodaro, 2008, P. 150)

Unlike developed and stable democracies, ethnic identities in fact emulates with national identity in less developed and unstable democracies
of the developing world. Here, association and loyalty with ethnic groups always poses a serious threat to national integration. Severe ethnic conflicts have been observed in societies which remained under the colonial rule, like the states of South Asia and Africa. One can easily find the racial, cultural, linguistic and, religious differences. The innate problems of these states are the destitution of the internal strength, ethnic polarization, social fragmentation and institutional weaknesses (Phandis and Ganguly, 2001, p.19). In these societies, social and political organizations are neither formed strongly nor able to socialize people to syndicate their loyalties towards the state. Consequently, the nature of ethnic conflict is not interpersonal but towards state. Due to animosity with state, its policies are perceived as antiethnic, resultantly, state fails to create social cohesion and national integration.

Most of the scholars wrote about national integration as a process of nation building. Sklar (1967) declares that to fill the ever-widening gap among various communities, national integration is a positive measure. He further explains that “national integration is an expensive concept implying the creation of durable bonds of unity with in a state”.(PP.2-3)

In the following section, those measures have been discussed which state adopts for creating national integration.
2.6. Approaches to National Integration and State Strategies

The approaches to national integration can be limited within the modernist and post modernist school of thought. The Modernist approach discusses primarily, societal trends, whether it is inclined towards unification or not. Their basic concern is about successful nation building project. They want to convert different social, cultural linguistic and religious groups into a congruous whole. Karl Deutsch (1963) is the main provocateur of this school of thought. Who is quoted by Vetik (2000) in his article “Democratic multiculturalism: a new model of national integration. According to deutsche the merger of different ethnic groups into one whole, help them to develop their loyalties at the national level. He stresses that for the smooth socio-economic progress, successful assimilation is a precondition. Apart from national views, most of the scholars criticized the modernist approach. For them, assimilation policy is a potential threat to the national integration. This group is known as post-modernist. The important voice in this approach raised from Walker Connor. He is the principle antagonist of modern school of thought. He favours to preserve cultural differences. Connor (1972) has presented credit to the technological advancements (communication and transportation) for increasing the cultural awareness and the conscious building about “self” and “others”. He believed that in this environment if state forced to assimilate minority groups into majority. The social conflict becomes unavoidable and in most of the circumstances it could be turn into ethnic war. (PP. 330-332)
To avoid centrifugal tendencies and cultural fragmentation, the governments of poly ethnic states often introduce three types of state policies.

1. Assimilation policy.
2. Exclusion policy
3. Pluralist Policy / Multiculturalism

### 2.6.1 Assimilation policy

Assimilation model is based on social integration. Distinctive cultures are tried to incorporate fully with the national culture through the policy of assimilation. For this purpose, states used to introduce common language, religion, cultural norms, values, symbols, and festivals. The assimilation could be achieved through the process of socialization and change, when an ethnic group and individual relinquishes their social attributes and take up of the dominant group (Inglis, p.23). Moin Shakir (1982) in one of his article about national integration quoted a classical expression of John. S. Mill about assimilations. He cited,

> Experience proved that it is possible for one nationality to merge and be observed in another; and when it was originally an inferior and more backward portion of the human race, the absorption is greatly to its advantage. No body can suppose that it is not beneficial to a Breton or a Bosque of French Navarre, to be brought into the current of the ideas and feelings of a highly civilized and cultivated people to be a member of the French nationality, admitted on equal terms to all the privileges of French Citizenship, sharing
the advantages of French protection and the dignity of French Power than to sulk on his own rock (pp.36-45).

According to the argument of Mill, the policy of assimilation is helpful to eradicate estrangement and unifying the society. Currently, France is the obvious example of an Assimilation model. After French Revolution the successive governments made aggressive assimilation of minorities for the purpose of nation building. The centralized and uniformed policies about education and cultures helped to convert people from diverse backgrounds into French people.

The urban Kurdish minority in Turkey has accepted the assimilation policy of the government and integrated themselves into mainstream political, economic and social affairs. While in some areas it is resisted violently and Kurdish national movement demanded official recognition of the marked Kurdish language and culture. The Iraqi and Syrian governments policy of Arabization and Iranian efforts for Persianization are also against the Kurdish identity.

Notwithstanding that the acculturation is substantial for national integration, yet it is widely debated on different forums. Some observe it a dangerous and most centrifugal approach. Walker Connor (1994) is one of the scholars who insisted that advancement in communication and other sources have increased cultural awareness among minorities. They have become more sentient about their cultural distinctions from other groups.
In another seminal study, Lijphart (1977) elucidates the importance of interpersonal relationship among different ethnic groups. Though this type of interaction enhances the understanding and contributes towards homogenization, on the one hand, but in plural societies, it is likely to originate strain and antagonism on the other. In the latter type of societies, clear drawn boundaries among various ethnic groups and limited contact decreases the chances of hostility (p. 88).

Assimilation policies seem alluring as far as the dominant elite are concerned. Although some ethnies willingly accept and assimilate into dominant culture but when states impose it by force, it compels the ethnic groups to rebel against the authorities. A glaring example is the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, when one national language was introduced by the state authorities in 1948 and it was challenged by the other group, widely protested and became a major reason for dismemberment.

2.6.2 Exclusionary Policy

Exclusionary policy is based on the concept to minimize contacts with ethnic minorities. It is also explained by differentialist model, whereby conflicts are managed and resolved through a process of elimination of ethnic minorities (Quinn, 2004, p. 120). Its acute pronouncement is physical genocide which was observed in Rwanda in 1994. It is a bi-communal society with major features of segregation, differentiation and imbalance. The worst kind of ethnic riots has been observed from 1990 to 1994 when
approximately 800,000 people were killed in Rwanda (Quinn, 2004, pp.120-121).

Apart from genocide and ethnic cleansing, the prevailing form of exclusionary approach is the policy of segregation which largely hampers the involvement of ethnic minorities in the main stream society. Neither do the states show their concern towards minority groups nor do they take initiative to accommodate. The apartheid policies in South Africa setup an extreme example where the elite white minority enslaved the majority native people for decades. In USA segregation policy was used against the African American (Negros) for a long time.

In the contemporary period, the most wide spread tool for the physical elimination of minority, is not a genocide or ethnic cleansing but refers to state policies, delineating the cultural identity of a group. These measures could be forced religious transmutation, destruction of cultural markers, massive relocation of population and promulgation of new language etc. Exclusionary policies are re-emerged in the wake of 9/11 incident, particularly in Western Europe and USA, in relation to Muslim immigrants from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. They are the main victims of restrictive immigration laws.

2.6.3 Pluralist Policy
Despite the fact that assimilation and exclusion practices are the vibrant features of contemporary poly ethnic states, even then pluralism exists all over the world. A plural society is defined as a “social order, consisting of institutionally segmented cultural groups living side by side, yet without mingling in one political unit. One cultural section monopolize power, controls the state apparatus and dominant over others (Smith 1974, pp.86-88). Pluralism works as a policy objective which makes the role of the state very important. State practices are more or less geared to accommodate the diverse and conflicting interests of the main ethnic groups.

The policy objectives are carried out through the preferential programmes in the job market, favourable action in the education system and work place, and a mutually agreed electoral mechanism in the political system. The concept of incorporation of individuals and group in society is the key effort towards national integration.

Contrary to the mentioned idealist approach, there is discontent among ethnic groups. Therefore, multicultural states adhere other forms of government within this parameter. The consociational and federal form of governments are widely accepted and experienced to solve ethnic problems and aggrandize national integration.

2.6.3.1 The Consociational Approach

Consociational or a grand settlement invokes the arrangement to secure the interests of major ethnic groups. The term allude that two or more
ethnic groups come together and create consensus that they will recognize each others’ rights and interests. They will share a common government. That is formed on an agreed set of rules. Lijphart (1977) who conceptualized the consociational model advert its applicability specially to plural societies in developing countries and western world. He described four features of this model,

a) Government by grand coalition.
b) The mutual veto or concurrent majority rule.
c) Proportionality in recruitment to decision making bodies and the public services and in allocation of public funds.
d) A high degree of autonomy for each segment to run its own internal affairs (p.25).

These features do not mean to homogenize an ethnically heterogeneous society, but unequivocally acknowledge their separate identity. The aftermath of this policy approach is to make a plural society, thoroughly plural.

2.6.3.2 Federalism

Apart from consociational model, used to obviate ethnic conflict, federalism is another system that used to reconcile diversity within the structure of a single state.
In the post cold war era, when ethnic tension captured international attention, federalism was adopted as a mean to regulate ethnic tension, not to exterminate ethnic differences (Mc Garry & O’Leary, 1993, p.4).

Federalism applies to homeland people who seek a significant measure of autonomy and self rule within their territory. They also get a share in participation in the affairs of the state. The governments of federating units and centre both are recognized supreme authorities within their own jurisdiction that is why federal structure of state has potential to harmonize the lawful demands of different ethnic communities based on language, religion or race. It is commonly described that federalism creates unity among diversity.

Apart from the fact that federalism is muses as the best pattern of pluralism where different ethnic communities co-exist peacefully. There are some states having federal systems in appearance not in essence. The former Soviet Union was a federation in form only. Actually it was a unitary state because its different institutions, political party, and economic planning agency had strong centralized trends. The similar case has been observed in Ethiopia and Nigeria. In both the states, constitution proclaimed ethnic minority rights but the central government impose its decisions by force. The inner authorities have strong control over land resources and public revenues.
The concentrated trends and use of force to implement the policies provoke ethnic conflicts, reduce the bargaining tendency, and intercepts the process of nation building. Same situation could be highlighted in this way that within one federal system ethnic communities are clearly divided into two groups. The dominant elite group “A” and the weak minority group “B”. Although the elite band propose the division of resources whereas the constitution assure maximum participation to minority group, if the group “B” is satisfied with this division and accepts both the groups use resources and develop. The rejection from group “B”, intensifies the conflict on the other hand, and dwindle the prospects of national integration.

**Figure 03** Following figure could be helpful to understand the situation.
2.7. Politics of Ethnicity and the issue of national Integration in Pakistan.

Ethnic heterogeneity and cultural pluralism is the major attribute of Pakistani society. Syed (1984) has evaluated the factor of ethnicity specially history, language and culture as the supportive elements for creating nation hood and promoting national integration. While developing his arguments, he explains that ethnic, historical and cultural factors are not divisive because the historical study of all the factors with in this geographical boundary indicates an amalgam of various regional groups. According to his debate, the Aryan and Dravidian elements put strong influence in all of Pakistan’s regions. In this way Pakistanis are the product of many foreign and local influences (pp. 185-186). Syed’s notion favours the instrumentalist's approach, that ethnicity by itself cannot damage but it is the state and elite groups who use it and stresses ethnic differences to get share in power. One of the glaring examples is the creation of Bangladesh. In the early years of Pakistan, the establishment was reluctant to accept the reality that socio-political and economic interests of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) have become oscillated that diminish the importance of religion (a common bond of unity), that was, once the source of strength (for the Indian Muslims). The lingual inspiration became powerful to transform an ethnic community into a nation (Fazal, 2002, p.180; Sayeed, 1967, p.188; Islam, 1990, p.16). in this transformations the role of leadership was very critical. On their appeal and mobilization, ethnicity became a divisive factor for Pakistani nation hood.

Due to reasons, in Pakistan’s history, religion and language are considered two important attributes in the formation and deformation of nation hood. Before partition religion was used as first, to distinguish Indian
Muslims from Hindus and second, as a mobilizing factor for Muslim community and for the creation of their ideology (Jaffrelott, 2004, p.11). In this perspective, the Muslim leaders used the slogan that “Islam is in danger” and mobilized Muslim community throughout India but at the same time, Ziring (2001) criticised the religious factor as unifying force because in 1971 the theme could not preserve Pakistan (p. 29). In another study, Ziring (1995) again expressed that Hindu dominance and Hindu threat to Islam was not the only factor, which constituted the Muslim Nation in India because fear from others has not enough potential to create a committed community (p.89-90). In the same perspective, Alvi (1988) has also clearly expresses that struggle for Pakistan in the colonial period was not an ideological move for the manifestation of an Islamic state, and Muslim nation, but the movement was for the realization of an urban educated community whom he gave the name a salaried class. (p. 66) He further explains that during Pakistan movement, the salaried class (Indian Muslims) belonged to diverse ethnic groups, different regions and representing different social classes and interests, organized their selves, developed and allied to achieve some materialistic objectives (p. 67).

The debate about religion and language (the two important attributes of ethnicity) claimed as responsible factors in the formation of Muslim nation in India, rationalize the perception that no doubt religious strength successfully mobilized the Muslim nation in India but it is failed to maintain its strength as a unifying force. As far as the language is concerned Jalal (1999) claimed that Pakistani nation is linguistically diverse and
Before partition, the importance of regional or local languages was neither diminished nor highlighted. Quaid-i-Azam delivered his speeches in Urdu, English and other regional languages. After partition, when Urdu was declared as the national language of Pakistan and source of communication, considered a threat for regional identity. The transformation of thoughts from “loyalty to state” to regional or social identities is the main subject of this research.
2.7.1. Evolution of Ethnic Politics in Pakistan

![Map showing East and West Pakistan and physical distance between them.]

Note: The Map Shows East and West Pakistan and Physical Distance between them.

The divergent social and political fibre of Pakistan is based on its ethnic composition, which is multilingual and multi-national. The five inherited nationalities were defined as Punjabi, Blochi, Sindhi, Pukhtoon, and Bengali. Mohajir and Siraiki’s are the other two groups emerged later. The Muslim Nationalism lost its contextual significance immediately after the
creation of Pakistan. The emergence of nationality movement, particularly Bengali, invoked its importance on the basis of significant cultural and linguistic identity. Later, their demand for a separate homeland over their ethnic association, was the first milestone in the evolution of ethnic politics in Pakistan (Nauman, 1990, pp.192-3). Various factors are responsible in the development of Bengali ethnic consciousness. In the early days, during constitution making the leadership and state both refused to answer some important questions of representation and source of communication. Muhith (1992) declares that issue of language was the subsidiary issue because the real matter was the share of East Pakistani’s who were in majority. Whether they will get enough representation and share the honour as the language of majority of Pakistan (p. 61).

The Bengali nationalists acquired a secular connotation. They focused on cultural identity, especially on language, and they were the first who protested against the state policy as declared by Quaid-e-Azam in his address to the students of Dhaka University.

The State language, therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of the sub-continent, a language which, more than any other provincial language embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition, and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic Countries (Jinnah, 1960, p. 90).

Students of Dhaka University refused to accept Urdu as national language. However it was not limited to the language issue only, the Eastern
wing of Pakistan started to consider itself as periphery, which is colonized by the Western Wing. Despite the fact, that imbalance between East and West Pakistan was a legacy, and could be managed with efficient state policies the managers could not concentrate on it to set it right. The migratory elite, urban middle class, bureaucracy and the army believed in the centralization of power and mono-ethnic tendencies. The establishment took some unpopular measure to create national unity like one unit plan. Following table is helpful to describe some of the policies and their outcome, which developed the ethnic politics in Pakistan.

**Table 2: State Policies to create unity between East and West Pakistan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>national language policy</td>
<td>Ruling elite tried to impose Urdu as national language for promoting unity.</td>
<td>not accepted. three language movement, created Bengali nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One unit plan</td>
<td>Policy of centralization hope to unite the two wings</td>
<td>Alienated Bengalis due to little share in the power circle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>federal capital in west wing</td>
<td>extensive economic development in west wing at the export surplus of East wing</td>
<td>Originated a sense of deprivation among East Pakistanis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation of a power circle of civil military bureaucracy</td>
<td>the alliance ruled the country and Bengali had little representation</td>
<td>Created disaffection among Bengali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political migration</td>
<td>posting of non Bengali civil military</td>
<td>Perceived as ruled by aliens. Later-on it was converted into a separatist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
personnel in Bengal movement.

Elections
Both the political parties refused to accept the results dismemberment

Compiled by the researcher

The policy of centralization had a main purpose to unite the two wings but it became the cause of further alienation of Bengalese in the mainstream politics. They had little share in the strong centre, and their representation in military and bureaucracy was nominal. Following table will be helpful to understand the phenomenon.

**Table 3: East-West representation in the upper echelons of the CSP in 1955**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>East as % total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Secretary</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Secretary</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Secretary</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(p.26)

**Table 4: East-West Representation in the military office class 1955-56**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Force</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The economic policies of Central Government elite encouraged faster growth in West Pakistan albeit the major export item was Jute. Its export surplus was used to develop industries in west wing. The twenty five years of unified history of Pakistan shows significant economic imbalance between the two wings. The economic disparity aggravated the politicized ethnicity of Bengali nationalism and converted it into a secessionist movement which sought external support; though the military crackdown of state on East wing created international aggression. The soviet response in this connection reflected its deep concern in the region. The US response was in favour of political settlement. Within the region, China clearly supported Pakistan and accused India for supporting the secessions leaders and movement (Bhuiyan, 1982, pp. 234-247). India supported Sheikh Mujeeb’s exiled government and trained their liberation army Mukti Bahni. Bhuiyan admitted that it was an open secret that the real logistic support to Mukti Bahni was provided by India (p. 206). This intervention led to the breakaway of East Pakistan in 1971.
2.8. Post 1971 Quest for Identity, Politics of Ethnicity and National Integration

The dismemberment of Eastern wing not only truncated Pakistan’s territory but a sizeable population also. The new Pakistan consisted on west wing remained ethnically heterogeneous. The present ethnic configuration of Pakistani Society after 1971 is highlighted in the following table:
Table 5: Major Ethno Lingual Groups in Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>48.17</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>13.14</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>11.77</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siraiki</td>
<td>9.83</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>7.60</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blochi</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindko</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahvi</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adopted from Rehman, Tariq. (2006), *language and politics in Pakistan* Karachi: Oxford University Press. (p.1)

All the important factors and the major components of ethnicity, the territorial or provincialism, the cultural association include religious and lingual distinctiveness, are found in Pakistan. To address the issue of ethnicity and to avoid its possible negative implications, once again a federal system has been adopted under 1973 constitution, with three lists of power the federal, the provincial and the concurrent list. The federal list of power comprised on the subjects like defence, foreign affairs, citizenship, currency, communication sources, taxes, and public debt. Apart from these affairs other subjects included national highways and roads, maritime shipping,
agriculture income and census were important. In the second provincial list, following subjects were introduced, railways, minerals, oil and natural gas and industries. The third or concurrent list topics included, the civil criminal law, transfer of property and registration, population planning, social welfare, environment, tourism and electricity. These were the shared subjects between centre and provinces. On the basis of this sharing of power, it is argued that 1973, constitution built a strong centre with lowest level of provincial autonomy. Due to the reason NAP leaders from Balochistan showed their dissatisfaction and said that the concurrent list is “an instrument of central government’s intervention in the political affairs (Baloch, 2011, Int). The framers of the constitution had a belief that the concurrent list will dilute the powers of centre, and the continuous political process will help in magnifying the role of provinces (Maluka, 1995, p. 248).

Apart from this division of power, bicameral legislature was formed. The lower house, national assembly was elected on population basis and upper house, senate, on equal representation for the provinces. Initially, senate had no authority over finance and budget. In later years during president Musharraf’s government, through 17th amendment, money bills are now presented to the senate (Samad, 2013, p.4). Despite the fact that federalism did not fulfil the inspiration of its founding fathers, even then the constitution makers thought that it is the best suited system. For further strengthening the federalism numerous institutions and strategies had been drawn to manage ethnic diversity and improving the centre and provincial relationship. Article 154 of the constitution permits to construct a “Council of common interest” (CCI). It is appointed by the president. Four Chief ministers and four federal ministers were appointed by the Prime Minister (P.M). The CCI’s has
to formulate the policies in accordance to the provincial list of powers. Especially on the matters of oil, gas, water, while the subject of electricity from the concurrent list also come under its control. Another function of CCI was to address the complaints and provincial grievances. Syed (2006) criticized the role of CCI as an ineffective body because it follows the directives of the executive only (Dawn, 3, September).

National Economic Council (NEC) is the other body for promoting federalism. According to the Article 156 (1) president has the authority to constitute it. Its members include Prime Minister, as the Chairman, the Chief Minister and one member from each province, to be nominated by the chef minister. PM can also appoint four other members. Its major task involved reassessments of the economic conditions and devise policies for economic development. Another important institute is the National Finance Commission (NFC). It is instituted to develop proposals including the financial issues. It is also constituted on the advice of President for five years. Federal and provincial finance ministers are its important members. The work of NFC has remained controversial because it operates under federal control and the main criterion for federal award is population which is also highly contentious.

Despite this constitutional design, the civil institutions are thrown out twice in 1977 and 1999, by strong military coups. In both the situations, the original constitution was suspended. Different amendments became the part of 1973 constitution, which changed its spirit from decentralization to
centralization of power. The federal intervention into the federating units can easily be evaluated while taking an eye view of the history of Pakistan.

Table 6: Central Governments intervention to federating units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Congress ministry in NWFP had ‘the support of 33 members out of 50’. But it was replaced by a Muslim League ministry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Sindh assembly opposed the decision of central government to take Karachi out of the control of Sindh and passed a resolution unanimously. The Chief Minister of Sindh had to pay for this resolution and he was dismissed soon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Inclusion of Kallat state into Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>One-Unit Scheme (amalgamation of provinces and states into the province of West Pakistan.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-69</td>
<td>Ayub’s Presidential period (Federal system operated like British Vice regal system of 1930s.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>Military Action in East Pakistan and its separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>End of tripartite accord and dissolution of Baluchistan government. NWFP government resigned as protest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-88</td>
<td>Constitutional amendments by Military Regime undermined the parliamentary and Federal nature of the constitution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-93</td>
<td>Dissolution of provincial assemblies (1988, 90, 93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Governor Rule in NWFP and installation of favourable government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Governor rule in Punjab and installation of new government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Removal of Nawaz Sharif government along provincial government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>17th Amendment has undermined the federal character of the state.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the long military rule from 1977 to 1987 and from 1999 to 2008, the federal institutions became inactive due to the reason. Pakistan fulfils minimum requirements of federalism. The constitutional and political centralization authorized the central government to intervene in the affairs of federating units. On the other hand, federating units are politically incapable to satisfy smaller groups, resultant different ethno-linguistic movements used to show their strength.

Following table is helpful to understand the nature of ethnic conflict in Pakistan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Nature of Conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-1977 2002-2005*</td>
<td>Baloch</td>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>Insurgency against central government which was forcefully crushed by PPP Government. Major reasons of revived movement are denial of adequate representation in the government, Political Migration, issue of royalty of natural resources, Target killing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 2005, the government forcefully crushed the Baloch insurgency in Kohlu District (third operation against Baloch nationalists) the Balochi nationalist fervour regain its strength.

Mohajirs raised their voice against the discriminatory policies of PPP Government in 1973-77. In 1980s, they captured the attention on national scene while representing the lower middle class military operations against Mohajir activist in 1992. It remained the Part of various coalitions on national and provincial levels.

Khyber Pakhtun Khoa (KPK) is the new name of North West Frontier Province (NWFP).

To avoid the conflictual situation and satisfying the ethnic groups, 18th amendment was launched in 2010. This amendment abolished the concurrent list and powers are clearly distributed between federal and provincial governments. Despite these arrangements, ethnic issue in the provinces further complexing the environment of nationhood and national integration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-70</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>Southern Punjab</td>
<td>To gain language rights against Punjabi dominance and creation of Separate Province, Siraikistan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-2009 to date</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled by the researcher
The research has its focus on the three ethno-lingual identities, the Baloch, Mohajir, and the Saraiki. In the following chapters a micro study is being made to understand the issues of politics of ethnicity. Apart from the understanding of the issue, its threat will also be measured for the national integration. For this purpose, following variables are chosen from the existing literature of politics of ethnicity. These are the, role of leadership, middle class, state and external element. The role of all these variables is very important in creating national integration and developing ethnic politics. The states role is discussed in detail in making policies and creating politics of ethnicity. The role of leadership is significant in the promotion of national integration. The students of ethnic politics claim that effective ethnic leadership ethnic used to invoke the associative feelings among group members. Brass (1991) has defined the role of ethnic leadership in a way that it is an elite’s group who draws and sometime distort ethnicity. According to him identity mobilization is also the creation of elite. In this way the role of leadership cannot be denied. The third variable is the role of middle class. Carl Marx and friedrich Engels presented middle class as central element to economic growth. Many scholars are agreed with this statement but scholars like Loic J.D. Wacquant (1991) and John Urry (1973) also discusses about the structure of middle class. According to them middle class includes various classes within them. These are professionals, technical intelligentia and some white colour personalities also (Wacquant, 1991, PP. 44-48). The study has its focus on the middle class professionals from the three ethnic communities, Baloch, Mohajirs and Saraikis, how they are mobilized and perform their role. The last variable chosen for the research is external factor or support. It is also a well known fact that all the
ethnic groups try to develop external linkages for their particular cause. Milton J. Esman (2004) and James Rosenau (1990) have discussed the politics of external linkages of some ethnic groups. Esman (2004) presents that external support to an ethnic group on their request can be overt and covert. It sometimes diffuses and sometime escalates the ethnic tension (PP.108-110). The Sirilankan case is the best example when sirilankan government detached the foreign links of Tamil Tigers, the band militant outfit of “Tamils” and easily handled the situation.

In this study it is reviewed that to what extent the ethnic groups Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki are successful to develop their external support and how it is a threat to national integration of Pakistan.
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CHAPTER THREE

Baloch Ethnic Identity:

Development of Conflict and the

Issue of National Integration
3.1. Introduction

Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan with the lowest population of 6.6 percent (Census report, 1998). It covers an area of 134,050 sqm or 347,188 sqkm (Awan, 1985, p.5). Geographically, Balochistan starts from the coastal area of Arabian Sea and stretches to the Northwards. The coastal line is entirely arid and 470 miles long. The territory claims 43% of the total land area of Pakistan (Ahmad, 2008, p.1). The Geographical features of Balochistan can be characterized as upper and lower Highlands, the plains and the deserts. Physically, it encircles a large area of Iran, Afghanistan and parts of Sindh, Khyber Pakhtun Khoa (KPK, old NWFP) and Punjab, of Pakistan (IPRI, 2004, p.14).

The chapter begins with the brief history of Balochistan, its accession with Pakistan and then development of Politics of ethnicity. The chapter focuses on the conflictual events that ultimately changed the nature of Baloch ethnic issue. It has also been analyzed that how the state policies become instigator for politics of ethnicity and the mishandling of the issue becomes a serious challenge to the nation building process in Pakistan.

3.2. History of Balochistan

The term “Balochis” refers to a confederation of about five hundred tribes and clans. They claim common subjective and objective markers of
identity. These are common culture, religion, ancestors, traditions and language (Bijarani, 1974, p.1). Balochis are avowed as a strong and courageous people remained indifferent and enjoyed their autonomy in every political setup in the past. The origin and administrative structure of Balochis have remained a point of debate among different historians. The most well known writers narrate that the Baloch migrated northward from Aleppo (Syria) when Arabs were moving in search of pasture land and fresh water. Between the sixth and the fourth century (B.C), they travelled through the Southern shores of Caspian Sea, and settled in the Iranian coast of Bander Abbas and Chahbahar in the south, Southern areas of Afghanistan and in the North-West and North-East to Pakistan (Harrison, 1981, p.271; Wirsing, 1987, p.4; Awan, 1985, p.22; Ali, Shaheen and Javaid, 2001, p.59-63). The migration of Baloch tribes towards Southern Balochistan and to Kalat highlands continued for many centuries. At last, they captured Kalat and ousted Sewai Hindus. They established their capital at Miri, near Kalat (Awan, 1985, p.29). They strengthened their power in this area and it became the nerve centre of Balochi rule.

Owing to its geographical importance, various nations like, Greeks, Afghans, Persians and Sikhs made numerous attempts to gain control over their territory, but remained unsuccessful. From 1506 to 1747, the territory remained associated with either Iran or India (Axmann, 2008, p.18). During the Mughal period and the British Raj in India, three Baloch leaders, Mir Chakar Khan Rind, Abdullah Khan and Nasir Khan brought significant changes in the tribal society of Balochis. Mir Chakar Khan established the tribal confederacy. He managed to shake off the rule of Mughals. He
promoted cultural activities and strengthened the literacy asset of Balochi language. The second Baloch ruler, Abdullah Khan made efforts to unify the Balochis politically. Then Nasir Khan, the six\textsuperscript{th} Khan of Kalat created the Baloch army, consisting of 25,000 men and 1,000 camels. He ruled there for more than half a century with his structured bureaucratic administration and two legislative councils (Baloch, 1987, p. 103; Khan, 2003, p.282). Owing to their continuous efforts the Baloch principality of Kalat succeeded in to bring most of the Baloch tribes under one political unit (Binder, 1987, p.273).

Despite the fact that new governing tactics introduced by Nasir Khan had improved the overall situation, hence some structural weaknesses had created gap between bureaucracy and various tribes. Except the ruling tribe the others were considered only the providers of force. Due to the fact a clear tension could easily be observed between the central authority and the tribal Sardars (Hewitt, 1996. P.50). Unfortunately, the institutions were not established properly that is why, the death of Khan crumbled down his Political system.

### 3.3. Colonial Division of Balochistan

The death of Nasir Khan 1, not only caused the decline of Khanate’s power but also brought the British into Balochistan. The British occupation of Balochistan was executed in two phases from 1839 to 1876 and 1876 to 1947.
The contentious relationship between the British and the Russian Empire placed Afghanistan on an important position. Afghanistan was more inclined towards Russian because of its regional proximity with Central Asia. Due to the threat of Russian advancement towards Asian region Britishers were engaged in Afghan war.

The Afghan war (1839-42) was marked as the beginning of political connection between the British and the Khan of Kalat (Scholz, 2002, p. 90). Due to juxta position of Balochistan and Afghanistan, the former got importance and Britishers extended support to Kalat state. The relationship lost its vitality in a short span and the British attacked and killed the ruler of Kalat Mir Mehrab Khan (Baluch, 1958, p. 73). After a while Mir Nasir II, regained the possession of Kalat state but the deadly confrontations with British did not ease the Balochis. They suffered heavily and ultimately reached an agreement. The treaty made British Companies empowered for a long range trade and free military movement. In return, the Khan of Kalat received an amount of Rs.50000 as subsidy. This agreement is considered as the beginning of purchasing the Khan's loyalty in the form of subsidy.

The British’s forward policy to stop Russian move towards warm water compelled it to get direct control on this route. To serve their own interests, they fought a series of wars with the Baloch for more than four decades. In 1876, they became successful to manage a treaty to get control over Kalat, Kharan, Makran, and Lasbella. At that time the British were able to station their military force in Balochistan and Robert Sandman became the first political agent to Governor General in Balochistan (Khan, 2003, p.284). Robert Sandman also laid the foundation of a system that practically treated Balochistan as an agency governed by an indirect rule. The system was known as “Sandemanisation” (Awan, 1985, p.120).
Under this system a council of chief and Shahi Jirga was executed. The purpose was to ensure tribal Sardar’s participation in the political process. The Britishers applied their tactics of “Divide and Rule” and divided Balochistan's territory in the following ways;

a) Dera Ghazi Khan was annexed with Punjab and Khangarh and its associated areas were identified by the name of Jacobabad, the areas were included to Sindh’s territorial jurisdiction.

b) The areas of Marri, Bugti, Khetran and Chaghi got the status of tribal areas. The British Balochistan was formed while adjoining the tribal areas and Nasirabad, Bolan, Quetta and Noshki. Naseer (1997) wrote that some Afghan areas were also acquired from Afghanistan.

c) Apart from this division, Lasbella and Kharan were put under different political system and political agent of Kalat state appointed as its administrator.

d) The areas of Sarawan, Jhalawan, Kachi, and Makran were given under direct control of Khan-e-Kalat (p.402).

The same territory is known as Pakistani Balochistan (Rehman, 2005, p.3).

The strategic location of Balochistan had made it attractive for colonial powers. Binder (1987) has quoted Bizenjo’s views in one of his article, which support the notion,

The Baloch suffered this unhappy fate simply because they happened to live in an area of vital military importance to the British, in contrast to the more fortunately situated Afghans. It was historical accident, that gave the Afghans the opportunity for independence.
denied to the Baloch. Thus it served the interests of the British to foster a unified Afghanistan under their tutelage as a buffer state, that would shield their Indian Empire from Russia. Conversely, it was necessary to divide Baloch in order to assure unimpeded control of the resulting imperial frontiers with this Afghan buffer (p.274).

Colonial administration was faced with many political and administrative challenges. The tension remained between Khan of Kalat and tribal chiefs. In fact, Anti British sentiments among the Baloch tribes were not controlled, and the first experience of alien control raised the feelings of modern Baloch ethnic nationalism. Although, the Britishers introduced some industrial advancement in the shape of railway lines, roads, post offices, rest houses and cantonments of British troops, even then, the Baloch society was not ready to accept the foreign intruders as their rulers. Due to a very different social structure of Balochistan the Britishers failed to introduce any political, economic and social reform policy in this region. Resultantly, Baloch nationalism emerged as a response to the intervention of the state. Under nationalist feelings, several political groups were formed and they launched “quit Balochistan movement”.

The movement was led by the middle class nationalists. They had strong support of Mir Ahmad Yar Khan. In 1937, these young nationalists, who were graduated from British Universities, announced to form the Kalat State National Party in Sibbi (Naseer, 1979, p. 443). Initially, the Kalat State national Party voiced against the non Baloch administrators in the Balochistan setup, lately, the party worked for the Kalat State as independent entity (Bizanjo, 1999, p. 41). Dr Kundi (1994) has analyzed the role of Kalat National Party in a way that due to its increased socio-political reforms the Sardars considered it a threat to their Sardari system. More
importantly, the Khan of Kalat by himself anticipated the threat and banned its activities. All important leaders were exiled. Resultantly the party went underground. (p. 10). In the proceeding years when Muslim League and Indian National Congress gained popularity as the representative political parties of their respective nations, the Khan of Kalat developed its relationship with Muhammad Ali Jinnah and appointed him as the Legal Advisor to the Kalat State. Consequently, Muslim League was established in Balochistan and Khan extended his possible help (Khan, 1975, pp. 130-136).

3.4. **Balochistan: Accession to Pakistan**

During the last years of the united India, when British withdrawal from Sub-Continent became apparent, the nationalist Baloch also speeded up to get independent Balochistan. Under June 3, 1947, princely states got autonomous status. Jinnah also clarified the Muslim league’s policy of non interference towards autonomous states (Afzal, 1973, p.427).

In August, an agreement was signed between the British Government and representative of Kalat Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan (both were also the representator of future government of Pakistan). In this agreement Kalat State was given the original status as she had in 1838. On the same day, an agreement was also signed between Kalat State and Pakistan that Pakistan would be the legal heir of Kalat after Britishers. The Article 1 of the agreement clarifies that Kalat State would have independent status. Khan (1975) quoted Article IV in his autobiography which stated that “a standstill agreement will be made between Pakistan and Kalat state”. According to it, Pakistan shall stand committed to all the
responsibilities and agreements signed by Kalat and the British Government from 1893 to 1947 and Pakistan shall be the legal, constitutional and political successor of the British” (Khan, 1975, pp. 147-149). Axmann (2008) pointed out Article four of this agreement, the most important one which put “the existence of the Khannate of Kalat at the mercy of Pakistan” (p. 225).

On August 12, 1947, the Khan of Kalat announced the establishment of independent state of Kalat. At the same time, Shahi Jirga and Quetta Municipality (both were nominated bodies by the British) decided to join Pakistan. Contrary to this verdict, the Khan of Kalat formed a Parliament, despite the fact that he had already signed the agreement, conducted first ever elections, in which the Kalat National Party (KNP) participated in private capacity, had won 29 seats (Baloch, 2009, p.352).

Shortly, after the formation of Pakistan, all other Indian Muslim states, situated in Sindh, Punjab and the then Frontier Province announced their merger with Pakistan. The state of Kalat offered special relations in the areas of defence, foreign affairs and communication. It was written in the article V of the agreement that on the mentioned matters final deliberations will be held in Karachi, the negotiations did not give fruitful results because the nascent Pakistani State demanded the integration with Pakistan. After a nine months tug of war, on March 27, 1948, the Khan of Kalat accepted unconditional annexation with Pakistan. The decision was resisted by KNP and other leaders but Kalat was forcibly annexed with Pakistan (Dehwar, 1994, p.311-324). After controlling the administrative power, the state of Pakistan started to deal it with heavy handed tactics. The independent status was to be finished. Political agent was appointed as an officer sub-ordinate to Governor General to look after the administration. All important leaders of the state
were sent behind the bar and the Kalat State National Party was disallowed to work throughout Pakistan (Naseer, 1979, p. 522). The Nationalist evaluated this action as a “systematic political elimination” of Baloch representation that further aggravated the animosity between the state and the Baloch (Bizanjo, 2011, int).

### 3.5. Ethnic Composition of Balochistan and Tribal Setup

The people of Balochistan are divided into three main ethnic groups, and 27 major tribes. These three groups are Baloch, Brahui and Pashtoons. Further division of these ethnic groups is highlighted in the following table.

**Table: 1 Ethnic Group Division and Tribalism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baloch</th>
<th>Brahui</th>
<th>Pashtoon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rind</td>
<td>Mengal</td>
<td>Kakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marri</td>
<td>Mohm Hasni</td>
<td>Durrani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Table: 2 Major Languages Spoken by Baloch People**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Pakistan statistical book (2008) explains that about 40% of the population speaks Balochi language. Brahui speaking people are 20% and Pashto language is also spoken by around 40 percent. Urdu and Siraiki are also the languages spoken by these ethnic groups. The Baloch mainly concentrated in the West, East, South and South Eastern sparsely populated areas. The Centre of the province is dominated by Brahui speaking people. The Pashtoons have majority in the north. In Balochistan, both the categories of tribal system nomadic and settled are present (Shah, 1994, p.21). During the last 25 years, a drift towards modernity has slightly changed the nomadic life style of the people. The tribal people prefer now to settle down in settled areas. The tribal bases are rooted in Sardari and Khan System. Sardari System is the major feature of Baloch and Brahui tribes while Khan System exists in Pashtoon tribes (Kundi, 2003, p.89)

3.6. Baloch, Ethno-Linguistic Development
Language and culture are intertwined and have the potential to build perception. Moreover, language is considered as the key element contributing to a sense of national identity.

Balochi language performs as a consolidating component among the numerous groups of Baloches. Spooner (1989) is quoted by Taj Breseej (2004) has expressed the same thing. He said, “Baloch identity in Balochistan has been closely tied to the use of the Balochi language in intra-tribal relations” (p.599). Contrary to this approach, Jahani (1997) has viewed that Baloch are bilingual. They speak both Balochi and Brahui languages. The renowned poet Mir Gull Khan Nasir, also belonged to Brahui speaking group. As far as the matter of identity is concerned, Baloches have a territorial identity. Balochi language and literature is used to promote Baloch ethnic nationalism (p.105-106). Jahani also quoted Anthony D. Smith’s (1986) attributes of ethnic identity. According to her, a collective name, a shared history, a common myth or descent, distinctive shared culture and above all an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity, all factors are applicable to the Baloch either (Jahani, 2006, p.2).

J. H. Elfenbein, a very renowned student of Balochi language has divided it into six regional dialects. Harrison (1981) also quoted this division. According to him the Eastern Hill, Rakshani, Sarawani, Kachhi, Lotuni and Coastal, all are mutually intelligible but standardization of their dialects is still required (p.198). The ethno-linguistic origin of the Baloch people is delineated with the Iranian tribes, who migrated into Kirman and Makran. The process of migration continued in waves in different times. The bases of migration were nomadic, having no intention to create a state. They were known as migratory tribes. The ethno-lingual development of
Baloch as a nation started lately. The period from eleventh century to fourteenth century is marked with the development of Baloch as an ethno-lingual group. Gradually, they transformed from Clan to tribe. Later on, from fifteenth to eighteenth century, further transformation is recorded. As for as the historical development of Baloch nation is concerned, specially the role of language and territory in its development, there is difference of opinion (Hattoran, 1973, p. 10; Nasir, 1982, p. 17; Mahmand, 1982, p. XVII). Some Baloch historians have traced back their origin to Aryan racial groups but do not throw light on the linguistic development even then there is consensus that Balochi and Brahui are the main languages and others are merely dialects. The western Scholars like, Spooner (1989) and Elfenbein (1966) pointed out the importance of Balochi language. According to Spooner, in inter tribal relations, Balochi language tie them all in one Balouch identity. In this way the Balochi language is performed as a unifying factor (p. 599). Harrison (1981) also quoted that Iranian and Pakistani states considered Balochi language as a determinant factor for identity, that is why they adopted strong assimilation’s policies (pp. 95-96).

Contrary to scholarly arguments about language and its relationship with identity politics, the Baloch nationalist leaders argued that for a Baloch, language is not the only factor for identity formation. (Bizenjo, 1992, pp. 110-113; Janmahmand, 1989, pp. 260-2610). According to them, Baloch identity is relevant to its culture, that is a way of life. In the words of Samee Baloch (2012), not only language but territorial association is also very important in the struggle of identity (Int, 2012). Generally, the Balochi language is divided into two dialects or groups, i.e. Eastern and Western Balochi. The former is spoken in the North-Eastern side of Balochistan and in Sindh.
and Punjab province, while the later is used in Western and Southern part of Balochistan, the Gulf States, Iran and Afghanistan.

3.7 Political Parties in Balochistan

The political culture of Balochistan is unique in a sense, that its approach towards state and its government is entirely different to the rest of the country. Despite the fact that their loyalties are associated with their tribes, the political parties have an important role in creating political and social awareness.
### Table 3: Major Political Parties and their Support base leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Support base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td>Pol/Ideological/Tribal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNM</td>
<td>Pol/Ideological/Ethnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BNDP</td>
<td>Pol/Ideological/Ethnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWP</td>
<td>Tribal/Sardari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Tribal/Sardari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JUI</td>
<td>Pol/Ideological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Pol/Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(N)</td>
<td>Pol/Tribal/Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML(Q)</td>
<td>Pol/Tribal/Sardari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Tribal/Ethnic/Sardari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


All these major political parties are working in the territory of Balochistan. Though some political parties have only regional identity like BNP, BNM, BNDP and JWP, even then their importance cannot be ignored. The main stream national parties like PPP and PML(N) often create alliances with the regional parties for the formation of provincial government.
3.8. Development of Politics of Ethnicity

In Balochistan the centrifugal forces remained operative since its accession with Pakistan. Although centripetal forces are also working for greater unity and integrity with Pakistan but largely they felt deprived and ignored. The public has great resentment about prolonged denial of their due share in national affairs. In reaction, a large number of people are either the part of banned militant outfits or accusing central authority in some other ways. They have expressed their distrust on those who have their share in power with the federal authority but deliver nothing. The politics of ethnicity is increasing day by day. The conflict is reached at a stage, where insurgents are demanding a separate homeland for their ethnic group.

To understand the development of politics of ethnicity in Balochistan, the discussion about its nature of conflict is much important. This section will discuss in detail the nature of Baloch issue while exploring numerous variables involved in.

3.8.1 Nature of the issue

The issue of Baloch ethnic identity and their socio-political rights are multifaceted, and complex in nature. The intricacy of the issue could be highlighted through these variables.

9.8.1.2 Baloch Nationalism: The issue of identity
The nationalist’s struggle for Baloch identity was initiated in the twentieth century against the Britishers. Inayatullah (1987) gave its credit to the middle class who were educated from Britain. He also viewed that these nationalists were highly influenced from Indian politicians (p. 147). “The Young Baloch” was the first nationalist movement, propelled in 1920. It published various articles in different newspapers and magazines. In these articles the message of Baloch unity was frequently communicated. Later on, the first political party Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochistan was formed. Its basic demand was a united and independent Balochistan (Inayatullah, 1987, pp. 151-154). The Anjuman was not only struggling against Britishers but also against the then government of Shams Shah in Kalat (Naseer, 1979, p. 420). The movement went slow when Mir Ahmad Yar Khan became the Khan of Kalat. He extended his sympathy towards Anjuman. In 1937, Khan of Kalat formed another party. Kalat National party based on the same middle class. The struggle against the Britishers and for an independent Balochistan was going on. In the meantime, Britishers introduced the partition plan. The KNP exerted its influence on the Khan of Kalat for neither to merge Kalat State with India nor with Pakistan but to go independence. The members of Kalat State Assembly also spoke against its merger with Pakistan. Apart from other speeches the most crucial speech was delivered by Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo in 1947. He said, “Pakistani officials are pressuring to join Pakistan, because Balochistan would not be able to sustain itself economically... we have minerals, we have petroleum and ports. The question is where would be Pakistan without us? (Tahir, 1992, p. 49). After Various talks and agreements, ultimately Kalat State was merged into Pakistan but since then a new phase of identity issue and question of nationalism got importance in the politics of Pakistan in general and Balochistan in particular.
3.8.1.3 The issue of provincial autonomy

The issue of provincial autonomy of Balochistan and the question of ethnic identity of Baloch and their rights are intertwined and cannot be separated. Since 1971, the issue has been raised by various Baloch leaders. They vowed for confederation, maximum autonomy within federation, and demand for change in provincial boundaries to create a comparatively homogeneous province. Since Balochistan got the status of a province, it had never performed as an active federating unit. All the governments, whether civilian or military, focused on centralization of power. Their refusal to give provincial autonomy is primarily responsible for the rise of ethnic conflict. Although the PPP’s government in 2008, resolved the issue and abolished the concurrent list. It was an effort to ensure political autonomy of the provinces but the government of Balochistan was not satisfied. (fair, 2012, P. 29)

3.8.1.4 Historical Narrative and the Issue of Greater Balochistan

The demographic boundary of the Baloch ethnic group is straddles to three countries, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. The majority of Baloch are residing in Pakistani Balochistan (Khan, 2005, p.112). The Baloch disagree with a view that they are an ethnic group. They imagine themselves a nation that has proper territory and culture (including religion and specific language) (Abdul Hay, 2011).
Now a days, different areas are occupied by different tribes that lacks cohesiveness. Some of the tribes have also formed their political parties to show their presence in main- stream politics. For instance Balochistan National party Mengal Group (BNP.M). The Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) of Bugti tribe and Baloch Haq Talwar was organized by Nawab Khair Bukhsh Murri. Despite the fact that these Baloch Tribes are struggling for Baloch identity and rights but their system is not integrated with each other. The internal cleavages within numerous tribes further complicate the issue. It has been said that the state authorities used to intervene the tribal affairs. They also pick and choose their favourite for instance in 1970s when P.M Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto dismissed the Mengal government in Balochistan he chose another Baloch Sardar Nawab Akbar Bugti for the Governor of the Province. Though in later years Bugti became the Hero of Nationalists and all tribes but initially he was considered pro-state and anti Baloch nationalist forces.

The historical narrative of the Baloch is also supportive for the notion of greater Balochistan. It stresses that before partition the areas which were given to Afghanistan and Iran by British government should be included in greater Balochistan. The approach is responsible of insurgent movement not only in Pakistan but in other neighbouring states as well.

3.8.1.5 Inter and Intra-tribal conflict

Baloch society is tribal in nature. In determining the Baloch identity, much importance is given to tribes and clans. Through decades the Baloch are used to live under tribal confideracy. There are almost seventeen (17) major tribal groups and some four hundred (400) sub groups (Jetly, 2004, p. 10). The Tribal affairs are
conducted by their tribal traditions and their Sardars hold all the power. Hasil Bizenjo has pointed out in one of his interviews that under Sandman system of governance, during the British rule the concept of tribal chiefs was properly introduced. Not only more tribes were created but converted in to a hereditary institute. Sandman also determined the salaries of some tribal chiefs. If the sardars were refused to obey the British orders they were denied from their salaries. (Dawn, 2006)

Now a days, different areas of Balochistan are occupied by different tribes that is why it lacks cohesiveness. Some of the tribes have also formed their political parties to show their presence in main-stream politics. For instance Balochistan National party Mengal Group (BNP.M). The Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) of Bugti tribe and Baloch Haq Talwar was organized by Nawab Khair Bukhsh Murri. Despite the fact that these Baloch Tribes are struggling for Baloch identity and rights yet their tribal system is not integrated with each other. All the tribes follow norms of their own. They have their own separate traditions to govern the tribesmen. Some tribes have traditional animosity with each other.

Apart from intra tribal conflicts, the internal cleavages also remain an important problem. The murder of important personalities on the basis of support caused more problems. Matheson (1997) quoted that Nawab Akbar Bugti who was the minister of state for defence during 1958, killed his elder Haibat Khan. On this charge Nawab Bugti was put behind the bar. (P.187). During his imprisonment he was removed from the office of tribal chief. Attaullah Mengal was also accused of murdering of his uncle and sent into jail. (Janmehmad, 1982, P.229)

3.8.1.6 Factional politics
As far as the movement for Baloch rights is concerned, there are two groups. The Nationalist Baloch having anti-state sentiments and promoting the voice of “Azad Balochistan”. The other group is known as moderate Baloch, claiming maximum autonomy under 1973 constitution. They are facing strong resistance from the nationalist group, notwithstanding participating in the political process. It is being said that their voices are being silenced for the cause of Balochistan. Although they are convinced of their political alienation and antagonism yet they believe in making struggle within the system. Among the tribal Sardars, the Mengal tribes which have BNP.M and JWP of Bugti tribes, are in favour to work within political system. There are some other Sardars or tribes who have joined hands with the main stream National Parties like PPP and PML (N) and (Q). Other Than these tribes, there are activists representing the Baloch middle class like the National Party (NP). Its main stream leadership including Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch and Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch are also in favour of finding political resolution of the dispute. The other group which is known as militant groups like Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) and the Baloch Haq Talwar believed to have full control over their territory (Nation, 2006). The ideological stance of the two factions about independence and political autonomy is another source of destabilization of Baloch society.

3.8.1.7 The issue of representation and the politics of comparison

The complexity of the issue increases and supplants a different magnitude through politics of comparison. Baloch compare their province with rest of the three units especially with the Punjab. They have strong reservations about their
representation in civil bureaucracy and in military. From 1947 to 1977, in Central Cabinet only four persons were ethnic Baloch. Same was the situation in military. About 70 percent belonged to Punjab and rest of the 30 percent constituted by Pathan, Mohajir, Sindhi and Balochi population. Even in the top ranks, there was hardly any Baloch (Kukreeja, 2003, p.133). In 1991, the quota for recruitment was raised to 15 percent. The educational and height standards were also relaxed. As the recruitment done on provincial basis, mostly were Pathan settlers in Balochistan and not the Balochi with their ethnic origin. In civil bureaucracy including police department, the Baloch representation had 3.9 percent share. In 2002, within Balochistan, there were only 4 Baloch secretaries. In Balochistan university only 30 faculty members were Baloch (Weaver, 2002, p.105-106). Although the PPP’s government once again enhanced the Baloch quota in civil and military bureaucracy but the gulf between centre and province remained unabridged. They still feel that Punjabi dominance in both the institution has made them alien to the system (Mir, 2001).

3.8.1.8 The geo-strategic prominence and exogenous influence

Apart from all these aspects, the geo-strategic importance of Balochistan’s location and energy reservoirs has given it an immense importance in regional as well as international politics. Historically, the geo-strategic location of Balochistan compelled the colonial rulers to make special policies for this region. Recently, the development in various sectors has further sparked its importance. The development of a Seaport in Gawadar, Pakistan’s participation in the US led war
The nature of Baloch issue has various aspects. As far as the dominant facet is concerned, the issue of ethnic identity has eclipsed all the other controversies. How did the Baloch identity politics evolve in Pakistan? The question could not be comprehended without understanding the responsive actions of Baloch. The actions were against the policies of various central governments in the past.

### 3.9. Development of Conflict (A Chronological Order)

The Balochis are resisting against the inflexible and intolerant behaviour of the central government of Pakistan. The present day insurgency which is transformed into a secessionist movement is a continuum of guerrilla struggle in Balochistan against federation of Pakistan since 1948.

#### 3.9.1 The issue of accession and revolt in 1948

The Khan of Kalat was forced to sign the instrument of accession and the legal authority of Khan-e-Azam came to an end on 15th April 1948. Within 24 hours...
several ministers of Kalat government were exiled and arrested (M.A.Y.K, Baloch, 2009, p.164). Quaid-i-Azam the then Governor General of Pakistan acquainted a governor general’s council for governance and administration. The action was considered as the first step for direct federal authority over Balochistan.

The forcible annexation ignited the nationalistic sentiments and it led to the first rebellion in Balochistan. The younger brother of the Khan led this movement (Jonnes, 2002, p.133). He moved towards Afghanistan, where he organized the liberation movement. He also shaped a liberation force in the name of “Baloch Mujahedeen”. Prince Karim started its guerrilla operation from Jhalawan district. The authorities of Pakistan Army influenced his brother to surrender. In response he will get amnesty from the army. They signed an agreement with Abdul Karim. But when he surrendered, the army arrested him along with 126 militants, dishonouring the agreement. The KSNP was banned (Titus and Swidles, 2000, p.50). After this move, the Baloch nationalists were divided into two factions. One favoured to continue armed struggle as guerrilla war while the other presented themselves as a moderate group favoured to resolve the issue through dialogue (Kundi, 2009).

3.9.1.2 The One Unit Policy and Second insurgency in 1958

The task of nation building has remained difficult in ethnically diverse societies. Pakistan has the same case. In 1955, the one unit scheme was introduced to bridge the gap between various ethnic groups to promote national unity. Under this scheme, Balochistan, Sindh, NWFP and Punjab were integrated into one unit. The merger of Balochistan into one unit was strongly reprehended by Baloch
Nationalist leaders (Ziring, 2004, p.71) including Abdul Karim who had completed his prison.

When the Baloch leaders especially the Khan of Kalat raised voice against one unit plan and re-organized already existed ethno-nationalist movement, they were arrested. Moreover, Khan of Kalat was disrobed of all privileges, given by the federal authority and sent to jail. Khan of Kalat explained the story of his arrest in his autobiography.

The 6th day of October 1958 will ever remain fresh in the memory of the people of Balochistan; for it was on this day that the forces of tyranny, oppression and bloodshed were let loose on the simple and innocent Baloch of Kalat for no fault of theirs........ I gave up myself to the army which paraded with me on the roads and streets of Kalat. I witnessed several of my men falling dead on the ground by the indiscriminate firing of the army (M.A.Y.K, Baloch, 2009, pp.181-183).

The imprisonment of the Khan sparked another revolt. This time Nauroz Khan the Sardar of Zarakzai tribe led the armed resistance. He presented three demands before the government, (i) Withdrawal of one unit plan (ii) extrication of Khan of Kalat and amnesty for his men (iii) exemption of his area from the land reforms (Axamann, 2008, pp.286-287). Sardar Nauroz and his impulsively organized guerrilla force fought a series of battles. The militants managed to ambushed government escorts and installations. The ninety years old, Nawab Nouroz Khan fought the guerrilla war against the army in Jhalawan and surrounding areas. The struggle lasted for about two years and gave a hard time to the government.
Pakistan army responded with more anger by bombing nearby villages when they did not get desired result, negotiations were opted for.

In early 1960s talks were started between the army and resurgent, but reached no conclusion. At last, Nauroz Khan and his men were assured by the Army on the Quran that they were ready for negotiations. When the militants surrendered on the assurance of Sardar Doda Khan Zehri that all their demands had been accepted by the authorities, once again, the army dishonoured its pledge. Nauroz Khan and his insurgents were arrested and tried by a special military court (Janmahmand, 1982, p. 201). His son and eight nephews were hanged in Hyderabad. Nauroz Khan’s death sentence was alleviated to life imprisonment because of his old age (Rehman, 2005, p.4). After this revolt Pakistan Army sat up new garrisons at key points in Balochistan.

Despite the government’s success, the insurrection fuelled the Baloch nationalism and changed it into jingoism. It enhanced the feelings of distrust between the Baloch and the central government.

3.9.1.3 The Parari Resistance (1962)

When Field Martial Ayub Khan assumed power and imposed Martial Law, in 1958, the second insurgency in Balochistan was crushed. To strengthen the centralized policies, Ayub Khan instituted the programme of Basic Democracies. Through this system, he won the elections and introduced a Presidential system in 1962. Under these elections, for the first time, several Baloch Sardars, were elected. Sardar Khair Bakhsh Murri, Ataullah Mengal and Ahmad Nawaz Bugti became the
Member of Parliament. However, their presence in the parliament was felt a threat to Ayub’s personally oriented policies. Therefore, these elected nationalists were replaced by some nominated Sardars. Moreover, Pakistan army started building new cantonments at key points in Balochistan. This triggered another guerrilla movement. The movement which is known as “Parari” (a Balochi word used to illustrate a person or persons whose afflictions cannot be addressed through negotiations). They sat up a network of base camps, expanded in the South from the Jhalawan; the Mengal tribal area to the north; the Murri and Bugti tribes. They eluded large scale encounters with the army, tried to distraught the forces by ambushing convoys, bombing trains and raids on military camps. It was responded with inflexible counter strike, included air bombardments on their tribal areas, which not only bull-dozed of several tribal leaders but ruined vast agricultural fields. The sporadic fighting ended when in 1969 General Yahya seized power and withdrew one unit plan (Asia Report, 2006, p.4). General Yahya’s martial law was short lived. He conducted elections in 1970s. In Balochistan NAP got majority. In the NAP led provincial government, Ataullah Mengal became the Chief Minister and Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo became the Governor. The most important development regarding Balochistan was that it was given the status of a province.

3.9.1.4 The 1973 Uprising

This time the insurgency began when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto a democratically elected P.M dismissed the Baloch provincial government and banned the ruling NAP. Furthermore, he jailed the prominent Baloch personalities including Khair Bukhsh Murri, Ataullah Mengal and Ghaus Bukhsh Bizenjo. This led to another uprising against the federation (Weaver, 2003, p.111).
Numerous causes have been narrated behind the aggressive action of P.M Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He perceived negatively the new Baloch government’s endeavour to indigenize the administration by replacing the non-Balochi bureaucrats to Baloch. The provincial government also focused to the promotion of Balochi culture. The first provincial government also desired to get greater share of natural resources in their province, and a fair deal in the allocation of industries. These progressive reforms and demands produced concerns in Islamabad (Jetly, 2004, p.15). Apart from these factors the discovery of sizeable weapons from the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad was associated with the Baloch nationalists that they were conspiring against the centre (Janmahmand, 1982, p. 302). Though, the Iraqi government responded that these weapons were assigned for Iranian Baloch guerrilla activities against Iranian Shah’s support of Iraqi Kurds. During this time the government of Pakistan published a white paper of Balochistan. In this document, the government of Pakistan alleged that the people belonged to Murri tribe came with automatic weapons and they attacked the dwellers in Pat Feeder canal area of the district Kalachi. They all were Punjabi origin (Pakistan, 1974, p. 17). It was also stated that the Chief Minister (CM) of Balochistan displaced the Balochistan reserve police, just because of the non-Baloch officers. He introduced the new police structure by the name “The Balochistan Dehi Mohafiz (BDM). In the new system they preferred to recruit those loyal to NAP (pp. 17-18). It was said that the central government began to fear with the rising popularity of NAP in Balochistan. Particularly, their political party Pakistan Peoples Party, (PPP) had no base in the province. Their ethnic demands and reforms were translated into a threat to the survival of Pakistan’s integrity (White Paper, 1974, p. 15). The central government’s action to sack the provincial government was adhered with the tribal belief that it was a deliberate insult to all Baloch and needed to respond militarily.
Baloch guerrillas started their activities after the ouster of the provincial government. The Murri tribesmen and Baloch students under the leadership of Khair Bukhsh Murri formed the Balochistan people’s liberation front (BPLF). The main source of their strength was Parari’s guerrilla forces, which continued to expand their reach, influence and number after the ceasefire in 1969. In April 1973, first encounter was reported between the Pakistan Army with the guerrillas. They often ambushed the Army’s convoy and then attacked. 18th May incident is considered serious in this respect. In the Murri area at Tandoori, some tribesmen trapped the scouts, who were on routine patrol, after that these scouts were killed and their weapons were taken away. The Balochistan government blamed that the foreign support is available to these guerrillas in the shape of weapons (Dawn, 1973). With this backdrop, the central government arrested Sardar Attaullah Mengal, Khair Bukhsh Murri, and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizanjo, charging them that they were supporting the struggle against Pakistan army.

The 1973’s insurgency was the worst of all. Though the exact number of casualties from both the sides was never known hence, it is presumed that some 53000 Baloch guerrillas and 3300 army men were killed. There were 55000 Baloch combatants fought against around 80,000 trained military force (Harrison, 1978. p.139). During four years of insurgency, there were around one hundred and seventy four major encounters took place. The militants evaded direct encounter with the army. They were successful in ambushing the convoys and halting of drilling and survey operations of leading Pakistani and American oil companies. While in counter insurgency tactics against Baloch militants the army used gunship helicopters. The Iranian government had supplied Huey Cobra Helicopter to Pakistan army because they were also feared of Baloch nationalists living there (Harrison, 1981, p.33). The
fierce firing from Pakistani forces including F86 and Mirage fighter jets participated 15000 Murri tribesmen and Parari guerrillas, gathered in Chamalang Valley.

In spite of the fact that most of the insurgents were arrested, the Baloch resistance continued for many years. It again engendered the fury against the central authorities. As Mir Hazar Khan explained,

“If we can get modern weapons, it will never again be like the last time......next time, we will choose the time and place, and we will take help where we can get it. In the beginning, the Bengalise didn’t want independence, but if Pakistan continues to use force to crush us, we’ll have no alternative to go that way (Harrison, 1978, pp.139-140).

The Baloch revolt came to an end in 1977, When Z.A Bhutto government was overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq. Some observers considered that change, “a fresh attempt to rework the basis of state-society relations in Pakistan” (Hewitt, 1998. p.60). However, the most aggressive and fierce organization of all factions, “the Baloch Student Organization” (BSO) reorganized itself. Murri and Mengals were released and they went to Europe, while Bizenjo followed the politics of reconciliation.

**3.9.1.5 The 2005 Insurgency and Direction of Conflict**

The fifth insurgency after around twenty seven years was the result of simmering tension. It also included complains about Punjabi colonization and exploitation of Balochistan’s natural resources.
The post 80’s scenario is considered as effective truce by most of the writers. The nationalist leaders started to participate in political process, despite the fact that main issues still remained unresolved (Raman and Bangalore, 2005). Unfortunately, the democratic period and the process of democratization remained precarious due to confrontational politics. Even, then many of the tribal sardars inclined to cooperate with the centre. During this democratic interlude Mengal and Bizenjo formed Balochistan National Party (BNP) and Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti established Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP). They also made coalition governments which were positive sign. When the military took power in 1999, the Baloch nationalists completely rejected military government and showed complete distrust. It has been argued that the upcoming tension between nationalist leaders and central government was the consequence of social and electrical engineering by the military regime. They sidelined the main stream political parties and favoured a crafted religious group Mutahidda Majlis e Amal (MMA) in 2002 elections (Swami, 2006, p.1).

In the current phase of resistance, the second generation of Baloch nationalist leaders, i.e. Hasil Bizanjo, Balach Marri, Mir Herbyar Murri and Akhtar Mengal desired to work together in this nationalist movement. The most sensitive areas, where the upsurge is going on are still under the control of these sardars. The Baloch encounter with Frontier Corp has become regular and intense in these areas.

The simmering tension between the government and nationalist Sardar further aggravated when they announced mega developmental projects and started a series of political migration from Punjab on key positions in Balochistan. This made them felt that they were being alienated from their share to the power. They also
viewed that the influx of Pushtoon and other ethnic groups in Balochistan is an effort to marginalize the Baloch in their own territory (Bansal, 2006, p.50). When General Musharraf led government announced the development of Gawadar Port, the Baloch Sardars opposed this plan. Despite the fact that this type of mega projects could cause greater economic opportunities, they expressed strong resentment. Sardar Akhtar Mengal has recorded the fear in a way that,

"If there are jobs in Gawadar, people would flock there with time, they would get the right to vote. The problem is that one Karachi in Gawadar is sufficient to turn the whole population of Balochistan into minority. We would lose our identity, our language, everything. That is why, we are not willing to accept these mega projects (Bakhtair, 2004, p.51)."

The resistance from the Baloch nationalists to such federal efforts for development was due to their past experience that the development will benefit only Punjab. The tension started when after September 11 event, Pakistan allowed US to establish its bases in Pasni, Gwadar, Dalbandin and Jacobabad. The tension regarding the development of Gawadar Port took another height when General Musharraf again passed an autocratic decision to involve regular army for the safety and security of foreigners. With this decision the struggle of Baloch nationalists became more intensified. The new wave of insurgency that started from 2000 on a low scale was gathering momentum slowly.

The increased involvement of military in political decisions without the consent of nationalist leaders exacerbated the tension and led to sporadic attacks on military installations, gas pipelines, foreigners, army check posts, and on civilians. The situation became worst when 32 years old female Baloch doctor was caught an
alleged gang rape. The BLA launched a large scale resistance. They made massive
attack on government installations. From both the sides large scale damage was
inflicted. The JWP’s leader Nawab Akbar Bugti headed the protest and felt it an act
of insolence against their honour. They sat off a wave of attacks on major military
installations and obstructed the Suigas supply lines to almost half of the population of
the country. In January 2005, the nationalists started to capture Suigas field. The
battle lasted for four days with heavy firing and Nawab Akbar Bugti showed his
support to those banned outfits. Furthermore, the situation got worst when General
Pervaiz Musharraf and Commander of the Paramilitary force in Balochistan were
separately attacked by the insurgents during their visit to Kohlu Town to lay the
foundation-stone of a new cantonment (Ahmad, 2005). The military led government
responded aggressively. As General Pervaiz Musharraf threatened Baloch Sardars
in one of his interview, he said, “It is not the 70’s and we will not climb mountains
behind them, they will even not know what and from where something has come and
hit them” (Zaidi, 2005, p.64). Sardar Mengal responded in the same tone, when
Zahid Hussain from Newsline Magazine (2005), approached him, “It is not the 70’s
for us, it is also not the 70s for them. If there is any change, it will be for all. If we
have to face severe consequences of change, then they will also not be in a
comfortable position” (p.23).

In December, 2005 some armed men made attacked with rocket fires on
a paramilitary camp in Kohlu where General Musharraf was meeting with some tribal
chiefs. BLA accepted the responsibility of the attack. After this event the security
forces launched massive attack against the Marri tribes. The operation not only
damaged Marri tribesmen but also affected the neighbouring area of Dera Bugti
(Shahid, 2005).
The Baloch militants responded to challenge the writ of the government. Throughout the province, they started hitting government installations and targeted gas pipelines. The government was also blamed to use poisonous gases against the Baloch people. Although the government continuously denied using its regular force but independent sources viewed that at least six army brigades, and paramilitary forces were used in the operation (Asia Report, 2006, p.9). The Pakistani paramilitary force used combat jets, gunship helicopters and artillery to pound militant camps (Swami, 2006, p.4).

The current spate of violence reached at its peak when on 26 August 2006, the military forces killed Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, the JWP leader. His death further flared the Baloch resistance not only in Balochistan but in other provinces as well. The Nawab’s death made them more unite and determined about their cause. He became the symbol of Baloch resistance for their identity and independence (S. Baloch, 2010, Int).

In spite of the fact that the violence broke out across the length and breadth of Balochistan, the central authorities were still insisted to establish “the writ of the government” by using all means (Dawn, 2006, p.7). The extending insurgency was supporting not only by the other tribes but now most of the Baloch across the globe are mentally and spiritually involved in this struggle for identity. The Baloch nationalist Mir Herbyar Khan Murri (2010) has pointed out that “Baloch is not the name of an ethnic group but they are a nation, having distinguish culture, heritage, and martyrs. So the nation cannot live under dominance. We need independence. We cannot be the slave of the slaves(Int Dunya T.V). The death of Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti further worsened the situation. This time, the nature of conflict is different
in a sense that the 1973 uprising was concluding as the P.M. Z.A Bhutto was out from power and the military government released all the important personalities. This time, though the new civil government started to console and negotiate with the Baloch leaders but a clear distrust has been seen between the two actors. That is why the situation is still uncontrolled and challenging to the process of national integration. In the proceeding chapter a discussion has been made to highlight the factors responsible for aggravating the politics of ethnicity in Baloches.

### 3.10 Factors Leading Towards Politics of Ethnicity in Baloch Ethnie.

From 1948 till 2006, Politics of Ethnicity in Baloch, not only evolved but reached at its peak. The most turbulent period starts from the year 2000. It is tried to baloch resistance through military means. Although some political measures have also been adopted by the new Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) led government after 2008 elections, (boycotted by the Baloch nationalist leaders). The newly elected government promised to create peace and follow policy of rapprochement for Baloch people. For confidence building measures P.M Yousaf Raza Gilani offered an apology and freed some of the important Baloch leaders.

The new government constituted an all party parliamentary committee to probe the Baloch afflictions and give proposals for its resolution. The previous military government also formed two sub-committees to negotiate with the Baloch leaders but their recommendations were not carried out (editorial, Dawn, 2008, p.7). This time, after 18 months of circumspection, the Balochistan package was
announced. The package covered each and every issue, problem and concerns of the Baloch leaders.

Conversely to the government’s efforts, the situation in Balochistan is getting bad to worst. Not even a single day is gone peaceful. (Suicide bombing, target killing, sectarian extermination, rocket fire, bombing on military cantonments and government installations is not stopped). The area has become a festering wound for Pakistan (Gul, 2010).

Table 4: Militant attack on government installations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Target Killing</th>
<th>Bomb Blast</th>
<th>Rocket Attack</th>
<th>Sabotage Act</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The figures mentioned in table 11.1 show that from 2001 to 2010, there is a gradual rise of target killing, bomb blast, sabotage act and rocket attack or firing. The high figures show that the state authorities are unable to maintain law and order situation in the province.

The current situation in Balochistan is viewed differently by Baloch nationalists and some political analyst. The Nationalists believe that present crisis is a
counteraction of their exploitation by the central authorities and now it is the war for their independence (Kundi, 2011). While the other group blame Baloch Sardars who want to maintain their hold on power through traditional tribal Sardari system. That is why they made their utmost efforts to derail the government’s efforts to develop Balochistan (Brig Hamid, 2011). To analyze the situation, it is necessary to evaluate the responsible factors which made Baloch ethnicity politically relevant.

3.10.1 Unresolved Issues

These unresolved issues could be categorised under the assimilationary and exclusionary policies of the federation. Balochistan got the status of a province in 1971. Since then the Baloch are divided into two factions. One claims maximum autonomy and the other group keeps the question of national independence as central to the conflict. The provocators of maximum autonomy are the part of political process while those who advocate the issue of national independence, often use violent means to convey their demands.

It is a hard fact that Pakistan is sharply divided on ethnic lines. Unfortunately, the civil and military governments in Pakistan never recognized regional ethnic identities. They always tried to promote a united Pakistan, with one identity. Their policies to assimilate Baloch identity into Pakistan identity indirectly reinforced separatist tendencies. All the Baloch insurrections from 1948 till 2005 were against the assimilationary and exclusionary policies of the centre.

The assimilationist policies created a fear of vanquishing their separate identities while exclusionary policies made them able to form a structural ethnic
organization, BNP. Although, the Baloch Peoples Liberation Front (BPLF), Baloch Student Organization (BSO) Baloch National Movement (BNM) and Pakistan National party (PNP) also emerged to safe guard their vital interests but in 1996 BNM and PNP founded the BNP (Balochistan National Party) (Baloch,2002, p.17). The BNP’s major demand was maximum provincial autonomy and cut down federal authority to four subjects like defence, foreign affairs currency and communication. Other than BNP, the National Party, (NP) the Baloch Haq Talwar (BHT), and the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) are also the major actors to promote Baloch cause.

The promoters of provincial autonomy claimed that the provincial government was not empowered to decide about its development projects. It was only a tool in the hands of the federation. All the decisions were made by the federal authorities and imposed on us (Abdul Haye Baloch, 2011 int). Inter-provincial tension is another important factor contributed towards Baloch alienation. It is a common perception that the centre which dominates the Punjabi elite group represents only the Punjabi interests. All the important posts of civil and military bureaucracy in the province, during Musharraf regime were occupied by the Punjabi officers. Ataullah Mengal was of the view that the Punjabi establishment was not in the favour to give full autonomy to other provinces including Balochistan (Friday Times, 2006, p. 10).

3.10.1.2 Socio-Economic Grievances and Security Concerns
Frederic-Grare presented the socio-economic grievances and security concerns of Balochistan through the strategy of expropriation, marginalization and dispossession (Grare-2006 p.5-6).

The Baloch nationalists feel that they are not the beneficiary of their own natural resources. They are expropriated by the Punjabi central authority. Their arguments are strengthened by the point regarding Sui-Gas. Balochistan is the largest supplier of Gas to the rest of the Pakistan. Since its discovery in 1953, a large part of Balochistan has no access to its energy sources. Balochistan contributes for 36 to 40 percent of Pakistan’s total gas deposits while the province consumes only seventeen percent. Adding to this, the central government pays much less for gas produced in Balochistan. The geological experts have identified that around 19 trillion cubic feet of gas and 6 trillion barrels of oil reserves are present in Balochistan. The government is planned for fresh exploration but the Baloch are persistent not to explore and develop without their consent (Gerare-2006. p.5). Gerare’s idea of marginalization alludes the extensive Baloch rhetoric that mega-development plans such as the development of Gawadar Port is only for non-Baloch, specially for Sindhis and Punjabi’s. They believe that these projects will create demographic transition and they will become minority in their own area.

Baloch nationalists and political leaders often raise the issue of their legitimate share in the resources. They unfold the disparity while comparing socio-economic condition of Balochistan with other provinces. The Human development index (HDI) also reveals that in almost all areas of human development Balochistan is at the bottom.
Table 5: Ranking of Provinces by overall human development index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>HDI</th>
<th>HDI Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>0.557</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>0.540</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>0.510</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>0.499</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pakistan National Human Development Report 2003, UNDP, Pakistan

Estimation by Wasay Majid and Akmal Hussain.


Table 6: Human Development Indices of Different Provinces in Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Literacy Ration % 1998</th>
<th>Enrolment Ration % 1998</th>
<th>Infant Survival Ration % 1998</th>
<th>Immunisation Ratio % 1998</th>
<th>Real GDP per capita (PPPS) 1998</th>
<th>Educational Attainment Index</th>
<th>Health Index</th>
<th>Adjusted real GDP per Capita (PPPS) Index</th>
<th>HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Pakistan</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>0.537</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.272</td>
<td>0.541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>95.4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1770</td>
<td>0.557</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.281</td>
<td>0.557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1804</td>
<td>0.553</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.287</td>
<td>0.540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>96.3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1364</td>
<td>0.480</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.213</td>
<td>0.510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1677</td>
<td>0.543</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.265</td>
<td>0.499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>1743</td>
<td>0.673</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>02.77</td>
<td>06.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:

1. GDP per capita and Infant Survival Rates for Islamabad are calculated as an average of Punjab and Pakistan.
2. Enrolment rate is for primary level only.
3. Immunisation refers to fully immunised children based on record and recall having received BCG, DPT1, DPT2, DPT3, Polio 1, Polio2, Polio# and Measles.

Source: Pakistan National Human Development Report 2003, UNDP, Pakistan
Grare (2006) further argues that the feelings of dispossession not only create social and economic problems but security problems as well (p.6). The Baloch distrust the security agencies and paramilitary forces including Frontier Constabulary (F.C) in their province. The Baloch nationalists demand the removal of military cantonments and return of the army to the barracks. The deteriorating socio-economic condition of the Baloch reveals the inequitable policies of the centre. This is one of the reasons that Baloch resisting for further exploration of their oil and gas reserves. The constitution of Pakistan guarantees the province where the well head of natural gas is founded. That province shall have the precedence over others. In the case of Balochistan the situation is upside down. Only six districts of Balochistan, Piped gas is available. There are only a few CNG stations in the entire province, compare it to the other provinces, especially Punjab, where gas is supplied in each and every village.

The military garrison at Gawadar and other areas like Dera Bugti and Kohlu are despised as outpost, of domination and control. The F.C is thoroughly hated by Baloch. The Baloch consider Para-military forces and F.C a security risk for them. They argue that F.C is deputed here to kill us, to kidnap us not to protect us (Abdul Hayee Baloch, 2011). Human Right activists reported frequently about the on forced missing persons in Baloch majority areas. According to their report, published in June 2011 a list of 143 missing persons has been verified through various sources (HRCP, 2001. p.30-34). Another independent research cell “SATP” has declared that only 107 enforced disappearances have been reported in 2011 while they pointed out that approximately 1300 people are still disappeared.
Balochistan’s advocate general Salahuddin Mengal alleged that F.C is responsible behind the increased ratio of missing persons. According to him “we are recovering dead bodies day in and day out as the F.C (Frontier Constabulary) and police are lifting people in broad day light at will, but we are helpless. Who can check the FC? (Satp. 2001) On 19th December 2001, Sardar Attaullah Mengal, senior leader of BNP (M) warned

Balochistan would not remain with Pakistan if extra judicial killings of Baloch nationalists and excesses by SFs were not stopped immediately. Balochistan will not remain with you. Adding that the violence and killings by SFs had taken Balochistan to the point of no return and steps had to be taken to engage the youth. Who have been driven into the mountain by the Army (Satp, 2011)?

The 2008 government of Nawab Aslam Khan Raisani in Balochistan also complained about the jurisdiction of F.C. The chief minister (CM) issued a statement on January 20, 2010 that “The F.C establishes a parallel government in Balochistan and this is intolerable”. He stressed to give F.C under provincial control if central government wants to improve security situation in the province (Zulfiqar, 2010, p.28-29).

In response to extended activities of F.C the Baloch militants further enhanced their terrorist activities in Quetta, Khuzdar, Naushki, Awaran, Turbat, Jhalwan, Chamalang and other troubled areas.

Following data is helpful to understand the gradual rise of terrorist activities from the militants in Baloch militants.
**Table 7: Data of killed and injured persons from 2001 to 2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Attack</th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Injured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>1070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled by Researcher from Daily Dawn and Daily Jang. Verified by PIPS and HRCP
Figure 2: Gradual rise of militant attack, no of killed and injured persons.
The constitution of Pakistan 1973, facilitates the relationship between Centre and Federating units while constituting a mechanism to regulate inter-provincial and centre-province relations. The National Economic Council (NEC), is created to review the overall economic condition of the state and to formulate policies with the consultation of the provinces (The Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, Article 156).

### 3.10.1.3 Distribution of Resources

The Council of Common Interests (CCI) was designed to codify and administer the policies according to federal legislature list. The National Finance Commission (NFC) is established to make suggestion about the distribution of revenues from taxes and grants between Centre and Provinces. Unfortunately, the three institutions could not carry the actual spirit of the federation. The CCI and NFC
did not convened regularly and due to the intervention of various authorities have become ineffective. Both became contentious bodies which follow the directives of the executive only (Sayyed, 2006).

From 1973 only seven times NFC has been awarded and only three times its recommendations are finalised. Every time, the four provinces showed their major concern over the allocation of resources. During Musharraf’s regime, the NFC award failed to make its recommendations, thereby the funds and grants were not transferred to the provinces. President Musharraf decided to announce it unilaterally and violated the constitution. The decision was resented by the Baloch and other ethnic groups of the four provinces.

The ruling party of Balochistan and the opposition both strongly opposed the formula, on the basis President gave the award. They demanded a new way for the distribution of national resources. According to them, population should not be the only criterion to determine the needs. There are other multiple factors including geo-graphic size of the province, and levels of development etc, that government should keep in mind (Rehman, 2006).

3.11 Politics of Ethnicity and the issue of national integration

As it has been said, that ethnicity is not destructive by its original spirit, it creates harmony and associative feelings among group members (Esman, 2004,
But when it is charged to achieve some political, economic and social gains, it becomes so destructive and transform itself a serious threat to national integration.

The mentioned socio-economic and political factors revealed that in Balochistan, socially constructed ethnicity has become motivated politically. The violence in Balochistan is the outcome of politics of ethnicity. It includes a central authority, and politically motivated ethnic groups, confront with the political structure in their bid for autonomy or secession (Jetly, 2004, p.8). The Baloch ethnicity is historically associated with its territory. Common religion and language has played an important role in the promotion of Baloch ethnic nationalism, but not to the promotion of national integration. Much of the literature in Balochi language has influenced the spirit of Baloch nationalism related to its territory (Jahani, 1997, p.115). The first speech of Mr. Ghaus Bakhsh Bizanjo in Kalat State National Assembly reveals that they were not ready to associate themselves with Pakistan on the basis of common religion (Foreign Policy Centre, 2006, p.20). The traditional historical narrative of the Balochis about ethnic identity and somatic relationship to their land authorize them to rule and control their destiny. The passion of Baloch Nationalism is also the outcome of their historical narrative. Although, at present the intense Baloch desire for autonomy or independence is somehow the other a payoff of historical grievances but it is also a passion leading into ferocity. Walker Connor (1996) also explained the force of passion in the following words. He said, “men don’t allow themselves to be killed for their interests, they allow themselves to be killed for their passions” (p.75).

The Baloch resistsants believe that clash with Pakistan’s central authorities and army is to preserve their identity. The marginalizing policies of the government
have made them a peripheral group among the federating units. One of the very important personalities of Baloch nationalist movement Mir Herbıyar Murree has said, that their resources are being hijacked by the federal government. After the fall of British colonialism, this is the dawn of internal colonialism that the Baloch are facing. Against this internal colonialism we, each and every Baloch is united and ready to head on against the federal government of Pakistan (Mehran Baloch, 2011, Int).

According to the mentioned debate, it has become clear that Baloch ethnicity which is socially constructed and largely associated with territory has been politically mobilized and became a serious challenge to national integration. The Baloch leaders are generally using their cultural symbols specially language and territory for mobilizing ethnicity. Contrary to the development of 70s, the nationalists are now using new ways and means to animate Baloch youth. Modern means of political communication have been developed. They have their own web pages, telecommunication sources including radio, TV and newspapers. Above all, on social media like facebook and twitter they are projecting their ethnic ambitions and creating awareness about their rights very systematically. A huge number of Baloch youth is a part of this struggle.

Contrary to the fact, one argument that often induced by the Pakistani government is that only a handful of Baloch Sardars are manipulating the game and using ethnicity as an instrument against the federation. President Musharraf expressed his views on PTV in one of his speeches as, “The tribal Chiefs have held this country hostage for the past 30 to 40 years for their interests. These tribal chiefs have no interest in the well being and progress of the common man because of their
pro-development thinking” (Musharraf Jan, 2006). Dr. Abdul Hay Baloch has categorically rejected this blame in one of his interview with the researcher and explained that “Baloch youth is the potential force of all tribes and tribal chiefs. They are well connected with each other and ready to sacrifice for their cause” (2011).

The central government of Pakistan is still not agreed with the Baloch passion for their identity and independence. The government is highlighting the instrumentalist’s approach of ethnicity that political and economic gains are the potential factors to manipulate ethnicity. The son of Khair Bakhsh Marri, Mir Herbyar Marri in one of his interview taken by Najam Sethi and televised by Dunya T.V clearly stated, “We are fighting for independence, resources have the second priority. We can save our Baloch identity only in independent Balochistan”.

Contrary to this view, one of the very important actors of this struggle Sardar Akhtar Mengal, leader of BNP undoubtedly claims for maximum autonomy. The Economist (2006) has quoted one of his statements, “Our demand is simple, “Maximum autonomy”; or we too will take to the mountains and fight for independence. In the politics of Balochistan, among nationalist one group is still there and ready to talk with in the political and constitutional structure of 1973” (Economist 2006). Maya Chadda (2006) analyzed the struggle of Baloch nationalists including some other South Asian ethnic conflicts as vacillated between autonomy and independence (p.200). Hence in both the demands, political memories of the past injustices and the depressed economic situation of Balochistan count a lot.

To understand the extent of threat of Baloch ethnicity to national integration; different variables like the role of leaderships, middle class, state policies
and external involvement is necessary to evaluate. It is important to appraise how these factors influencing the threat matrix of internal security and national integration.

3.11.1 Role of Leadership

The positive attitudes of governing elite furnish to reduce the conflict while their stubborn behaviour strengthens the demands of nationalist elite. In Pakistan, the governing leadership whether they are military rulers or civilian elected personals, provided opportunities to the nationalist leaders to mobilize their group against the federation. As in the case of Balochistan, the demand of maximum autonomy is not addressed by any regime. Their inflexible behaviour has made them contumacious. Although the Baloch nationalist leaders of Murri, Bugti and Mengal tribes have no direct communication with the Baloch common people because either they have self exile or forced, yet they are successful in getting support from the masses.

Gorenburg (2006) viewed about ethnic minority mobilization in Russian federation that minority ethnic group performed as purely reactive. (p.2) The Baloch nationalists are also reactive of the policies of central government. Their reaction against the central authorities has gradually increased. They used to register their response through violent means as hitting and bombing of government installations.

Due to the gradual increase of violent behaviour and terrorist activities the number of annual fatalities are also increased. The following table can show the trend that now the civilians, security forces personal and militants are bit by bit going to die.
Table 8: Annual Fatalities in Balochistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Civilian</th>
<th>SF</th>
<th>Militants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (www.satp.org/countries/pakistan/balochistan/index/html)

Although the central government believes that the Baloch nationalist Sardars have their own vested interests, thereby ensuring pressures on the central elite. But it is a fact that their support is moderately raising. The researcher interviewed almost hundred persons randomly from different spectrum of life from Balochistan, about ninety percent favours their nationalist leaders. The old nationalist leadership is now replaced with new-literate commanders. They are almost successful to communicate their grievances and propagate their objectives with conviction. Public support to this leadership is helpful to take the flame of Balochi resistance forward.

3.11.2 Role of Middle class

Stephen. P. Cohen (2005) has argued that Balochistan cannot make a successful separatist movement because it lacks a middle class. (p.221). A lot of scholars, who studied the nationalist movement of Bangalies during early seventies, highlighted the importance of a middle class which provided a “work force” for the nationalist cause. Although the Baloch society is traditionally fragmented and backward. Due to certain reasons, the literacy rate remained lower as compared to
all the four provinces. The urban population is lesser than the rural one. Their
loyalties are more relevant to their tribes and tribal leaders rather than their identity.
Due to lack of cohesiveness within middle class their participation in nationalist
movement did not remain effective. But the current trends are different to these
views. Dr Abdul Hayee Baloch, one of the moderate nationalist leaders of Baloch
argues that “we have mobilized the middle class in Balochistan to support the Baloch
cause”. He clearly says that that extreme economic poverty and underdevelopment
of the province has strengthened our views against the Punjabi dominated central
elites (Dr. Abdul Hayee Baloch 2010).

The Balochistan Students Organization (BSO) and BLA are the affiliated
groups of BNP belonging to the Baloch middle class. These groups are involved in
various violent activities. With the gradual rise of Baloch middle class, the sentiments
of Baloch nationalism are once again becoming active. In the current uprising, the
situation is reported to be worsening. Baloch nationalist have complained about
indiscriminate firing from the security forces; have caused large scale deaths and
destruction. According to reports, in one month 72 tribesmen were killed and 228
were injured in Dera Bugti alone (Zulfiqar, 2006, pp.35-36). The HRCP’s detailed
report about missing persons and mutilated bodies of enforced disappearances also
show that the Baloch middle class is the victim of these atrocities. The middle class
in Balochistan is nascent and alienated. The development lag in the province is
sufficient to enhance anti-centre emotions. The middle class is more titled towards
nationalists and it has completely disowned the activities of F.C in the province.

The deteriorated law and order situation, the extensive military’s
engagement in Balochistan and gradual rise of forced kidnapping by the agencies
has created a consciousness among Baloch Middle class to play actively for their Baloch cause. Although the conscious level, is not at its peak but slowly and steadily the nationalists are preparing them. The independent Pakistani media is also highlighting that the public sympathies are with Baloch nationalists. The educated Baloch are more concerned about their share in government and civil military bureaucracy. Although they are least in number hence the unemployment ratio is 33.48, the higher than other provinces (The international news, 2005). The supporting of media, middle class and Baloch youth show the convergence of interests that could be dangerous for the unity of Pakistan, if it is not handled properly.

### 3.11.3 State Policies and Separatist Sentiments

An underlying assumption to measure threat to national integration is that state policies may cause rather than abate ethnic mobilization and separatist sentiments (Olzak, 1983. p.368). Different state functions-including education, civil rights, allocation and distribution of funds, quota recruitment system in official representative bodies and development projects may cause ethnic competition.

In Balochistan, it is common perception that central government policies have totally failed to address Baloch concerns. The Baloch are politically and administratively disempowered. Although in 2005 the parliamentary committee on Balochistan recommended political and administrative autonomy (Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan, 2005, p.105-108) for creating favourable environment to solve the crisis, hence it was disregarded by the then military regime. To strengthen its hold on the area, the process of political migration was started. A
large number of Punjabi bureaucrats were sent to Balochistan and practically
disempowered Baloch from their offices. The development of mega projects has
become a mega problem for the Baloch people. The Gawadar Port project is the
most controversial one. The project is strongly opposed by the Baloch because they
were not taken into confidence when it was announced. One sided policies create
lack of trust and makes people lose faith in political process and political government
that led to violent means to bring about change. The federal authority of Pakistan is
still in need to design a proactive policy of engagement to solve the issue for the
consolidation of the state.

3.11.4 Geo-strategic Significance and the Role of
External Forces

Donald Horowitz (1985) explained the importance of external backing for
an ethnic movement that needs support to gain strength. (p.230) According to him if
an ethnic group is failed to obtain external support for their cause can contribute to
the failure of the movement. External support provides material and moral backing. It
includes finance, training, weapons and a safe place for militants. External factor is
also important in escalating or defusing the conflict.

However, as far as the Baloch ethnic movement is concerned the widely
held perception is, that Baloch never secured the international support for their
separatist cause. (Jones, 2002, p.135) Despite the fact, it is argued by the Pakistani
media that without foreign assistance, insurgency of this magnitude cannot be
sustained. A widely held belief is that Indian, Iranian, Afghani and U.S agencies are
involved to strengthen the Baloch insurgency. Although a substantial number of
Baloch are also the Iranian citizens, so any action that strengthens the cause of
Baloch ethnic nationalism could be equally dangerous to Iran as well. One perception is that Iran is also developing its own deep sea port with Indian help at Chabahar, a gateway to Central Asia. The common perception is that the development of Gawadar port is contemplated as a threat to their economic interest (Babar, 2006). That is why Iran could support the local insurgency movement to create law and order situation in Gawadar and related areas.

The geographic and demographic boundaries of Balochistan are also extended to Afghanistan. The Afghan’s concerns are centred on Baloch support of Taliban along their shared borders. Afghanistan accuses that Pakistan has allowed Taliban to find shelter in Baloch area while Pakistan blames Afghanistan for arming
Baloch militants. Apart from Afghan’s concern the U.S government has also demonstrated its concerns about the presence of Al-Qaeda and Taliban in Balochistan. Currently, there is no prove has been found of the presence of a Taliban network within Balochistan, even then US is concentrating on this point.

It is argued by different independent think tanks in Pakistan that the Baloch separatist movement is being hijacked by different foreign powers. The resource rich Balochistan is in the eye of those powers who have ambition to explore new energy resources for their better future (Abid, 2010). In one of the report of metaexistence organization it has been reported that Washington favours the creation of “Greater Balochistan”. In the issue of June 2006, in the Armed Forces Journal in USA a military scholar Lt. Colonel Ralph Peter suggested that Pakistan should be broken up. A separate country Greater Balochistan or Free Balochistan would be a single entity that will be incorporated Irani and Pakistani Baloch areas (Meta existence organization) It was alleged by senate committee on defence on June, 2006 that British intelligence is supporting Balochistan separatists (Press trust of India, 2006).

As far as the foreign support to Baloch militants is concerned, Pakistan has repeatedly blamed India for its overt involvement in Baloch movement. It was reported that the last military government gave “proof” of Indian involvement to Afghanistan President (Mariana Babar, 2006) while India denies such accusations.

The disempowerment of the Baloch from administration alienated them from the main stream system. It is also a well known fact, that those who are more alienated to power are more responsible to secessionist appeals. In this way the
Baloch ethnic movement can pose a serious threat to the national integration of Pakistan because it has a combination of structural, political, economic, social, cultural and perceptual factors. The Study reveals that at present Baloch people are divided into two groups, i.e. (a) those who are part of main-stream politics and want to preserve their identity through constitutional means, (b) those who are involved in insurgent and terrorist activities. They have organized militant outfits and have relationship with other terrorist groups. To avoid this situation, the state of Pakistan has to make policies with the consensus of Baloch leaders and implement them with political commitment and dedication.

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CHAPTER FOUR

MOHAJIR ETHNIC IDENTITY:
Development of Conflict and the Issue of National Integration
4.1 Introduction

Pakistan is made up of variety of cultures, ethnicities, languages and religious sects. Despite the granularity with which people are demarcated, ferocious devotion to power exists throughout the country. Under the politics of ethnicity this chapter elucidates the emergence and move up of Mohajir ethnicity in Pakistan. The chapter will analyze the main argument of the thesis that in federation the centralized policies of the state authorities aggravate ethnic tension. Ethnic groups use their ethnic association as an instrument to project and achieve their demands. Despite the fact that across Pakistan all ethnic groups claim primordial basis of their ethnicity, hence the nature of Mohajir ethnicity is somewhat different. As Benedict Anderson (1983) termed imagined communities (p.5) the Mohajir in Pakistan was about to construct that community. Mohajir represents a different notion of traditional ethnicity. On the basis of varying nature of Mohajir ethnicity, the chapter will analyze the following aspects to highlight a threat matrix for national integration.

1. Identification of the root word Mohajir and the competing narratives of Mohajir ethnicity.
2. The process of politicization of Mohajir ethnicity, its nature and the factors leading towards it.
3. The erosion of state power and the development of conflict between state and their ethnic political organization (MQM) Muttahida Qaumi Movement.
4. The changing nature of political objectives and political leadership is an important aspect of the study.
5. And finally the implications of Mohajir ethnicity will be discussed with in the parameter of national integration of Pakistan.
4.2 Definition of Mohajir

The word Mohajir is deduced from the Arabic word “Hijra”, used to describe to move from one place to another, or to avoid affliction by the adversary. Traditionally, it is referred to the flight of Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) and his followers (in the religion Islam) from Makkah to Madina (Ahmad, 2000, p. 91). Later on, the term is used in different manners with different connotations. In 1920s the appellation is used for Indian Muslims who migrated towards Afghanistan following the call of the leaders of Khilafat Movement in India, while in present context, it is also used for those muslims who left India in 1947 after partition and came to Pakistan. The Indian Muslim migrants belonged to a variety of ethnic groups like, Punjabis, Memons, Gujrati’s Khojas, and Bohras, but only the Urdu speaking community known to be as Mohajirs (Khan, 2005, pp.161-162).

Right from the beginning, the enigma of Pakistan was related to its support base. Varkaaik (2011) has discussed, that in United India, the greatest support for the cause of Pakistan was received by those areas where Muslims were in minority and their mother tongue was Urdu. Uttar Pardesh, Bihar, Gujrat Rajasthan, Bombay and Deccan were the areas where a large number of Muslims migrated to Pakistan from 1948 till 1950 (p.50). Apart from the Urdu speaking community, the majority of people from East Punjab also migrated and settled in Western side of Punjab in Pakistan. These migrants felt no hesitation and were assimilated with the native people. About 70 percent of the migrants from India were settled in Punjab, 20% in Sindh, and 10 percent in other provinces.
Table 1 Pattern of Migration in Pakistan after Partition in 1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Number of Migrants</th>
<th>Share of Migrant</th>
<th>Ratio in Total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>7,220,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bengal</td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>9.67</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Pakistan</td>
<td>6,520,000</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>5,300,000</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh (exkarachi)</td>
<td>550,000</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karachi</td>
<td>610,000</td>
<td>8.53</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The table 2.1 shows that almost 70 percent of the refugees were settled in Punjab and 20 percent in Sindh. The impact of refugees in the province of Sindh, Punjab and the city Karachi could not be judged only in term of members but must be judged as their share in local population, then its economy and politics. The 1951 census report showed that in Sindh every eight, the fourth in Punjab and second in Karachi was a refugee (Waseem, 1998, p. 76).

4.2.1 Mohajir: Socio-Political Background

Mohajir remained the most important ethnic group in Pakistan. Contrary to other ethnic identities, Mohajirs initially formed an urban elite group with Punjabis.
Prior to partition, they belonged to a vibrant and well educated Indian Muslims and played a front role in Pakistan movement. The Indian Muslims of Utter Pardesh (UP) always remained the part of traditional power equation, whether it was a Mughal rule or colonial set up (Khan, 2005, p. 163; Ahmad, 2000, p.94). Their privileged position in society remained unchanged because of accepting modern western education. The Muslims from UP (India) led the Muslims of other areas in the field of education and politics. In the later years, when Muslim League was formed, they were the main characters of the All India Muslim League.

The policy of All India Muslim League was to promote the interests of Muslims of the minority provinces. In this case the national level leadership of Muslim League always remained under the influence of UP Muslims. Main stream positions were often given to minority provinces rather than majority. The Lucknow Pact 1916 was one of the examples. Through this agreement the Muslims of UP who were only 14 percent of the population were allotted almost 50 percent seats in the UP assembly while Punjabi and Bengalis who were the majority in their respective areas, got 40 percent and 50 percent seats (Brennan, Lanca, 1984, P.50). There were numerous other factors contributed towards their political and economic development till the partition. As Urdu-Speaking community remained the dominant group, they claim credit for their success. After partition, the Urdu speaking community albeit not all, consciously decided to migrate to Pakistan and live in a state where they would be the part of majority.

4.3 Ethnic Narrative of Mohajirs

Before discussing the rise of Mohajir ethnicity and embarking upon the factors, responsible to politicize Mohajir identity, it is necessary to understand the
traditional historical narrative about the origin of Urdu speaking Mohajir community. Unlike Sindhi, Pakhtun, Balochi or Punjabi ethnic groups who possess strong geographical and cultural association, in Pakistan, the ethnic narrative of Mohajir is not well settled. Many scholars of ethnicity encircle the ethnic groups of Pakistan under primordial approach. According to it, “the nation is an organism of fixed and indelible character which was stamped on its members at birth and from which they could never free themselves (Smith, 1998, p. 146). Common origin, common history and culture, and a sense of solidarity are the main attributes of primordial approach (Smith, 1981, p.10). The primordialist insists that cultural attributes like languages, religion, customs, kinship and descent are constant (Smith, 2000, p.5). Keeping in mind the primordialist views, the Mohajir ethnic identity could not be approached under it. They are under deliberate reinvention and making of their cultural symbols. A.R. Siddiqi (1997) presents another unique interpretation of Mohajir ethnic identity. According to him:

The Indian Muslims remained strange when migrated in Subcontinent. He also stressed that they are not the indigenous people of Subcontinent (P. 30-32). Despite hundred years rule over India, Muslims failed to made India their own land. In this way the primordialist interpretation is not only irrelevant to the Urdu Speaking Indian Muslims but for those who migrated from India to Pakistan also. On the other hand, the instrumentalist and social constructivist believe that ethnic ties are socially constructed. It is the elite, who sometimes draw upon distort, and fabricate the material from ethnic groups for competing over resources and sometimes for individual and collective advantage (Brass, 1991, p.8). Alvi (1991) has also explained that ethnicity is contextual and class based. He emphasizes on some economic and political factors as essential basis for ethnic mobilization (p.264). Alvi argues that
ethnic association is not fixed and enduring in nature. The change in identities is due to class struggle.

Another important description with the ongoing debate is done by Hayder (1993) who by himself a Mohajir. He migrated from UP India in 1953. He explained that migration from India to Pakistan and Pakistan to India was spontaneous and without a well prepared plan. Hence he analyzed this spontaneous migration to Pakistan as a logical pattern. He further explained that linguistic, ethnic and cultural commonality and geographic proximity played an important role in establishing the migration pattern (p.110). According to his analysis, due to linguistic and ethnic homogeneity, the Muslims from West Bengal, Bihar, Orrisa, and Eastern United Provinces migrated towards East Pakistan. West Bengali Muslims faced a little difficulty in assimilating themselves in the local community because they spoke Bengali, while the other Muslims from Bihar and adjacent areas could not blend into Bengali community. Although they were Muslims but their dress, food and most importantly their language was different. Like that most of the Muslims from East Punjab in India migrated to west Punjab that was the part of West Pakistan. Their assimilation was also relatively easy into the host community because of ethnic homogeneity and most importantly because of their Punjabi language that is widely spoken in the Punjab Province of Pakistan (p.110). Under this phenomenon, in which language played an important role for homogenizing ethnic groups; the Muslims who migrated to the province of Sindh in Pakistan came from different parts of India. Mostly belonged to the Urdu Speaking areas of Bihar, the central province, Hyderabad Deccan, princely states, Orrisa, Rajputana and the United Provinces. A Majority of migrants settled in urban areas especially in Karachi and Hyderabad. Their association with Urdu Language made them alien in the traditional set up of
Indian Muslims, equipped with western education were employed in the state apparatus, became the most vocal and participated in the ethnic competition. Alvi (1991) called them the “Salariat class” (pp. 264-265). The salariat person constitutes the middle class of the society. In this way, the Indian Muslims became instrumental in designing and promoting their objectives especially their demand for separate homeland. Alvi integrates their aspiration of separation with socio-economic benefits. He argues that the Muslims from UP and Bihar had a fear of loss of their privileges because people from other groups inspired with the benefits of modern education. They were also getting recruited in the Indian imperial services. Alvi believes that the economic competition is the basis of Muslim ethnic nationalism in India (p.268). In this context, the instrumentalist and social constructivist approach explains the Mohajir ethnic phenomenon. Although Waseem (1998) points out that elite competition and state policies are puzzling questions in this regard (p.75). While explaining it he says that ethnic organization of Mohajir is based on first, non-elite group and second, the state policies should be considered with great caution (pp.75-76). Anyhow, it is a fact that initially when Mohajirs were dominant in administration and civil bureaucracy, they did not highlight the issue of their separate identity. After 1970s when gradually their representation in central administration started to decline, it led to the feelings of alienation. The frustration escorted to the creation of All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization (APMSO) that was later changed into Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM).

4.4 Development of Politics of Ethnicity
Despite the fact that Urdu Speaking community entered in Sindh province from five different regions of India, they had numerous common factors to share. Commonality in culture, and ideology, commonality in perception and goals enabled them to develop feelings of common identity. Their better educated stature made them superior and helped to better integrate themselves into the civil and military bureaucratic institutions.

Although, Mohajirs integrated themselves with the government institutions but it remained difficult for them to assimilate with the Sindhi culture with the same pace. Alvi (1987) pointed out the reason that in United India, the majority of Muslims of United provinces (lately was called Utter Pradesh) were enjoying privileged positions but gradually it started to decline till the early twentieth century. To safeguard their status, financially and politically and to maintain their superiority, the elite including Nawabs, and Sardars played a key role to single out Muslims from Hindus. From the demand of a separate electorate system for the Indian Muslims and the development of All India Muslim League, the Lahore Resolution (The Pakistan Resolution) and finally their demand for independent, sovereign Pakistan showed that they had the desire to lead and reformulate the political framework in a way to regain power and privileges (pp. 6-10; Seal, 1971, pp.298-340).

With this ambition, initially the Mohajir dominated all the institutions. In December 1947, the Muslim League council had 160 immigrant members. In 1948, after the death of Quaid-i-Azam as the first Governor General, the presidency of Muslim League was held by Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman. From the years 1947 to 1958 they acquired the most important government posts including prime minister. Out of seven prime ministers, two belonged to Mohajir group. They were Liaquat Ali Khan and I.I. Chundrigar. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, at that time performed his duties
as Minister of Refugee rehabilitation and lately he became Minister of Information. Dr. Muhammad Hussain performed as Minister of Education while Chaudhary Khaleeq-uz-Zaman and I.I Chundrigar also remained Governors of East Bengal and Punjab respectively (Callard, 1957, pp. 342-345). The most interesting factor was the ratio of Mohajir population in the country. They were only three percent of the total population while only two percent Mohajirs belonged to U.P (India) (Waseem, 1989, pp. 110-114).

The initial state policies also favoured Mohajirs. The first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan’s policy about quota system for civil service of Pakistan in 1948 also favoured Mohajirs. The system was introduced to increase Bengali representation in civil services. However, it was designed in a manner that could not affect the Mohajirs representation but remove the doubts about Bengali representation. For example, the largest Mohajirs residential area was Karachi in Sindh Province with 1.5 percent of population received two percent quota in jobs and 15 percent additional allocation was received for migrants. Whereas, the East Pakistan’s share in the total population was 56.75 percent and quota was 42 percent only (Waseem, 1997, p.227). The mentioned quota system was revised in 1949 that further reduced the Bengali share by 2 percent and increased 20 percent to the merit category. This policy made Mohajirs more beneficent because they had high literacy rate. Due to the reason by 1950, their share in civil service was around 47 percent.

Apart from Mohajir’s influential role in power based political system they had strong hold in business sector. The most powerful industrialist families of Karachi belonged to Mohajir community. The relative decline of Mohajir’s from power structure began when Ayub Khan assumed the power. He shifted the capital of Pakistan from Karachi to Islamabad. Furthermore, Ayub Khan’s renewed policies
about administrative structure had infuriated the Mohajir community. Mohajir politicians and bureaucrats had their inclination towards a representational system so they supported Miss Fatima Jinnah against Ayub Khan during the first presidential elections in 1964. Field Marital Ayub Khan’s victory, as the president of Pakistan created more problems. Gohar Ayub, the son of Ayub Khan led a victory parade in Karachi, at this time some fierce clashes between opponents were also witnessed (Siddiqi, p.62; Khan, new World Encyclopedia). It is considered as the first encounter of Mohajirs with other ethnic groups because they were attacked by Pathans for supporting Fatima Jinnah (Athar, 2011, pp. 22-23).

This was probably the first event that created the sense of alienation among Mohajir community and they found themselves in a hostile condition. Gradually, the changes in state structure brought from Ayub Khan to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, (A Sindhi Prime Minister from 1971 to 1977) made them an aggrieved party. Since then, the Mohajirs had the feelings of a separate ethnic identity. Various other factors have also contributed to politicize the ethnic association. To understand the politicization of Mohajir ethnicity a detailed account about the nature of issue is required. The next section details the issue.

4.5 Nature of the Issue

The politicization of Mohajir ethnicity is embodied with variety of factors and incidents. To understand the complexity of the issue it is necessary to review regional variables which shape up the nature of the issue.

4.5.1 Mohajir VS Sindhi Ethnicity
Soon after partition the Sindhi intellectuals and their political leaders started writing against Punjabi domination in state affairs but the early migration after independence from India to Pakistan especially in Sindh province opened a new phase of conflict. There are several factors leading towards a conflictual situation in different time periods but before studying its dynamics a brief historical background of Sindh province and its culture is helpful to understand the present situation.

4.5.1.2 Historical Background

The territory of Sindh is situated along the Indus River and its tributaries. Historically, the area derives its identity from the Indus River that is known as Sindhu (Korejo, 2002, p.1). The Indus River with its tributaries is reaching Kashmir in the North and Arabian Sea in the South. The Sindhi culture is the production of the interaction among people living around the areas. They consider the river as a binding factor. Since the beginning of this culture, the territory is known as an ethnic melting pot because the Arabs, the Persians, the Balochies, the Afghanis, Kutchis, the Gujartis, the Punjabis, the Pathans and lots of other ethnic nations migrated and started living here. Since then, Sindh is recognized a multi-lingual multicultural and multiethnic territory (Korejo, 2002, p.1).

Korejo (2002) wrote a detailed account about Sindhi’s ethnic heterogeneity. According to him the invaders, rulers, refugees, preachers all adopted Sindhi Culture, and assimilated with it. Sindhi language remained the state language (p.2-3). Among all the pre-independence migrants only Baloch remained hesitant to adopt Sindhi culture. Their nomadic life style and tribal system had sharp contrast with the Sindhi culture. Gradually, Sindhi culture transformed the Baloch by involving them
into fine arts and other scholarly pursuits. With the passage of time, the Sindhi norms were adopted by Baloch Culture and overcome mutual conflicts (Baloch, 1958, pp. 168-244).

As far as the political landscape of Sindh is concerned, it remained a peripheral region. Major character of power centre belonged to religious leaders, and Wadiras (feudal). Although Sindh never remained independent during the Mughal rule but it had autonomous status. The autonomous status was culminated in 1847. Due to some administrative reasons Britishers supported the local feudal and with their help started to intervene in the state affairs.

Although Bombay Presidency had a legal governmental system, yet its decrease did not exercise in Sindh (Seal, 1971, p.69). Sindh remained the part of Bombay Presidency till 1935. In 1936, Sindh acquired the status of a province. Basic theme behind its separation from Bombay presidency was based on the belief that separate identity of Sindh is in danger. The Hindus from presidency and the Sindhi Hindus grew more prosperous while the Sindhi Muslims were not treated fairly. After separation Muslims had a visible majority in the province, however, they were less prosperous. Although, Sindhi politics was a factional brawling between waderas but gradually it moved towards an organized party system. For the protection of Sindhi rural elite they formed Sindh Ittehad Party (SIP). The SIP became popular and in 1937 elections it was the strongest party with largest number of seats (Sayed, 1995, pp. 18-20). With the gradual development of political consciousness among Indian Muslims, the people of Sindh as well, had to join one of the two major national political parties. The Sindhi local elite was much apprehensive from Hindu dominated Congress rule. They wanted to maintain their autonomous status and Muslim states were appealing for them. Under the same desire, in 1943 the members of ML in
Sindh Assembly, passed a resolution for independent national state and declared that “they will not accept any constitution that will place Muslim Nation under a central government of another nation (Jalal, 1992, pp. 109.110).

The resolution showed that the local Sindhi Political elite that joined Muslim League were not in favour of the creation of one state. The supporters of Sindhi identity off and on tried to convey their apprehensions. One of the staunch Sindhi nationalists Allah Bux Soomro, was quoted by G.M. Sayed in the following words “Our difficulties will begin after the creation of Pakistan. Now the Hindu traders and money lender’s plunder is worrying you but later you will have to face the Punjabi bureaucracy and the mind of UP, and you will have to struggle to fight in concomitant evils (Sayed, 1995, pp. 45-47). Sindhis did not forge this prophetic warning (Khan, 2002, p. 218). Despite the fact, that after partition Sindh was least affected by Hindu-Muslim communal riots however, a huge influx of refugees from India affected its social, political and economic fiber. They thought that the influx of refugees is a threat to their distinctive identity.

Gradual development of conflictual situation between Mohajirs and Sindhis, forced them to organize politically. The Sindhis activated jai Sindh, Sindh Progressive Party (SPP) while Mohajirs organized Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM). Initially they had conflict with Sindhis but later on it moved towards state. Following variables are also important to aggravate the conflict.

4.5.1.3 Cultural and Linguistic Differences

The Mohajir came to Pakistan from five different regions of India. They had common culture but their culture was different from the indigenous culture of Pakistan. Unlike the Mohajirs in Punjab, those who settled in Sindh did not integrate
with the local culture. Sindhi culture was like an alien to them. They were different linguistically, socially, politically and economically. Despite these ethno-linguistic differences almost 63.9 percent of Mohajirs in Sindh started to live in urban areas. According to 1951 Census Report, its volume 6 and 01, 86.16 percent Mohajirs were found in Hyderabad district and around 71 percent in Sukkar. In Karachi the Urdu speaking community was 58.7 percent while only 14.28 percent people were Sindhi (pp. 36-87). The Sindhis believed that Mohajir culture traveled to Sindh through the immigrant rules of Pakistan and some Sindhi observers said that these migrants have occupier mentality (Tahir, 1990). Contrary to this, the migrants settled in Sindh had different perception. Mohajirs thought that they are the real founders of the state. The reason behind this perception was that the Muslims from UP had launched a strong support to Muslim League and for its cause (Khan, 2005, p.169). Due to the reason, they consciously migrated from India to Pakistan and assumed a strong welcome in the new state. They portrayed the process of migration as great sacrifice (Ansari, 1998, p.92). Although, through centuries, Sindh has remained a multi-ethnic territory but first time the political outlook and self image of the immigrants was entirely different to the native Sindhis. The Mohajirs were more democratized and wanted to establish a representative political system (Chitkara, 1996, p.50) but through centuries Sindhi politics revolve around wadersas and pirs. The sharp social and cultural differences among them were not overcome by any means. The Mohajir's sense of superiority evolved due to their highest literacy rate that was 70 percent, as an Aligarh graduate (Whealer, 1970, p. 47) and a link with “Delhi Darbar”. Moreover the unfavourable historical and political developments created a wide gulf between them that was mostly interpreted as inferior and superior cultural mores.
Apart from other social and cultural norms, language is an important symbol of Sindhi cultural heritage. Sindhi language has its strong history and roots in the territory so when the Mohajir elite promoted Urdu as a national language and the bond of unity and identity, Sindhis presumed this assertion as an act against their Sindhi traditions and norms (Ashfaq, 2006, p. 296). Bit by bit development of Urdu as the only national language and the discouragement of Sindhi language not only in municipal administration but in schools also became the source of open clash between Sindhis and Mohajirs.

In 1958, Urdu was replaced from Sindhi in schools as medium of instructions which was strongly resented. For the protection of Sindhi language and culture Jeeyay Sindh Movement came into existence. Its student wing Jeeyay Sindh Student Federation (JSSF) was also formed in 1966 to protect Sindhi language and its autonomy (Amin, 1988, p. 64). With gradual demise of Mohajirs from power structure and under the premiership of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto the Sindhis took a sigh of relief. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s government presented a Sindhi language bill of 1972 in the assembly that focused on

1. Sindhi shall be the compulsory subject for study for classes IV to XII in all academic institutions.
2. At lowest level, the introduction of Sindhi shall commence (Dawn, 1972).

The clause (6) of the bill also included that, “subject to the provision of the constitution, government should arrange for the progressive use of Sindhi language in all the governmental officers, court rooms and in the Assembly (Dawn, 1972)”. The assembly passed the bill and all the suggestions of the oppositions were declared out of order (Dawn, 1972). Soon after it, the violent riots broke out in Karachi and Hyderabad. The worst point of these riots was when some students set fire in the
Sindhi department of Karachi University (Dawn, 1972, July 9.). The Daily Dawn reported, that some Urdu peaking students warned the university teaching staff that till the recognition of Urdu as one of the official language of Sindh, we will not permit to take classes (1972, 9th July). The Mohajir rivalry against the central government was also crystallized by this event. The violent move pressurized the state and they introduced an amendment including, Sindhi and Urdu both would be the compulsory subjects. Although, in the upcoming days, the intensity of conflict was minimized with the reinforcement of the central government that equitable justice will be provided to all ethnic groups but still the seeds of antagonism are present.

4.5.1.4 Mohajir’s Liberal Religious Rhetoric

As discussed earlier that Mohajirs in Sindh had sharp socio-cultural differences with the local Sindhis. They had only one common link, the religion. Nonetheless, the interpretation of religious teachings and rituals from both the groups did not provide the basis for a cordial relationship. Mohajir’s construction of religious practices is more rationalized and modernized. Varkaaik (2007) described the fact that Mohajirs who came from North East of India were heavily influenced by the reform movements of Aligarh, Deoband (p. 92-93) and Allama Iqbal’s ideas of Muslim reformation. The Sindhi interpretation was influenced by Sufi mysticism and syncretism. They had resisted Iqbal’s interpretation of Islam, which was against the mystical tendencies (Varkaaik, 2001, pp. 345-355). Though after partition, the Sindhi’s rejected the Mohajirs liberal rhetoric about Islam, but they did not reject the link between the religion Islam and the Pakistani nation. The most notable fact is that throughout history, Sindhis feuded for the distinctiveness of Sindh and Sindhi culture. The Mohajir Sindhi divide on the basis of secularism and liberal politics became clear and it created sharp impression on future political trends in Sindh. The ideological
notion of Mohajirs has also remained the state’s ideology (Jaffrelot, 2005, p.18) despite the fact that Mohajirs fortune gradually decline. The partner in central power structure became a major contender against the authority of central government.

4.5.1.5 Rural Urban divide and separation of Sindh

The ethnic landscape of Sindh showed, that majority of the migrants were settled in the urban areas. In the city of Karachi and Hyderabad the native Sindhi community became minority. Sindhi constituted the fifth largest ethnic group in Karachi while in Hyderabad, they were the second largest community. In rural areas Sindhis constituted 81.5%. Contrary to that, Mohajirs had overwhelming majority in urban areas of Sindh.

Gazdar(2008) pointed out this division as rural urban divide (p.5). Although, 70 percent of Mohajirs were settled in Punjab, and 20 percent in Sindh, but two third of the population from these 20 percent, decided to settle in Karachi and Hyderabad. It was a radical shift as far as the native Sindhi’s population was concerned because with this influx in urban areas immediately, they turned into minority. These migrants also held the Hindu property who fled to India (Kardar, 1988, pp. 5-6) and left their valuables in Sindh. The ratio of Mohajir settlers was gradually increased. According to 1981 census report, ethnic configuration of different groups in Sindh was as follows:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Ethnic Composition of Sindh, 1981 (percentage)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sindh Province: population 19.029 millions; 8:24 million urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohajir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baloch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hyderabad Division: Population 7.093 millions; 1.67 million urban

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohajir</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>85.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baloch</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Karachi Division: population 5.438 millions; 5.20 million urban

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohajir</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>67.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baloch</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sukkur Division: population 6.479 millions; 1.3 million urban
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohajir</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>77.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baloch</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The tables show that most of the refugees settled in the cities became majority and Sindhis became minority. Kennedy (1991) also discussed the rural-urban distinction as the politicization of ethnic representation in Sindh Province (P.941). Due to better education refugees were recruited mostly on high ranking jobs that made Sindhis inferior at their own land. After that Ayub and the Bhutto governments introduced some measures to lessen the Sindhis grievances. For this purpose the ratio of Mohajir representation in civil bureaucracy was reduced but it was noted that despite their reduction in numbers the Mohajir still continued to be over represented in civil bureaucracy, as compared to their population (Siddique 2010, P.32). They realized that now they have to face strong contest in federal and provincial services. The situation became worst in Karachi where Mohajirs had to compete with other non Mohajir groups. These developments made them more insecure and frustrated (Haq, 1995, p. 992).

**4.5.2 Pattern of migration: the demographic issue**

After partition, the massive influx of refugees into Pakistan continued till 1960. There were around 10 million refugees representing, 11 percent of the total
population of Pakistan. According to an estimate, from 7.2 million immigrants, 6.5 million settled in West Pakistan and only 0.5 million refugees decided to reside in East Pakistan (Rashid, Shaheed, 1993, pp.7-8). In West Pakistan, Punjab received a heavy share of migrants from Indian East Punjab. At this stage the most important task for government was the rehabilitation of these migrant communities. Sayeed (1968) has explained the state’s role in this process. He noted that the provisional Government of the Punjab suggested that the other provinces should also have to share in the rehabilitation process of refugees (pp. 61-62). The fact was that neither any immigrant group arrived in North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Conversely to that, the situation in Punjab was worst. Every second person in Lahore and Multan was a refugee. All the provinces were unevenly affected by the migrant’s wave. The impact of immigrants on Punjab and Sindh was quite different. In Punjab mostly refugees had socio-cultural and lingual assimilation, those who had not, adopted the local culture. Hence the refugees in Sindh had quite different nature. As far as the native Sindhis were concerned their population was much more in rural areas rather than urban. The Mohajir community decided to live in urban areas, that imbalance the population ratio. This situation created a tense relationship, where Sindhis became minority in their own land. Waseem (1998) presented the immigrants rehabilitation in Sindh as a settlement in an alien culture and social milieu (p. 77) The rehabilitation process of refugees in Sindh was unsatisfactory. The government could not maintain balance in rural urban division. All the immigrants decided to settle in Karachi and Hyderabad because mostly belonged to urban classes of India and they came direct to Karachi. With the influx of refugees, Karachi became an important, commercial and industrial Port city. Its modern infrastructure, capability and newly developed industry, opened new vistas for its residents. The heavy influxes of refugees lessen the chance for native Sindhis to get their
appropriate share from Karachi, that is why, Sindhis who initially welcomed the Urdu speaking Mohajirs, lately felt them as a burden. In addition to these factors, internal migration that took place from other provinces to Sindh also added problems. Waseem (1998) pointed out four waves of migrations towards Sindh province specifically Karachi. The period from 1940 to 1950 is marked as the first wave of migration when refugees from India came here. Second, 1960 to 1980s added Punjabis and Pathans, third 1970s to 1990s rural Sindhis moved towards Karachi, and from 1980s to 90s the influx of foreigners, including Iraqi, Iranian, Afghani, Thais, Bangladeshis and others (p: 81)

The second, third and fourth migration is not called permanent but most of the Punjabis, Pathans and other nations kept their links with their back home, they only came to find jobs in the new industrial units. Notwithstanding that this circulary migration created demographic imbalance in Karachi (Malik, 1997, p. 200), however the conflictual situation among the ethnic groups did not rise. The conflict arose gradually when capitalism developed in the country. The effect of green revolution and industrial development in Punjab alter the economic and political situation. The moderate rise of literacy rate among other ethnic groups, created more competitors for the government jobs. Furthermore central government’s policies to create balance among all the ethnic groups in service sector, threatened the Mohajir dominance in Karachi.

4.5.3 Mohajir – Pakhtun conflict
The Pakhtun influx in Karachi started after 1958 when Field Marshal Ayub Khan imposed martial law throughout the country. Ayub Khan introduced a growth strategy for the country. His strategy required skilled and unskilled labour. Due to the modern industrial set up in Karachi, job seekers rushed towards it. Contrary to Karachi, N.W.F.P lacked industrial infrastructure. Most of its population was engaged in military services. Due to the scarcity of jobs a large number of people looking for economic opportunities, came and settled in Karachi (Baixas, 2008). At a very early stage, Pakhtuns were warmly welcomed and given jobs immediately. Many Pakhtuns opened hotels and entered into transport business. The Pakhtun Mohajir conflict surfaced when Pakhtuns started to invest in real estate business. The real estate business in Karachi focused on informal housing or squatter settlements. Prior to Pakhtun intervention, this business was in the hands of either Punjabis or Mohajir. Each of them had a strong connection with police so that they could provide security to the dwellers of squatter or bastis. Within a few years Pathans took hold of the Karachi's informal housing business. They introduced their own ways and means to conduct the business. The first Pakhtun Mohajir conflict was seen during the first half of 1960s, when in 1964, Mohajir were punished for supporting Miss Fatima Jinnah during presidential elections. After that, the rivalry among them increased day by day. In April 1985, when first major ethnic riots broke out, at least one hundred people lost their lives. From that day up till now, hostility between the two groups is increased day by day.

All these developments made Mohajir community furious from others. The gradual shift from state structure that started from Ayub Khan to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto hurt the interests of the Mohajirs. The middle and lower class Mohajirs, at that time, had no sense of separate identity. On the basis of their initial narrative, they were
committed nationals. They wanted to contribute but different factors forced them towards ethnic politics.

4.6 Development of Conflict: and the Formation of MQM.

Mohajirs at large were affected badly by the policies of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq. Two important events are being marked, which enhance the sense of alienation among Mohajirs. First, the show of force from General Ayub, and second, the language fray in 1972 (Khan, 2002, P 222). After Bhutto, General Zia-ul-Haq’s military dictatorship too, did not console the dwindling fortune of former elite minority. The Zia regime was marked as the first Punjabi rule in Pakistan. Under his administration all important positions in military were headed by Punjabis (Noman, 1990, P. 41). General Zia’s policy was to administer the state with the help of army personals. Consequently, all the institutes came under the dictatorship of military.

Mohajirs also faced the same problem. Their gradual decline from the government jobs continued. In 1974, their share was 46.8 percent that reduced to 31.5 percent in early 80s. The constriction of jobs prospect for young and educated Mohajirs gave awareness of their peripheralization (Wright, 1991, p. 305). Despite the fact that Mohajir’s remained the most influential minority, hence they did not form their own political party. They supported the religious political parties like Jammat-e-Islamy (JI) and Jamiat-ul-ulma Islam (JUI). The J.I was a right wing party and it had its roots in Mohajir community (Ali, 1987, P. 403). These parties also did not address the Mohajir grievances and extended their support to Zia regime for his programme of Islamization. The Mohajirs were supporter of J.I’s student wing Islamic Jamiaet-e-Talba (I.J.T). In colleges and universities, their sense of alienation further crystallized
when Mohajir student had to compete with other student organizations based on linguistic and regional lines. At the time, Punjabi, Baloch and Pakhtun student organizations were separately working for the protection of their rights. Student politics and student organizations were an important feature during the decade of 70s. In Karachi University, though the student unions were banned during Zia regime but IJT had a strong position over there. It was the vanguard of Islamization process started by Zia-ul-Haq (Malik, 1997, P.230). Conflict among various student organizations was not an unusual phenomenon. Initially the Mohajirs were strong supporters of IJT, but lately they lost their confidence and the young Mohajir leaders like, Altaf Hussain, Farooq Sattar, Abdul Razzak Khan, Imran Farooq and Azeem Ahmad Tariq decided to form their own political organization. Apart from clashes with the IJT, Altaf Hussain and his fellow students also encountered problems in getting admission in the Pharmacy Department at the University of Karachi. Siddiqui highlighted that it was not the quota system which affected Altaf Hussain but it was the mismanagement of Karachi University. However, after persistent struggle, Altaf Hussain and his companions were able to get admission. This campaign heated their struggle to form a specific organization for Mohajirs. Their efforts were succeeded on June, 11, 1978, when they formally announced All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization (APMSO) at the University of Karachi, Altaf Hussain became its chairman and Azim Ahmad Tariq, the vice chairman of the organization (Hussain, 1988, P.30). The political demands of APMSO, which were presented by Azim Tariq, showed grievances of Mohajirs. He criticized central government’s policy of political migration, though he did not name the province, but clearly criticized the Punjabi dominance. He elaborated that the bureaucrats from the dominant province have acquired all important positions in Sindh Province (Tariq, 1996, p.44). In the same document Tariq clearly argued that Sindhi culture is not suited for Mohajirs because
they are more developed, literate and urbanized while the Sindhi society is feudal (p.52-53). After criticizing the government and highlighting the differences among Mohajir and Punjabi, Pathan and Sindhis, Tariq made various demands. Among them the most contentious were, (a) the demand of a separate province for Mohajir community. (b) The extermination of quota system and the provision of domicile (P.58-59). As the APMSO was launched at the campus, it was treated with disrespect. The powerful IJT activists also used tough tactics (Nasar, 1994, p.70, Hussain, 1998, P.52). The militant wing of IJT attacked on APMSO members and they were tortured so badly that they decided to leave the campus. This state of affairs further aggravated their sense of alienation and deprivation. Out of the campus, they began to mobilize the Mohajir youth. They also focused the Mohajir localities. Altaf Hussain and his fellow friends published a magazine “AL MOHAJIR”. This magazine contributed a lot in creating political consciousness among Mohajirs.

In March, 1984, APMSO was formally converted into Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) headed by 33 years old Altaf Hussain. With the emergence of MQM the Mohajir ethnicity based on lingual attribute was successfully transformed into ethnic politics. By voicing against state policies they shaped up their national discourse. MQM became a major representative of middle class. At the beginning, MQM specified itself for Mohajir community only but lately, it expanded its voice to all who are suppressed by the Waderas, Zamindars and Sardars.

Altaf Hussain as the leader of the party has put deep imprints not only on party workers but on party philosophy also. He spent much time in Chicago and served as a taxi driver. His leadership experience got philosophical basis, when he spent his leisure time in reading literature about Nazis (Ahmad, 1988, P.P.62-64). When he came back to Karachi, he reorganized MQM with the team loyalist to him
and his philosophy. The oath of MQM shows a blind faith of the members to their supreme leader. The official text of the oath is,

I shall remain loyal to the MQM and Altaf Hussain Whole life (---) I swear that I shall accept Altaf Hussain’s decision as final in any matter and obey all his decisions and will have blind trust in Altaf Hussain. If I disobey, I must be regarded as traitor. I swear by my mother that if any conspiracy against MQM or Altaf Hussain or any act harmful to them came into my knowledge, I shall immediately inform Altaf Hussain or other main leaders, even if the conspirator be my brother, sister, mother, father or any relative or friend, (MQM Oath, mqm.com) (Bloch, 2012, p.1; Verhaik, p.72).

Altaf Hussain permitted no criticism and there is no competition in the party for its presidency. The MQM network was setup in the urban areas having strong hold of Mohajirs. The areas were Aziz Abad, Orangi, Baldia Town, Korangi and Nazim Abad. The Aziz Abad became headquarter of MQM. According to the MQM’s definition the Mohajir are those who are

(a) Not belong to any of the ethnic group of Pakistan.

(b) They also migrated from the East Punjab of India having no cultural and lingual assimilation with Punjabi (Waseem, 1998, P.85).

Representing various themes in different time periods, the politics of MQM is marked as the conscious effort of political and cultural reawakening of the Mohajir. After its formation, the first impressive public rally was organized at Nishtar Park Karachi. The Daily Dawn Karachi reported and highlighted the Mohajir’s affiliation with their leader in a way that heavy rainfall could not stop people to come and listen to their leader. They all including their leader Altaf Hussain were soaked in rain (Dawn, 1986). In this public procession, first time he insisted to recognize Mohajir as
a separate ethnie and they should be given jobs according to their population (Daily Dawn, 1986). In this speech Altaf Hussain directly offended Pakistan and Punjabi community, who at large related to the transport business in Karachi. After this rally, violent clashes started between Pakhtun and Mohajirs in subsequent month. Although Pakhtun- Mohajir riots were not erupted first time but their method was quit unprecedented. They were organized and equipped with the modern weaponry. Pakhtuns and Mohajirs had a real conflict of interests. The majority of Pakhtun was involved in transport and construction business, living in Shanty town of Karachi. Despite the fact that both had no clear basis of conflict because Mohajirs were not ambitious to be involved in the same business. Nevertheless, conflict between them arose when Urdu speaking migrants from Bihar (commonly known as Biharis) were forced to live in Pakhtun Shanty town (Khan, 2005, P. 175). Due to the reason initially, Mohajir- Pakhtun conflict was named as Bihari – Pakhtun conflict.

During the period of General Zia, the Sindh province in general and Karachi, particularly was a powder keg which was waiting to explode. Due to Afghan war and a huge influx of refugees, various illegal businesses were carried out. It was the time when the slogans of ethnicity and nationalism among various ethnic groups were very common. Their situation further worsened by the government’s decision to ban all the political parties under these circumstances. General Zia announced party less election in 1985. The basic ambition was to give its government the civilian face. Although all major political parties boycotted but these elections were fought on the basis of ethnic sectarian and biradri association.

Under this fragile political environment, a traffic accident in Karachi that took the life of a Mohajir girl ignited the fuse. The girl named Bushra Zaidi was a college student became the victim of reckless driving. The driver was identified a Pakhtun.
This incident sparked off clashes. The role of government was so frustrated in this situation, resultantly the incident turned into ethnic conflict. Mohajirs interpreted it as a coalition of the state and the others against them (Azam, 1990, p.60).

In the decade of 80s, though the conflict between Mohajir and Pakhtun rejuvenated but the Mohajir-Sindhi conflict remained muted. They realized that Sindhis and Mohajirs both suffered under Punjabi domination in Sindh. In one of his interview Altaf Hussain clearly said, “we don’t just talk about Mohajirs rights, we also talk about Sindhi rights. There is no purely Mohajir’s problem, there are all Sindhi’s problems.”

They realized that the demand for a separate Mohajir province will never accepted for Sindhis, so a considerable mutual goodwill and understanding between the two ethnic groups had been observed. Conversely to that, in the following years Mohajirs – Pakhtun clashes turned into severe conflict. Both the groups attained political backing. Pakhtun were supported by their ethnically defined political party. Pakhtun Mutahida Mahaz and the Mohajir were backed by MQM.

4.6.1 A chronological order of conflict with state and other groups.

Although Mohajirs had a strong sense of alienation in mainstream political and administrative affairs during Zia regime but it is a fact that MQM was recognized in this phase. The protest march organized by MQM in Karachi always had impressive gatherings. In September, 1986, MQM organized a rally in Karachi near Sohrab Goth. It was a huge procession, which was resisted by the city police. The then Chief Minister, Syed Ghous Ali Shah ordered to raid on the rally in Sohrab Goth. It was a Pakhtun dominated area. Armed gangs from the area invaded Mohajir
colonies and indiscriminate killings were started. Many people were died including Mohajirs and Pakhtuns.

In the next month in October, 1986, another fatal incident occurred. Again MQM organized a rally to Hyderabad via Sohrab Goth. Hyderabad is also a stronghold of Mohajirs but the leader of the MQM had little recognition over there. The local leaders arranged the procession at Pakka Qila. Altaf Hussain made a speech for more than one hour. He praised Mohajir for their hard work and disciplined lifestyle. He said, “With their hard work, Mohajirs putting aside every penny for better life in Pakistan. With their blood, sweat and tears they had earned themselves a decent life. They could now buy television and VCRs, he said, but what good are these luxury items if you are not accepted as an equal? We are not asking anything any longer.” He said, we have come as the followers of the Imam Hussain. Do not betray him again. Sell your luxury good and buy a Kalashnikov” (Varkaaik, 2005, P.121). He continued, “We have come in peace, but we are attacked, we will gave them tit for tat.” At the end of this procession, MQM supporters burnt and looted Pakhtun property. They paraded on the streets of Hyderabad raising their party flag and shouting their slogans. The government intervened and established curfew in Hyderabad. At night when leaders of MQM came back to Karachi, most of them including Altaf Hussain were arrested. The violence continued for a week and the damages were reached approximately Rs. 1.billion (Dawn, 1986).

After this violent incident at Sohrab Goth Karachi and Pakka Qila Hyderabad, first time Hyderabad was linked with the ethnic riots in Karachi. Sohrab Goth, that was a Pakhtun based settlement, also got prominence after this event. In Karachi, Sohrab Goth also known as the Bara Market, a popular place to get drugs, illegal arms and smuggled goods (Khan, 2001, p.288; Hussain, 1990, p.186). The press
coverage of Pakhtun Mohajir riots at Sohrab Goth disclosed various other illegal activities of this den. The hue and cry of various section of society, forced the military government to launch operation clean up at Sohrab Goth (Dawn, 1986). A meeting was held under the chairmanship of General Zia-ul-Haq in the Governor House with Corp Commander L.t.Gen, Shamim Ahmad, who was given the overall responsibility of the operation, police and rangers were given under his command. On December 1986, the operation was started. It was not only restricted to Sohrab Goth but at Orangi town also that was a Mohajir populated area. Some press reporters argued that the raid on Orangi town was only a balancing act (Dawn, 1986). Anyhow, the army did not get enough from this raid, except a minimum amount of guns and drugs. The operation resulted in clashes between Pakhtuns and Mohajir once again, Pakhtuns alleged that the army operation was launched at the behest of the Mohajirs in dislodge them from Karachi. Pakhtuns also ran wildly towards Orangi Town and violence continued till 17 December 1986. These riots and brutal killings of Bihari Mohajirs once again aggravated the anti-state feelings among Mohajirs.

In the subsequent years, intra-ethnic violence had attained a certain level. Intra-ethnic relationship rapidly polarized and a vicious circle of revenge had created anarchic situation, where state operatus remained ineffective despite frequent interventions (Singh and Shaikh, 1986). To safeguard Mohajirs interest and to communicate with the government, MQM’s leaders became very active. They drafted their grievances and presented them as the MQM’s Charter of Resolutions in early 1987 (Khan, 2005, p.).

1. Mohajirs should be recognized as the fifth nationality of Pakistan.
2. Those who are living in Sindh for the last twenty years, along with their families, should be given Sindhi domicile certificate.
3. In the Sindh Police and intelligence agencies only locals should be recruited.

4. The acquirement of weapons licenses should be made easy and only Mohajirs and Sindhi’s should be allowed to get.

5. For driving commercial transport license, literate persons should be given priority. The minimum qualification should be matriculation and local people must be preferred. It is also written that no illiterate person should be given license.

6. Locals should be preferred for all government and semi government jobs. Non locals or “others” should be sent back to their home towns (Provinces).

7. Afghan refugees should be restricted to Pak-Afghan borders camps. Those who have migrated to Karachi should be sent back to their camps and forbade to own property and business in Karachi.

8. Right of vote should be given to locals only.

9. 10% merit quota for serving in federal government (introduced by General Zia-ul-Haq) should be abolished.

10. Beharis should be accepted as Pakistani nationals and repatriated back to the country.

11. First preference should be given locals while getting admission in educational institutions.

12. Death anniversaries of Liaquat Ali Khan and Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai should be proclaimed as national holiday.

These demands purely highlight the Mohajirs vision. They presented themselves as the locals along with Sindhi. The Mohajir migrated from India during 1950s till 1960 and approximately they have spent more than 20 years in Sindh. Mohajirs thought that if the locals would be the part of police and intelligence agencies, they will be rescued effectively. It was an indirect reference of Mohajir-Pakhtun clashes in
December 1986, when they were attacked brutally in Orangi Town, Qusba Colony and Aligarh Colony but the police did not intervene. As far as the third demand is concerned, it is being highlighted that it shows the MQM’s intention to get more and more weapons. In the remaining demands MQM reiterated about their share in local as well as national political, economic and bureaucratic affairs (Jillani, 1991, pp.296-305).

As a political representative of Mohajir community MQM became a political force in the post 1984 period. Its initial policy was to make alliances with ethnic groups like Punjabis and Pakhtuns but the later year’s violence had set off the differences and controversies among them. In November, 1987, MQM showed its strength in the Municipal elections. Though the elections were held on non-party basis but all the candidates had converted support from various political parties (Singh, 2003, p.47). The MQM backed nominees in the local body’s election in Karachi and Hyderabad made a clean sweep. In other major cities of Sindh, like Sukkur, Mirpur Khas, Tando Adam, Nwabshah and Shahdadpur MQM’s presence was remarkable. At Karachi and Hyderabad, MQM’s members were elected as mayors of Metropolitan Corporation Karachi and Municipal Corporation Hyderabad (Memon, 1997, p.198).

MQM, repeated its performance in 1988 General Elections, after the death of Zia-ul-Haq. This time MQM won 11 seats for the National Assembly and 21 for Sindh Provincial Assembly. Their performance in other cities of Sindh showed impressive Mohajir presence. In the subsequent general elections held in 1990 to 2008 Mohajir representation was equally impressive. In the year 1988, again violence erupted in both the cities of Hyderabad and Karachi. This time, Sindhis became another important contender. Resultantly, violent clashes were observed between Jiye Sindh
Student Federation (JSSF) and MQM. This time violence burst out in interior Sindh like Larkana and Tandojam also, that caused the death of 37 people in interior Sindh, 220 in Hyderabad and 58 in Karachi. Some analysts have blamed the hidden hands for these massacres, while highlighting the point that the unknown element was trying to create a rift between MQM and PPP. Their ambition was to destabilize not only the government in the province but at the centre also (Chand, 1991, p.143). The Mohajir-Sindhi clashes continued in the subsequent years. The situation became worst in 1990 when clashes broke out between APMSO and PPP’s student group, Peoples Student Federation (PSF) at Karachi University. This caused the death of three PSF leaders at campus.

PSF’s youth decided to retaliate against APMSO, while the government at centre level and provincial level had alliance with MQM. After violent clashes, the MQM leaders unilaterally broke the accord. The PPP government was alleged by the media that they had no desire to create a law and order situation in the province. The first six months of the year 1990, were marked a battle of rival groups to control the city of Karachi. Hundreds of People from both the sides were abducted for reason. They were not only inhumanly detained but tortured in their torture cells. To control this anarchic situation the government finally gave orders to the army for establishing law and order situation. The Corps Commander Karachi directly monitored the activities and as a mediator exchanged the hostages from both the sides. Despite army’s involvement, the situation in Hyderabad including other areas of rural Sindh remained worst (Jafri, 1996, pp.89-98).

On 27th May 1990, in Hyderabad the local police was clashed with the Mohajir groups while searching for militant’s den. It caused massive number of causalities. The administration and MQM accused each other for the bloodshed. The
very next day, retaliation in Karachi was observed as people killed randomly. The situation became so worst that the army was called into patrol in streets and colonies. (International Herald Tribune, 18 May 1990, The Guardian, 28, May 1990).

This time, military’s induction created serious questions about the legitimacy of the political government (The Times, 1990). The opposition based on a grand alliance of different political parties by the name Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) alleged that the PPP is failed to govern its own province (The Guardian, 1990, May 28). On the other hand, military pressurized PPP government to authorize them to establish military courts. As far as their jurisdiction was concerned, it remained unchallenged in the civilian courts. This was the most crucial time for the PPP led government. Local and international media was reporting each and every moment. The media reported that the army was annoyed about the attitude of Ms Bhutto’s government that they were hesitant to make a political agreement with the MQM (The Pakistan Profile, 1990, p.2; Whitaker, 1990).

4.6.2 Military Operation 1992

PPP government in 1988 could not handle urban terrorism in Sindh that metamorphosed Karachi’s original and historical entity. Once the city was an ethnic melting pot, now became a sign of violence, looting and murders. Under this situation, the then president Ghulam Ishaq Khan issued a charge sheet and sacked the central government of PPP (Dawn, 1990). The general elections were conducted in November 1990. This time an alliance of political parties by the name Islami Jamhoori Ittehat (IJI) under the leadership of Mian Nawaz Sharif won the election. MQM became a major partner of the government.
Despite having major share in the government the MQM-IJI alliance could not last for long. The reason behind was the MQM’s regional aspirations, which were not fulfilled by the Nawaz government. Same happened with the Benazir Bhutto’s government in 1988. When they refused to carry on, MQM tilted towards IJI. The IJI Government shared ministerial portfolios with the MQM on federal and provincial level, even then the violence and terrorist activities continued. It was alleged that the sizeable number of hard core of MQM consists of criminals hence it is the most organized ethnic group in Pakistan. The core group had the support of various MQM leaders. On this basis they used to terrorize, torture and even murder the opponents (Hanif, 1992). Militant gangs became the masters of the fate of Karachi. Political terrorism badly affected the socio-economic fabric of the society. Car snatching, extortion of money, and black mailing became order of the day (Arif, 2001, pp. 230-231). They also introduced bhatha culture. This was a forced contribution that was collected from the rich shopkeepers, businessmen and industrialists. Refusal to pay could cause serious damages (Khan, 2005, p.177). Under these circumstances it had become clear that the MQM’s claim as a deprived minority had gone astray. MQM took over the hold in Karachi. It also forced some independent journalists. The correspondents and the editors of the Dawn, Daily Jang, the Herald and News line were intimated. Malik (1997) highlighted that MQM wanted extra coverage for its political activities. He also marked its differences with Salah-ud-Din, the editor in Chief of one of the most readable weekly Urdu magazines “Takbeer”. Due to his anti-MQM approach, his office was set on fire and later on in December 1994 he was murdered, allegedly by MQM’s death squads (p.246).

Apart from Karachi, the rural Sindh also witnessed a new wave of inexplicable killings and robberies. Reporters of foreign media also drew attention on
this deteriorated law and order situation in rural and urban Sindh. It was reported that under these circumstances military in Pakistan “preparing to hold the reins of power (Evans, 1992). These circumstances compelled the then government to involve army in the situation for operation clean up, because the local police was unable to control it.

Operation clean up was started in May 1992 in the interior Sindh to curb terrorist activities, but soon the army moved to Karachi and raided the strong hold of MQM at ‘Nine Zero’ Azizabad and its other party offices at Landhi, Malir, Korangi, Liaquatabad and Nazimabad etc. Hundreds of MQM militant workers were killed. During this operation numerous cases were registered for murder, torture, car snatching against the main stream leaders. As a result many MQM parliamentarians submitted their resignations and went underground (Malik, 1997, p. 247).

Altay Hussain was in London for medical purposes since January 1992. He took self exile and did not return to Pakistan, but remained as the Quaid-e-Tehreek. During this turbulent period two important developments further shaped up the future policies of MQM. First, the army supported a new faction within MQM “The MQM Haqiqi”. The anti Altaf group, Aamir Khan and Afaq Ahmad established the new faction a year before this operation. The rebellious group raised their voice against Altaf Hussain when he floated the idea to rename the party from Mohajir’ to Muttahida’ in 1991. The rebellious leadership was expelled from the party. This forced them to create MQM Haqiqi. Sensing a danger to their lives both the leaders took exile in the United States and returned to Pakistan when operation clean up was started in 1992.
The MQM Hqiqi, showed its commitment to peaceful coexistence in Karachi but it was noted that Hqiqi faction could not fill the vacuum as many Mohajir groups did not accept it. The second interesting development was the Army’s accusation against MQM for creating a stage of their own by the name Jinnah Pur or Urdudesh (Daily Jang, 1992). The army revealed that the plan included Karachi, Hyderabad, Thatta, Badin and the upper Sindh areas which are oil rich lands. The army accused in this way for having MQM’s connections with India (Jang, 1992). But it was strongly rejected by the MQM leaders and declared it a conspiracy of army to justify their extra judicial killings, and deployment of the army (Daily Dawn, 1992).

4.6.3 Second Operation 1994 to 1996

After the first open encounter between MQM and army, a new debate about the duration of army action and its stay in urban areas of Sindh was started. Under this debate, the government side arguments triggered another front. Chaudhary Nisar Ali Khan and Ghulam Hyder Wyen, the most closest to the Prime-Minister Nawaz Sharif spoke openly against the style of army action in the urban areas of Sindh. It was argued by the civilian establishment that the long stay of army in urban areas will help the PPP to regain its power (bakhtiar, 1992, p.26) while the MQM lost its confidence and blamed Islamabad by betraying its allies. The subsequent development further strained the political situation. The Sudden death of army

Chief Asif Nawaz Janjua in November 1992 was another marked development. The selection of his successor created differences between President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (Sohail, 1993, p.80). Furthermore, the controversial Eight Amendment specially its article 58(2)(b) (about the powers of president to dissolve the National Assembly) and the forthcoming presidential
elections, selection of Ms Benazir Bhutto as the President of Foreign Affairs committee in the National Assembly also enhanced the conflict (Jang, 1993). The gulf between the two further widened when Prime Minister made a speech in Senate on 28th February to cut down the Presidential Powers and to reinstate the supremacy of the Parliament (Dawn, 1993, Lodhi, Hussain, 1993, pp.27-33). The cold war between the president and prime minister was ended on 18th of April when Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the National Assembly while exercising his powers. The decision started a legal battle between the two prestigious government offices that led to a deep down crisis in Pakistan (PLD, 1993). This legal battle further marked the grey areas of Pakistan politics. It was strongly apprehended that all the institutions including judiciary are politicized. Though the legal battle was ended with the restoration of the national Assembly but the political forces were not ready to accept the decision. At last the army intervened and the prime minister and president both resigned from their offices (Hussain, 1993, pp.24-30; Abbas, 1993, pp. 29-30).

Under this chaotic political environment, the role of military further enhanced. While preparing the next general elections army threatened the MQM leader Altaf Hussain for giving equal share to Haqiqi (PLD, 1994, 345-346). Altaf Hussain rejected the demand. Against this illegal, undemocratic and unconstitutional interference he decided to boycott the national Assembly elections (QaimKhani, 2010, pp.80-90).

In the provincial elections, the army supported Haqiqi group. The Hqiqi majority areas like, Landhi, Malir, Shah Faisal Colony, Korangi Mahmoodabad and Liaquatabad became no go areas for MQM (Hussain, 1995, p.104). Despite army’s overt support to "Haqiqi" the MQM emerged at the second largest Party in Sindh. It won 27 seats while the PPP won 56. The notable point was that due to MQM’s
boycott to the National Assembly's Polls, the voting turn out in Karachi was about 8 percent and the provincial polls turn out remained more than 70 percent because MQM was one of the major contestant here (Ziring, 1993, p.1180). The results reflected the MQM’s influence on Mohajir Masses. Anyhow, the second term of PPP government in centre and coalition in Sindh did not bring peace. From 1988 to 90 the Mohajirs experienced massacre and displacement in the second largest Mohajir city Hyderabad. Nonetheless in 1993 again MQM supported PPP government with the desire to avoid confrontational politics. MQM supported PPP’s presidential candidate Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari. In return MQM presented its revised list of demands. This was a striking blow on the alliance. The PPP’s Government refused to accept the demands. Under these demands MQM had necessitated the withdrawal of cases against its leader and workers during the operation clean up. The MQM leader Altaf Hussain also voiced in favour of the geographical division of Sindh that generated much heat and raw passion. The new list was contemplated at the anti Sindhi and urban centered. In the earlier demands presented in 1988, Mohajir and Sindhis were listed together but now Sindhis had been presented as the major competitor of Mohajirs. MQM reiterated its claim regarding jobs, quota system and urban representation. Interestingly, MQM sponged its earlier demand of recognition of Mohajir as the fifth nationality of Pakistan. They demanded a fifth province for the Mohajir (Mir, 1994, p.11). Over and above, it was difficult for the government to follow these demands. Resultantly MQM withdrew its support to the PPP’s coalition government and once again the riots broke out in the city.

As the violence went on and on, the federal government refused to surrender before unlawful forces. The PPP’s Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto was forced to bring the paramilitary forces back in the city. The squabble between two factions of
MQM, Shia-Sunni conflict, and the dissatisfaction among Sindhis added to the ongoing violence. The deteriorated law and order situation in Karachi forced the government to bring back the army. The interior Minister General Nasrullah Babar held the supervision and his security forces resort the right of extrajudicial killings. Many people became the victims of so-called police encounters (Herald, 2000, p.3).

During the operation most of the leaders of MQM went underground. The city observed some of the worst use of state authority. Almost 1,113 people were murdered by snipers in Karachi alone. It became the most dangerous city and was stipulated as the city of death (Khan, 2005, p.180). It was a firm belief of various security agencies that these were the MQM's activist needed to flush out. In addition, it was alleged that MQM youth did not spare the police officials, about 90 policemen were shot dead and the police-station were also fired by rocket launchers (Hanif, 1995, p.28).

Under this tense situation, where MQM was asserted by military establishment as a militant and fascist group, it decided to change its name from Mohajir to Muttahidda Qaumi Movement. In the July 1997, the change was not only brought about to its name but the party philosophy also. It was declared that MQM will work not only for Mohajirs but for other suppressed communities also. It will voice only against the exploitative forces, the feudals, Zamindars, Waderas, corrupt state officials and dishonest bureaucrat and generals (Dawn, 1977). The Sudden change of party philosophy which was initiated in 1992 and divided the founding leadership into two categories had become reality. Samad (2002) has analyzed this change in a way that “the suddenness of announcement suggests that the party was concerned that it needed to blunt criticism, mainly in the intelligence agencies that it was an anti-state organization. By changing its explicitly ethnic nomenclature, it was going down
the road already taken by other ethnic parties in Pakistan. .. in this sense, it appears that the MQM ( Altaf) was trying to make itself, in appearance at least, more acceptable to military” (p.76).

4.7 The Period of Cold War

The decade of 90s remained as a hard time for the Mohajir ethnie. Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto both gave a tuff time and according to MQM betrayed them. In addition to that, during the same period the split in the MQM and a cold war between the two factions damaged the Mohajir image, (projected as the largest educated, organized, and concerted middle class). The Haqiqi faction had full support from the government while the MQM Altaf remained under pressure. The situation persisted till late 1996, when the PPP government was dissolved by President Farooq Ahmed Leghari. In the new elections held in February 4th 1997 PML (N) received heavy mandate (Jang, 1997) in centre. In Sindh, no party was in position to form an independent government. The MQM had a significant recognition in this election also. To keep the PPP out of power from Sindh, the MQM moved towards the centre of power and made an agreement with the Nawaz Government. Though the terms of the agreement were not publicized but it was observed that some of the conditions were against the Sindhi’s interests. Lately, as events unfolded, both MQM and PML (N) accused each other for not following the agreement. On 14th October, Senator Aftab Sheikh from MQM complained the murder of 272 MQM political activists (Dawn, 1997). Some of the terms of the secret agreement were revealed when Aftab Sheikh complained in the press conference for not following the commitments, include;

1. Opening up of the no-go areas.
2. Rehabilitation of displaced persons of the no-go areas.

3. Appointment of a judicial commission, to investigate the extra judicial killings of MQM workers.

4. The issue of unvarying representation in the provincial cabinet and the administration.

5. Effective involvement in the law and order committee.

6. Compensation to the victims killed during PPP's operation clean up on 1995-96 under the supervision of federal interior minister.

7. Repatriation of stranded Pakistanis (Abbas, 1997)

Following these demands on October 29, the then Prime Minister appointed a judicial commission to probe extra-judicial killings. Although, neither the commission met nor the probe was carried out but Rs. 100 million were released by the federal government to compensate. 492 families were compensated at the rate of Rs. 100,000 per family (Dawn, October 3, 2000; Jones, 2002, p.129).

In the following years, the aberrant alliance was not proved fruitful and MQM again accused the government. Despite following series of talks the coalition agreement remained suspended. During this time, the law and order situation in Karachi further deteriorated.

The situation worsened when a senior and well respected citizen Hakim Muhammad Saeed was gunned down in Karachi in October 1998. The initial investigations of the police pointed out that the assassins were the workers MQM. On October 29, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif issued a list of accused persons and asked the MQM to hand over the accused persons within three days. In a press conference the list of the names of accused was released. The Prime Minister clearly warned that denial of list will mean parting of ways again (Dawn, October 30, 1998).
A few days before this press conference when MQM workers were accused, they abruptly rejoined the coalition. The situation remained tense until the civil government was overthrown in another military coup by Chief of the army staff General Pervez Musharraf on October 12, 1999.

### 4.7.1 The Truce

In the preceding years from 2000 up till 2008, during the military supported democratic government the relationship between government and MQM as coalition partner have witnessed many ups and downs. As far as the internal politics of MQM is concerned the shift from Mohajir to Muttahida did not bring any vibrant change. The non Mohajir did not become the party ticket holder. The MQM’s endeavour to form a united front with Mohajir-Sindhi alliance against the non-Sindhis was aborted soon due to the confrontation and non compromising attitude from both the sides. The Sindhis distrusted Mohajirs and recognize them as the other non Sindhis like Balochi, Punjabi and Pathans. Although the MQM conceded its Mohair motif but it propagated its message without extending its base from Sindh to other Provinces. In the latter years of 2000, MQM have extended its branches in Punjab, Balochistan and the areas of Pakistani held Kashmir territory (Jang, 20009, P.9). After 2002 elections, the coalition between MQM and PML (Q) was a blessing for MQM.

The period from 2002 to 2008 has marked importance in two ways. First, it helped MQM to consolidate itself, reorganize its ranks and party operatus. Its hard-core activists were also rehabilitated during this time. The increased financial sources furnished its weapon stocks. Despite the fact that during Musharraf regime, there was no military crackdown against Mohajirs, the law and order situation in Mohajir populated city Karachi was remain deteriorated. According to human rights
study the events of target killing, snatching, land grabbing, extortion of money and kidnapping for reasons are increased. All these activities are being done in the name of politics (HRCP Report, 2011, pp. 1.12). Second, the strategy of target killing have been evolved and deployed in ethnic politics during the same period. The event of May 12, 2007 is marked as a watershed in the history of Karachi as far as target killing of ethnic contenders is concerned. During the heydays of lawyers movement that started against General Musharraf when he had a direct conflict with the Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Pakistan. The lawyer’s movement supported the Chief Justice plea about independence of judiciary.

The story begins when President General Pervez Musharraf called the Chief Justice in President House and pressurized to quit the post. The president and his partisan had created a charge-sheet about the misuse of his office. On the refusal, the Chief Justice was barred from his constitutional duty. An acting Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was placed. The coalition parties and personalities did not condemn the action including MQM. It was a fact that no one could have expected the response of that Presidential order.

When the Chief Justice did not bow down, some lawyers of the Supreme Court like Barrister Aitzaz Ahsan, Mr Ali Ahmad Kurd and their fellows stimulated a public campaign to have a fair trial. Gradually, the campaign grew to size and its nature. For the first time in judicial history of Pakistan some judges resigned in favour of the Chief (Zaidi, 2007, p.2036). Initially, the focus of the movement was the restoration of Chief Justice but lately it became a symbol for the sanctity of the Judiciary. The political parties, lawyers, human right activists and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) emerged united. During this movement Chief Justice visited various Bar Councils in Punjab and addressed the lawyers. One of his
addresses to Sindh Bar in Karachi was scheduled by May 12, 2007. Since the local
government’s elections in 1987, the Mohajir representative political party MQM has
remained in power. As a coalition partner MQM also decided to hold its rally to
support the federal government (The News, 2007). On 8th of May, the Quaid-i-
Tehreek and founder of MQM Altaf Hussain addressed party workers from London
and said, “If conspiracies are designed to end the democratic process in the country
then each and every workers of Muttahida Qaumi Movement will stand firm and
defend the democratic government.” He announced the holding of MQM rally on the
same day (Dawn, 2007). Although some of the leaders of the opposition political
parties repeatedly asked MQM not to held the rally on the say day yet it was not
heard (Dawn, 2007). The MQM government in Sindh took every possible measure to
stop the Chief Justice from coming to Karachi. They put hundreds of road blocks
across the main streets from the route to airport. The reception camps were removed
(Dawn, 2007). Due to mounting anxiety 12th May was declared as public holiday.
Educational institutions, markets and business centres were ordered to close down
(Daily Times, 2007). Attacks were observed on small groups of those lawyers who
were prepared to welcome Chief Justice, and over 40 people were gunned down.

The MQM’s provincial government blocked all the roads leading to the airport.
Shahra-e-Faisal was blocked by containers and other heavy vehicles. The
passengers could not reach at the airport to get their flights while arriving
passengers were stranded at the airport (The News, 2007). A small number of
Chief’s supporters reached at the airport through various means. They stayed
overnight in localities near the airport, like Gulistan-e-Johar and PIA colony. When
Chief Justice’s flight arrived at the airport a violent clash began between the MQM’s
Apart from the violent clashes at airport, there were some evidences of ethnic targeting specially in the areas situated at ethnic fault lines of Karachi. The areas of Patel Para, Qasba Colony, Manghophir and Banaras Chowk witnessed most violent clashes. Here the clashes started mainly between Pakhtun and Urdu Speaking Mohajirs. The emerging ethnic contenders of Mohajirs, “Pakhtuns” were the supporter of Chief Justice. These clashes took an overt ethnic accent. Many people were died and several were injured as a result of these violent ethnic clashes (HRCP Report, 2007, p.27).

Due to the blockade and violent clashes, the address of the Chief Justice to the Bar was postponed and Chief could not come out of the airport. But this event gave a tactical retreat to the MQM. Fist time, there has been considerable condemnation of MQM and its leaders through media. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan published a detailed report about the occurrences and unfolded the role of MQM in this event. The report clearly pointed out that the Motor cyclists were flying MQM’s flags and raising the slogan “Jiye Altaf, Jiye Muttahida” (HRCP Report, 2007, p.28).

MQM’s political workers were denounced for propelling highly co-ordinated attacks against the supporters of ANP and PPP. Approximately, forty three people were murdered which were primarily Pakhtuns. In the retaliatory actions fourteen MQM workers were also killed. This event disturbed the peace and first time MQM showed overt violence which was not its strategy in the past. The truce had been ended. Since then, once again Karachi, the Mohajir populated territory is racked with ethnic violence. From 2008 to 2010, in the two years only, more than 5000 people have been killed. In 2010 only, more than 1,000 people were killed in ethnic violence (Press T.V. 2010). The ongoing stretch of Ethnic violence is more complex that
developed an explosive plight, more dangerous to the national integration of Pakistan.

4.8 Factors leading towards Politics of Ethnicity and Conflict

Critics of Mohajir politics do not agree that they have strong basis for claiming discrimination and oppression from the central power structure. They claim that Mohajirs remained over-represented in various important sectors. Mohajirs performed persistently in bureaucracy, in private sector and in print and electronic media. They served in legal and medical professions, and in educational institutions. Despite the fact, it is a reality that in a multicultural society, different ethnic groups compete for opportunities and resources, claim their share and effective influence on society and system. The disaffection from the system increases a gap and intolerance towards state and society. A number of socio-economic and political imbalances are responsible for developing an abyss between Mohajirs and the state authorities in different times. These imbalances have become critical factors for politicizing Mohajir ethnicity.

4.8.1 Question of Identity

An overarching theme of Mohajirs identity is the discourse of “sacrifice”. This is the rhetoric of its leader Altaf Hussain and the underline theme of Mohajir identity. They assert that we are different from the other ethnic groups of Pakistan. The others do not have a common experience of migration (Athar, 1991, p.12). The former chairman of the MQM Azim Ahmad Tariq, showed the same emotion, he said,“we thought, we had given such sacrifices, our two million people were killed
during partition, we cannot forget it, this memory returned to us” (Richards, 2007, p.5). Altaf Hussain also highlighted the importance of sacrifice. In one of his speeches, he said. “We are left with half-achieved independence. Muslims got the country, but we are still slaves. Before, it was the foreigners, the colonialists and now we are slaves to our own people we went through many sacrifices. Mohajir never were, or have been enemies of Pakistan” (Hussain, 1994).

The slogan of Mohajir identity was propagated by Altaf Hussain and his cohort in the late 1970’s when they felt that gradually state authorities are closing the avenues of power for them. Due to the fact that those who migrated towards Sindh from UP (India) had ardent claim to be recognized as a distinctive nationality, they were not ready to adopt Sindhi culture so they developed a power-relationship to the centre. The Mohajir propensity towards central power structure alienated them from local culture. Resultantly, they remained an important office bearer in the central government but a stranger in the provincial culture. Urdu became the national language and Islamic identity was evolved as the basis for Pakistan’s national outlook (Haq, 1995, p.1991). During this period Mohajirs kept their selves away from any kind of complex and upheld the ideological notion of Pakistan. In 1958, with the rise of Ayub Khan as Chief Martial Law administrator the systematic discrimination was started against Mohajirs. He brought technocrat elite on the important positions. Ayub Khan’s decision to shift the capital from Karachi to Islamabad was considered a deliberate attempt to marginalize Mohajir community. In the preceding years certain other policies of the state created a fear among Mohajirs that who they are? And what would be their future. To understand the Mohajir identity politics following variables are much important.

4.8.1.2 Quota System
One of the major facts that politicized Mohajir ethnicity is quota system. Mohajir community demanded the abolition of quota system in Sindh. They wanted to replace quota system with merit policy. In Pakistan’s history it was first introduced in 1948 to compensate the regional disparities in various sectors of government jobs. Burki (1980) has pointed out that in Sindh quota system was necessary because by 1951, the native Sindhis had become minority in Karachi while the huge influx of Mohajirs around 57.1% made Karachi a Mohajir city (p.12). In 1973 during the first PPP’s government, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto made some changes in the quota system. According to his plan all the four provinces of Pakistan were allocated federal jobs on the basis of percentage of their total population. According to this plan, in federal services, 10 percent of the vacancies will be filled on merit; Punjab was allocated 50 percent, Sindh 19 percent, North West Frontier Province (NWFP) now KPK, 11.5 percent, Balochistan 3.5 percent, Northern Areas and Federally Administered Areas (FATA) 4 percent and Azad Kashmir will be allocated 2 percent (Kennedy, 1984, p.692). Although the quota system was enforced throughout Pakistan but the situation in Sindh was different. The federal quota was further divided on urban and rural basis, for urban areas 7.6 percent and 11.4 percent for rural sectors of Sindh. The rural urban gap was not bridged by these arrangements. Bhutto government also expunged the special status of Karachi and merit seats were brought down from 20 to 10 percent. This was the first time, when Mohajir confronted with the Phantom of representation based on population not on special status.

Mohajirs had also senior positions in bureaucracy but Bhutto’s reforms in bureaucracy were another blow on Mohajir community. By 1973, they held 335 percent share in bureaucracy, despite the fact that they had only 8 percent overall share in the population (Kennedy, 1991, p. 942). Bhutto’s reform programs that
promoted lateral entry was contemplated as an action against Mohajir’s collective interests. Bhutto wanted technocrats in the state apparatus but actually the supporters of PPP got the chance to get benefits. In the preceding years, General Zia-ul-Haq maintained federal quota system and reversed 10 percent of the vacancies in the secretariat for retired military personnel. Many former officers were also appointed to public enterprises (Kennedy, 1987, pp.181-209). General Zia’s policy of military preference benefited only two groups Punjabis and Pathans. The Punjabi-Pathan domination decreases Mohajir Participation in civil bureaucracy in Pakistan. They experienced a sizeable downfall in their recruitment. In 1983 their percentage of service decreased from 30.1 to 20.2 percent, while that share of Sindhi’s was increased from 3.1 to 5.1 percent (Kennedy, 1987, p.194). At this stage with the formation of MQM, Mohajirs demanded that they must be recognized as the fifth nationality of Pakistan. With the recognition, they must be given 20 percent quota at the centre and between 50 to 60 percent in Sindh. It was also claimed that the quota of Sindh must be reserved for Sindhi and Mohajirs only (Alvi, 1989, p.153). The Mohajir representation in military service also remained low. From 1988 to 2008 only two Mohajir army officers held a senior rank, though both remained Chief of Army Staff, one General Mirza Aslam Baig and the other General Pervaiz Musharraf. The successive civil governments also upheld the quota system neither Nawaz Governments nor Benazir made any significant changes in the continuing bureaucratic and military set up. The continuation of state policies has become one of the major reasons for the dissatisfaction of the Mohajir community. They perceived it as the end of their privileged position in the state system.

4.8.1.3 The Linguistic Controversy
The politicization of Mohajir ethnicity remained slow but gradual. Another important event that led towards conflictual situation was the linguistic controversy between state and Mohajir community. It was started in 1972, when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto led PPPs government introduced a language bill. According to the bill Sindhi language should be resorted as the official language of the province and medium of instruction in the educational institutions. It was also clearly stated in the bill that Sindhi and Urdu language shall be studied as compulsory subjects in classes, four to twelve (Rehman, 1996, p.124-125). After the bill was passed, language riots erupted. Violent clashes among ethnic groups on the basis of language had worsened the situation in Sindh (Azad, 1996, p.1062). Although the PPP Government made numerous committees to resolve the issue but they failed to design any effective strategy to satisfy both the communities, the Sindhis and Mohajirs.

The avert support of Bhutto to its rural Sindh had created ethnic split in the province. Ethnic politics evoked and the Mohajirs started thinking as an embattled minority fighting for its rights. The Mohajir community lost the feelings of compatriotism. The Sindhi nationalists further aggravat ed the situation with hostile statements. G.M Syed warned the Mohajirs, “You have already left India, the only other place of refugee for you may be the Arabian Sea” (Jones, 2002, p.119). The situation calmed down when Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto passed an ordinance stated “for the next twelve years, no one could lose their job on the grounds that they did not speak Sindhi (Dawn, 17th July, 1972). The Mohajir from Middle and lower middle class were badly affected by the state policies. They deliberately showed their discontent towards the central government. It was considered that the state policy intentionally peripheralise the Mohajir community. Since then, for the protection of their rights, they are lined up behind the politics of ethnicity.
4.8.1.4 The Issue of Stranded Pakistanis

The Mohajirs had a persistent demand for the Bihari Muslim to settle them appropriately. They called them stranded Pakistanis. In 1988, when first time on the platform of MQM, Mohajirs presented their charter of resolution to the PPP government, they clearly demanded that Pakistanis stranded in Bangladesh be accepted and repatriated (Khan, 2005, p.192). The term stranded Pakistanis is applied to those people who seek migration from Indian state of Bihar to the East wing of Pakistan (now called Bangladesh). After the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, these people were stranded there. It became an issue when Sindhis did not accept the term stranded Pakistanis but called them Biharis and urged “that from 1947, Biharis went to East Pakistan from India. They did not choose any other constituent unit of Pakistan. In this way they are not entitled to repatriate to Pakistan.

Most important point is that if they were brought from Bangladesh, their ultimate residence would be Sindh because some of their relative already lived here. Bihari settlement in Sindh will create other demographic imbalance (Herald, 1990, p.56). Despite the Sindhis grievances, the Mohajirs had a plea that during partition, they became the victim of Hindu oppression because they voted for the creation of Muslim homeland. To get away from Hindi calamity, Bihari Muslims migrated towards Pakistan. After independence, by the year 1971, the Bihari Muslims or stranded Pakistanis grew to 1.5 million in Eastern Wing (Dawn, 1999). Like Mohajirs in Sindh, the Biharis also maintained their specific culture, ethnic, and linguistic identity. When Bangladesh was created, they also victimized by Mukti Bahini. Korejo (2002) has pointed out that around three lakhs Bihari were sent back to India, five lakhs were exterminated by Mukti Bahini and five lakhs arrived in Pakistan (p.99). The remaining 2.5 lakhs are suffering worst conditions in the camps.
in Bangladesh. Mohajirs used to raise their voice for these Biharis and called them stranded Pakistanis. Various governments in Pakistan came to settle the issue but they received strong resentment from the locals and nationalist elite. A large number of Biharis were settled in Sindh province specially Karachi where initially they supported PPP. During the elections of 1985 Afaq Shahid and Haseeb Hashmi were elected for Provincial Assembly with Behari vote. After that instead of fulfilling their promise they joined PPP and Muslim League functional respectively and their problems remained unaddressed (Herald, 2010, p.61). Due to that reasons Biharis made alliance with MQM. To safeguard its vote bank MQM used to raise the issue of stranded Pakistanis. The governments in coalition with MQM go back to their commitment because they faced strong resentment within the government. The clash over repatriation of Biharis in Pakistan is still an important issue. Now the Biharis who settled in Karachi, with the help of MQM used to organize their community. They held a public rally in August 2010 that showed the prospects of developing Bihari political movement (Herald, 2010, p.61).

The identity politics of MQM is getting strength but the strategies of the central governments are weak and responsible to aggravate the issue. Although at the national level, Urdu is still a main language of communication but at the provincial level it is a source of conflict with various other newly emerged lingual identities. All the three unresolved issues are the main source of Mohajir’s identity politics in Sindh. Nonetheless there are various other variables playing an important role in the development of conflict and politicizing Mohajir ethnicity.

### 4.8.2 Socio-Economic grievances
There are various socio-economic factors responsible intensifying Mohajirs relations with the centre. Among the main grievances of Mohajirs include, the question about their ethnic identity and lack of effective participation in decision making process. The problem of unemployment and absence of control over local resources is also the source of impetus. Majority of the MQM leaders and workers blame the policies of central government in Pakistan. They perceived that the policies were designed intentionally to diminish the Mohajir’s socio-economic status. As discussed earlier the re-introduction of quota system in 70s is considered one of the major irritants that led towards conflictual situation. Moreover the demographic politics of Sindh is also an important source of disturbance that got weight due to the negligence of state authorities. The in and out migrant from various parts of other provinces and from Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq is responsible to create demographic imbalances (Waseem, 1998, p.81). The influx of large number of ethnic groups in Sindh mainly in the city of Karachi has dropped the relative share of Mohajirs in almost everywhere. The social divisions of work in Karachi city was neither legalized nor regularized. In the case of squatter settlement, commonly known as bastis, the central government did not pay attention towards the capacity building of the city. They neither tried to identify the basic issues among various ethnic groups. The economic and social problems including the increased ratio of unemployment, deteriorated health and education facilities and transport problems were contemplated as the major urban crises. But soon the mishandling of so called urban crisis got the ethnic tone because the Mohajirs were the first who were badly affected with this situation. According to state authorities, the local resources should be shared according the ratio of their population in the province.

**Table 3: Population of Sindh on the basis of language**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Sindhi</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Pashto</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Baloch</th>
<th>Saraiki</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>25.79</td>
<td>41.48</td>
<td>7.96</td>
<td>11.52</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>8.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>92.02</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59.73</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>4.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 8.2.2: The controversial ethnic mix of Karachi and an estimated raise of the ethnic communities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Sindhi</th>
<th>Pakhtun</th>
<th>Baloch</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9,229,522</td>
<td>4,522,550</td>
<td>1,231,913</td>
<td>486,700</td>
<td>1,278,716</td>
<td>326,072</td>
<td>1,383,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Projected by 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Sindhi</th>
<th>Pakhtun</th>
<th>Baloch</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>147,741,976</td>
<td>7,218,015</td>
<td>1,971,892</td>
<td>777,545</td>
<td>1,995,529</td>
<td>516,499</td>
<td>2,210,256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population for 2010 is estimated on the basis of population growth rate as provided in 1998 Census Source: Herald, November 2010, p.56.

The above mentioned figures highlight the gradual decrease of Mohajirs as a dominant force because all other ethnic and linguistic groups constitute more than 56 percent of Karachi's population. On this issue MQM also blamed central government’s intention that they deliberately attempted to reside Punjabi and Pakhtuns in Sindh especially in Karachi. The allocation of land to Punjabi and Pakhtun military officers in various cities of Sindh is also reckoned as anti Mohajirs.
All these factors contributed towards an aggrieved and playful youth that became the backbone of MQM. The strength of MQM is architected as a parallel local state first time in 1987. After a clean sweep in local municipal polls MQM started running it in Karachi city. Since then the Mohajir representative party MQM has remained the part of coalition government in Provincial as well as on central level but the conflict on various issues and lack of trust between them has plunged the Sindh province into an utter confusion and chaos. The irresponsible attitude of the state authorities towards Sindh, particularly Karachi is held responsible for politicizing Mohajir ethnicity.

4.8.3 Illegal Trafficking of Weapons

Illegal trafficking of weapons is not only a problem among the various ethnic groups but the issue also soured the relation with central government. Prior to Afghan war in 1979, there were no signs of drug trafficking and illegal armaments. With the influx of Afghan refugees in Pakistan weapons and narcotics started flooding. Due to the economic importance of Karachi the Afghanistan based Pakhtun refugees entered in the City and soon the areas like Sohrab Goth were created. These areas became the dungeon of drugs and armament. Due to the dysfunctional political system, the state authorities had no control on it. Even the political parties also showed irresponsible behaviour and their student wings used to show their power through modern weapons. One of the former workers of MQM had written his first encounter with the Kalashnikovs in this way, "we had not seen any Kalashnikov till 1986 [ ]. We saw it first time in Sindh University when Altaf Hussain was invited to attend G.M Sayyed’s birthday party. Altaf stepped down from the dais and went
towards a man holding the Kalashnikov. He watched it carefully. After that, the entire MQM started searching desperately and suddenly one day an AK-47 rifle appeared on the premises. It had been brought by Javed Langra. In the night, the whole of Azizabad reverberated with the sound. After that day, we saw many Kalashnikovs” (Hasnain, 1997, p.33).

Feuding parties were freely using arms against each other throughout the 80s and the state authorities did not show their resistance. Various newspapers and magazines showed pictures and stories about large scale business that took the shape of an independent underground entrepreneur (Anif, 1989, p.22). The students associated with different political parties brought these weapons from tribal areas. Anif also quoted in his report that due to heavy presence of arms in market, their prices went down by 40 to 50 percent in Karachi city. The TT pistol had its price Rs. 5500 in 1987 and it was down to Rs. 3000 in 1989. Later on the arm peddlers in different areas remained busy promoting ethnic differences among citizens. The subsequent years are witnessed of the show of weapons against the state authorities. During 90s the militant group of MQM is accused to use his weaponry against the state authorities. First time the PPP government of 2008 acknowledged that the easy availability of weapons fuels violent clashes. The deweaponization will help to sort out the problem. Prior to recent move, in 2001, 2005, and 2007 the central authorities launched the deweaponization campaign but MQM clearly stated that government should first launch a drive in those parts of the country where illegal weapons are made and sent to the city (Ahmad, Kaleem, 2010, p.51). A Monthly Magazine Herald in his report also focused on the non serious attitude of the state authorities towards deweaponization. The Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani repeatedly asked political parties to help and assist law enforcement agencies
against the mafias. But he did not mention any specific plan to deweaponize the city (Ahmad, Kaleem, 2010, p.53). Despite the fact that MQM was the coalition partner of the PPP led government of 2008 in Sindh and in the centre as well but they had serious clashes on the issue. Moreover the persisted blame game on various matters enhancing the conflictual situation between MQM and the PPP.

### 4.8.4 The Issue of Representation

The representation issue is another important concern of Mohajir politics. MQM used to emphasize on effective local government system in Pakistan. Despite the fact, that the issue has remained a major bone of contention between state authorities and MQM. It is the most unfortunate reality that all the local government elections have been conducted under military rule and these military governments were only intended to get legitimacy through this process. In 1987, first time MQM showed its strength in the urban areas of Sindh, particularly in Karachi city during local bodies elections. After its success MQM’s activists declared Urdu as the official language of district East in Karachi. They sat up barbed bassicades around different areas of the city, where the party held strong influence (Gayer, 2003, p.14). MQM enjoyed all the privileges of local government till the operation clean up started against them in 1992. The ruling party in the centre whether it is PPP, IJI or Muslim League, had perceived MQM’s government in Karachi as a threat to their political constituencies. The hard fact behind is that since MQM’s show of power in 1987, its bastions have been increased in central and Eastern Districts of Karachi. At present Karachi is divided into eighteen towns. Following map shows the exact distribution and location of towns with its ethnic mix.
According to the map, towns 09, 10, 13, and 15 are completely Mohajir dominated areas while town 04 and the town eight have some areas dominated by...
Mohajir community like Orangi and Metroville 1, in town four and central area of town eight, Pakhtuns are the other major ethnic community of Karachi that is also competing for power in the city. This division was made under the local bodies ordinance 2001. General Musharraf, the then president and Chief of Army Staff benefited MQM because of his position to negotiate with the Mohajir community. It is pertinent to note that basic purpose of local government system is sharing power at grass root level and giving sense of participation to the people in decision making process. Contrary to the concept, that pliant local governments system has been used to aggravate ethno-political conflict in the Sindh province especially in Karachi. In 2001 the local government system was revived by the name devolution of power. Though the first local bodies election under local government ordinance 2001 were boycotted by MQM but again it participated in 2005 and formed its government.

After the downslide of military regime of General Musharraf, MQM once again became a coalition partner of the new civil government of PPP in 2008. It became an important ally not only at centre but in the provincial government of Sindh as well. Despite claiming representation to all the suppressed classes it is fact that MQM representing only Mohajir community and failed to come out from regional politics. It evolved the politics of ghettoization. The whole city is divided into ethnic enclaves. The migration from one constituency to another and the creation of ethnic dominance has been endured a primary reason for widening conflict between MQM and the state authorities.

At present one of the major demands of MQM is to reinstate the local government ordinance 2001. From 2008 to 2010 MQM threatened the government three times (Herald, 2010, p.26). This move sparked prolonged bouts of violence in Karachi, which is already divided into various ethnic flashpoints. Every time state
authorities successfully bargained with MQM but the real issues were not addressed and remained alive. In response to MQM’s demand of restoring local government ordinance 2001, the PPP government was intended to re-instate Sindh Local Government Ordinance (SLGO) 1979. The SLGO 1979 contains power at the provincial level. The powers of land and revenue allocation vest in the provincial government while the system greatly relies on commissioners and it divides Karachi into five districts. Contrary to that the SLGO 2001 is based on the decentralization of power from provincial to district governments. It empowers Nazims, the elected persons. Under the system, Karachi is divided into eighteen towns. Furthermore, the system unifies Karachi under the city district governments.

Differences between two important contenders of power have exacerbated the issues of governance. It has also accentuated that how ethnicity is politicized and used to gain upper hand when the negotiations are impasse.

4.9 Mohajir Ethnicity and the Issue of National Integration

The shift of loyalties from state to ethnicity and the creation of Mohajir identity is an important development in the political history of Pakistan. The steep descent of Mohajirs from their privileged position created a sense of alienation among them.

It was a fact, that Mohajirs were the staunch supporter of Pakistani nationalism. They never propagated the idea of racial or lingual ethnic division of Pakistani Nation. But gradually they were forced to seek their identity on ethnic lines. With the establishment of MQM, the concept of Mohajir nationality and identity was promoted under one leader. With the passage of time, it became a successful example of ethnic mobilization. The scholars of ethnicity criticize the concept of
Mohajir ethnicity that it does not fit to any of the ethnic definition. The former Secretary General of MQM wrote, “to those folks, I ask, does a nation need an allotment order, if so, then other nationalities also must show their allotment permit [ ]. Sindh is our land, our wattan. It is our duty to love this land and work for its prosperity. We are not going to leave and migrate to some other place” (Farooq, 1989, p.7-11).

Such kind of thinking was gradually transformed into politicized ethnicity and it reached at a level where MQM’s leader Altaf Hussain declared the partition “a blunder”. He said,

My description of the partition as the greatest blunder in the history of mankind is an objective assessment based on the bitter experience of the masses […]. Had the subcontinent not been divided, the 180 million Muslims of Bangladesh, 150 million of Pakistan and about 200 million in India would together have made 530 million people and, as such, they would have been a very powerful force in undivided India (Jones, 2002, p.109; Herald, 2000, p.36)

The creation of MQM as a representative ethnic party of Mohajir community marked a sea change in their political thinking and attitude. They dropped the flag of national identity and Pakistani nationhood. Alvi (1989) quoted a slogan that said; “we have not signed a contract to uphold Pakistan and Islam!” (Hum nain Pakistan aur Islam ka theka nahin liya hai) (p.1532). Socio-economic and political factors also dominate the ethnic feelings. Their commitment with Pakistani nationhood was replaced to the recognition of Mohajirs as a fifth nationality (MQM charter of Resolution 1988). In one of his interview Altaf Hussain clearly said, “we do not support anything which does not contain the word Mohajir” (Herald, 1987, p.36). The
The amplitude of threat of Mohajir to national integration is measured through the following variables, specified for this research.

### 4.9.1 Role of Leadership

The role of ethnic leadership in the promotion of national integration is a challenge for the students and researchers of ethnic studies. According to them, ethnic groups always present in the society, some on primordial basis and some construct their association on social basis. In addition to that, economic and political situation also play an important role in the construction of ethnic association. The associative feelings remain silent until these are invoked by a leadership. In this way the role of leader is very significant because through positive directions the ethnic group is being able to play an important role in nation building, which leads towards national integration. Contra wise, the ethnic leadership could also play a very destructive role for creating fractions within the society. When the leaders politically maneuver the ethnic feelings and use it as an instrument for their political and economic gains, it disturbs the process of nation building that ultimately threatens the approach of national integration.

Brass (1991) has defined the role of leadership in a way that it is an elite’s group who draw and sometimes distort ethnicity. He further argues that identity mobilization is also the creation of elites (p.8). In this respect, the role of leadership cannot be denied in the socio-political realm. Leadership became prominent due to the strategies and tactics they adopt and then use, first to mobilize the ethnic community, and second, to gain advantages. In Pakistan, ethnic mobilization is also done by elites. They belonged to different influential families and tribes. For instance, the ethnic animation of Balochi’s is done through various Baloch Sardars and
influential families. Contrary to Baloch ethnic mobilization, the Mohajir ethnic consciousness is developed and organized by the group of young Mohajirs having no effective political and social background. The young student leaders had established APMSO in the University of Karachi. Among them, Altaf Hussain emerged as the chief spokesman of Mohajireen. Later on his Philosophy of “realism and practicalism” was evolved as the basis for their ethnic political party MQM (Jamal, 2009, p.34).

The enigmatic personality of Altaf Hussain has put deep imprints on the MQM. Though he is in voluntary exile in London since 1992, but his oratorical skills has made him able to exercise complete control of the MQM. Varkaaik (2005) has applied Geertz (1983) definition of charisma on Altaf Hussain. According to Geertz, “the power of Chrisma lies in activating the centres of society and many symbols of powers surround that person (p.123). Varkaaik believed that Altaf Hussain has transformed himself into a living symbol of the Mohajir community (Varkaaik, 2005, p.71). Speaking in public rallies and processions, he regularly brust into tears while narrating the plight of the besieged Mohajirs. He made himself an icon of their sufferings.

As a leader, he owed much pride. His modest and lower middle class background further added the feeling of belonging to “us”. No doubt that Altaf Hussain as the leader of Mohajif community had organized them against the state’s inequitable policies. Initially Mohajir ethnicity became instrumental in the shape of MQM. On later stages, MQM played as an effective tool to get economic and political benefits. On this platform, he speaks for the Mohajirs who have been betrayed by the political leadership of the state.
As a leader, Altaf Hussain has created the historical narrative and national rhetoric of the Mohajir community. It is based on the sacrifices of Mohajir people in the pre and post independent eras and the discriminatory attitude of the state authorities. Such rhetoric provided the historical, political and above all cultural context to evolve the Mohajir political identity. His untiring efforts and dedication for the Mohajirs made him “Peer Sahib” and Quaid-i-Tahreek (Verkaai, 2005, p.68; Haq, 1995, p.997). Besides this unmatched love and respect, criticism and competition is not allowed in the party. Any other ostentatious speaker is considered a threat (Whitaker, 1990, p.22). The critics argue that due to Altaf Hussain’s wish for complete control, the party lacks democratic structure. And the politics of MQM is marred through the philosophy and personality of Altaf Hussain (Baloch, 2012, p.1). Under the ascendancy of “absolute power”, his rhetoric about the state and other ethnic groups (contending in the socio, politico and economic realm) has remained a source of conflict and weighed as a potential threat to national integration.

In one of his speech he said, “when a Sindhi comes to power, the Sindhis are against us; when a Pathan is in power, the Pathan fights us; who are we will whoever comes to power always victimize us” (Singh, 2003, p.11). The kind of paranoia and attitude inculcated among the Mohajirs youth further heightened the anti state feelings. Due to the reason, the change in the theme and name of MQM from Mohajir to Muttahidda Qaumi Movement, did not get popularity among other ethnic groups and federating units. The role of MQM’s leadership is severally criticized by Siddiqui. He noted that “Mohajir youth who were attracted to Altaf Hussain like a swarm of moths to a lamp, hovering and buzzing around him unafraid of getting signed or burnt. Theirs was a fated attraction to their leaders. His word was law, and with a
single wave of the hand he could turn an ecstatic, raucous crowd to stone, then revive them back to their ecstatic state with another” (Siddiqui, 2008, p.134).

The loyalties of Mohajir youth were not streamlined properly. They made “Mohajir youth as an angry young man, ready to rob and steal and get by force what he is denied as a citizen. They have become rough riders on a motor bike—often armed” (Siddiqui, 2008, p.135). Despite the fact that MQM’s leadership claims to represent all the suppressed elements of the state, and they have party nurseries in the four provinces of Pakistan, the major criticism remained on the leadership, that they served to underscore is essentially parochial, ethno-cultural ethos, that does not favour the concept of national integration.

4.9.2 Role of Middle Class

As a major workforce, the role of middle class is utmost important in the development of a movement. Middle class also perform as a backbone in the formation and upbringing of the state. The Mohajir middle class had played an important role in the making of their political organization MQM. During the early years of Pakistan, especially during 70’s and 80’s most of the Mohajirs had negative feelings against the other ethnic communities of Pakistan. They thought that as a migrant community they are different to those having traditional territorial support base within Pakistan.

The Mohajir felt that nobody has sympathetic feelings for them. They are being ridiculed and faced hostile attitude (Jones, 2002, p.124). It was the middle class Mohajir youth who felt that gradually, they are being alienated from the political
and economic life of Pakistan. In 1959, Mohajir contributed 30 percent in the higher bureaucratic setup that was declined to 7.1 percent in 90’s (Jones, 2002, p.124). Discriminatory policies of the state made middle and lower middle class Mohajirs insecure and conscious about their status. With these developments, when their fellow beings raised the voice for separate Mohajir organization, they all welcomed it. The founder of APMSO, Karachi born Altaf Hussain, belonged to a middle class family, also experienced humiliating attitude from the military training camp that he joined during 70’s (Hussain, 2008, pp.6-13). To encounter the problem of ethnic hatred, the group of young Mohajirs finally shaped up their political organization along ethnic lines. With the creation of MQM the Mohajirs brought them out from the dark and uncertainty. On this platform Mohajirs openly spoke in the idiom of ethnicity.


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<td>MQM</td>
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</table>
* in 1998 and 1990 Pakistan Muslim League (PML) was not mobilized by its original name.

** in 2002, PML was divided into various factions, one of them was (PML-N)

*** in 2008, Pakistan People’s Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) won the election

*** Islami Jahmoor Ittehad, (IJI) was also shattered during 1993 and 1997. It was a coalition that lost its vitality.

** Table 9.2.2: Provincial Elections in Sindh Party Position 1988-2008

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<tr>
<td>MQM</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPP/PDA</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML /IJI</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>PML(N)-0 MPL(Q)-09</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan
In the provincial elections the MQM performed impressively. In all the elections, it rises gradually. Although MQM achieved significant victories in all the elections, but at the same time faced a major setback in 1990’s elections when Nasreen Jalil from Karachi and Aftab Sheikh was defeated from Hyderabad (Mansoor, 2002, p.2). MQM boycotted 93’s elections of National Assembly but had glorious success in the provincial elections. Most important thing was the voters turnout that was minimum in the Nationality Assembly elections but maximum at the provincial level. The highest turnover in the favour of MQM was the endorsement of Mohajirs on MQM.

No doubt, the Mohajir representative ethnic political party responded positively in its early years. It raised genuine concerns of Mohajirs. It gave them a sense of identity and projected it on all the forums. But against this magnificent record of electoral and political Success, MQM’s alleged involvement in militancy is earning bad name. During 1980’s MQM’s militant wing known by “Black Tigers (committed to die for their Mohajir cause) had no important role to earn this repute (Zaidi, 1991, p.1296).

At present MQM is more feared than love. The middle class Mohajir families who once formed it as the only source of their survival and the genuine representative of their community, now seems dissatisfied with its performance and policies. Various factors are responsible for the deteriorating support, from the Mohajir middle class specifically and the other strata of society generally. For this particular study, to measure the threat of Mohajir ethnicity to the national integration of Pakistan the author had designed an interview based survey from the Urdu speaking middle class Mohajir community in Karachi, the Mohajir populated city of Sindh.
The survey was conducted from the seven out of eighteen towns in Karachi which have overwhelming Mohajir population. These seven areas are the most violent areas of Karachi. The exact location, main ethnic groups of these areas and the ethnic communities are described in the following table.

**Table 5: Most Violent Areas in Karachi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Main Location</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Contending Group</th>
<th>Affected Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyari</td>
<td>Khadda Market, Nawababad, Baghdadi, Lea Market, Rexer Lane, Kala Kot, Chaki Wara, Dhobi Ghat, Usmanabad, Bhimpura</td>
<td>Urdu Speaking 8.7%</td>
<td>Peoples Aman Committee VS MQM</td>
<td>8.5 sq km</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Baloch 28.7%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sindhi 22.7%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Punjabi 8.7%</td>
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<td>Pakhtun 5.7%</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Others 25.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kati Pahari/ Banaras</td>
<td>Orangi I, Bukhari Colony, Data Nagri, Peerabad, Islamia Colony, Qasba Morr, Ali Garh Mohammad Pur, Frontier Colony, Metro Cinema,</td>
<td>Urdu Speaking 47.5%</td>
<td>ANP VS MQM</td>
<td>2.5 sq/KM</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Baloch 0.1%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sindhi 0.5%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Punjabi 6.4%</td>
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<td>Pakhtun 40.9%</td>
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<td>Others 4.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Karachi</td>
<td>Federal B Area, Soharab Goth, Ancholi, Godhra Camp</td>
<td>Urdu Speaking 54.5%</td>
<td>Sipahe-e-Sehab, Sunni Tahreek, Shia Groups, MQM</td>
<td>3.5 sq/km</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Baloch 0.4%</td>
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<td>Sindhi 0.7%</td>
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<td>Punjabi 6.2%</td>
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<td>Pakhtun 9.7%</td>
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<td>Others 28.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abdul Hassan, Ispahani Road</td>
<td>Gulshan Iqbal, Mubeena Tow, Abbas Town, Iqra Complex, Adjacent areas of Paradise Bakery</td>
<td>Urdu Speaking 54.4%</td>
<td>ANP VS MQM</td>
<td>1.5 sq/km</td>
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<td>Baloch 0.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Political Party</td>
<td>Area (sq/km)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gulistan-e-Jauhar</td>
<td>Rabia City, Pehalwan Goth</td>
<td>Sindhi 0.7%</td>
<td>ANP VS MQM</td>
<td>3.55sq/km</td>
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<td>Punjabi 6.2%</td>
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<td>Pakhtun 9.7%</td>
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<td>Others 28.5%</td>
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<td>Urdu Speaking 40.2%</td>
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<td>Baloch 2.1%</td>
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<td>Sindhi 6.5%</td>
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<td>Punjabi 21%</td>
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<td>Pakhtun 20.6%</td>
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<td>Others 9.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malir</td>
<td>Jaffar Tayar, Sahibdad Goth, Asso Goth, Bakra Piri, Mola Ran Compound</td>
<td>Urdu Speaking 67.4%</td>
<td>Peoples Aman Committee, PPP, MQM</td>
<td>2 sq/km</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Baloch 7.9%</td>
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<td>Sindhi 7.7%</td>
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<td>Punjabi 4.2%</td>
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<td>Pakhtun 0.9%</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Others 4.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Landhi</td>
<td>Sherpao Colony, Quaidabad</td>
<td>Urdu Speaking 16.8%</td>
<td>MQM VS MQM Haqqi</td>
<td>3 sq/km</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Baloch 0.3%</td>
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<td>Sindhi 2.7%</td>
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<td>Punjabi 17.6%</td>
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<td>Pakhtun 38.5%</td>
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<td>Others 24.2%</td>
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Source: Compiled by the researcher from Daily Dawn and data available through Karachi, district government.

* Population figures are based on the projection of growth according to 1998 Census Report.

Source: (Javaid, Hashmi, 2012, pp.66-67)
According to the survey, around fifty five percent of Mohajir families are living apprehensively. They have ambivalent thinking about MQM, as the representative party of middle, lower middle and suppressed communities. They are feared with the new violent trends in Karachi, so feel reluctant to express blatantly. Those families who are well settled neither want to associate in any of the political activity, nor ready to talk about these issues. Political association has secondary importance for those who are still struggling. They are timid yet not reluctant to express their opinion. While analyzing the opinion of these fifty five percent Mohajir families, following important factors were highlighted for declining status of MQM among them.

1. It is not easy to get MQM’s membership. The modus operandi is highly complex and strict. On the recommendations of the unit, a Mohajir can get the “Oath Membership”. The potential member is nominated by the known person or group. All the family activities of that member are supervised by the unit or sector.

2. Gradually, MQM is deviating from its original demands. Under the new evolving trends, MQM uses various methods to remain in the government elite. Policy matters are replaced by transitory interests only to control the politics of Karachi.

3. It is a common perception that violent element in MQM is getting strength and have become uncontrollable. MQM has various sector commanders, running numerous torture cells. People believe that due to their failure in improving Mohajirs’ social status and deviating from their initial stance, they use militant ways and violent tactics, to terrorize the people for getting support. During its
early years, Mohajirs paid voluntarily for their cause, now land grabbing and extortion of money has become an uncontrolled crime. Involving in militancy and guns game has made MQM a terrorist organization.

4. It is impatient and does not tolerate criticism. Other than this survey, the author owe this information from an army officer ranked Colonel, who requested not to use his name, told, that in Lahore, the MQM militant wing tortured a journalist and broke his teeth, because he wrote against MQM in his article (..... October 2012).

5. Young men having serious aptitude towards their career are also reluctant to be the volunteer or worker of MQM. These Mohajir families do not want to build any kind of social relationship with MQM’s worker.

6. While answering the question regarding elections, it was told that MQM’s election cell is very efficient. It works throughout the year in three shifts. They have detailed report about their constituency. Despite this efficiency, it was also observed that now MQM does not hold the trust of a large number of people. It was also told by a journalist who had covered, 2002 and 2008 general elections in Karachi, that MQM used to give a surprise strategy in every election. They used to have a complete control over the polling booth. This is the reason that MQM’s performance should be evaluated neither through elections nor through huge public processions. People are hostage in their hands. The Source told the researcher that in both 2002, and 2008 elections when he reached to poll, his vote was already casted by an anonymous voter. Due to the reasons, people do not consider MQM, as their true representative now.

7. Another important reason of this deteriorated support from the society is the split within MQM. From 1996 onward the Mohajir’s are divided into MQM
(Altaf) and Haqiqi. Though Haqiqi has not significant strength and it does not show any seat in the National and Provincial Assemblies, but it has divided the community.

Nonetheless, fifty five percent Mohajir families condemn MQM due to its bad performance the rest of the forty five percent are the staunch supporter. Most of them are the oath member. They believe that MQM is the only way out for them. If they disassociate with MQM, some other ethnic group will take the place. It is better to survive with MQM and enhance their loyalties towards their own organization. The most important observation is that most of the members of MQM are also self seekers. For their political survival, they strictly follow their narrow interests, only those people join MQM who wanted to serve their own interests.

Apart from these factors, which are responsible for MQM’s deteriorating support among the Mohajir and non Mohajir middle class families the intellectuals and journalists who used to cover their activities, believe that due to the personality cult of Altaf Hussain, as the sole autocratic leader (Jaafri, 2011), lack of internal democratic structure in the party, (Jawad, 2012) and failure of Altaf Hussain to capture the fancy of non Mohajirs are also the important reasons of MQM’s decline as a representative political party.

After analyzing this situation, it reveals that militant tendency is a threat. Though MQM has separated the Mohajirs from rest of the population focusing as the fifth nationality of Pakistan but it also enhanced the impression that they are branded not local. The impression of distinct identity, and the strict hold on this impression is really a challenge for the state authority. Despite the fact that all voices are not in the favour of MQM’s extremist thinking, its support base is still working that could be a serious threat to the national integration of Pakistan.
4.9.3 Role of State

No doubt, state is recognized as an ultimate authority. While exercising its powers, state has the ability either to minimize the intensity of conflict or to aggravate it. The strength of the state lies in the cohesiveness of one of its major element, “the population”. Well defined and unbiased state policies incorporate the heterogeneous elements of the society. The state of Pakistan is known as a narrowly defined identity. Various ethnic groups are in continuous struggle to maintain their distinctiveness. There are sharp differences between the concept of Pakistani nation and these sub-national ethnic groups. The reason behind these differences is the state’s strategies which is not responsive to their ethnic aspirations and expectations. Throughout the history, the state has viewed these ethnies as destabilizing forces. They are dealt by authoritarian attitudes with coercive tools.

While evaluating the role of Pakistani state in the threat matrix to national integration it is pertinent to say that first, the state authorities did not understand the Mohajir grievances and second, its representative party MQM is used by various political and non political governments. General Zia’s military regime is allegedly known as the key actor behind the creation of MQM in Sindh. It also recognized as the impact of Zia’s divide and rule policy (Takbir, 1989, p.45). Khan Adeel (2001) wrote in his book that Brigadier AR Siddiqi, former director of the Pakistan Army’s ISPR told me that MQM Chief Altaf Hussain was very close to the deputy martial law administrator of Sindh (p.159). He also quoted the words of Hamida Khurho that when the Sindh chief minister Ghaus Ali Shah was accused of giving Rs. 30 million to Altaf Hussain, the Chief Minister said, I helped it (MQM) to cut Jammat-i-Islami to size. That is why circumstantial evidence shows that the formation of the MQM was encouraged and even financially supported by the military regime (p. 151).
Throughout the decade, during General's rule, ethnic rivalries were encouraged. Competing ethnic parties gained strength (Nasr, 1992, p.528) and the most important among them was MQM (Singh, 2003, p.108). As a result it became the pre-eminent political party of Mohajirs in Karachi (Ziring, 1993, p. 1180). In the subsequent years, MQM showed its virtual monopoly as representative of Urdu speaking community in the urban areas of Sindh. On this basis, MQM remained an important coalition partner of all the governments, but failed to maintain cordial relationship. The first PPP Government in 1988, did not honour its agreement with the MQM. Furthermore, the preceding governments of IJI, and PPP also used coercive methods against Mohajir representative MQM. It was consistently accused by the state for using militancy. From 1986, the perception about MQM has been grown as a militant organization. Whenever, its demands are not fulfilled, a spate of violence broke out in Karachi that disrupted not only the routine life but cause unbearable financial loses also.

While analyzing this situation, it has become clear that the irresponsible attitude of the state authorities is held responsible for politicizing Mohajir ethnicity. The central government also remained unsuccessful for addressing issues and mediating the conflict. The use of coercive methods in 1992 and again in 1996 did not bring desired results. In the blame game the state authorities also accused MQM for creating its independent homeland, often referred to as Jinnah Pur. The military authorities claimed that during operation in 1992, they found maps of Jinnah Pur in which the Mohajir majority areas were marked (Jones, 2002, p. 128). Though the Mohajir leadership forcefully rejected the allegation and called it a conspiracy against them, even then lately in June 1995 “Herald” a monthly English magazine filed Altaf Hussain’s interview, in which he said,
We have received thousands of messages, faxes, and telephone calls not only from Pakistan but from all over the world. Even some other communities responded. But the overwhelming response came from the Mohajirs and only four or five letters among thousands were opposed to the demands for a separate province. A committee has been set-up to examine and compile the views, opinions and suggestions of these people. As soon as the committee completes its work, the results will be made public (Herald, 1995, p.37).

The blunt statement of Altaf Hussain about the idea of Mohajir’s separate province is believed a part of a covert war for a separate homeland. The state’s deliberate attempt to convert the resolution of Mohajir province into an independent state was also an important development that shattered the repute of Mohajirs. The conspiracy was unveiled by Brigadier Imtiaz in a Geo television’s programme Jwabdeh (Geo News, 2009). Moreover, the state authorities also used the policy “divide and rule”. The state through its intelligence agencies made a plan to open up internal division of MQM. Despite the projection of unity, there were sharp differences among the Party’s top leadership over basic policy matters especially on the issue to broaden the basic philosophy of the party and to change its name from Mohajir to Muttahidda. The secret agencies penetrated into the core circle of the leadership and made home grown differences irreconcilable. The researcher owes this information from one of the dissident, who was an important actor used by the agencies in the creation of MQM (H). Later, he was forgiven by the MQM Altaf and now he is living anonymous life in Lahore. The researcher was not permitted to mention his name.

After this split within MQM both the groups claimed for the sole representation of Mohajir community but MQM (H) did not mount a major challenge to the dominance of MQM (A). No doubt, the alternate political governments from
1988 to 1999 did not design profound strategy to administer this ethnic phenomenon. Only the military government of 2002 had well defined relationships with MQM. In 2008 again, the lack of trust between the central authorities of the state and MQM is visible. Due to the fact, the province of Sindh is plunged into a state of utter confusion and chaos.

4.9.4 Role of External Forces

It is widely believed that before the creation of MQM and Mohajir’s struggle for their rights, the state authorities did not point out any external involvement in the Sindh province. After the MQM’s assertion for its separate identity and claim for a separate Mohajir province, the state authorities began to link instability in Karachi with the foreign involvement. Although, in the parameter of ethnic conflict the foreign involvement is an essential element yet ethnic groups used to seek support of external elements for their particular cause.

According to Esman, (2004), the common grounds for foreign intervention with in state are to prevent or terminate ethnic conflict. The intervention could be in both the forms overt and covert (pp. 108-110). In both the cases the external forces have contract with the contending parties. As far as the role of external forces is concerned to measure the threat for national integration, the situation is blurred. MQM (A) is accused by the state authorities having close relationship with India the arch rival of Pakistan. In 1992, though the MQM was the part of coalition government but the then prime minister Nawaz Sharif categorically said that the MQM was infiltrated by terrorists, who are trained in India (Jang, 1992). They are also accused due to their historical linkages with India. The Indian writers are also sympathetic towards Mohajirs. During the armed clashes between MQM activists and state’s security forces, Indian media has given wide coverage to the MQM (Basarat, 1994).
There are various conspiracy theories working inside. It is being said that not only India but different other external forces are also active in Sindh province, especially in Karachi. They are responsible for different illegal activities, including, drug trafficking and weaponization. They are also involved in aggravating ethnic conflict (Ahmar, 1996, pp. 1043-1044; Shah, 1998, pp. 512-513). Shah (1998) has also designed a critical scenario for the policy makers of Pakistan. According to him, Altaf Hussain used to talk about the analogy of East Pakistan crisis. This means he wanted to seek an active intervention from Indian side in favour of MQM. However India is more clever, they would probably prefer a low intensity conflict instead of a full fledged war (p.514). It means that the armed militia of MQM has fully support from India. However there are no clear evidences found. Another important factor is, that not only India but USA is also accused of backing Mohajirs and creating unrest (Ahmar, 2002, p.5). The most notable fact about external linkages with MQM is that MQM’s leader used to meet with foreign delegates, the refusal of UK Government to extradite Altaf Hussain, and the pressure tactics of these powers on Pakistani Government in favour of MQM are important variables and show the interest of foreign powers.

Despite all these factors, it is a hard reality that national integration has been an intractable problem for Pakistan. The Mohajirs hard centrist tendency was the core support group for the integrity and unity of Pakistan. The relative deprivation of Mohajir form 60s to 90s has deepening the sense of alienation. The gradual change in the demographics and failure of state in the designing of an appropriate strategy in which all the ethnic communities could get their appropriate share, are the major reasons for politicized ethnicity.
The state and its various agencies have played an important role in aggravating the volatile situation. They used to maneuver politically rather bridging the gap. Nonetheless, the situation could be controlled by strong commitment and dedication from both the parties. It is necessary to create a sense of participation among the Mohajirs and their representative party should also show confidence on state authorities. It is not appropriate to threaten each other and involved in fierce street fighting. Do not mark the differences behind cordiality, civility, diplomacy and even violence. Acknowledge each other’s limitations and capacity to absorb political games. Talk with honesty, earnestness and seriousness should be the state’s policy for the creation of national integration.
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CHAPTER FIVE

Saraiki Ethnic Identity

Genesis of Conflict and the Issue of National Integration
5.1 Introduction

The Saraiki, like the Mohajir, is an ethnic group based on lingual identity. As it has been discussed in previous chapters that in Pakistan, most of the ethnic groups have their primordial basis and language is an important identity marker. The Saraiki ethnic group also distinguishes itself on the basis of Saraiki language. According to the 1998 Punjab Population Census Report, overall Saraiki speakers constitute 17.4 percent of the Punjab. In rural areas 21.4 percent and in urban areas 8.4 percent people speak Saraiki language (Census Report, 1999, p. 32). Despite the fact that Saraikis have strong regional base, they are not recognized as a distinct ethnic identity. They have rich land resources, even then the area has remained under developed and people are continuously deprived of various services. It is the most unfortunate fact that sometimes state shows reluctance to recognize specific ethno-lingual identities. This denial becomes a natural cause for ethno-national unrest.

At present, apart from Baloch and Mohajirs, Saraikis are also raising voice for their recognition as distinct identity and their due share. Under the main concept of politics of ethnicity, the present chapter will highlight the development of Saraiki political consciousness, nature of the issue, development of conflict and reflection of important factors which lead them towards politics of ethnicity. Finally, it will be evaluated that to what extent Saraiki ethnic identity has become a threat to national integration.

5.2 Socio-Political Background of Saraiki

Geographically, the federation of Pakistan is divided into six areas on the basis of their physical features: (1) Northern mountainous areas, (2) Western Mountainous areas, (3) the Salt range hills and Potohar Plateau, (4) the upper field
of River Indus, (5) the lower field of River Indus and (6) the Balochistan Plateau. According to this distribution, the Northern Mountains are extended inward to Pakistan’s northern territory, Kashmir and Gilgit. While the western mountainous series divides Khyber Pakhtoon Khoa and Balochistan. The Potohar Platue and Salt ranges are the part of Punjab province. The upper field of Indus River is also the part of Punjab and known by the name Saraiki of belt, Saraiki area and Saraiki waseb. The lower field of Indus River is included in Sindh province. The whole territory of Balochistan is Plateau (Husnain, 1994).

The four federating units of Pakistan have variety of ethno-lingual identities. The Mohajirs in Sindh province especially in Karachi city and Baloch from Balochistan areas have already been discussed in the preceding chapters. The present chapter focuses on Saraiki identity. Saraiki belt is the part of Punjab province. So a detailed account of its location and socio-political background is necessary to understand the nature of the issue.

The word “Punjab” is actually conceived from Panchaab. that mean “the land of five rivers” (Steinbach, 1976, p.2). These are River Indus, the Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Beias. To understand the geographical and cultural heterogeneity of Punjab, it could be divided into three regions, first, the Upper North-Central Punjab, second, the Potohar Plateau of North-West Punjab, and third, the Southern Region of Punjab (Lieven, 2012, pp. 227-280), known as South West Punjab. The areas from district Sialkot to Lahore are included in the North-Central Punjab. District Rawalpindi to District Chakwal is part of the Potohar area and in the Southern districts, Multan, Bahawalpur, Bahawal Nagar, Rahim Yar Khan and Dera Ismail Khan are included. The Southern areas are also bordering Sindh and Balochistan (Shah, 1997, p. 121).
Punjabi is the dominant language of North-Central Punjab. However, there is high disparity in local dialects. Potohari is spoken by the people of North Western areas and Saraiki is the major language of the South West Punjab, spoken by approximately twenty five to forty million people (Shackle, 2001, pp. 657-659).

Historians and anthropologists have marked the existence of Saraiki Civilization nearer to the Indus valley on the Western side and Harrapa Civilization on its Eastern Shores. It is also noted down that Multan, Uch and Bawahlapur remained the centre of power and culture (Shackle, 1977, p. 379). Like most of the
Civilizations of the Indus Valley, the Saraiki culture represents historic pre-Aryan people of a Semite origin whose forefathers were the founders of the Agrarian Culture in Indus Valley Civilization. Even then very little is known about the ethnic origins of the Saraikis, before the invasion of Alexander the great. The historians who accompanied Alexander during his Indian invasion also referred Saraiki language in their writings.

Malloi and Oxydrakai two tribes are referred with their large capital city near Multan (Kazi, 1993; Wagha, 2010, pp. 115-116). Wagha (2010) shows the Greek version of the names of rivers and areas included in the Saraiki belt in the following table:

**Table 1:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek Version</th>
<th>Name at Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indus</td>
<td>River Indus (&lt; Sindh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandorabhage / Sandrabala / Akesines / Asikai</td>
<td>River Chenab (not a Persian compound as commonly perceived)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudaspes / Vista, Bedasta</td>
<td>River Jehlum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huydraotes</td>
<td>River Ravi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyphasis</td>
<td>Bed of the River Beias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesidrus</td>
<td>River Sutlej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malloi / Malvya of Sanskrit</td>
<td>People and their place, the city shown and described at the location of present day Multan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxydrakai</td>
<td>People and their areas shown at the point of joining of the rivers called Punjnad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibai</td>
<td>Thal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arashtra</td>
<td>Area of Rachna Doob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Various writers have discussed the origin of Saraiki. Some believe that it comes from Sindhi word “Siro” means North. “Wicholo” is also a Sindhi word that means Centre that indicates the Hyderabad region. The word “las” highlights the Southern Sindh. So most of the writers are agreed that Siro is the origin of Saraiki. However, the opinion of Ahmad Hassan Dani, one of the renowned palaeontologist
of Pakistan is different. He pointed out that word “Sauvira” mentioned in Mahabharata (Ahmad, 2005). Ahmad suggested that with the passage of time “Sauvira” was changed into Savistan (p. 3).

After the Arab invasion in 712 A.D, Saraikis were under the Sindh country that started with the river Indus up to its confluence of Ravi River. Some writers believe that it comes from Sindhi word “Siro” that means North. The cultural and linguistic bonds among the speakers of various dialects have presented an excellent example of multi-ethnic integration in this region (Kazi, 1993). Over the years, Saraikis developed their own separate national character and Multan became the centre of various developments. Under the Mughal Rule, according to Ain-e-Akbari, initially, Multan was an important city of Lahore Sooba. Later on, Shahjahan separated Multan and Lahore into two independent provinces (Azizuddin, 1992, pp. 145-146).

Ain-e-Akbari, which was written by Aboul Fazal, one of the most renowned scholars of Mughal Emperor Akbar. He also introduced the Multani Civilization in this book. According to him, “Multan is greater than first, second and third Aqleem. It stretches from Ferozpur to Seestan, and Chitorrh to Jaisulmir on one side, and on the other side it is associated with Keech and Makran” (Dhareeja, 2013, pp. 7-8; Fazal, Ind, p. 1036-1037). During Mughal rule, Multan had a semi autonomous status. Nawab Muzaffar Khan Sadozai and his family ruled over Multan for about seventeen years and they were the last rulers of Multan. After the death of Auragzeb Alamgir, Multan came under the influence of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh when he occupied Punjab and the demise of Ranjeet Sindh brought it under the control of Britishers.

Multan and its adjacent areas, where majority of the population was Saraiki speaking, often remained the part of Punjab province but their civilization was much
influenced by the Sindhis and they developed historical and cultural relationship with them (Gankovsky, 1973, p. 107). Apart from its relations with Sindh, Multan also developed its relations with the neighbouring princely State of Bahawalpur, where language spoken by majority of the people was also Saraiki.

In 1947, many areas were divided for their inclusion in India and Pakistan. Punjab was also separated into East and West Punjab. East Punjab became the part of India while the State of Pakistan got Western Punjab. Apart from Punjabi, Saraiki was the other important language spoken by majority of the people.

In geographical terms, the area where Saraiki language is spoken stretches from Punjab to Sindh, and towards the areas of Balochistan and KPK. Dera Ismail Khan (DI Khan) touches the borders of KPK. Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan (DG Khan) are the adjacent areas of Sindh province. The geographical proximity put a considerable influence on the socio-political life of the people. The rulers of upper Sindh areas including Jacobabad, Sukkur and Khairpur were Saraiki speaking, so they supported all those who spoke the same language. The lingual homogeneity combined them into a strong cultural relationship. Their social structure was also highly influenced with each other’s values and traditions. They developed trade relationship. Both the areas had their dependence on the waters of river Indus and their main source of income was agriculture. The people of this area were very much loyal to their land. Despite hardships and droughts when they could have only dates to eat, even then they were not ready to leave their homeland. Presenting their hardship through poetry is also an important feature of Saraiki society (Azizuddin, 1992, p. 148) which influences Sindhi culture as well. Like Sindhis the people from Saraiki area are not conscious about their religion. They are not particular about their prayers but they do believe on mysticism. A majority of people used to follow spiritual
guidance from their saints and still they celebrate festivals on the death anniversary of their saints (Mirani, 1994, p. 28).

5.3 Ethnic Narrative of Saraiki

Despite having some traces from the ancient Monda, Kool, Bheel, Dravadian, Aryans and White Huns with some vivid influence of Arab, Turkish, Persian and Mongol Culture (Bukhari, 2010, p. ii), the Saraiki language and culture has developed its own specific identity. In South Western Punjab, Saraiki language is intrinsically connected with the ethnic identity of their people. Their ethnic narrative is also supported by various theorists and scholars of ethnicity who are continuously demonstrating in their writings the validity of language as an identity marker. Hertz (1944) also describes that language is a symbol of independence and honour of a group (p. 78). Smith (1986) also highlights the attributes of ethnicity which include, race, territory, religion and common culture (p.21).

The Saraiki’s historical ethnic narrative is based on the claim that Punjabi is one of the dialects of Saraiki, and Siraki is a language in its own right (Rehman, 2006, p. 176; Omniglot, online Encyclopedia). History reveals that prior to independence, in the colonial setup, all other languages spoken in the areas of Multan, Muzaffargarh, Bahawalpur, Leiah, and D.I. Khan were known by their regional names like Multani, Muzaffargarri, Liehi, Riasti, Derawali, Jaghdali, Jatki and Landhi (Wagha, 1990, pp. 5-7). The reason of the regional identification was the colonial rule. It is also a fact that before Britishers, Maharaja Ranjeet Singh kept the autonomous status of Multan that was the centre of Saraiki speakers which was called Multani at that time. Langah (2011) notes down that the political interests of Maharaja and Britishers forced them to push down the importance of local languages (p.3) and after independence their local names were unified in the term Saraiki, first
time in 1960s with the consensus of all Saraiki nationalists. Rehman (2006) has also cited in his book that Mehr Abdul Haq who is one of the early researchers of Saraiki language in his thesis in 1963 entitled “The Study of Saraiki Language” claims that Saraiki is the mother of Urdu (Haq, 1967, p. 679-691). Although it is controversial that whether Punjabi language is the foundation of Saraiki or Saraiki gave birth to Punjabi language. Shackle has claimed in 1985 that despite having verities in alphabets and pronunciations both the languages have remarkable similarities (p. 322). He further adds that for a successful linguistic movement, literature plays an important role. The ancient literature of both the language can become helpful in deciding that which one is more ancient. He also identifies three major groups of dialects in the Punjabi language. These groups are central Punjabi, Saraiki, Hindko and Pothohari. The detail discussion of all these dialects shows that Shackle presented Saraiki as the Punjabi dialect (Shackle, 1985, p. 317). Besides Shackle, Gankovsky (1973) also has the same view. He noted that among all the Western and Eastern dialects including Lahori, Multani, Pothohari and ‘Bahawalpur’; “Punjabi” holds the status of “generic”(pp. 110-112).

The Saraikis also claim that the famous mystic poets of Punjab Baba Bullehe Shah who belonged to Kasur, Madhou Laal Hussain Shah, from Lahore and Mian Muhammad Bukhsh who was from Kashmir were Saraiki poets. Moreover, another prominent and towering figure is Khowaja Ghulam Farid, his diwan of mystical hymns is written in a pure and distinctive Saraiki language (Shackle, 1979, pp. 391-392). Gradually, various Saraiki groups and cultural organizations are formed to recognize Saraiki as a distinct language. For the promotion of Saraiki narrative, literature and the identity, people of South Punjab celebrate festival in the name Jashn-e-Farid, in the memory of great Sufi Poet Khowaja Ghulam Farid. It became a regular feature that helped to originate other cultural assemblages for the promotion of Saraiki.
language. In Multan, Bazme-Sadaqat and Saraiki Academy are printing various books and newspapers in Saraiki language. The moderate development of Saraiki consciousness among the people has strengthened the sentiments of separate ethnic group form Punjabis. On the basis of this traditional ethnic narrative, their efforts to re-shape the Saraiki origin are visible.

5.4 Development of Politics of Ethnicity

The ethno-lingual groups in Pakistan are successful in developing the feelings of ethnicity among them. Notwithstanding that ethnicity or ethnic association is helpful to create ethnic bond among the group members, which is a major source of destabilizing the national cohesion. Ethnicity is often used as a political tool to pressurize the authorities which is considered a serious threat to national integration. Despite having primordial basis, the Saraikis are now using their ethnic association for political purposes and language has become a tool to fulfil their socio-political aspiration. It is a fact that primordialists see language as an important ethnic attribute. The language is used to create oneness among the group members but when the ethnic unity is used to achieve politico-economic objectives then it is transformed into politics of ethnicity. It is a stark contrast to the primordialists thinking who believe on the ineffable quality which is driven only for personal identity (Hutchison & Smith, 1996, p. 8). The instrumentalists treat this social association as a social, political and cultural ability of various interest groups. The language based ethnicity is denoted to pursue political power (Asif, 2009). According to the theory, the role of leadership is utmost important in manipulating the symbols, especially
language. The leaders who are in competition focus on language and use it for gaining the support of that social group for achieving specific goals.

To understand, whether the awakening of Saraiki movement is only for their social recognition and identity or it is instrumental for socio-economic and political objectives, an inclusive study about its nature and the issue is essential. The following part focuses on it.

5.4.1 Nature of Issue

There are multiple factors, making the issue more complex to comprehend the nature of the issue. These factors could be studied as;

5.4.1.1 Saraiki Versus Punjabi: Cultural and Linguistic Differences

Notwithstanding, that Punjabi and Saraiki languages are mutually intelligible (Rehman, 1996, p. 175), the language planners from both the sides stress that one is the dialect of other. Shackle (1979) and Gankovsky (1973) clearly state that Saraiki is the dialect of Punjabi. The narrative of Saraiki linguistic is vise versa. Dhareja (2011) Rasool Puri (2011), and Chandio (2011) also stress the dominance of Saraiki over Punjabi. In personal interviews with the researcher they reiterated that Saraiki was very old as it had been mentioned in the sacred Mahabharata of Hinduism, Azzizuddin (1992) also mentions in his book, “Can We Live Together” that historically, the evolution of Saraiki territory is different from the rest of the Punjab, thereby the two belts are culturally different from each other. Saraiki belt has historic connections with Sindh while the Central Punjab or Lahore remained closely associated with Northern India. Azizuddin further argues that the cultural relationship
of Lahore with Delhi and of Multan with Sindh is largely due to their geographical features, mutual interaction of the people of these areas, and the economic interests. Lahore was nearest to the Eastern Punjab that had Ganges River on its one side and on the other side of the River, there was Delhi Province. Due to this geographical proximity, once Britishers included Delhi into the Punjab province. People from both the sides had economic relationship also. A great number of Punjabi traders were settled in Delhi and U.P. Due to this very reason they were named “Punjabi Tajran-e-Delhi” (the Punjabi traders of Delhi). It is quiet natural that juxta position put strong cultural impact on each other. Because of the reason, prior to partition, “Haryanvi” language was spoken in Eastern part of Punjab and UP had the traces of Punjabi and Urdu both (pp. 146-147). On the other side, the province of Multan was nearer to the Sindh province. A plausible number of people resided in Sindh and after centuries became the part of Sindhi nationality. Professor Azizuddin claims that the Talpur rulers of Sindh were Saraiki speaker and merged with Sindhi nationality. Despite their cultural relations the people from Saraiki areas were dependent on River Indus. It was the only aquatic transit rout available for those people (p. 147). Moreover, in the words of Kazi (1993) the Kalhoras in Sindh reunited the Saraiki areas with the Sindhis and at that time, Saraiki was the part of their official language. The process of linguistic dialect integration is also seemed in a way that the Kahlhora rulers in Larr (South) were used to speak Saraiki language and their cousins, who ruled Bahawalpur spoke Larri. This close association of the two regions also put strong influence on the development of their language. Due to this territorial affiliation some intellectuals believe that Saraiki is one of three dialects of Sindhi language (Kazi, 1993).

Another important contribution regarding this debate is also presented by Rehman (1996) who has quoted Shackle (1979), Gankovsky (1973), Wagha(1990)
and Mirani (1994). He is of the view that Punjabi and Saraiki both the languages share morphological details and much of the vocabulary that makes them mutually intelligible. However, the term dialect, which lacks proper definition, is the source of conflict (p. 175). The Saraiki speakers mark the historical development of Saraiki language. They also present Saraiki literature and various words spoken by Alexander the great and his soldiers to show the antiquity of their language, thereby the term dialect for Saraiki language is counterproductive. Among thirty four districts of Punjab, Punjabi language is spoken in twenty five districts and Saraiki is the main language of nine districts. However, in Saraiki spoken areas a substantial number of people also speak Punjabi. In Multan around 21.63 percent and in Bawalpur 28.39 percent people have Saraiki as their mother tongue and widely spoken language.

Following table shows the first and second language and the ratio of their speakers in all the districts of Punjab:

**Table 2: District wise largest and second largest linguistic groups and their percentage in Punjab**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District Name</th>
<th>Major Linguistic Group</th>
<th>% of Linguistic Group</th>
<th>2nd Linguistic Group</th>
<th>%2nd Linguistic Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attock</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>87.14</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>8.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>65.15</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>28.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawal Nagar</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>94.61</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhakkar</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>72.99</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>17.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakwal</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>97.69</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G. Khan</td>
<td>Diraiki</td>
<td>80.25</td>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>14.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faisal Abad</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>97.47</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.04</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>97.03</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Other Language</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hafiz Abad</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.66</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehlum</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>96.58</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>95.85</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasur</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>6.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanewal</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>81.20</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>7.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khushab</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>96.8</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>86.18</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>10.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layyah</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>62.25</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>32.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodhran</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>69.01</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>18.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi Bahuddin</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>96.97</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>2.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mianwali</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>74.17</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>60.67</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>21.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzzafar Grah</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>96.83</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>7.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narowal</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.02</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okara</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>95.71</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pak Patan</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>95.87</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>3.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>62.62</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>27.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajan Pur</td>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>75.72</td>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawal Pindi</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>83.89</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>7.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahi Wal</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.07</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargodha</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>93.28</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>5.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikopura</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sial Kot</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>97.11</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toba Tek Singh</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>98.59</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehari</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>82.85</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>11.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Published by Canadian Center of Science and Education
Source: Roofi & Alqama (2013, p........)
Gradually, the Saraiki language has become a symbol of ethnic association of Southern Punjab. Maintenance of their exclusive ethnic association is the prime objective of the people of that area.

Geographically, culturally and politically, Southern Punjab had more commonalities with Sindh province than the Northern and Central areas of Punjab. Since the colonial period, the Northern Punjab remained an important base of recruitment for state and military services. The districts included in Central Punjab were also getting benefits from the Canal colonization projects, of British government (Ali, 1988, p. 50). But the people of West and Southern Punjab remained reluctant to travel for employment. They were more home bound (Ahmad, A. 1988, p. 145) than the Punjabis of other regions. Rising disparities in the Saraiki areas is the main reason of this widened gulf within Punjab province.

5.4.1.3 Inter and Intra-Regional Differences

Various differences exist within the four regions of Punjab province. The data compiled by Punjab development statistic (2005) and the 1998 population Census Report shows that the Central and Northern Punjab are mostly developed areas, having a large number of participation in the state machinery. The area is also industrially developed so they have better chances of employment and are spending quality life. While the Southern and Western Punjab or the Saraiki areas have comparatively worst conditions. They have severe problems regarding their average income, human capital assets, access to public services and of course, the quality of life. These differences have made the Saraiki area backward while the other two parts have become more urbanized. The following data shows clearly the income and expenditure per-capita within the Punjab.

Table 3: Per Capita Income and Expenditure in the Punjab Region
The Punjab Development Statics Report 2005, shows that the differences also exist in their pattern of employment. There is a higher ratio of adult work as daily labour as their primary employment. Contrary to this and in the Central and Northern Punjab people have greater access to government employment and the private industry is also very well connected with international market (Punjab Development Statistics, 2005). Apart from these differences among the four regions of Punjab province, there are certain other intra-regional differences. Due to the differences, the nature of issue has become more complex.

### 5.4.1.4 The Issue of Bahawalpur Region

South Punjab is consisted of three divisions including:

- **a. Bahawalpur Division**
- **b. Dera Ghazi Khan Division**
- **c. Multan Division**

These three divisions are comprised of eleven districts. Dera Ghazi Khan division and Multan division have four districts each, while Bahawalpur division, includes three districts namely, Bahawalpur, Bahawal Nagar and Rahim Yar Khan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>North Punjab</th>
<th>Centre Punjab</th>
<th>South Punjab</th>
<th>West Punjab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean Household P.C.E</td>
<td>1264</td>
<td>1181</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Household P.C.E Rural</td>
<td>1080</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Household P.C.I**</td>
<td>1551</td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>1090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Household P.C.I Rural</td>
<td>1204</td>
<td>1329</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*P.C.E stands for Per-Capita Expenditure

**P.C.I stands for Per-Capita Income.
districts. Comprehension of the issue of Bahawalpur region requires a brief study of its historical background. Before partition, Bahawalpur was a princely state. In 1947, it was the first state that joined Pakistan when Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi V signed the document of accession on October, 3 1947 (Durrani, 2013). In 1951, an agreement was signed between Governor General Khowaja Nazaim-u-Din and Nawab of Bahawalpur. According to this agreement the status of Bahawalpur was elevated as an administrative province. According to 1961 Census Report, the population of Bahawalpur was 2,574,066 and the area was 17,508 square miles (Census 1961, II-66). Provincial elections were held in Bahwalpur in 1952 and according to the results, Muslim League won by majority. Makhdoom Syed Hassan Mahmood became the Chief Minister and (Rt). Chief Justice Abdul Aziz was appointed as Chairman Public Service Commission. In the meantime a plan was laid out for the One Unit system. It was proposed to create parity among all the administrative units. According to the plan, Bahawalpur was merged in to One Unit. East Pakistan made One Unit and the West Pakistan including Punjab, the then NWFP, Sindh and Bahwalpur become another unit. At that time, Balochistan was not given the status of province. From 1955 to 1970 Bahawalpur remained the part of West Pakistan. In 1970, General Yahya Khan abolished One Unit and Bahawalpur was merged again into Punjab province (Mattahida, Mahaz Bahawalpur, 2012, p. 1-2).

Since then, a movement has been started for the restoration of a provincial status of Bahawalpur. Muhammad Ali Durrani told the author in one of his personal interviews, that first movement for a separate provincial status was launched for Bahawalpur. He further said that Saraiki movement for the creation of Saraiki Province was the effort of the government to politicize the Bahawalpur Sooba Movement. He added that in 1975 the then PPP government by itself initiated Saraiki
language movement so that the intensity of the original issue could be minimized (Durrani, 2013, int). Kamal Omer’s argument could also be presented in this support. He presented his views in 1975 saying that the Saraiki movement had started in the reaction of Bahawalpur movement (Kamal, 1975, p. 15).

Durrani’s voice is also supported by Nawab Salahuddin Abbasi, who was the heir to the last ruler of the State of Bahawalpur. He launched the Bawal Awami Party with the specific objective of restoration of Bahawalpur State as a province. The other supporters of this move were Ahmad Mehmood, member of Punjab Assembly, his father was the last Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State (Ghayoor, 2011, p. 62). Akram Ansari (2011) who is the General Secretary of the Movement for the Restoration of Bahawalpur province declares: “we are only demanding that a martial law dictator’s decision should be nullified and Bahawalpur region should be restored to its status as agreed, when it was merged into Pakistan. We are only asking for its revival” (Personal Interview).

5.4.1.5 Intra-Linguistic Group Differences

The Saraiki speakers of Southern Punjab and the advocates of Saraiki ethnic identity collectively claim that their identity is based on their language. They also assert that the state of Bahawalpur was the part of Multan and the rulers of Multan gave this areas to Abbasis (Javaid, 2011, p.19). Saraiki language was not only taught in the educational institutions but it was used in the lower courts also (Garierson, nd, p. 140). They argue that many of the supporters of Bahawalpur province movement lately joined Pakistan Saraiki Party (that is struggling for the linguistic identity of the people of Southern Punjab). One of the major example is Riaz Hashmi, who for the first time used the word “Saraikistan” (the Saraiki speaking area) and a map of this area was also proposed. Contrary to this view, the
supporters of Bahawalpur Sooba Mahaz have the same arguments. They are not in favour to create a province based on lingual identity but for them Bahawalpur had historically distinct identity as a princely state. After its decision of merger within Pakistan, in 1947 it acquired the status of a separate state. Now on this basis Bahawalpur province should be formed (Ahmad, 2004, p. 104). Second important difference is that Saraiki is not the only language which is spoken in South Punjab. In the Bahawalpur division the widely spoken language is Riasti (Language of the State) which is different from the standard Saraiki language. Above all it is also a fact that in various areas Punjabi speaking people are in majority.

Various conferences are convened and literary and cultural activities are also conducted by the cultural activists for the conscious building about Saraiki identity. However, it is a reality that split views about Bahawalpur province and Saraiki province have damaged the movement of Saraiki ethnicity. Durrani has also argued in his interview that the activists and supporters of Bahawalpur province movement are united for their cause but on the other side, they have about six or seven parties and only one is registered organized party having numerous differences among them.

At present various political parties are working in South Punjab. Following table shows the detailed picture about it;

**Table 4: Various Parties and Groups in South Punjab**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Party</th>
<th>Head Office</th>
<th>Year of formation</th>
<th>Leading Personalities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Saraiki Party</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Barrister Taj M. Lengah, Aslam Rasulpuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirakistan Qaumi Council</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shoukat Moghal, Zahoor-A-Dhareeja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saraiki Qaumi Movement (SQM)</td>
<td>Karachi</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Bibi Shahida Naz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For a long time these political parties and groups are working separately. They have no relation with each other, due to this very reason these groups remained unsuccessful to create consciousness of their lingual identity among the local people, thereby they are failed to do any work for the development of Saraiki ethnic movement. Except PSP, no party was able to place its candidates in the local elections. They used to support the other political parties of national level.

In 2002 elections, Pakistan Saraiki party was also failed to make any impression. The head of PSP, Taj M. Langah took part in the elections and got 107 votes from NA 149 Multan 11; from NA 154 and 155 Lodhran and Bahawalpur he got 440 and 988 votes respectively. His total votes were 1435 from six polling stations (Election Commission, 2002). The other linguistic political party participated in the election was Saraiki Sooba Movement. Malik Mumtaz Hussain Jai advocate (President of the Saraiki Suba Movement) contested the elections and got 348 votes (Election Commission, 2002).

With due course of time, especially since the year 2002 to onward, the movement of, Saraiki identity is getting momentum. Mazhar Nawaz Lashari, who was the President of the SLP spoke in one of his interviews that in Pakistan, various
ethno-lingual groups are focusing on the issue that their provinces must have ethnic, cultural, religious, historical and linguistic basis. Under this consciousness the ethno-lingual movement of the people of Saraiki Waseb (Saraiki area) is very relevant. The other factors which helped are the lack of integrative efforts from state authorities, administrative inefficiency and economic suppression have created a huge disconnection between state and society (Herald, 2012, p. 64). Though, lack of coordination among these political groups has delayed the success of their collective interests, nevertheless, it successfully created a sense of lingual identity among the people of South Punjab. It has become difficult for the state authorities to make policies without listening to the demands of Saraikis.

5.5 Development of Conflict: A Chronological Order

It is believed that the struggle for the recognition of Saraiki ethnic identity was started in 1818, when Ranjeet Singh seized Multan’s independence. Prior to Ranjeet Singh, the Saraiki area remained independent or semi independent province. Ranjeet Singh sealed his independent position and made it a subordinate territory to Lahore that was its centre of authority (Langah, 2005, p. 1). After that, during British rule, Saraiki poets, philosophers and writers started resistance and their movement contributed a lot towards their recognition.

Britishers succeeded Ranjeet Singh and during their rule, they changed the geographical boundaries of various regions and areas. One such area was the Saraiki belt. The British government separated Abbotabad, Hazara, Peshawar and Kohat from the settlement of Punjab and the areas of Bannoun, Tank and Dera Ismaiel Khan from Saraiki region and created a new province by the name of North West Frontier Province (Dhareeja, 2013, p. 21). People from Dera Jaat, showed strong resistance because through centuries these areas were part of the Saraiki
Waseb. During 1947, when the boundaries of Pakistan were determined these areas remained the part of NWFP and administration did not bother about the separate integrity of the Saraiki belt.

5.5.1 One Unit Scheme and the Development of Conflict

The most crucial time was started when in 1955 the government decided to merge the whole West Pakistan into One Unit. Though the move was totally undemocratic and against the constitutional arrangements, but on the principle of parity (that lately incorporated with the new Constitution of 1956), two wings were created, East and West Pakistan. The areas of Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, Balochistan and the State of Bahawalpur were included in the West Pakistan (Abbasi, 1999, p. 188).

The establishment act of 1955 clearly explained the status of West Pakistan and its various regions including the state of Khairpur. Its clause 7 and 11 were related to the explanation of their relationship under One Unit. Anyhow the act was silent as far as the State of Bahawalpur was concerned. Though the legislative Assembly of Bahawalpur was not abrogated but suspended, however the rulers at that time ignored the legal and constitutional matters altogether. Before the creation of One Unit, the West Pakistan Amendment Act 1955 was presented before Governor General from the Legislative Assembly of Pakistan. It was approved on November 18, 1955. Under this act the State of Bahawalpur was given a right to elect twenty three members for the Legislative Assembly of West Pakistan. Most interesting aspect was that on November 12, 1955, the session of Bahawalpur Legislative Assembly was called and it elected twenty three members for West Pakistan’s Legislative Assembly. But at the same time, it was a historical fact that the resolution about the merger of Bahawalpur State into One Unit was not approved.
from the Legislative Assembly. The Nawab of Bahawalpur sacrificed for Pakistan (Ansari, 2009, pp. 40-41).

The people from Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP made an anti One Unit Front. The members of the Front had some participation in the West Pakistan Assembly where they submitted their reservations against One Unit scheme. During the same time, General Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law in 1958 but the Anti One Unit Front continued its struggle. Despite the strong response of the state when all the protestors were sent into jails, the movement maintained its momentum which forced Ayub Khan, the Chief Martial Law Administrator to form a committee headed by Mr. Fazl-e-Akbar, a judge of Supreme Court. The committee presented its report before Ayub Khan and lately before General Yahya Khan when he imposed another Martial Law in 1969. The committee forcefully recommended the dissolution of One Unit and the creation of five more provinces. According to this report the fourth province would be the former State of Bahawalpur and Multan division while the fifth province would be the province of Balochistan (Ahmad 2009, p. 104-105).

**5.5.2 Dissolution of One Unit and Demand for Saraiki Province.**

After the failure of fifteen years struggle, the activists further mobilized various political groups and created All Parties Action Committee in 1969. Furthermore the political activists of Bahawalpur also formed Tahrir-e-Tahaffuz-e-Hokuk-e-Bahawalpur. After partition this was the first Saraiki Nationalist Movement started from Bahawalpur. It is also assumed as the first effort of politicization of Saraiki ethnic identity. Riaz Hashmi, a renowned Saraiki activist who was the member of anti One Unit Front also insisted to create Bahawalpur Province (Hashmi, 1972, pp. 126-127; Shahbaz, 1972, pp. 21-28).
It was a fact that till 1969, there was no ethno-political group in Southern Punjab. With the passage of time Saraiki nationalist’s movement took its shape with clear objectives. At the time when One Unit was abolished, former status of Bahawalpur State was not restored but it was merged within Punjab Province notwithstanding that the Fazl-e-Akbar Committee suggested a fourth province based on Bahawalpur division and Multan division (Durrani, 2009). In reaction, various political groups and associations were formed to revive the old status of Bahawalpur State. The most important organization was Bahawalpur Mutahidda Mahaz (BMM). It was also known as Bahawalpur United Front. The Front became successful in creating awareness about their separate identity and organizing large public processions. Gradually the authorities were getting disturbed and its various leaders were arrested. When the most popular leaders of the Mahaz went behind the bar, the movement became more popular. The prominent personalities like Ch. Farzand Ali, Sardar Muhammad Khan, Mian Nizamuddin Haider, Seith Ubaidur Rehman were sent behind the bar. The Urdu speaking community settled in that area, also participated in the movement.

On April 24, 1970, during a peaceful procession the police opened fire and killed two and wounded hundreds of participants (Rehman, 2006, p. 182, Kanjoo, 2007). This was the first violent clash between the government agencies and the Saraiki activists. Resultantly, the movement was calmed down by force. All the leaders were arrested and an inquiry was launched but it was rejected by Mutahidda Mahaz or United Front (Sajid, 1972, pp. 51-52).

Despite the fact that the movement for Saraiki ethnic identity had lost its momentum but it was successful in a sense that the movement deeply manifested the sense of distinctiveness in the hearts of the people. It was proved during the 1970s, general elections, when PPP was defeated by Mutahidda Mahaz. In the
National Assembly (NA) elections, the areas including in the Southern Punjab had a minimum percentage of voting for PPP. The detail is highlighted in the following table:

**Table 5: Districts with Low PPP Vote in the NA Election**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>No. Of Constituencies</th>
<th>No. Of Constituencies won by PPP</th>
<th>Percentage of Vote Polled for PPP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mianwali</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>5.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>6.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D.G. Khan</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>19.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Muzaffar Garh</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>26.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>16.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bahawalnagar</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>38.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>31.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Ahmad, 1976, p. 90)

The table shows that the turn out in favour of PPP was on the lowest edge and the poll went to the sympathizers of the Mahaz (Kanayat, 1972, p.10). Though the Saraiki people gave a clear mandate in favour of their separate province but it was not accepted in the Legislative Assembly. Unfortunately, after these elections Pakistan was dismembered and East Pakistan became Bangladesh as an independent state. This was another reason that the movement for Bahawalpur Province became silent. The Bahawalpur Movement was completely fizzled out in 1972 because the Prince Saeed ul Rashid Abbasi clearly said that the demand for the new province was not a priority (Musawat, 1972). After this declaration, Riaz Hashmi, a prominent leader of the movement, and Ubaidur Rehman Seth, started working for Saraiki Province because they joined Pakistan Saraiki Party (PSP).

In 1973, when the constitution of Pakistan was formalized, two members from Bahawalpur region Molvi Nizam ud Din Hiader and Noor Muhammad Hashmi did not sign the constitution because, the issue of Saraiki Province was not addressed (Langah, 2005, p. 2).
5.6 1977 to 2000, The Period of Slow Progress

The Saraiki activists believe that the Bahawalpur Sooba Movement did not sponsor lingual ethnicity except as a local language. After the abortion of this movement, initially it went underground. Gradually, the Saraiki activists started raising their voices against injustice and discriminatory policies of the government. For this purpose, off and on Saraiki activists used to organize various forums. In 1984, Saraiki Sooba Mahaz (SSM) was created in Multan, lately various branches of this party were launched at Liyyah, D. G. Khan, Rajin Pur, Bahawalpur, etc. Saraiki Sooba Mahaz collaborated with various main-stream political parties. Contrary to the elections of 1970 in the elections of 1988 SSM declared unconditional support to PPP. In the meantime, it was debated in the Saraiki Movement that SSM should be replaced by Saraiki Nationalist Party but various members of SSM were not convinced to leave their political parties. One of the very important leaders of SSM, Taj M. Langah was also a very committed worker of PPP. On the assurance of PPP’s leader Ms. Benazir Bhutto, SSM gave unconditional support to PPP. After elections PPP’s government did not pay any head to this issue, thereby the leaders decided to make a political party which was named as “Pakistan Saraiki Party” in 1989 (Langah, 2005, p.8).

From 1990 to 2000, the issue of Saraiki identity was not very explicit on political forum but it is a fact that the development of conflict between Saraiki nationalists and state authorities was getting momentum in a very implicit way. Various other organizations which initially had only literary and social objectives now were transformed into political parties having clear political targets and objectives like Saraiki Literary Conference, its objectives were also changed from the development of Saraiki literature to the recognition of Saraiki ethnic identity (Rehman, 2006, p.
Another very important development was the creation of Pakistan’s Oppressed Nation’s Movement (PONM) in 1998. At this forum Siraikis were successful to recognize as the fifth nationality of Pakistan. In the charter of demands presented at this forum, the word Saraikistan was clearly stated as the separate federating unit of Pakistan (Ahmad, 2004, p, 110). The charter of PONM put great impact on the state authorities. They became conscious about the Saraiki issue and at that time it was considered as a threat to the federation. Kanjoo, the prominent Saraiki leader said in one of his interviews that, “After viewing the Charter of PONM, Benazir Bhutto, the then Chairperson of PPP said, that PONM was a bunch of political orphans” (Kanjoo, 2010, int). Abdul Majeed Kanjoo who was the Vice President of PONM also raised his voice for the recognition of Saraiki ethnic identity at local and international forums. The Saraiki activists organized huge public processions throughout the country. During this period almost all the nationalist Saraiki parties and organizations were unified at the platform of PONM.

5.7 Changing Nature of Conflict: 2000 to 2010

The political activities of all the parties were ended in October 1999 with the military’s take over. General Musharraf banned all the political parties. Various leaders of PONM went outside the State. Due to the lack of communication and intra party conflict PONM became ineffective.

From 2000 to 2010, the Saraiki activists again started to work on their basic organizational plat from. Although they participated in 2002 elections but their participation was not considerable. The most important factor of this time was the revival of Bahawalpur Sooba Movement. After 1970s, there was no voice against the Saraiki province in which Bahawalpur divisions was also included. The split in opinion was observed in the decade of 2000 to 2010. The movement was revived by
Muhammad Ali Durrani who was the senator and vocal for the revival of the status of Bahawalpur as a separate administrative unit (Durrani, 2012, int).

Although there is no violent clashes between the state authorities and Saraiki ethnic group except the one incident, but the tension between both the groups is getting intense. The Saraiki activists now believe that the revival of Bahawalpur Sooba Movement is basically a government’s conspiracy against the people of Saraiki Waseb. Two provinces within Saraiki belt are not acceptable for the Saraiki people (Dhareeja, 2013, int). The resentment among the Saraikis is increasing day by day. The present PPP government is not in favour to create any kind of animosity with the people of Southern Punjab. The PPP’s Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani who also belonged to Multan tried to console them. They repeatedly indicated in the public processions that the PPP government would address all the grievances of Saraiki’s and creation of Saraiki province would be the part of their next election manifesto (Dunya News, 2011).

Same promises are also being done by various political actors but there is lack of trust thereby and every move, even a single word is considered as an effort of political manoeuvring. Furthermore Saraiki activists feel that the support of Saraiki Sooba from ruling party is only a political stunt. The seriousness on this issue can only be judged if the government gets mandate from the present National Assembly for the creation of fifth province for the preservation of Saraiki ethnic identity (Langah, 2012). Like Baloch and Mohajir ethnic groups the Saraikis are getting strength. The Saraiki political organizations are seeking support for their separate province based on linguistic ethnicity while the state authorities are trying to avoid any violent conflict with them.
5.8 Factors Leading Towards Politics of Ethnicity

It has been argued that the mainstream leadership of various political parties particularly PPP, PML (N) and PML (Q) belonged to the Southern part of Punjab, known as Saraiki waseb (area). The leadership also acquired the highest nature of offices. So it is not appropriate to discuss the issue of Saraiki ethnic identity as the outcome of political destitution. Despite this fact, it is a reality that deprivation is an important factor in politicization the Saraiki ethnicity. The present study will also give a clear picture to understand the issue.

5.8.1 The Question of Identity

The issue of Saraiki ethnic identity is the outcome of the denial of the recognition of Saraiki language. In 1960 for the first time the word Saraiki was incorporated by the linguistic and literary personalities of the southern Punjab. Their basic objectives were, first, to introduce the word Saraiki as a separate linguistic community and second, to provide a platform to the Saraiki people to get their rights. Rehman (2006) also argued in the same way that the process of the creation of Saraiki identity involved their conscious choice of a language called Saraiki as a symbol of their identity (p. 174). Initially, the Saraiki language was spoken in various dialects in the associated regions by the name Multani, Hindko, Jatki, Reasti, Bahawalpuri etc (Mirani, 2012, int). After the dissolution of One Unit when Saraiki area was merged into Punjab it was thought that merger mean the death of Saraiki identity. It was considered an unjust and perilous state strategy, which motivated a large number of people to fight for the preservation of their ethnic identity. The density of conflict further aggravated when various writers started to propagate that Saraiki had no separate identity but it is merely a dialect of Punjabi language.
Due to the reason various areas located in the same belt started to integrate. Other dialects like Multani, Riasti, Derawali etc were consolidated with each other and created a strong ethnic group. And above all it became a voice of the middle class to recognize Saraiki identity at national level. The Saraiki intellectuals used to criticize state policies and the language planners as well. According to them, the important communication tools with in state are also following unjust policies. In plural societies, it is necessary to give due share to all the important ethnic identities. The successful societies have become a melting pot in which variety of identities have maintained their destructiveness. They are free to use their mother tongues as means of communication. Like India, there is variety of languages and in 1947 Jawahar Laal Nehru, declared fourteen languages widely spoken in India as their national languages (https://sites.google.com/site/addajahankhar). But in Pakistan, the states of regional languages became a bone of contention and on the same issue Pakistan lost East wing. Unfortunately, in the preceding years the issue became more controversial.

While criticizing state policies regarding regional languages it was observed that there was no main stream Saraiki newspaper in Pakistan till 1990s. It is important to note that till 2006 Saraiki language was not taught as a language in any university of Pakistan. The first Saraiki department was established in 2006 in Bahauddin Zakria University Multan (Chandio, 2013, Int). As far as the projection of regional languages is concerned, the state operated machinery like Pakistan Television (PTV) specified only twenty to twenty five minutes for the only one Saraiki programme, which was telecasted by the name “Rute Rangirhy” (Colourful season) in 1990s. Later on in 2010, first Saraiki TV station was formed in Multan (Dawn, 2010). Another important issue is that unlike Sindhi, Saraiki is not the medium of
instruction in primary schools or other governmental and non-governmental educational institutions in Punjab (Khakwani, 2012, int). Due to the reasons Saraiki identity has successfully created a strong ethnic feeling among the Saraiki people. Although, in different districts about seven to eight political organizations are formed but their demands are common. Their collective demands are,
a. Separate Saraikistan province, comprise on three divisions.

1. Bahawalpur division includes:
   a. District Bahawalpur
   b. District Bahawalnagar
   c. District Rahim Yar Khan

2. Multan division includes:
   a. District Multan
   b. District Khanewal
   c. District Lodhran
d. District Vehari

e. Dera Ghazi Khan Division includes:

3. Dera Ghazi Khan District

   a. Muzaffargarh District

   b. Rajan Pur District

   c. Layyah District  (Zaman, 2013, p.1)

b. For the development of economy, more budget allocations are required.

c. Saraiki should be accepted as a separate language not as a dialect of Punjabi. It must be used in offices in the areas of Southern Punjab.

d. With other regional languages Saraiki should also be used in educational institutions.

e. They also claim to have a Saraiki regiment in the Pak Army as on the name of other provinces.

f. There must be employment quota and more Saraiki programs should be broadcasted on radio and telecasted on television [(http://waseb.wordpress.com/2010/04/19/seraiki)].

The Saraiki writers and intellectuals worked against the perceived threat to their linguistic ethnic identity. They consciously developed ethno-lingual realization among the people. For this purpose numerous cultural and literary conferences were conducted which initially worked on the development of Saraiki literature and lately turned towards political assertion of ethnicity. Following were the important literary cum political conferences which contributed towards the development of political consciousness.

5.8.2 Jashn-e-Farid Festival
The first important effort towards Saraiki national consciousness was done through promoting Saraiki language and culture. Riaz Hashmi took the first step in this way in 1961 and organized a festival by the name of Jashn-e-Farid at Muzaffar Garh. It was a successful show in which considerable number of writers and performers participated. The poet Ghulam Farid is also recognized throughout Punjab but after this festival, he became a symbol of distinct Saraiki culture and identity. The anniversary celebrations became a tradition and cultural event that contributed a lot towards Saraiki ethnic consciousness (Shackle, 1977, pp. 391-393). The success of the Jashn-e-Farid festival motivated more and soon Riaz Hashmi formed another literary organization “Bazm-e-Saqafat” (cultural organization). These organizations provided a strong platform for Saraiki activists.

5.8.3 Khawaja Ghulam Farid Conference

Riaz Hashmi’s Bazm-e-Saqafat conducted another successful conference about Khawaja Ghulam Farid conference in Multan. This moot opened up new vistas for other Saraiki literary groups. A number of cultural organizations were created and at the same time “Saraiki students Federation” was formed in Multan by Saraiki Academy (Ahmad, 2004, p.90). Both the organizations reinvigorated the movement. Though at this time it was not politicized but the publications of Saraiki Academy Multan had developed a sense of distinctiveness. Saraiki language was considered distinguish from Punjabi, this led towards the creation of separate Saraiki ethnic identity (Ahmad, 2004, p. 91).

5.8.4 First Saraiki Literary Conference

In the decade of seventies various magazines in Saraiki languages were started to be published. A Saraiki Adabi Board was also created to patronize the system of reading and writing. The secretary of the board Dr. Mehr Abdul Haq
contributed a lot for publishing various books in Saraiki lanugae. Due to his efforts in 1975, first All Pakistan Saraiki Literary Conference was held that standardized the name Saraiki and also standardized its script. The Conference is considered a watershed in the Saraiki movement (Kamal, 1975, p. 16). The significance of this Conference lies in a fact that around twenty three Saraiki organizations participated in it. All the papers presented in this conference were meant to promote the linguistic and cultural significance of the region of South Punjab. The critics also explained that in this conference Saraiki intelligentia and Saraiki nationalists highlighted the separate identity of Saraiki’s. For the first time, the deprivation of the region was highlighted through poetry (Ahmad, 2004, p. 91, Shackle, 1977, p. 398). These developments furnished to create more linguistic and cultural organizations. Rasool Puri declared that in the preceding years various other organizations were formed like Lok Sanjh, Saraiki Lok Tamasha, Saraiki Tramit Sanjh. Though initially these organizations kept themselves separate from the political parties but lately with the development of Saraiki national identity, all these organization extended their support for its political recognition (Rasool Puri, int). The first Saraiki daily newspaper “Jhoke” also contributed in the same way. It was first published at Khanpur then at Multan, and it is still being published under the supervision of Zahoor Ahmad Dhareeja, its Chief Editor. Due to these efforts, numerous political organizations are formed and are working for the awareness of Saraiki ethnic identity and their political rights. Today these organizations are raising issue on various forums not only for the recognition of their distinct lingual identity but for their separate linguistic unit named Saraikistan (Mirani, 2013, int).

5.8.5 The Settlement Policies and Demographic Issue
Settlement policies of different governments are recognized as the route cause and an important factor led towards politics of ethnicity. Not only Punjabi’s but people from other areas of Pakistan especially the Mohajirs came and settled here. Akram Mirani, one of the Saraiki activists has clearly pointed out that when irrigation system was introduced in the Saraiki areas and the rehabilitation projects for Cholistan and Thal were introduced, the region became main and attractive target of the outsiders. The Thal Development Projects made the outsiders able to control the area because they were allotted vast land on the name of development projects while the local people including farmers could not be benefited from allotment of land (Mirani, 2012, int).

It is also criticized that the Cholistan land was given to 6150 military officers and men. About 4, 48024 acres of agricultural land from Punjab was allotted to them between the years 1952 to 1985. And about five lac acres of land is also given to the armed forces from Saraiki belt during the last twenty years. From 1960s uptil now the allotment is going on, on the names of development. Kanjoo, the Saraiki activist declared in one of his interviews to an Urdu newspaper that during the last twenty years about five lac acres of land from Saraiki areas is given to the armed forces from the rank of Brigadier to Generals (Ausaf, 2010). Akram Mirani, the writer and Saraiki activist also criticized the unjust allotments in Cholistan area from Saraiki belt. He pointed out that about 7500 acres land have been allotted to the outsiders and 60, 0000 acres of the land from Cholistan have been given to the Thal Development Scheme (Jang, 2010, int).

It is a fact that the settlement policy is the continuation of the policies of British Government that they started during their rule in India. Mirani (1994) has quoted Sir Malcum Darling in his book “Greater Thal” (Urdu). While discussing the objectives of the settlement policies he wrote that the British Government had two
main objectives as far as the new settlement policy was concerned: firstly, to reduce the burden of over population from the most populous areas of Punjab and to create new modern and organized villages with new techniques of cultivations and secondly, it was decided that in new colonies land would be given to those who rear cattle particularly horses and camel. The policy was introduced by British Government to overcome the requirements of the armed forces, not to serve the local people (Mirani, 1994, p. 44).

Moreover, under the same settlement policy, Nawab of Bahawalpur also invited various settlers from Ferozpur, Ludhiana and other cities of Punjab. This was the time when Nawab of Bahawalpur had started “Sutlej Valley Project” to increase the resources of state. The process continued till 1924 (Arif, 2012, int), after independence, from 1951 till the settlers became forty percent of the total population. Due to heavy privileges their number increased day by day, and the demographic balance is totally changed (Ansari, 2009, p. 43). Prof. Azizuddin (1992) criticized the policy and argued that Punjabi settlers in Saraiki region put deep impression on the socio economic life, and they also changed the demographic pattern of this region (p. 170). According to 1981 Census Report the ratio of Saraiki and Punjabi speakers in the Saraiki region was as follows;

*Table: 6 Ratio of Saraiki and Punjabi speakers in Saraiki region*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>Saraiki Speakers</th>
<th>Punjabi Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalnagar</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>95.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mianwali</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>83.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahiwal</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Ghazi Khan</td>
<td>73.4%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vihari</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>83.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffar Garrh</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Census Report, 1981)
According to this Report, the areas of Bahawalpur, Veharri, Mianwali, Jhang and Sahiwal have become the areas of Punjabi speakers because their number has been increased gradually. While criticizing state authorities, Saraiki activists claim that during Census Saraikis were forced to write Punjabi as their mother tongue instead of Saraiki, thereby the Saraiki speakers are shown in minority (Azizuddin, 1992, p. 171).

Following table is also helpful to show the ratio of Saraiki speakers throughout Pakistan.

**Table: 7 Comparison of Census Reports about Saraiki Speakers in Pakistan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saraiki</td>
<td>Not mention**</td>
<td>Not mention***</td>
<td>9.93</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>10.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The census report of 2001 is done by Private educational intuitions quoted by Rehman, 2010, p. 21

** , *** In both the Census reports Saraiki as a separate languages was not mentioned.
According to the table, the government of Pakistan initially denied to accept Saraiki as a separate language and it was considered a dialect of Punjabi. That is why in the 1951 and 1961 Census Reports Saraikis were identified separately. However from 1981 till now Saraiki language is listed as a separate language. Their percentage is drawn after getting number of speakers nationwide. In 1998, out of 132 million national population, Saraiki speakers were 10.53 and about 92 percent Saraiki speakers lived in Punjab. According to Saraiki activists, the ratio of the speakers is quiet alarming and not real. They claim themselves to be the largest and even the majority linguistic groups in Pakistan (Ahmad, 2000, p. 235). It is also claimed that state authorities have adopted these strategies to marginalize Saraiki language and people.

5.8.6 Educational Backwardness and the Issue of Representation

It is an important factor that Saraiki representation in various departments is also marginalized. It is declared that the population of Punjab is 56.1 percent of the total population of Pakistan. The population of Saraiki areas is also included in it. If Saraiki population is excluded from it then the population of Punjab will remain thirty eight percent only. Apart from this fact, Saraiki representation in higher civil and military services is very small in number. The basic reason of this backwardness lies in the social under-development. The area has been kept deprived of development projects including education and health. For a long time, higher educational institutions were limited to central Punjab. In 1975 for the first time Islamia University Bahawalpur and Bahaoudding Zakria University Multan were formed. Due to the low literacy rate, political migration of important officers was being done. For district and
divisional management programs, and in various industrial units which were set up in Multan, Muzaffar Garrh, Dera Ghazi Khan and Rahim Yar Khan almost all the administrative staff was hired from non Saraiki areas (Mirani, 2012, int). At present, the rural area of Saraiki region presents a very bleak picture. According to the data presented by Punjab Development Statistics about health and education, shows that quality of education and health facilities in the region are not according to prescribed standards.

Following data is helpful to understand the issue why representation of Saraiki region is less in higher civil and military institutions.

**Table 8 Comparison of Primary Schools in Punjab and Saraiki Area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saraiki Area/South Punjab</td>
<td>15,455</td>
<td>34.37 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of the Punjab</td>
<td>29,515</td>
<td>65.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44,970</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Figure 2: Comparison of Primary schools in Punjab and Saraiki area (In numbers)**

![Pie chart showing comparison of primary schools in Punjab and Saraiki area](image-url)
Table 9 Comparison of primary education in Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Enrolment of Students</th>
<th>Number of Teaching Staff</th>
<th>Student Teaching Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saraiki Area / South Punjab</td>
<td>1,805,151</td>
<td>39,766</td>
<td>45.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of Punjab</td>
<td>3,231,651</td>
<td>80,734</td>
<td>40.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,036,801</td>
<td>120,500</td>
<td>41.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Enrolment of Students

- Saraiki Area / South Punjab: 1805151
- Rest of Punjab: 140676

Figure 5: Number of Teaching Staff

- Saraiki Area / South Punjab: 39766
- Rest of Punjab: 80734

Figure 6: Student Teaching Ratio

- Saraiki Area / South Punjab: 45.39
- Rest of Punjab: 40.03

Compiled by the Researcher
Both the tables show that the condition of primary education in South Punjab as compared to the rest of the Punjab is poor because the South Punjab contains 48.5% of the area of the total Punjab (PILDAT, 2010, p. 03). The ratio of teaching staff to students is also poor while comparing to the rest of the Punjab. Same situation is found as far as the higher education is concerned. Among twenty two public sector universities in Punjab province only two are established in South Punjab. There are total eleven medical colleges in Punjab and only three of them are catering the demand of South Punjab and according to the HEC’s approved list of universities only one engineering and technological training institute is established in Multan (Malghani, 2012, pp. 4-5). Due to the same reason a large number of students are being deprived from their basic right of education. Because of weak financial position it is difficult for them to go to the other areas, thereby the literacy rate in Southern Punjab does not meet the requirements. Another most important factor related to low literacy rate, which made the issue of representation of Saraikis in various departments is the negligence of language planners (LP) to make Saraiki language as the medium of instruction in primary schools. Unlike Sindh, the local government as well as the provincial government did not pay any heed to this issue, which made anti state feelings very strong (Dhareeja, 2012, int). The following table also shows the literacy rate in the Saraiki region:

Table 10 literacy rate in various districts of south Punjab / Saraiki Waseb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Literacy ratio 1998 Census report</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. G. Khan</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanewal</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodhran</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffar Garrh</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Y Khan</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehari</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another important study is conducted by UNESCO office Islamabad about literacy trends in Pakistan. In this report the low and high literacy regions in the Punjab province are indicated. According to this report the areas located in the South and Western Punjab that are the part of Saraiki Waseb fall into the low and very low literacy level.

Following table shows the figure mentioned in this report:

**Table 11: Districts of Punjab in high low and very low level literacy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Districts of Punjab</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Districts of Punjab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very High 59.77% and above</td>
<td>Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Jehlum, Lahore</td>
<td>Low level 30.23% to 45%</td>
<td>Bhakar, Khushab, Mianwali, Hafizabad, Sheikhupura, Sahiwal, Multan, Khanewal, Kasur, Vehari, Pakpattan, Layyah, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, Jhang, D.G.Khan, Okara, Rahim Yar Khan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
High level 45.00% to 59.77%  
Attock, Chakwal, Sargodha, Toba Tek Singh, Mandi Bahawal din, Gujranwala, Narowal, Sialkot  
Very low level 30.23% and Below  
Lodhran, Muzaffar Garh, Rajanpur

Source: (Iqbal, 2003, p. 26)

According to this report the Saraiki districts are prominent in educational backwardness and low literacy rate. This indicates the low pace of development and participation in various jobs.

5.8.7 Economic Grievances

Economic deprivation is an important factor in manipulating the issue. In politics of ethnicity, although state policies play major role but when these policies incorporate economic affairs and due share is not given to particular group then ethnic feelings become politicised completely. Apart from other differences, economic disparity among different regions of Punjab Province is also responsible for creating anti government feelings.

The four regions of Punjab are pointed out for uneven growth and development. According to 1998 Census Report total population of Punjab Province is 73.621 million and the population of South west Punjab is 22.586 million. The Saraiki activists used to criticize state policies as for the allocation of funds are concerned. The comparative study of growth of population and allocation of development funds furthers helps to understand the economic grievances of the Saraiki people.

Table 12 Comparative Study of Growth of Population in South Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population in Million</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population of the Punjab</td>
<td>20.541</td>
<td>25.464</td>
<td>37.607</td>
<td>47.292</td>
<td>73.261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the Official Population Census Reports there is a gradual increase in the population of South Punjab as compare to the rest of the Punjab.

After 1998, Census was due in 2008 but it was not done. Different organizations
have employed various estimates. According to them, the trends of population of
growth are not decreasing but have a same pace. The faster pace of population
growth requires resources in the same way. Unfortunately, the resources allocated
for this area are not according to size of Pakistan.

According to MICS Report 2003-4 district wise poverty ratio in rural and urban
areas of Punjab shows a huge contrast within the area of South Punjab or Saraiki
Waseb and the other regions of Punjab. Following data gives a clear picture of this
area:

**Table 14: Regional / district wise poverty level in the Saraiki Areas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region / District</th>
<th>All Areas; Urban and Rural</th>
<th>#HH</th>
<th>Hcr</th>
<th>Pg</th>
<th>Pgsq</th>
<th>Pcc</th>
<th>Pcc poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalnagar</td>
<td></td>
<td>618</td>
<td>0.493</td>
<td>0.159</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>1592.693</td>
<td>545.806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td></td>
<td>605</td>
<td>0.634</td>
<td>0.224</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>862.7054</td>
<td>522.388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td>757</td>
<td>0.597</td>
<td>0.184</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>974.8011</td>
<td>557.592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td></td>
<td>621</td>
<td>0.584</td>
<td>0.158</td>
<td>0.056</td>
<td>909.760</td>
<td>589.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanewal</td>
<td></td>
<td>624</td>
<td>0.443</td>
<td>0.097</td>
<td>0.030</td>
<td>116.713</td>
<td>629.463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodhran</td>
<td></td>
<td>379</td>
<td>0.630</td>
<td>0.182</td>
<td>0.069</td>
<td>927.3738</td>
<td>573.639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehari</td>
<td></td>
<td>619</td>
<td>0.326</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>1278.434</td>
<td>612.893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G.Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td>527</td>
<td>0.593</td>
<td>0.188</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>892.444</td>
<td>550.806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layyah</td>
<td></td>
<td>382</td>
<td>0.516</td>
<td>0.142</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>871.265</td>
<td>582.722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffar Garh</td>
<td></td>
<td>622</td>
<td>0.625</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>1079.043</td>
<td>556.304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajan Pur</td>
<td></td>
<td>431</td>
<td>0.705</td>
<td>0.233</td>
<td>0.094</td>
<td>726.027</td>
<td>539.668</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Cheema, Khalid and Patnam 2008, pp. 175-176)

1. Hcr is the FGT measure of Head Count Ratio
2. Pg is the FGT measure of Poverty Gap; Pg Sq is the FGT measure of
   Average Normalized Poverty Gap squared.
3. PC is the mean Per Capita Expenditure; PCE poor is the mean Per Capita
   Expenditure within the estimated poor

The table shows the existence of a very high poverty ladder in the Saraiki
areas which are generally identified as South Western region of Punjab Province.
According to this data, it is estimated that around 43% of the population of this area
is living below poverty line. Comparing with these figures around 27.7% population of the rest of the Punjab is living below poverty line. Only in the districts of South West Punjab the poverty ratio is as follows;

Table 15: Poverty level in the districts of South West Punjab

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D. G. Khan</td>
<td>50.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>39.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>38.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (PILDAT, 2010, p. 13)

These figures demand a very careful strategy to boost the economic development in this region. It is also a hard reality that despite awesome figures about poverty, the population has increasing trends. Following table shows the population growth trends.

Table 16: Comparison of Population Growth in Various Census Reports (in Millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population of Punjab Province in millions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>20.541</td>
<td>25.464</td>
<td>37.607</td>
<td>47.292</td>
<td>73.621</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Bureau of Statistics, government of Punjab 2010)

According to this trend, the population was 26.32% in 1951, 28.15% in 1961, 27.69 in 1972, 29.23% in 1981 and 22.56% in 1998.

According to these estimated population growth trends (after 1998, no census took place) in 2006 the ratio of population growth was 31.34, in 2007 31.40%, in 2008 3.46% and 31.52% and 31.57% in 2009 and 2010 respectively. Under these population trends the development funds allocated to South Western Punjab are not correlated with each others. According to Annual Development Program (ADP) following amount is allocated to the region from 2003 to 2010.
Table 17 Allocation of Development Funds to South Western Punjab 2003-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Fiscal year</th>
<th>Total Volume of ADP (Rs) (million)</th>
<th>Allocation to the region of South Punjab</th>
<th>Allocation of Amount in percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>30.500</td>
<td>7.100</td>
<td>23.279%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>43.440</td>
<td>9.460</td>
<td>21.777%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2005-2006</td>
<td>63.000</td>
<td>11.790</td>
<td>18.714%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2006-2007</td>
<td>100.000</td>
<td>17.760</td>
<td>17.760%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>150.000</td>
<td>22.040</td>
<td>14.693%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2008-2009</td>
<td>160.000</td>
<td>25.700</td>
<td>16.063%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>172.000</td>
<td>41.880</td>
<td>24.349%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2010-2011</td>
<td>182.000</td>
<td>52.819</td>
<td>29.021%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Tables gives a clear picture that the allocation of development funds to South Punjab did not remain appropriate and according to the population only in the year 2008 to 2009 an upward trend was watched. The picture becomes clear while analyzing the following table

Table 18 comparison of percentage of allocation of ADP and the population of South west Punjab from 2006 to 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>ADP to South West Punjab</th>
<th>Percentage of the Population of Southwest Punjab as compared to entire Punjab</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>17.76%</td>
<td>31.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>14.69%</td>
<td>31.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>16.06%</td>
<td>31.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>24.34%</td>
<td>31.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>29.02%</td>
<td>31.57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While analyzing this data, it is revealed that the feelings of specific Saraiki ethnic identity are getting strength because of economic deprivation. Despite the fact that during the past years gradually the ADP to South Punjab has been increased but still it is not according to the area and population growth rate. Furthermore, it is also argued that very often the ADPs to South Punjab have been deduced, despite having largest share in agriculture. According to the report of government of Pakistan, its census of agriculture the area of South Punjab is an important area for
cash crops, (a term which is used for rice, cotton, wheat and sugarcane). Following table show the exact figure presented by Government of Pakistan:

**Table 19 Cropped area in Cotton, Wheat Rice, Sugarcane and others**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total Kharif*</th>
<th>Kharif</th>
<th>Total Rabi**</th>
<th>Rabi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crops</td>
<td>Ric e</td>
<td>Cott on</td>
<td>Sugar cane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>66.12</td>
<td>59.03</td>
<td>76.78</td>
<td>58.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton/Wheat Punjab</td>
<td>30.72</td>
<td>8.44</td>
<td>68.98</td>
<td>13.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cholistan</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahiwal</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>2.69</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehari</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanewal</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>6.23</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalnagar</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>7.86</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>10.03</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodhran</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layyah</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G. Khan</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffargarh</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>7.89</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajanpur</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Kharif Mean Summer Crop  ** Rabi Means the Winter Crop
Table: 20 Percentage share of major crops and agricultural Value-Added and Annual Growth Rates of cotton and Wheat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Cotton</th>
<th>Combin ed Share</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Cotton</th>
<th>Combin ed Share</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Cotton</th>
<th>Combin ed Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FY19 91</td>
<td>29.1 8</td>
<td>33.32 62.50</td>
<td>13.9 5</td>
<td>15.92 29.87</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>8.12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 92</td>
<td>27.0 5</td>
<td>38.93 65.98</td>
<td>13.6 3</td>
<td>19.62 33.25</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>21.91</td>
<td>16.84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 93</td>
<td>31.7 3</td>
<td>31.37 6316</td>
<td>14.2 8</td>
<td>14.09 28.37</td>
<td>(0.81</td>
<td>(31.9</td>
<td>(19.20)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 94</td>
<td>30.0 3</td>
<td>27.53 57.56</td>
<td>12.9 8</td>
<td>11.90 24.87</td>
<td>(4.36</td>
<td>(11.1</td>
<td>(7.73)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 95</td>
<td>31.3 6</td>
<td>27.80 59.16</td>
<td>13.8 2</td>
<td>12.25 26.07</td>
<td>13.5 1</td>
<td>9.76</td>
<td>11.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 96</td>
<td>28.7 4</td>
<td>31.57 60.31</td>
<td>12.0 1</td>
<td>13.20 13.20</td>
<td>25.2 1</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>20.32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 97</td>
<td>29.4 1</td>
<td>29.11 58.52</td>
<td>11.7 5</td>
<td>11.63 23.37</td>
<td>(2.10</td>
<td>(11.7</td>
<td>(7.17)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 98</td>
<td>30.6 3</td>
<td>26.42 57.05</td>
<td>12.6 7</td>
<td>10.93 23.60</td>
<td>12.7 6</td>
<td>(1.74</td>
<td>5.55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY19 99</td>
<td>29.2 6</td>
<td>25.21 54.47</td>
<td>11.8 7</td>
<td>10.23 22.10</td>
<td>(4.49</td>
<td>(4.60</td>
<td>(4.54)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FY20 00</td>
<td>32.1 3</td>
<td>28.89 61.02</td>
<td>14.1 8</td>
<td>12.75 26.93</td>
<td>26.7 4</td>
<td>32.27</td>
<td>29.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>(0.51</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FY= Fiscal year

Note: The overall growth rates in the year 2000 have been estimated from trend regrain.


The above mentioned figures show that the economy of the Saraiki region is mainly based on agriculture and livestock. Due to its major crop cotton, Thal region is also known as cotton belt, but the whole region is deprived of cotton oriented industry (Langah, 2005). Furthermore, the situation seems worst, because there is no agriculture university in the region while the engineering university is only one. It
is also argued that the government is completely failed to design a strategy to give a credible loan system to the farmers of this region. According to a study by Pakistan Institute of Development Economic (PIDE) informed credit to the farmer was declined 41 percent in 1985 than in 1990, it rose up to 76 percent and again rose to 78 percent in 1996. At this time the indebted peasants were forced to sell their lands and migrate to some other places.

The Saraiki activists argued that due to the unjust state policies and its agreements the prices of cotton and sugarcane (the important agricultural crops) are manipulated by the industrialists, who belonged to non Saraiki area (Durrani, 2012, int). The Saraiki activists present all facts and figures while discussing their deprivation. According to a research report of Social Policy and Development Centre the area lie in south and west Punjab is the most deprived area. They developed that report on the basis of selective Indices of Multiple Deprivations (IMD) which included education, health, housing quality, housing services and economics.

Following figure shows comparison of the percentage of deprivation in all districts of Punjab:

Figure 9: Level of Deprivation and District Wise Order in Punjab
Deprivation Level Low

Deprivation Level Medium
According to this figure, almost twelve districts are classified in the high deprived category. These twelve districts are Vehari, Khanewal, Bhakar, Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalnagar, Jhang, Bahawalpur, Pak Patta, Lodhran, Muzaffar Garh, D.G Khan and Rajan Pur. These districts lie at the South and West Punjab. The low level of development and increased deprivation is adding vigour to the Saraiki ethno-nationalist movement. Dhareeja also wrote in one of his columns that “Rs.193 billion from the Punjab budget, only Rs.52 billion has been given to Saraiki region. This is an unjust attitude with the people of Saraiki” (Dhareeja, 2010).

The Saraiki deprivations are also highlighted in the administrative departments of Punjab. While keeping in mind the nine divisions, of Punjab having total population of nine cror and sixty six lakh. The three Saraiki division comprises of three cror and two lakh population. The total area of Punjab is 2,05345 sqkm including South Western Punjab that is 570,99 sq Km, the 48.5% of the total area. The Saraiki activist Sajjad Jahania argues that according to this ratio, equitable division of the seats should be made but there are stark differences between the South Western Punjab and North Central areas of Punjab. Obviously, it increases the frustration and anti-state feelings (Jahania, 2013).
Following table presents the distribution of Government services in various divisions of Punjab

**Table 21: Number of DMG and OMG officers from Punjab**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Number officers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faisalabad</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargodha</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahiwal</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.G.Khan</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 22: Government Employer and heir ratio in total No. Of 1,27,876**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>43,141</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>30,542</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>9402</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. G. Khan</td>
<td>3237</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>5732</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 23: Officers in number highest to lower grades and their Ratio**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Multan</th>
<th>D. G. Khan</th>
<th>Bahawalpur</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G.22</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. 21</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>127</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. 20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>437</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. 19</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. 18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. 17</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>9021</td>
<td>3044</td>
<td>5463</td>
<td>17,528</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above mentioned data is expounded with a bleak picture. The decision making authority in Punjab at central level is constantly neglecting the area that produces eighty five percent cotton, forty one percent wheat and thirty five percent of sugarcane, of the total production. All these factors are manoeuvring the original Saraiki ethno lingual identity in to politics of ethnicity.

5.9 Saraiki Ethnicity and the Issue of National Integration

Saraiki nationalist question has been the most important question now a days. Unfortunately, the government is reluctant to address the real issue. It is used to manoeuvre politically. The issue of Saraiki identity is a national not regional issue. The Saraiki activists are forcefully presenting their case through print and electronic media. For the preservation and promotion of their ethnic identity, they are demanding a separate province by the name of “Sarikistan”. According to a local Saraiki activist, Jampoori (2013) we have won our case through logical argument if the state is still reluctant to create a separate Saraiki province then they must keep in mind that due to injustice not only dissensions are created but geographies may also changed (p.4).

The Saraiki activists consider that their association with Saraiki language is not merely a sentimental attachment. It is not based only on specific cultural beliefs and practices but they could secure advancement in professions and various services. They have asseverated its importance at the regional level (Mirani, 2012, int), due to this reason, the movement for the recognition of Saraiki as separate language and its speakers as distinct lingual ethnic identity have remained in contact for the last five decades. According to Jalal (1995) “Language as a culture had always played a critical role in the definition of regional identities. She further
explains that “in the local and regional formations of both India and Pakistan, language presented itself as a useful mobilizing symbol transcending caste, clan and even class based interests. It enabled social groups with prevailed access to literacy and education to represent regionally defined interests” (P. 226). In the Saraiki ethnic identity movement, initially language was considered as an ideology. With due course of time, its undeniable deep cultural moorings helped the local activists to fight for its dominance, not only at regional level but against the governmental authorities. The movement has remained non violent, throughout its genesis since 1960s. There is only one incident when state authorities used force to snub the peaceful protestors, though the movement was completely federalist and non violent (Gaadi, 2011).

Gradually a shift of interests is also observed in this movement. No doubt. The recognition of identity is still working as a major objective but now it is incorporated with the socio-economic and political deprivations of this region. The Saraiki activists are projecting these grievances and realising voices for the development of the Saraiki region. Despite having emphasis on cultural communions, and instituting literary and professional associations, the movement has strongly injected the feelings of deprivation among its people. No doubt, this has been done through these literary associations, conferences, and publications (Massaoud, 2012, int). According to the instrumentalist approach, economic deprivation is biggest source to construct politics of ethnicity. However the scholars of ethnicity agree that when the community finds itself on extreme margins and feels threatened due to misrecognition, economic exclusion or lack of self rule, the possibilities of ethno-national mobilizations are heightened. The shift is visible in Saraiki ethno-lingual movement. While conducting interviews from Saraiki activists and commoners, it was revealed, that there are very strong feelings of dispossession
among them. They used to make their comparison with the other ethnic groups within Punjab province, and mirror themselves as Bengalis of East Pakistan. In their writings they often incorporate the 1971 debacle (Massaoud, 2012, int).

In Saraiki Qaumi Sawal (Urdu) Dhareeja (2013) clearly criticizes the state policies that once Quaid-e-Azam made a wrong decision of declaring Urdu as national language. In reaction Bengali students agitated and faced firing from state officials. Later on for their recognition, they erected a “martyrs memorial” in Dhaka University Campus. Dhareeja bluntly says that the lesson of this memorial is to give due right to all the languages spoken in Pakistan so that other commemorative like Dhaka University should be eschewed (p. 33).

To comprehend the threat matrix of Saraiki movement to national integration of Pakistan, following variables specified for this research, are helpful to understand.

5.9.1 Role of Leadership

Saraiki Waseb has two types of leadership. First, those feudels who are involved in the mainstream politics or they are national level leaders. Second category belonged to those who developed their political association on the basis of Saraiki language. These people are known as local leaders or Saraiki activists (Abid, 2012, int). While measuring the threat matrix for national integration apparently the role of mainstream or national leadership remained very passive. But it is a hard reality that Saraiki identity transforms into politics of ethnicity due to the negligence and irresponsible behaviour of these leaders. No doubt, that the Saraiki politicians had enough representation in provincial and federal cabinets of various governments. Whether the governments belonged to PPP or PML (N) or (Q), they participated in it but their significant presence in the state operatus could not bring any change to this area. They remained self-centred (Khan, 2011, pp 121-122) and...
became tool in the hands of state authorities. Despite the fact that the politics of this region remained pro PPP even then any special project for the development of this area was not formulated.

Some important political families and main stream leaders of Saraiki region are highlighted in the following table.

**Table 24 Important leaders and their Political Associations Present and Past**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Present Political Association</th>
<th>Old Political Association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jahangir Tareen</td>
<td>Lodhran</td>
<td>PTI</td>
<td>Muslim League (Q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Javed Hashmi</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>PTI</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farooq Ahmad Khan Laghari</td>
<td>D. G. Khan Choti Zarien</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohsin Laghari</td>
<td>D. G. Kan</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaafar Laghari</td>
<td>D. G. Khan</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yousaf Raza Gillani</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shah Mehmood Qureshi</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>PTI</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghulam Mustafa Khar</td>
<td>Kot Addou</td>
<td>PML (F)</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasneem Naurouz Gardezay</td>
<td>Bahawalpur</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makhdoom Shahabuddin</td>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makhdoom Khasroo Bukhtiar</td>
<td>Rahim Yar Khan</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>PML (Q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riaz Pirzada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulqar Ali Khosa</td>
<td>D.G.Khan</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhdoom Syed Ahmad Mehmood</td>
<td>Rajan Pur</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>PML (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faisal Saleh Hayat</td>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>PMPL (Q)</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abida Hussain</td>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>PML (Q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakhar Imam</td>
<td>Jhang</td>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>PPP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled by the researcher from Daily Dawn and Daily Jang

Such star studded political representation did nothing. They held very prominent positions from head of the state and government to the status of provincial governors and important ministries but could not exert their influence for creating infrastructure for any industrial development in the region.
This is a clear reason for the resentment among the local activists because contrary to this attitude, the local leadership or Saraiki activist is seemed very aggressive, since the Saraiki ethnic consciousness was started to develop. In 1970, during Bahawalpur Sooba Movement, the Saraiki activists alone used their potential. One of the leaders Riaz Hashmi also filed a petition in the Supreme Court for the restoration of Bahawalpur Province. When the petition was dismissed by the Supreme Court declaring that Hashmi has not locus standi to file the petition, he became annoyed, consequently published a book “Brief for Bahawalpur”. In the preface of this book he used very tough expression and wrote “if the provincial status of Bahawalpur is not restored, then the entire Saraiki region will fight for the creation of Saraikistan”.

In this way the word “Saraikistan” was introduced in Saraiki politics (Hashmi, 1972) and it was used as the name of new province. Later, Riaz Hashmi joined PSP. Since then the Saraiki activists are working for the separate Saraikistan province. The 1970 general elections also proved the fact that Saraiki ethnic consciousness is developing. PPP that was the most popular political party at that time was defeated by Bahawalpur Sooba Mohaz. Another important fact was revealed by Monthly View, Lahore while publishing interview of Mr. Taj Langah, the head of PSP. The views wrote the opinion of Farooq-e-Azam who was one of the advisors of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (Ex Prime Minister Pakistan). He said that Taj Langah won the 1970 elections as the Peoples Party ticket holder. He had the support of Saraiki people because of his dedication that they showed for the movement. But unfortunately, our bureaucracy had changed his success into defeat (The Views, 1996. P.I). Though the details of the conspiracy was not unfolded by the magazine, but the Saraiki leader criticized the then national leadership and their policies towards the region. He forcefully discussed that Pakistan is a multinational state, it is necessary to mark the
geographical boundaries of all the provinces on the basis of ethnic lines. He said that there was a clear ethnic division in the four provinces of Pakistan. In Balochistan Pashtun belt is visible. In NWFP (KPK Present) Hazara line is identified, like that in Punjab there is a clear difference and geographical division between Punjabis and Saraiki. The Saraikis have sizeable population that cannot be ignored. He bluntly used the examples of East Pakistan’s crisis. He argued that when the state hesitated to accept Bengalis as a separate ethnic nation and refused to give Bangala language the status of a distinct language, they made successful rebel (Views, 1996).

Taj Muhammad Langah very often claimed that their political party PSP had the largest number of registered members around (50,000) among all Saraiki groups and parties (Ghayoor, 2012, p.65). He warned the government in one of his interview after forcefully presenting the demand of separate province and criticizing the attitude of state authorities: “If the establishment attempted the division of Saraiki and Pashtun entity on the pattern of East and West Germany, North and South Korea, North and South Vietnam, Arab Palestine and Jews Palestine, Pakistani and Indian Kashmiris, he can predict bloodshed in the Saraiki and Pakhtun territories as well” (Langah, 2011, p. 18-19).

These words indicate a clear distrust on the state authorities. The reaction become visible because state authorities directly denied the creation of new province on lingual basis but they favour the division on administrative basis. As the senior minister of Punjab government, Zulfiqar Khosa, who is also a Saraiki, clearly said that the creation of new province on lingual basis would open new rooms for other ethnic minorities (Ghayoor, 2011, p. 65). But the Saraiki activists reject this argument. For them language and culture are the only viable basis for the creation of new provincial boundaries. Ansari (2009) has presented a logical reason. He gave a historical review of united India. According to this review in 1905 the Bengal in United
India was divided on the basis of ethnic division. In 1918 Montague Chelmsford suggested new division of provinces on the basis of language and ethnicity, Indian Statuary Commission also suggested division on lingual basis. Congress presented its demand in 1927 that Sindh and Kerataka should be made separate province because they had distinct language and culture. Dr. Iqbal also suggested in his famous Illahabad address that in India reconstruction of provinces must be on the basis of language and culture. While giving these logical arguments, Ansari warned the government that “when natives are forced to change their language and culture it results in bloody revolution. When these people are suppressed while making them colony then ultimately the suppressed community started to think about a separate state”. While giving the examples of Turks and East Pakistan he reiterated that if the highest authorities did not change their attitude, the matter of the fact is that all linguistic group would started to fight for their separate state (pp. 10-20).

This is a very logical point that must be recognized by the state authorities. The Secretary General of the SQI, Hassan Raza also expressed doubts about the behaviour and intention of the national leaders. According to him the prominent names like Gillanis, Qureshi, Mazari’s, Dareshaks, and Khosa’s had remained against the creation of new provinces. They now support it because of the electoral advantages, they want to seek (Ghayoor, 2011, p. 65). It is important to note that Saraiki activists have become so loud. They are projecting that state is behaving as a colonial master, and the Saraiki region is like their internal colony. History shows that economic deprivation and movement for the lingual identification has a lethal combination. Pakistan has already faced its consequences. It is need of the time that state authorities must communicate with the Saraiki activists and develop a politico-economic strategy to address the real issue. For the promotion of national integration a well defined and organized strategy is required from the state authorities.
5.9.2 Role of Middle class

Saraiki ethno-lingual movement was originated by the middle class. Initially it was designed to recognize Saraiki as a distinct language not a dialect of Punjabi. Various conferences were also convened to introduce the rich history of Saraiki language and culture. Many of the writers and scholars of ethnicity wrote about Saraiki language. Though some eminent western scholars of language and ethnicity like C. Shackle and Gangoviski also declared Saraiki as a dialect of Punjabi (Rehman, 2006, p. 175), even then Saraiki intellectuals insisted on its separate status.

Gradually the movement for lingual identity is incorporated with economic deprivation of the region. Socio-economic difference between the South West Punjab and Central Punjab has created a wide gap. This yawning gulf between the Punjabis and Saraikis has created misperceptions against each others. Saraikis consider themselves as oppressed people. Due to this approach all the areas of South West Punjab where Saraiki is the main language have developed mutual co-ordination. The local languages, Multani, Bahawal puri, Riasti, Muzaffar GArrhi, Jatki, Jaafraaki, Khatrakki, Shahpuri, Dhanni, Jangli and Lahndhi dialects became the part of Saraiki language. Undoubtedly, the middle class including lawyers, intellectuals, writers and students have contributed a lot in this movement.

The writings of Saraiki poets and intellectuals not only projected the lingual identity but also highlighted their grievances. Among these writings, Dhabe Dhore, the collecting of Hassan Raza Gardezi has an important position. In its preface Dr. C. Shackle wrote that “the feeling of inferiority of their language among the Saraiki poets shows them the way forward” (Gardezi, 1982). Mumtaz Haider Dhar, who is also a Known poet for his book Kashkol (Beggar’s bowl), showed great commitment
to this region (Dahr, 1981). Ashiq Buzdar, is another most prominent among those who not only projected Saraiki language but also criticized the state policies. His book “Asan Qaidi Takht Lahore de, (we are the Prisoners of Lahore throne) is very popular. The introduction of this book is written by Aslam Rasool Poori who is a prominent Saraiki writer. He presented a detailed account about the significance of ethno-lingual identity of Saraiki. He also unveiled the conspiracies of Punjabi intellectuals against Saraikis (Buzdar, 1986). In the Modern Saraiki poetry and prose the writers have been expressing strongly the external oppression and the aggression of the area. They are also creating political consciousness while writing about their economic and social problems and the inequalities and deprivations posed in this region by the authorities. The Saraiki literature also shows reaction against the Punjab government. Nazir Nagi’s poetic collection “Ethun Kadh Punjabi” (Drive Punjabi’s out from here) is very popular among the Saraikis. The collection indirectly pointed out how their land is given to Punjabis on the name of development and the natives are deprived from their own resources. Kalanchvi, highlighted that “the Saraiki writers by virtue of their peculiar expression have reacted against the federal system, the out fashioned politics, and out worn traditions (Kalanchivi, 1987, p. 218).

The Saraiki conferences are convened regularly, with the support of middle class. These conferences are political in a sense that they started developing political realization among the common people. Apart from Saraiki poets and prose writers who played a significant role in promoting Saraiki identity, the movements the Saraiki intellectual associations are also representing the middle class in the promotion of this movement. Among various important organizations, “Lok Sanjh, and Swail”, are the most prominent because their aims include the creation of consciousness of rights and the promotion of social education among the Saraiki
people. These organizations also project the recognition of Saraiki as a fifth nationality. Lok Sanjh has clearly mentioned in his objectives that “Saraiki” area should vote on the basis of ethnicity.

After reviewing the literature and social organizations it is revealed that Saraiki identity movement is not violent. Though they have sharp socio-economic grievances with the provincial and central government’s authorities but they have adopted peaceful means to register their grievances. The role of middle class in creating and developing the sense of national identity on the basis of particular ethnic attribute is universally accepted (Wahrman, 1995, p. 18). Wahid a Bengali Scholar also acknowledges that in 1971, Bengali middle class was the chief architect of Bengali nationalism (www.asiaticsociety.org.bd/jounals/vol%) Same is the case about Saraiki ethnic identity formation process. Most of the writers who are writing for Saraiki identity formation and propelling Saraiki grievances belonged to middle class. The lawyers of Saraiki region are also struggling for this cause. The Saraiki’s political party known as PSP is also formed by a lawyer belonged to middle class.

With the collaboration of all these groups in a society, they often organize different literary and political conferences. One of these conferences, “All Pakistan Saraiki Congregation” was organized in 2010. In this congregation a unanimous resolution was adopted by all the participants and it was known as Multan Resolution. Barrister Taj Langah presented it, after giving the historical review about Saraiki struggle for their identity and identity recognition. He also highlighted the policies of various governments, which kept the region backward and underdeveloped. While presenting the resolution, Barrister Langah strongly demanded the division of Punjab on linguistic basis. He used very tough language and warned the authorities saying: “if our demands are not considered and the proposed province by the name of Saraikistan is not formed, then we feared that our
new Saraiki generation will desist from the peaceful and democratic way. They could be influenced from undemocratic thoughts of freedom of the “nation” (Langah, 2010, p. 5). This resolution was sent to Prime Minister, President, Senators, Members of Provincial Assemblies, leaders of all political parties and above all to all the ambassadors of other countries.

The Saraiki middle class is gradually using harsh language. Although their struggle is peaceful, they did not opt any violent strategy but the literature in local languages is poisoning the minds of the people. It is the right time to communicate with them on serious grounds. Otherwise its consequences could cause greater destability. For this research various interviews were conducted from leading scholars, lawyers, journalists and politicians of this region and all had strong reservations about the discriminatory policies of the authorities. They often talk about Bengalis in their serious conversations and need earnest efforts from the state authorities to address their grievances.

5.9.3 Role of State

The state is considered as an organization to provide relief to all of its members. It is a resource in itself and at the same time a distributor of resources. A state having plural society has more responsibilities because it has to share its power and resources with different ethnic groups. The ethnic groups become politicised when state uses its political power differently. Unjust distribution of resources is also the other main cause that develops conflict and threatens the national unity. (Ahmad, 1996, p. 351-352)

The instrumentalists (Bates, 1994, Tishkov, 1993) and Materialists (Gellener, 1983, Horowitz, 1985) both argue that ethnic groups are mobilized when they feel relative economic backwardness and to achieve or maintain political power. The
former have their focus on economic deprivation and cultural barriers while the latter emphasize only on gaining and maintaining political power.

In the case of Saraiki ethnic identity in Pakistan both the aspects are relevant. The state is not delivering properly. There are some cultural barriers in which language is the most important element. The Saraikis are continuously demanding their ethnic identity on the basis of their Saraiki language. But they are weighed as the part of Punjabis. They are also demanding Saraiki language as the medium of instruction in primary schools but the authorities are not considering it. So the cultural barrier is moving upward. Apart from this fact, the Saraiki activists are also complaining for poor governability. According to them small administrative units can speed up the development process and it is evident in rest of the Punjab. They argue that from 1970 in Punjab province 18 new districts, 5 new divisions and 48 Tehsils have been made but not even a single district is formed in South Western side of Punjab.

The grievances and demands of Saraiki activists are off and on highlighted on various forums. On 26 and 27 June 2009 the National Assembly was informed during question hour that the areas of South-West Punjab are not treated properly as the other areas of Punjab. To prove this it was presented that the World Bank approved Rs. 20 billion loan by the Ministry of Communication to construct mega roads throughout the country. But South Punjab is deprived and not even a single project is launched here. Out of eighteen projects, eight were launched in the Central and Northern Punjab. Asian Development Bank also gave Rs. 20 billion loan and only one road, that is 37km, the Multan-Muzaffar Garh road was started. (Durrani, 2012, int, Kalasr, 2009, p.1).

The Saraiki activists claim that this area is facing discrimination form state since 1947. Formation of One Unit was the biggest blow to finish Saraiki ethnic
identity. Restoration of Bahawalpur Sooba Movement was suppressed by force in 60s. The state authorities are continuously suppressing the Saraiki people for making demographic imbalance in various regions. Their land is being distributed among non Saraiki people. The bureaucracy, military and other state officials are continuously making efforts to distribute this area among Punjabis (Ansari, 2009, p. 34). It is also argued that since the inception of Pakistan the development of Saraiki language and culture did not remain the priority of the state authorities. Various highest state officials had direct link in this region but they did nothing. Even they did not talk about Saraiki specific identity. It is a reality that in all the census reports of Pakistan Saraiki was not recognized as a distinct language because in the list of mother tongues spoken throughout Pakistan, Saraiki was not included (Husnain, 1994j).

Another vibrant example of state’s negligence towards this region is highlighted in Durrani’s report. He said that two water sources of Bahawalpur River Sutlej and Bias were sold to India under the Indus-Basin Treaty. After that, it was decided that Trimu-Islam link canal would be built to keep Sutlej flowing but this promise was not fulfilled, resultantly, the Sutlej is completely dry. It is not only the violation of UN convention but it is a threat to the civilization’s survival. Due to the violation of the treaty not only another Cholistan (Desert) is in the making but the underground water table has gone low to a dangerous level (Durrani, 2012, int).

The water allounce to the region is also very low. The Saraiki activists are strongly criticized the authorities who share the water of Punjab with Sindh at the cost of South Western Saraiki region. According to them the sacrifice is not given by Punjabi’s but by Saraikis because Saraiki Waseb was not provided water for the production of wheat and cotton. Due to the regular discriminations with Saraiki area the activists demand that Saraiki region should be given its due share, the state
should perform its actual role. Otherwise, the Saraikis will demand “Saraiki State” like Bengalideshis. The leaders should remember that despite presenting peaceful demands, moves and protests if the rights are not given to them, the aggrieved people would have the ultimate right to follow the separatists” (Dhareeja, 2013, p. 23).

The Saraiki, writers, scholars, lawyers and all activists are highlighting their identity issue and their socio-economic and political grievances. They thought that the state is failed to give them due share. For the compensation they demand their separate administrative unit that must be formed on socio-linguistic basis. But this demand is also not recognized (Gerdezi, 1986). Though the Saraiki Sooba Movement is not new, almost forty years have gone with this demand. In the beginning the Saraiki activists had very soft expression about their demands. But gradually as they feel increased oppression, their style is also becoming aggressive. The Saraiki activists blame state policies for increased poverty ratio and extremist tendencies in the region. According to them, when the state is failed to address their grievances and making them intact with the mainstream decision making process, poverty alleviates in the region. Various studies show that the highest ratio of poverty is found in this region of Punjab province. Due to these factors not only the region shows low progress but extremist religious tendencies are also developing. There are various groups found in this region which are incorporating the young uneducated and unemployed people with them. Due to the negligence of state the region is becoming a safe heaven for banned military outfits (Abid, 2012, int; Siddiqa, 2013, p.30). If the state revives its role and stops depriving Saraiki region from its due right, the sentiments of integration and unity will be strengthened. This could be done through the division of Punjab. This is an ultimate decision of the Saraiki intelligentia. They reiterate that with the creation of fifth province, the tragedy like the
creation of Bangladesh could be avoided (Ansari, 2009, p.80). The Saraiki ethnic movement and its increased influence is the reaction of state policies. The reviewal of these policies and seriousness is required to address the Saraiki issue and to promote national integration.

5.9.4. Role of External Forces

The involvement of exogenous element in state affairs, particularly for the support of an ethnic group is not unique in its nature. External support to ethnic groups often helps to diffuse or escalate ethnic conflicts. (Lobell and Mauceri, 2001, p.1). In South Africa, the apartheid policies of state were objected by international actors so they put sanctions on it. The collective international strategy forced the South African government to review its policy. Contrary to this example, in 1971, India helped the Bengali ethnic group against the state authorities and played an important role in the dismemberment of Pakistan. The incident indicates a fact that the external involvement in state’s ethnic conflicts can play a decisive role. Under this backdrop, the Saraiki ethno-linguistic conflicts in Pakistan also have immense importance. Despite the fact that Saraiki activists, writers and analysts demand legitimate rights. Their literature is full of socio-economic and political grievances. On these bases they are demanding their separate province. It is also a fact that various international Saraiki conferences are convened and the local activists and scholars are also invited to present their views. But the objective behind these conferences was to promote Saraiki language and civilization as one of the significant historic languages.

During 1990’s an important Saraiki conference was convened in New Delhi India. All the Saraiki activists in Multan and adjacent areas were nominated for the conference. The leader of PSP Taj. M. Langah formed a delegation comprised of
seventeen members and participated in it. Although in Delhi Saraiki Conference, Indo-Pakistan United was projected and it was owed as a milestone in India-Pakistan friendship, even then the participants of Conference and the members of PSP were terrorised by various agencies (Langah, 2005, p.12). In 1997, again a Saraiki International Conference was convened in New Delhi. All Saraiki activists analysts, scholars and political workers were invited. They participated in the Conference but faced severe allegations on their return. It was objected that this was a planned conspiracy against the integration of the state of Pakistan but later on no evidences were found for the disintegration of Pakistan. Notwithstanding that gradually the Saraiki activists have adopted an aggressive expression in their writings against the state authorities, they are raising their voice on all the forums, even then no evidence is still found for any kind of external support to the efforts of disintegration. The leaders of PSP were accused by various groups for having their relationship with the leaders of Jai Sindhi Qaumi movement’s G.M. Sayyed who deliberately talked about disintegration of Pakistan and independent Sindhudesh. Once the PSP leader Taj. M. Langah faced a litigation of treachery against the state of Pakistan, lately it was finished because of lack of evidence (Langah, 2005, p. 9).

According to the literature of ethnic conflict, external support is the last factor in intra-ethnic conflict for the pursuance of their separatist demands. Indian involvement in the support of Bengali’s was proved as a final blow to disintegrate Pakistan. But this was done when their leadership and middle class was ready to do this. In Saraiki ethnic conflict the intellectuals, professionals and workers are developing consciousness against the state policies but still they are ready to work under this operatus.

One drastic change which can build the threat matrix for national integration is the gradual increase of radicalism and extremism in the Saraiki society. According
According to a local activist, through religious seminaries and militant Jihadis, external involvement in the region is increasing. Imtiaz Gul also warned the state authorities, that Pakistan faces an al Qaeda influenced militant challenge in South Punjab. Involvement of external element will, definitely, destabilize Pakistan (p. 3). It is assumed that if these groups made collaboration with the Saraiki activists, they could pose serious threat to the integrity of the state.

Apart from this debate, the reality is that Saraiki national question is an unavoidable reality. It cannot merely be regarded as lingual, cultural or psychological factor. It must be recognized within historical condition.
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CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion and Reflections
Conclusion and Reflections

Quest for national integration and building a cohesive society is not an easy task. It has been remained a grave challenge to all plural societies without exception of developed and under developed world. There are multiple reasons, challenging the nation building process that develops national integration. One of the most important reasons is the politics of ethnicity. Apart from the fact that ethnicity is not dangerous for national cohesion because it gives the “feeling of oneness”, the menace is politics of ethnicity. It transforms group feelings for the projection of their demands and for the procurement of their rights.

Through decades, scholars of ethnicity and ethnic politics are deliberating its ideological and philosophical bases. In this connection, primordialists have their own arguments who believe on the subjective and objective markers of identity, in which race, colour, religion, language and territory are very important. They stressed that ethnicity is unchangeable. Contrary to this view, the other two groups instrumentalists and social constructivist believe that the nature of ethnic association is not fixed. The instrumentalists stress that there are some political and economic factors which shape up the ethnic association, while the social constructivist believes that ethnicity is a mean to achieve some objectives. They focus on the effectiveness of leadership in pursuance of their demands. The critics of both the theories argue that contrary to primordialists, the social constructivists and instrumentalists have no strong basis. Their arguments are based on the presence of various socio-political and economic objectives. When these objectives are achieved ethnic sentiments disappear. Apart from the debate of ethnicity, the study has its focus on politics of ethnicity that is potentially destructive. Many scholars who wrote about the concept of politics of ethnicity believe that the political perspective of nationalism helps to
muster an ethnic group. They also argue that while projecting nationalism, ethnic groups want to achieve some political ends. Renunciation of the rights from state authorities often leads to a conflictual situation. While evaluating this conflictual situation, one can easily understand the nature of conflict that could be inter-ethnic, intra-ethnic and with state. In developing societies, all the three kinds of conflicts are present. But the most common is inter-ethnic and conflict with state.

The post colonial states used to follow different strategies to assimilate diverse groups into one broader national identity. The assimilationist approach is a major reason of conflict between state and an ethnic group. Despite the fact, that through assimilationist policies, states often introduce higher integrative values for the creation of nation building but at the same time, the states forget to give a certain level of legal protection to the identity of that ethnic group. Resultantly, the ethnic communities consider these policies a threat to their identity. In the perspective of politics of ethnicity the situation gets worse when economic disparities become part of it. The literature shows and it is discussed in previous chapters that when there is distrust between state and an ethnic group, all its policies are contemplated dangerous to their vital interests and ethnic groups formally establish their ethnic organization with three broader objectives, (a) for the revival of their ethnic narrative, (b) for the persuasion of demands and,(c) for the mobilization of their community. This stage is very important because in a highly divided society when states is failed to resolve the conflict, mistrust leads to further complexities. The ethnic group reforms its nationality and very often develops external linkages for getting foreign support. The involvement of external element often escalate the conflict that either follows to a successionist movement or a civil war.

In the contemporary world where plurality is a hard reality, various systems have been designed to address the issue of ethnic diversity. Pluralism,
consociationalism and federalism are the techniques through the issue successfully addressed in various countries. Ethnic conflict is at its minimum level in those federations where system is followed in its true spirit. In the developed world, USA, France, Canada and Belgium are the examples of multi-ethnic societies but here ethnicity is not politicized and people show their loyalties to the state. In developing world, India is also a good example. Heterogeneity is the major characteristic of Indian society. Lingual and religious diversity is also present at its height but everything is managed through constitutional means and ethnic heterogeneity is no more a problem in India. Conversely to India, the situation in Pakistan is worst. Due to politics of ethnicity, Pakistan has lost its one part. Though there are other factors, responsible to that dismemberment but controversy on lingual basis became decisive. The post 1971, Pakistan was also pluralistic society. The four federating units have their distinct identity that is relevant to their territory and language.

In the present study, three ethnic groups, Baloch, Mohajir and Saraikis are studied in detail. The basic objective of this study is to bring into limelight those factors which are responsible for disharmony and forced the ethnic groups to persuade their identity. The ethnic association of Baloch people is based on their territory but as cultural primordialists believe that every individual is born into a particular territory and culture. Some common features like language, religion and customs perform as the main attribute in bringing people together into one ethnic group. The common bond among Baloch is the territory and their Balochi language is the heart of ethnicity in the case of rising Baloch ethnic consciousness. The existing literature shows that animosity between state of Pakistan and Baloch started since 1948, when the State of Kalat was annexed with Pakistan. The annexation was badly criticized by the Baloch nationalists. On the other hand, the government of Pakistan did not take the matter seriously. Resultantly, a series of resistant moves were
started in Balochistan. The state’s reluctance to resolve the issue politically, created further distrust between the two contending actors. All the resistant moves were suppressed forcefully which developed anti-state feelings among the Baloch people. The Baloch ethnic consciousness further enhanced when they realized that intentionally or unintentionally they were kept backward. The central authorities have no interest in the development of their territory. The issue is also aggravated through politics of comparison. Their minimum representation in civil-military bureaucracy and other institutions has created the feelings of deprivation. Furthermore, it was also realized that in Balochistan, the Baloch majority areas are under developed and whenever government heirs for its various departments, mostly Pathan settled in Balochistan, occupy those seats.

The sense of denial of their rights is increased to the extent that Baloch people now create hindrances against developmental projects. They are not in favour to mine their resources and develop their ports because of distrust on the state authorities. They are of the view that their resources are being drawn to other areas. The other federating units are developing on the resources of Balochistan. The situation is evident that daily various attacks have been done on government installations and institutions in Balochistan. The concerns of Baloch people are not addressed properly. Conversely, F.C is deployed over there with vast powers that is another bone of contention. It is a reality that socio-economic and political concerns make the ethnic bond instrumental. The Baloch ethnic groups are also mobilized on the same basis. Despite understanding the problem, the state authorities hold the view that de-stability in Balochistan is due to some tribal chieftains who have presumed self exile and propagating from abroad. The government also viewed that tribal system among the Baloch is the main cause of their problems. The resources are allocated to them but these resources are not properly distributed to the people.
The Baloch do not agree with this notion and clearly state that a new middle class is emerging in Balochistan, they can think and understand their issues and they are no more subordinate to Sardars. Due to the fact, various militant organizations have also been found in Balochistan, who are not only developing ethnic consciousness but trying to seek external support as well. The insurgent forces are active in Balochistan. Their major grievances with the state are as follows;

1. State should revive self respect for the Baloch.
2. The Baloch majority should not be changed in minority with massive Pushtoon migration.
3. Deployment of F. C and establishment of cantonments should be stopped.
4. The Baloch should be recruited in government services.
5. The State authorities should keep up their promises.
6. Mega development projects should be done with the consultation of the Baloch.
7. The government should not start to communicate only handpicked Baloch Sardars but those who criticize state policies must be consulted.

The second important ethnic group which is part of this study is “Mohajir”. The term denotes to those who migrated from Indian territories of Bihar, U.P, Gujarat Rajasthan, Bombay and Deccan. The ethnic narrative of Mohajirs is not well settled in Pakistan because they did not possess any geographical or cultural association with Pakistani territory. Those who had the same language assimilated in that culture like people who migrated from East Punjab of India were easily assimilated in the West-Punjab in Pakistan. The problem arose when people from U.P, Bihar, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Bombay migrated to Sindh especially in Karachi and developed their own culture. Karachi at that time was newly developed urban area where Sindhis
were not in majority. That is why the Mohajirs developed their specific culture over there.

Initially, Mohajir was the first educated community, who took hold of all the civil bureaucracy. Gradually, with the development of urban areas, more rural Sindhis migrated towards Karachi and other areas while at national level different other groups challenged the Mohajir’s dominance in the civil administrative institutions. Furthermore the state authorities also introduced quota system in employments to balance the rural and urban population. The Mohajirs considered this state policy as anti Mohajir and resisted it. Karachi was dominated by the Mohajirs, but gradually other ethnic groups especially rural Sindhis and Pukhtuns migrated to Karachi and started to share the business sector. This type of internal migration also threatened the Mohajir’s dominance. Later on the Mohajir-Pukhtun and Mohajir-Sindhi clashes became part of Karachi. The inter-ethnic conflict in Karachi was basically the result of state polices which aggravated not only inter-ethnic conflict but created distrust on state authorities.

With due course of time, different policies of different governments like, General Ayub (1958-1969), Bhutto (1971-1977) and General Zia-ul-Haq (1978-1988) enhanced the sense of alienation among Mohajirs. The Mohajirs pointed out that they were ridiculed by everyone due to their specific cultural dress and their customs. At this time, when on the one hand Mohajirs were facing competition and consequent reduction in employment, on the other hand they were facing social discrimination also. These developments led to the creation of their ethnic realization. Initially APMSO and lately MQM is the example of their constant development of ethnic consciousness. In the case of Mohajir’s grievances to the state authorities, it is evident that when Mohajir- Pukhtun conflict arose the state performed as a party. Ayub Khan supported Pukhtuns because Mohajirs extended their support to Miss
Fatima Jinnah in the 1962 elections. The Mohajirs believe that Ayub Khan intentionally rehabilitated Pukhtuns in Karachi. So the tussle between these groups was not handled by the state machinery appropriately. Later on, they formed their ethnic association by the name MQM.

Gradually the Mohajir community developed their support base in the masses. In the local bodies election and in the general elections, conducted during 80s, this support is documented. MQM became the largest urban based political party in Sindh. The Mohajirs’ representative, MQM projected its demands to the government in which the most important was the recognition of Mohajir community as the fifth nationality of Pakistan and they required the same status as other ethnic groups had. Their demand was not appreciated by the state authorities. Though MQM mostly remained part of either provincial government or federal government and sometime both the governments, that is why the critics criticize their concerns and claim that MQM only wanted to be in power.

With due course of time, the Mohajir’s representative MQM was accused by military and other agencies that it is involved in different crimes including drug trafficking, illegal arms procurement, having torture cells and responsible for target killings. Despite having control over punish and reward, MQM is alleged as a mafia. It is considered responsible for law and order situation in the Karachi city. This was one of the factors that MQM was split into two factions. This intra-ethnic fissure also disturbed the peace in Karachi. Two major military operations have been done against MQM, which deteriorated its support base. After these operations, though the law and order situation was not changed but Mohajir’s representative MQM became notorious ethnic organization having endeavor to do lingual politics in Pakistan. In the perspective of politics of ethnicity the leadership of Mohajir ethnie effectively mobilized its community. From 1984 till 1992, when Quaid-e-Tahreek, Altaf Hussain
was present in Pakistan, it was effectively pursuing the group’s demands. After his self exile in London, charisma of this leadership is gradually fall off. This was revealed, through a survey based on face to face interviews that researcher conducted in August 2012, from the Mohajir dominated areas in Karachi. Major findings of the interviews are mentioned in the chapter three of the thesis, which shows that there is a clear cut split within the party and among the Mohajirs community.

One group supports violence and is badly involved in the criminal activities while the other group wants to adopt constitutional measures. The latter does not own MQM as their representative party while the former is staunch supporter of MQM. Despite this deteriorating support base, that is somewhat covert, MQM representing Mohajirs as an ethnic group. Notwithstanding that they are celebrating Sindhi Topi (cap) and Ajrak day and used to talk that now in Sindh two communities are living, one “The Sindhi Speaker” and others are the “Urdu Speakers Sindhi”, even then on various occasions they used to talk about their Mohajir identity, and failed to project the impression that they are local not branded. Anyhow in plural societies it is the duty of the state to introduce such policies which deescalate conflictual situation but the state of Pakistan is not successful to make appropriate policies.

The third study is related to Saraiki ethnic identity. Saraiki belt is part of Punjab province in the South Western side. Like Mohajirs in Sindh the Saraikis in South West Punjab also claim a fifth lingual ethnie of Pakistan. Saraiki’s have primordial basis of ethnicity, because language is the major determinant of their ethnic association. Their ethnic narrative maintains that Saraiki is not the dialect of Punjabi language. It has its own history. The tension between state authorities and the Saraikis was started when Saraiki activists started to provoke their lingual
identity. In the beginning the basic objective of the movement was only to recognize Saraiki language. Later on various other factors were included especially economic backwardness of the area. In the development of Saraiki ethnic consciousness, state policies are evenly responsible. From the One Unit scheme (in which the whole West Pakistan became one province and after its annulment, the State of Bahawalpur claimed for its separation from Punjab Province) the conflict started and gradually, the movement for separate provincial status for Saraiki belt gained momentum.

They used to compare the Saraiki area with rest of the Punjab Province. The facts and figures show the backwardness of the area. The backwardness is due to the negligence of the state authorities who are not paying proper attention to the development of this region. Because of the reason, the Saraiki intellectuals and writers present their grievances and compare their condition with the East Pakistanis. They argue that Islamabad was developed on the sources of East Pakistan and now the South Punjab is the main area of agriculture, giving wide variety of agricultural products to Pakistan but still underdeveloped while rest of the Punjab is developing. The state is not paying any heed to overcome their problems. Like Baloch and Mohajir ethnic groups the Saraiki ethnicity is also transformed into politics of ethnicity. The Saraikis feel their self at extreme margins; that is why the shift of their loyalty form state to their cause is revealed. It is being said that Saraiki middle class is gradually developing and becoming a force for its identity movement. They only lack strong and effective leadership that will determine the specific direction of their action.

After studying the three ethnic groups in Pakistan, it has become clear that the Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki ethnicities have primordial basis but it is manipulated politically. Their ethnic belonging is instrumentalised for the accomplishment of
socio-economic and political means. The three ethnies have sufficient potential to create hindrance in the development of cohesive nation. To evaluate the nature and extent of their threat to national integration of Pakistan a survey was conducted by the researcher from Quetta, (Balochistan), Karachi (Sindh) and Multan (Punjab). These cities are selected because of their importance in particular province. Karachi is the city where Mohajirs are dominant, and it is provincial capital city. Quetta is the capital of Balochistan and the area which was approachable for the researcher, and Multan is also the center of Saraiki activities. The researcher focused only Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki ethnies. In the sampling frame fifty students, forty middle class professionals (MCP) ie (lawyers, teachers, intellectuals, doctors, and poets) and ten politicians (having role in policy formulation) were included. In this way one hundred people were included in each sampling frame. The response of Baloch, Mohajir and Saraikis regarding questions has been assessed in the form of bar graph. Three graphs have been made from one question, expressing the views of Baloch, Mohajirs and Saraikis. While the second graph gives a cumulative response of all the categories of all the ethnic groups.

Q.1. What is National Identity?

A. Collective conscious belief B. Shared understanding C. Loyalty to state

![Baloch bar graph](chart.png)
While answering the question no.1, 20 Baloch students, 20 MCPs (Middle Class Professionals), 05 Politicians, 08 Mohajir students, 9 MCPs, 07 politicians and 15 Saraiki students, 25 MCPs and 04 Politicians discerned that it is collective conscious belief. They believe that when all ethnic groups consciously work for collective good they could attain national identity. The second option was chosen by 8 students, 10 MCPs, and 03 Baloch politicians, 09 students, 03 MCP and 01 Mohajir politicians and 09 students, 04 MCPs and 01 Saraiki politicians. While it was considered loyalty to state by 22 students, 10 MCPs and 02 Baloch politicians, 32 students, 27 MCPs and 02 Mohajir politicians, 26 students, 11 MCPs and 05 Saraiki politicians favoured the third choice. They believe that state is the supreme authority that gives identity to its individuals so loyalty to state is the national identity.
1.A. In the overall response of question no. 1, 113 persons chose that national identity is collective conscious belief, 48 persons called it shared understanding and 137 persons said that loyalty to state was the national identity, while 02 persons did not give response to these options.

Q.2. Do you believe on national identity?
A. yes   B. No   C. Don’t Know

Baloch

Mohajir
In response to this question, 50 students, 40 MCPs and 10 Baloch politicians said yes that they were agreed to have a national identity. 49 students, 36 MCPs and 10 Mohajir politicians also give their verdict in favour of national identity. From Saraiki group 48 students, 39 MCPs, and 10 politicians also second the existence of national identity. No Baloch, students, MCPs and politicians went towards 2nd option while 01 Mohajir students, 03 MCPs and 0 politicians gave response to second option. From Saraikis only one student and one MCP voted in favour of this option. Towards third option only 01 Saraiki student gave his response.

2. A. In overall response 292 persons believe on national identity while 6 persons do not believe on it. Only 02 persons said that they had no concept about national identity.
Q.3. Do you believe that strong relationship with race, cast, clan, language or religion weaken the sense of nationhood?

A. yes  B. No  C. Don’t Know

In the answer to this question 40 Baloch students, 33 MCPs and 07 politicians, 38 Mohajir students 28 MCPs and 06 politicians and 43 Saraiki students, 34 MCPs and 07 politicians said in favour of first option. In their point of view these social cleavages were also the irritants towards cohesive nation. 10 Baloch students,
05 MCPs and 03 politicians, 11 Mohajir students, 12 MCPs and 04 politicians while 05 students 06 MCPs and 03 Saraiki politicians said that their social division did not weaken the feelings of nationhood. Only 02 Baloch MCPs, 01 Mohajir students and 02 Saraiki students said that they had no concept about it.

3.A. Cumulatively, 236 persons said yes in response to this question, 59 persons said they don’t agree with it while 5 persons said that they didn’t’ know about it.

Q.4. Do you believe that sense of nationhood leads towards national integration?
   A. yes       B. No       C. Don’t Know
It was considered by the three ethnies that feeling of nationhood is an important variable in the creation of national unity that must be maintained. The result of this question shows that from Baloch ethnie 37 students, 37 MCP and 10 politicians, from Mohajirs 45 students, 36 MCPs and 10 politicians. From Saraikis, 38 students, 38 MCPs and 10 politicians favoured it. 09 students, 01 MCP from Baloch side, 04 students, 03 MCPs from Mohajir side and 08 students and 02 MCPs from Saraiki chose the second option. Only 04 Baloch students, 01 Mohajir and 04 Saraiki students, 02 Baloch, and 01 Mohajir MCP opted for second category while no politician supported the third choice.
4.A. Overall 261 persons responded in favour of nationhood that reflects they want to be the part of the process of nation building that is why they believe on nationhood. Only 27 persons negated the sense of nationhood while 12 persons did not show their concern in it while opting for third option.

Q.5. What is national integration?
A. Assimilation   B. Feelings of oneness   C. Unity in diversity

Baloch

[Bar chart showing the distribution of responses among different categories for Baloch]
To analyze the point of view of the respondents that whether they have the idea of national integration or not and what they perceive through it, three options were given to them. 05 students, 07 MCPs and 04 Baloch politicians, 06 students, 08 MCPs and 05 Mohajir politicians, 11 students, 05 MCPs and 06 Saraiki politicians believed that assimilation was the national integration. The second option was adopted by large number of peoples from them like, 29 students, 20 MCPs and 03 Baloch politicians, 16 students, 11 MCPs and 01 Mohajir politician, 20 students, 20 MCPs and 1 Saraiki politician adopted it. In third category, 16 Baloch Students, 13 MCPs and 03 politicians fall, 28 Mohajir students, 21 MCPs and 04 politicians stressed on unity in diversity. 19 Saraiki students, 15 MCPs and 03 politicians also adopted the third choice.
5.A. In general 57 persons considered that assimilation of all the groups in one culture is national integration. 121 persons said that when all groups felt as one common bond that would be national integration and 122 people said that unity could be created while maintaining specific identity. It is the wish of the ethnic groups who do not want to lose their identity and individually.

Q.6. which factor is harmful for national integration?
A. Ethnic division  b. Social division  C. Political division
In response, 24 students, 16 MCPs and 07 politicians from Baloch ethnicity, 37 students, 16 MCPs and 03 politicians from Mohajirs, 26 students, 22 MCPs and 06 politicians from Saraiki ethnicity said that ethnic division of a society was not good for national integration. 15 Baloch students, 09 MCPs and 03 politicians, 09 students, 14 MCPs and 05 Mohajir politicians, 10 students, 17 MCPs and 03 Saraiki students declared that social division which was based on economic principles could divide the society into haves and have-nots and dangerous for national integration, while 11 students, 15 MCPs and no Baloch politicians, 04 Mohajir students, 10 MCPs and 02 politicians, 14 Saraiki students 01 MCP and 01 politician said that politically divided society ass the threat for national integration.
6.A. Totally 157 persons declared that ethnic division was dangerous, 85 considered social division while only 58 said that political division was harmful for national integration.

Q.7. Which attribute of ethnicity is the most critical for national integration?
A. Language   B. Religion   C. Territory

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**Baloch**

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<th>MCP</th>
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**Mohajir**

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17 students, 12 MCPs and 08 politicians of Baloch ethnie, 20 students, 15 MCPs and 05 Mohajir politicians, 24 students, 16 MCPs and 08 Saraiki politicians highlighted the significance of language while considering it critical for national unity. 17 students, 22 MCPs and 02 politicians from Baloch side, 18 Mohajir students, 14 MCPs and 03 politicians, and 10 students, 20 MCPs and 02 politicians from Saraiki respondents said that religion as so critical for national cohesion. The third category was chosen by 16 Baloch students, 06 MCPs and none politicians, 12 Mohajir students, 11 MCPs and 02 politicians, and 16 students 04 MCPs and none Saraiki politician.

**7.A.** Generally 125 persons declared that ethnicity based on language was the most critical one because Pakistan had already experienced its consequences in
1971. While 108 persons believed that religion was also very critical attribute. Only
58 persons marked the third category.

Q.8. Do you agree that socio – political and economic grievances of ethnic groups
 can maneuver their quest for identity?

A. Yes   B. No   C. Don’t Know

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### Baloch

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### Mohajir

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### Saraiki

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The question is based on the main argument of the study, so in response to this question following results have been drawn. 29 Baloch students, 28 MCPs and 08 politicians, 30 Mohajir students, 26 MCPs and 10 politicians, 30 Saraiki students, 34 MCPs and 10 politicians validated the argument that in contemporary world, socio-political and economic grievances were more important and able to maneuver their journey for identity. Other than this approach, 11 Baloch students, 03 MCPs and 02 politicians, 12 students, 08 MCPs, no politician and 11 Saraiki students, 03 MCPs and 0 politicians adopted the second choice. The third category was knocked down by 10 Baloch students, 09 MCPs and no politician and 08 Mohajir students, 06 MCPs and no politicians. From Saraiki 09 students, 03 MCPs and 0 politicians adopted the third choice.

8.A. Overall response is tabulated as that 179 persons said yes, 65 said no and 56 said don’t know.

Q.9. Do you believe that the central and provincial governments have no clear data about its various ethnic groups?
A. Yes          B. No          C. Don’t Know
The question was asked because census data is necessary for former and proper planning. In its absence, resources are not distributed properly. Keeping in mind the importance of the issue, 26 Baloch students, 27 MCPs and 10 politicians, 37 Mohajir students, 22 MCPs and 10 politicians, while 39 Saraiki students, 37 MCPs and 10 politicians gave their verdict in favour of it. 17 Baloch students 04 MCPs, 09 Mohajir students and 10 MCPs, and only 09 Saraiki students and 3 MCPs
favoured second category. 07 Baloch students and 09 MCPs, 04 Mohajir students, 08 MCPs and 02 Saraiki students said they have no idea about it. The seriousness of the issue revealed in the fact that no politician chose the second or third option.

9.A. Generally, 218 persons said yes, 52 said no and 30 said don't know.

Q.10. Do you believe that national census on regular intervals help to develop proper policies?
A. Yes B. No C. Don't Know
36 students, 23 MCPs and 10 politicians from Baloch ethnic group, 45 Mohajir students, 33 MCPs and 10 politicians, and 37 Saraiki students, 39 MCPs and 10 politicians asserted that census data was helpful for making proper policies. 06 Baloch students, 06 MCPs, 03 Mohajir students and 03 MCPs and 13 Saraiki students and 01 MCP did not favour it. The third category became the choice of 08 Baloch students and 11 MCPs, 02 Mohajir students and 04 MCPs. No politician opted 2nd and 3rd choice. Evenly, no Saraiki respondent highlighted the third category.
10.A. Overall, 243 respondents followed the argument that census should be done on regular basis so that exact information about population and relevant field would help to develop sound strategies. Only 32 persons argued that census data had no relationship with state policies while 25 persons did not give their views.

Q.11. Do you think that state policies are responsible for developing politics of ethnicity?
A. Yes  B. No  C. Don't Know
While responding this question 37 Baloch students, 37 MCPs and 06 politicians, 38 Mohajir students, 36 MCPs and 08 politicians while from Saraiki 41 students, 38 MCPs and 10 politicians replied in affirmation that yes ethnicity becomes politicized in reaction to state policies. 09 Baloch students, 03 MCPs and 04 politicians, 09 Mohajir students, 01 MCP and 02 politicians while 05 students and 02 Saraiki MCPs adopted second category. The interesting fact is that only 04 Baloch, 03 Mohajir and 04 Saraiki students and 03 Mohajir MCPs opted third category. Baloch and Saraiki middle class did not opt it.
11.A. Overall 251 persons argued that state policies provide basis for politics of ethnicity, 35 persons opted the second choice while 14 persons said they had no idea regarding this.

Q.12. Do you agree that mobilized middle class of an ethnic group can pose serious threat to national integration?

A. Yes   B. No   C. Don't Know
While answering this question, from Baloch ethnic group 23 students, 22 MCPs and 07 politicians, 36 Mohajir students, 20 MCPs and 05 politicians and 39 Saraiki students, 33 MCPs and 09 politicians has opted first one. They are much aware about the importance of middle class, which is considered a back bone of a state. That is why they said that if it was activated properly for the persuasion of their demands, than it could be a serious threat to the national integration. The second choice was opted by 18 Baloch students, 10 MCPs and 03 politicians, 12 Mohajir students, 14 MCPs and 05 politicians while 07 Saraiki students, 07 MCPs and 01 politician opted it. Only 09 students and 08 Baloch MCPs, 02 students and 06 MCPs from Mohajirs and 04 students from Saraiki ethnie selected third option.

12.A. Generally first category was chosen by 194 persons and second by 77 persons while only 29 people had no concept about it.
Q.13. Do you think that strong leadership can mobilize ethnic groups effectively?

A. Yes  B. No  C. Don’t Know

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In response, 39 Baloch students, 35 MCPs and 10 politicians, 48 Mohajir students, 35 MCPs and 10 politicians, while 41 Saraiki students, 38 MCPs and 10 politicians favoured the argument and endorsed the effectiveness of the leadership. Only 07 students and 04 Baloch MCPs, 02 students and 01 Mohajir MCP and 07
Saraiki students and 02 MCPs refuted the argument, 04 Baloch students, 01 MCP, 04 Mohajir MCP and 02 Saraiki students selected last option.

13.A. The cumulative response regarding this question is monitored as 266 person opted first category, 23 persons adopted second and 11 person opted third choice.

Q.14. Do you agree that support of external forces to an ethnic group proves a final blow to the process of national integration?

A. Yes   B. No   C. Don’t Know
While responding this question, 31 Baloch students, 22 MCPs and 10 politicians, 41 Mohajir students, 31 MCPs and 05 politicians, 33 Saraiki students, 24 MCPs and 06 politicians confirmed the first choice and re-endorsed that ethnic groups used to develop external links to get their support. While 09 Baloch students and 08 MCPs, 05 Mohajir students, 07 MCPs and 05 politician, 14 Saraiki students, 15 MCPs and 04 politician disproved the argument and opted second choice. 10 Baloch students, 10 MCPs, 04 Mohajir students, 02 MCPs, and 03 Saraiki students and 01 MCP had no information regarding answer of this question.
14.A. Overall 203 persons have substantiated that yes, in most of the ethnic movements around the world, ethnic groups seek the support from external forces and damage the national integration. But 67 persons declared it false statement and only 30 persons had no concept about it.

Apart from this survey, another survey was conducted from Quetta, Karachi and Multan. The sampling frame includes people working from public and private sector, intellectuals (poets, writers, teachers) and political activists. The questioner was filled by 90 persons from each city. The basic purpose of this survey was to get the idea that in the three provinces of Pakistan, how these ethnic groups perceived. Do these ethnic groups are actually potential threat for national integration? And what would be the way out for the resolution of these conflicts.

The comparative analysis of each of the category is as under;

**Questioner No.2; Comparative Perception about the Three Case Studies**

Q. 1. What is the nature of Baloch Ethnic Conflict?

a. Actual  
b. Potential  
c. Circumstantial
52 respondents from Quetta, 44 from Multan and 23 from Karachi approved that the nature of Baloch ethnic conflict is actual. They are not only identity conscious but actually they have genuine grievances with the state. 17 persons from Quetta, 29 from Multan and 7 persons from Karachi declared it potential while 21 persons from Quetta, 17 from Multan and 60 from Karachi approved it as circumstantial. According to them, the Baloch conflict with the state is the product of different situations. The Baloch did not find opportunity of development. So they are in continuous struggle to develop their ethnic loyalties.

Q. 2. What is the nature of Mohajir Ethnic Conflict?

a. Actual     b. Potential     c. Circumstantial
In response to this question, 30 respondents from Quetta, 24 from Multan and 20 from Karachi say that the Mohajir ethnic conflict is also actual. But 22 persons from Quetta, 38 from Multan and 28 from Karachi did not accept the first argument and opted second category while 38 persons from Quetta, 28 from Multan and 41 persons from Karachi called it a circumstantial in nature. Only one person from Karachi did not answer.

Q. 3. What is the nature of Saraiki Ethnic Conflict?

a. Actual  

b. Potential  

c. Circumstantial

While responding this question 28 people from Quetta, 54 from Multan and 17 from Karachi accepted Saraiki’s as actual ethnic conflict. It was accepted as a potential conflict by 30 persons from Quetta, 18 from Multan and 15 from Karachi. 32 persons from Quetta, 18 from Multan and 56 persons from Karachi considered it as circumstantial. Only two persons from Karachi did not answer to this question.

Q. 4. Which ethnic group has the highest intensity of conflict and a real threat to national integration?

a. Baloch  

b. Mohajirs  

c. Saraikis
61 persons from Quetta, 55 from Multan and 65 from Karachi agreed that Baloch ethnic group has the highest intensity of conflict and a threat to national integration. 25 persons from Quetta, 16 from Multan and 22 from Karachi declared Mohajir while a very less number of people, 4 from Quetta, 19 from Multan and 01 person from Karachi adopted the category third. 02 persons from Karachi did not answer.

Q. 5. What way you will suggest to overcome their grievances?

a. Division in small administrative unit    b. Political Autonomy    c. Independence

In response to this question mixed feedback has been seen. 33 people from Quetta, 39 from Multan and 49 from Karachi gave their answer in favour of small administrative units. 35 people from Quetta, 30 from Multan and 34 from Karachi re-
iterated about political autonomy. 21 persons from Quetta, 21 from Multan and only 4 persons from Karachi gave their opinion in favour of independence. Overall 04 persons did not opt any category.
The overall comparative analysis of second questioner shows that in the three cities of Pakistan, Baloch ethnic group is considered as the most potential threat for national integration because most of the people perceive that Baloch grievances are actual and should be addressed properly. People thought that the Mohajirs and Saraikis are circumstantial in nature. The study has also found out that generally the people from these areas believe that good governance could be possible in small administrative units. They have also voted in favour of maximum political autonomy which is the essence of federalism. But there is one group who believe that the remedy of their problems lie only in independence.
Apart from the findings of the questioner, the detailed study of politics of ethnicity with regard to state’s role Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki ethnies, following rational findings have been drawn;

**The State**

- It is revealed that in Pakistan, federalism is not followed in its true sense. The state mainly focuses on centralization of authority. Throughout history it has been seen that the state of Pakistan did not maintain its natural posture. Due to its centralized policies some groups have become privileged groups. Its political strategies have created the issue of representation while the economic policies are responsible for uneven development.

- The study has revealed that one of the major reasons for the failure of federal institutions and uneven development is lack of authentic data about various ethnic groups in the federating units. Every time census data is challenged by ethnic groups. The last census report was published in 1998. Though the successive governments initiated the process but did not follow it efficiently. Consequently, the issue of allocation of resources and the new development projects are in delay.

- Assimilation of all ethnic groups into one whole was cogitated as the most suitable strategy for creating national unity. It is also exposed that federation of Pakistan did not try to understand the importance of ethnicity, that is why they adopted such policies which were not adequate for plural society, like the decision of one national language, creation of one unit, over centralization of power with federation’s frequent intervention in the affairs of federating units.
• It is also exposed that politics of ethnicity is counterproductive. The history of Pakistan is evident that the attributes of ethnicity like history, language, culture and religion are remained as the supportive factors for creating nationhood, but it is the state which created differences among different ethnic groups. The nationality movement for the preservation of their identity, particularly Bengali’s movement was reactionary move, that transformed ethnicity into ethnic politics. The fact is also visible in the study of Baloch, Mohajir and Saraiki ethnies.

• It is revealed in the study that ethnic parties become threat for national integration due to their unified support base. It has been seen in the case of Bengali’s nationalist movement that Mujeeb’s Awami League (AL) created a strong support base in East Pakistan and successfully projected its demands and secured foreign support. Due to this support base the movement was successful.

The Baloch

• The study about Baloch ethnie revealed that the Baloch ethnic movement was started for the preservation of their ethnic identity but now the other variables are also incorporated with it. These variables include security issues, political and economic grievances.

• The study also shows that there is lack of trust between Baloch and the state authorities because the state often damages their self respect. The Baloch often complain that the state of Pakistan never fulfilled its promises. In all the agreements in 1960’s the army dishonored its plight in 1962, the elected Baloch personalities were replaced. In 70’s Z. A. Bhutto rolled down the elective government in Balochistan and the military operation was also
started against them. And in 2006, the violent clashes between the state institutions and Baloch groups further reiterated the distrust between them.

- While communicating with various Baloch intellectuals and policy makers it is also revealed that the Baloch people are misperceived. Their projection through media that all Baloch need independence is not well settled narrative. There were five rebels in Balochistan but not even a single started for the cause of Baloch independence. The survey from Quetta city has placed the fact that only a small minority has these inspirations. Still there is a room for political communication with them.

- Political socialization is an important tool that enhances communication skills among the masses. It is done by various institutions and through leadership. Due to lack of political socialization the gulf is widened between the state and the Baloch people. The process is not successfully carried out by the political parties, Baloch leadership and state authorities. Resultantly, the Baloch did not patronize their demands properly, and state is failed to understand them.

- It is found out that the tactics of power politics are very often used by the state which made ethnic conflict intractable and protracted.

- The study has explored that in Pakistan the process of national integration becomes problematic when states narrative about nation building collided with the narrative of ethnic group.

The Mohajir

- In the case of Mohajir ethnic identity, it is noticed that the development of Mohajir consciousness was responsive act against the state policies. Mohajir identity politics was started when their socio-economic and political interests
were challenged by the other ethnic groups through some state strategies including quota system.

- It was a reality that the concept of “Sons of the soil” became underlying reason of ethnic politics among Mohajirs. Sindhi’s assertion of their association with soil and state’s protection had created fear among the Mohajirs that where they would go?
- Though the Mohajir ethnic includes educated people having better skills of communication, still failed to develop an effective relationship with the state.
- It is found out that Mohajir representative MQM wants to have control on reward and punish that is why they stress to have a share in power.
- MQM is recognized as Mohajir representative party but the study found out that gradually its support base is declining, due to use of violent means.
- MQM has centralized and authoritarian trends. The party’s Coordination Committee in Pakistan is reluctant to talk about alternate leadership, even the party has not adopted a mechanism to appoint the alternate party leadership.

The Saraiki Ethnic Group

- Gradually the Saraiki intellectuals are creating awareness among the masses for their distinguish identity.
- They draw their main concern with Punjabi elite and Government of Punjab first, and then to the state authority for their negligence towards South Punjab.
- It has also been seen that the middle class is growing in the urban centers of the South Punjab who are threatening the state authorities that if their demands are not fulfilled, they could go for other options.
The Saraiki’s are incorporating their economic grievances and underdevelopment of the Saraiki belt with their identity move.

The Saraikis believe that through conscious efforts, state authorities are trying to keep them backward.

Though, the literature shows that they have lack of trust on the main-stream political elite but the election results are drastically changed and not even a single local Saraiki leader is elected.

Contrary to the Baloch and Mohajir ethnic movements, the Saraiki movement is not violent.

While finding out the threat to national integration, the role of leadership, middle class, state and the extent of external support is evaluated in the three case studies. It was found that in Baloch ethnic group leadership is split among nationalist Sardars having anti-state feelings, Sardars with pro-state feelings are participating in the political activities and, the militant leadership, having separatist tendencies. While middle class is also in its evolution. In some Baloch areas the newly emerged middle class is under Sardari influence while in other developed areas a sizeable number is associated with band militant out fits. The role of state is obvious in aggravating anti-state feelings throughout decades. As for as the external support is concerned the Baloch ethnic group has successfully developed its external support base. Most of the Sardars with anti-state feelings are promoting their cause outside the country. They regularly held conferences with the help of international lobby. The external support to Baloch ethnic group could be proved lethal for Pakistan’s national integration.

As far as the Mohajirs are concerned, initially, ethnic leadership performed effectively and MQM was established. Though it was split in 1992 but MQM Haqiqi
MQM Altaf became successful among Mohajirs. Since MQM’s leadership is on exile, and there is no direct presence of Altaf Hussain, its charisma has downward trend. The leadership in the “Rabita Committee” feels reluctant to accept all the orders from Altaf Hussain. Their position is ridiculed by everybody because of Altaf Hussain’s policy of denial and acceptance. Notwithstanding that State’s role always remained encouraging in ethnic politics, MQM has remained with the state authorities. The initial concerns of Mohajirs were relevant with their identity, now these are political victimization, demographic imbalance of the Karachi city and the quota system in Sindh province. The role of Mohajir middle class is also pertinent to study. The Mohajirs have an established middle class, which provided strong support base at the early days of its identity movement. Now the Mohajir middle class is also split. One group still extends its loyalties to the leadership while the others criticize them. Due to involvement in violent and illegal activities the unified support base of middle class is now divided. As far as the support of external powers is concerned it was alleged that when Altaf Hussain visited India, he declared Pakistan a bluff. Due to the statement many people criticized them while declaring them as Indian agent but no clear proof is available, that could be presented as proof for their support.

While evaluating these variables among Saraiki ethnic identity, the leadership is also of two kinds and further fissures in both the kinds. Main stream political leaders are associated with PPP, PML (N), PML (Q) and with other minor parties. Local leaders are leading ethnic parties having differences on minor issues, but are not unified. They have different agendas and objectives that is why unable to get support from the people. The middle class in Saraiki area is evolving. In urban areas of South Western Punjab they are promoting their cause through local literature. It is gradually developing.
The state’s role is based on irresponsible behavior and policy of ignorance. State is not paying attention to resolve the concerns of this area which is the largest agriculture producer of Pakistan. Due to the systemic, the Saraiki’s like Mohajirs and Baloch often expresses anti-state feelings. The failure of a system in which one ethnic group and its associated territory is kept backward is thought as the failure of the state, because state is the farmer and the manager of that system. As far as the role of external factors is concerned, it is present there and developing but not directly with the relation to an ethnic group but under religious banner. Huge foreign funding for religious and sectarian madrasas will be helpful to develop its cross-sectional relationship.

Suggestions

On the basis of these findings, following suggestions have been made for the creation of special cohesion and national integration;

- No doubt federalism has proved to be the best design for multi-ethnic societies. Its acceptance for social and political pluralism will further be helpful to integrate different ethnic groups in nationhood.
- Ethnic factor should be considered, while shaping up the national policy otherwise, ethnic groups will remain important contender to the state.
- It is required that state has to evolve the strategies based on structural and perceptual perspective. Structural involved, political engagement, political reforms, social giving’s and significant compromises while the perceptual includes the expunction of misperception brought about in the society. This could be done when there is trust and close interaction with the contending parties, the ethnic groups and the state authority.
• Political participation through regular free elections must be ensured in which every group should have to participate
• Unity in diversity must be protected. Any policy to create forced assimilation could be disastrous for federation. Concerns of diversity must be mirrored in the existing federal institution.
• State should have to conduct a transparent census with regular intervals that reflect the evolving demographic trends in Pakistan. No doubt, it helps the state to allocate the resources and to view the future growth and needs of ethnic groups.
• Peaceful means of conflict resolution must be opted. Use of force cannot abate the conflictual situation, it gives rise to the politics of ethnicity.
• National political parties must be evolved having proper representation of various ethnic groups. The political parties are required to perform as a bridge between ruler and the ruled when these political parties will properly articulate and aggregate the interests of various ethnies, their concerns will be diminished.
• In the state institutions adequate representation of these ethnies is required. This will lessen their sense of alienation in the political system.
• It is apparent that effective communication is a helping tool to minimize the intensity of conflict. In this way, it is needed to evolve operative methods of political communication which includes extensive planning or ground work before initiating any policy, comfortable environment of dialogue, and a meaningful interaction must be evolved. These tools could work as a confidence building measures, which finally required an effective feedback
system. It is helpful to evaluate the strength and weaknesses of the existing political system.

- It is also needed to evolve an appropriate process of political socialization. In which all the actors, the state authorities, political parties, interest groups and ethnic groups by themselves should be involved and perform accordingly. The interactive approach in socialization process will be helpful to formulate national unity based on substantive values and rights binding for all.

The research shows that in Pakistan, perceptions are formed on the basis of misperception. The state authorities and ethnic groups both alleged each other for misgiving and misconduct. A peaceful and workable environment could be created when authorities follow the institutional mechanism to address each other’s concerns. For creating social cohesion and national unity, state has to show political will to develop and execute, ethnic group’s attitude through meaningful dialogue process. It can be concluded in a way that better the state will perform, lesser would be the intensity of ethnic politics and greater chances of creating national integration.
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APPENDICES
Appendix- 1
The Constitution of Pakistan
Part VI
Finance, Property, Contracts and Suits
Chapter 1. FINANCE
Distribution of Revenues between the Federation and the Provinces.

160. National Finance Commission

(1) Within six months of the commencing day and thereafter at intervals not exceeding five years, the President shall [149] constitute a National Finance Commission consisting of the Minister of Finance of the Federal Government, the Ministers of Finance of the Provincial Governments, and such other persons as may be appointed by the President after consultation with the Governors of the Provinces. (2) It shall be the duty of the National Finance Commission to make recommendations to the President as to-

(a) the distribution between the Federation and the Provinces of the net proceeds of the taxes mentioned in clause (3);
(b) the making of grants-in-aid by the Federal Government to the Provincial Governments;
(c) the exercise by the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments of the borrowing powers conferred by the Constitution; and
(d) any other matter relating to finance referred to the Commission by the President.

(3) The taxes refer to in paragraph (a) of clause (2) are the following taxes raised under the authority of [150] [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)], namely:

(i) taxes on income, including corporation tax, but not including taxes on income consisting of remuneration paid out of the Federal Consolidated Fund;

(ii) taxes on the sales and purchases of goods imported, exported, produced, manufactured or consumed;
(iii) export duties on cotton, and such other export duties as may be specified by the President;
(iv) export duties on cotton, and such other export duties as may be specified by the President;
(v) such other taxes as may be specified by the President.

[151]

(3A) The share of the Provinces in each Award of National Finance Commission shall not be less than the share given to the Provinces in the previous Award.

(3B) The Federal Finance Minister and Provincial Finance Ministers shall monitor the implementation of the Award biannually and lay their reports before both Houses of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and Provincial Assemblies.

(4) As soon as may be after receiving the recommendation, of the National Finance Commission, the President shall, by [152] Order, specify, in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission under paragraph (a) of clause (2), the share of the
net proceeds of the taxes mentioned in clause (3) which is to be allocated to each Province, and that share shall be paid to the Government of the Province concerned, and, notwithstanding the provision of Article 78 shall not form part of the Federal Consolidated Fund.

(5) The recommendations of the National Finance Commission, together with an explanatory memorandum as to the action taken thereon, shall be laid before both Houses and the Provincial Assemblies.

(6) At any time before an Order under clause (4) is made, the President may, by Order, make such amendments or modifications in the law relating to the distribution of revenues between the Federal Government and the Provincial Governments as he may deem necessary or expedient.

(7) The President may, by Order, make grants-in-aid of the revenues of the Provinces in need of assistance and such grants shall be charged upon the Federal Consolidated Fund.

(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 78,-
   (a) the net proceeds of the Federal duty of excise on natural gas levied at well-head and collected by the Federal Government and of the royalty collected by the Federal Government, shall not form part of the Federal Consolidated Fund and shall be paid to the Province in which the well-head of natural gas is situated;
   (b) the net proceeds of the Federal duty of excise on oil levied at well-head and collected by the Federal Government, shall not form part of the Federal Consolidated Fund and shall be paid to the Province in which the well-head of oil is situated.

(2) The net profits earned by the Federal Government, or any undertaking established or administered by the Federal Government from the bulk generation of power at a hydro-electric station shall be paid to the Province in which the hydro-electric station is situated. Explanation - For the purposes of this clause "net profits" shall be computed by deducting from the revenues accruing from the bulk supply of power from the bus-bars of a hydro-electric station at a rate to be determined by the Council of Common Interests, the operating expenses of the station, which shall include any sums payable as taxes, duties, interest or return on investment, and depreciations and element of obsolescence, and overheads, and provision for reserves.

Appendix- 3
The Constitution of Pakistan
Part V (contd)
Relations between Federation and Provinces
Chapter 3. SPECIAL PROVISIONS

153. Council of Common Interests
(1) There shall be a Council of Common Interests, in this Chapter referred to as the Council, to be appointed by the President.

(2) The Council shall consist of:
(a) the Prime Minister who shall be the Chairman of the Council;
(b) the Chief Ministers of the Provinces;
(c) three members from the Federal Government to be nominated by the Prime Minister from time to time.


154. Functions and Rules of Procedure

(1) The Council shall formulate and regulate policies in relation to matters in Part II of the Federal Legislative List and shall exercise supervision and control over related institutions.

(2) The Council shall be constituted within thirty days of the Prime Minister taking oath of office.

(3) The Council shall have a permanent Secretariat and shall meet at least once in ninety days: Provided that the Prime Minister may convene a meeting on the request of a Province on an urgent matter.

(4) The decisions of the Council shall be expressed in terms of the opinion of the majority.

(5) Until [148] Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) makes provision by law in this behalf, the Council may make its rules of procedure.

(6) [148] Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) in joint sitting may from time to time by resolution issue directions through the Federal Government to the Council generally or in a particular matter to take action as [148] Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) may deem just and proper and such directions shall be binding on the Council.

(7) If the Federal Government or a Provincial Government is dissatisfied with a decision of the Council, it may refer the matter to [148] Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) in a joint sitting whose decision in this behalf shall be final.
155. Complaints as to Interference with Water Supplies

(1) If the interests of a Province, the Federal Capital or the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, or any of the inhabitants thereof, in water from any natural source of supply therein or reservoirs have been or are likely to be affected prejudicially by-
(a) any executive act or legislation taken or passed or proposed to be taken or passed, or
(b) the failure of any authority to exercise any of its powers with respect to the use and distribution or control of water from that source,
the Federal Government or the Provincial Government concerned may make a complaint in writing to the Council.

(2) Upon receiving such complaint, the Council shall, after having considered the matter, either give its decision or request the President to appoint a commission consisting of such persons having special knowledge and experience in irrigation, engineering, administration, finance or law as he may think fit, hereinafter referred to as the Commission.

(3) Until [148] [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] makes provision by law in this behalf, the provisions of the Pakistan Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1956, as in force immediately before the commencing day shall apply to the Council or the Commission as if the Council or the Commission were a commission appointed under that Act to which all the provisions of section 5 thereof applied and upon which the power contemplated by section 10A thereof had been conferred.

(4) After considering the report and supplementary report, if any, of the Commission, the Council shall record its decision on all matters referred to the Commission.

(5) Notwithstanding any law to the contrary, but subject to the provisions of clause (5) of Article 154, it shall be the duty of the Federal Government and the Provincial Government concerned in the matter in issue to give effect to the decision of the Council faithfully according to its terms and tenor.

(6) No proceeding shall lie before any court at the instance of any party to a matter which is or has been in issue before the Council, or of any person whatsoever, in respect of a matter which is actually or has been or might or ought to have been a proper subject of complaint to the Council under this Article.

234. Power to issue Proclamation in case of failure of constitutional machinery in a Province.

(1) If the President, on receipt of a report from the Governor of a Province, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the President may, or if a resolution in this behalf is passed by each House separately, shall, by Proclamation,

(a) assume to himself, or direct the Governor of the Province to assume on behalf of the President, all or any of the functions of the Government of the Province, and all or any of the powers vested in, or exercisable by, any body or authority in the Province, other than the Provincial Assembly;

(b) declare that the powers of the Provincial Assembly shall be exercisable by, or under the authority of, Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament); and

(c) make such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary or desirable for giving effect to the objects of the Proclamation, including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of the Constitution relating to any body or authority in the Province.

Provided that nothing in this Article shall authorize the President to assume to himself, or direct the Governor of the Province to assume on his behalf, any of the powers vested in, or exercisable by, a High Court, or to suspend either in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of the Constitution relating to High Courts.

(2) The Provisions of Article 105 shall not apply to the discharge by the Governor of his functions under clause (1).

(3) A Proclamation issued under this Article shall be laid before a joint sitting and shall cease to be in force at the expiration of two months, unless before the expiration of that period it has been approved by resolution of the joint sitting and may by like resolution be extended for a further period not exceeding two months at a time; but no such Proclamation shall in any case remain in force for more than six months.

(4) Notwithstanding anything contained in clause (3), if the National Assembly stands dissolved at the time when a Proclamation is issued under this Article, the Proclamation shall continue in force for a period of three months but, if a general election to the Assembly is not held before the expiration of that period, it shall cease to be in force at the expiration of that period unless it has earlier been approved by a resolution of the Senate.

(5) Where by a Proclamation issued under this Article it has been declared that the powers of the Provincial Assembly shall be exercisable by or under the authority of Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament), it shall be competent-

(a) to Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) in joint sitting to confer on the President the power to make laws with respect to any matter within the legislative competence of the Provincial Assembly;

(b) to Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) in joint sitting, or the President, when he is empowered under paragraph (a), to make laws conferring powers and imposing duties, or
authorizing the conferring of powers and the imposition of duties, upon the Federation, or officers and authorities thereof;

(c) to the President, when [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] is not in session, to authorize expenditure from the Provincial Consolidated Fund, whether the expenditure is charged by the Constitution upon that fund or not, pending the sanction of such expenditure by [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] in joint sitting; and

(d) to [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] in joint sitting by resolution to sanction expenditure authorized by the President under paragraph (c).

(6) Any law made by [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or the President which [Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)] or the President would not, but for the issue of a Proclamation under this Article, have been competent to make, shall, to the extent of the incompetency, cease to have affect on the expiration of a period of six months after the Proclamation under this Article has ceased to be in force, except as to things done or omitted to be done before the expiration of the said period.

APPENDIX 5-A

Manuscript of Interview by Mr. Akbar Khan Durrani, Home Secretary Balochistan

Q. What is Baloch Ethnic Issue?

The Population of Baloch in Balochistan is 51% and they have 447 tribes. The South is Baloch dominant area. Baloch are the loyal citizens of Pakistan like others.

The so called Baloch insurgencies developed a misperception against Baloch that they are against the stability of Pakistan. But we do not think like this. We know that 99.9% Baloch believe on the identity of Pakistan. Only 1% cannot represent the whole Baloch community. Media has projected some sub-tribes and their leaders like Herbiyar Murree. Baloch issue is nothing but only a this misperception.

Q. What are the reasons of underdevelopment of Baloch Area?

The Baloch nationalists always demanded two things: the coastal line, mineral and mines. Eighteenth amendment has made everything clear. Except port and shipping everything is under Provincial control. The tribes of Pashtun belt decided to develop their areas. Chamalang Model is one of the examples. They decided to participate and give protection to those who are developing their resources. In this area various colleges and schools are working. But in those areas where 1% Baloch are establishing their hegemony and spreading insecurity, how we can force the developers to come here and work. If they will attack on machinery and human resources then who will come to develop.

Q. To what extant state is responsible for the Politics of Ethnicity?

I will not defend, certainly the Baloch have grievances with federation, especially on the issue of Natural Gas. But the reality is that initially federation used to please the local Sardars through different ways. The Sardars got much perks and privileges. There was complete silence from the common Baloch. They did not demand, that is why the Government did not pay attention. Later on when media became influential, the people became aware. It was the greatest mistake of
the federation that they favored only handpicked persons. They should not do this. The local sardars did not develop their area. When these nationalists were out of power they started talking against the State.

Q. what is Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) and what is the government’s strategy to handle?

BLA is led by Dr. Allah Nazar and it is mostly formed in areas where there is no nawab and Sardar. The areas called Panjgoor, Turbat and Gawadar where middle class is developing gradually. Now the question is that how BLA penetrated in this area? Actually, we have lack of education and communication due to the reason people are exploited. If I should be asked to create Jihadi among the Baloch, I assure that I could prepare more than one hundreds suicide bombers within three months. Some external elements are also exploited this situation.

We have some internal problems, if the government focus on it, we can avoid the situation. We have now started Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package. Various job opportunities are given to the young people. Due to the reason BLA is facing problems in further recruitments.

When middle class will get infrastructure and jobs, it will become effective force for the development.
Manuscript of the Interview with Dr. Abdul Hay Baloch, Former Chairman BNP, Former Member National Assembly.

Q. 1 What is Baloch ethnic Issue.

Pakistan is a Nation-State and Baloch is not an ethnic group but it is a nation having different culture, language and traditions. Baloch never remained under British control. Balochi is very ancient language like Persian, and it has very important role in the development of Baloch nationalism.

Q.2 What is the dominant Factor of Baloch Ethnicity?

Association with territory is utmost important.

Q.3 What is the source of communication to mobilize Baloch?

The Baloch are bilingual. Balochi and Brahvi are the two important languages spoken and used for communication. There is no conflict on the basis of Balochi and Brahvi like Mangal's Mother tongue is Brahvi.

Q.4 What is the main purpose of Baloch ethnic movement?

Basic purpose is to get our due share. The role of establishment is negative. The federal government treats us as their colony. Their mind set should be changed. They impose everything on us. The establishing is not under control of any governing party. The Parliament is powerless and helpless here. This is the only example of the world.

For a successful federation, consensus building is necessary. Unfortunately, federation is not working in its original spirit. We should be given rights of our resources.

Q.5 To what extant external forces are involved in Balochistan.

We have to talk only about internal atrocities. If the government is not facilitating the common people and daily they will receive mutilated
bodies and will not address the issue of missing persons how you can say that they will love the state. Automatically, they will resist. It was the government that opened its borders to the Afghan people, not us. Various actors internal and external are now involved and some have developed their links with the Baloch.

Q.6 **What is the resolution of the issue?**

- There is no respect of constitution. The issue of humiliated bodies is very important.
- If Baloch people should get the right to rule, there would not be any law and order situation. In Balochistan F.C is all in all. We have no trust on this political system.
- Political resolution is needed. Use of force is not the remedy.
- Army operation should be ended unconditionally.
- Issue of missing persons should be addressed.
- People should not be forced to migrate.
- Baloch should be accommodated in all the developmental projects.
- Sound confidence building measures should be adopted.
APPENDIX 5-C

Manuscript of the interview with Mr. Sami Baloch, BNP (M) (May 31st 2013)

Q. What is the Baloch Issue?

This is the issue of human psychology. Every individual needs identity and recognition and Baloch also need this.

Q. For Baloch, economics is much important or identity?

Economy provides basis for identity.

Q. What are your major grievances?

There is a mix situation. Some issues are part of Baloch Values. Like Baloch needs self respect that creates identity. Baloch want to maintain their values. They can live with economic deprivation but they cannot break their values and norms. We have distrust on the state that the federation wants to crush our identity.

Q. Do you believe on constitutional mechanism to solve the issue?

Yes, we do believe on it, but in Pakistan power politics is involved in everything. We always showed trust on government but they humiliated us.

Q. What you will suggest to overcome this distrust?

- We should not lie with each other. Although it is difficult, but if we will not speak truth, this situation will not change.
Manuscript of the interview with Mr. Abdul Malik Baloch. (July 17th 2011)

Q. How the Baloch Grievances could be resolved?

- Baloch should be considered as the major stake holders so they must be involved in all the decisions.
- Baloch should be involved in all the developmental projects.
- It is needed to understand the nature of Baloch and on board them in the political affairs.
- Through good governance their grievances could be resolved.

- FC which is the representative of army should be immediately withdrawn from Balochistan and a constant state of fear should be finished.
Q. What is Baloch issue?

Baloch issue is the issue of identity. But we have to differentiate between right of self determination and political autonomy. We can get political autonomy within the constitutional parameters. But there is no room for right of self determination.

Q. How the issue could be addressed?

Three elements should be ended immediately,

1. Missing persons,
2. Bullet ridden bodies,
3. Contractors who built misperception.

Respect and love should be given to each sub nation and we have to accept each other’s culture, language and traditions.
APPENDIX 5-E

Manuscript of interview with Brahmadagh Bugti (A telephonic conversation from Janeva, Switzerland) (March 16th 2012)

Q. Is it Possible to solve the issue of Baloch within the geographical boundary of Pakistan?

We have no relation with the constitution of Pakistan. We tried our best to get our constitutional share but now it is difficult for us. I guarantee you that around 99% Baloch ethnic group support us on the issue of independence. We are a nation and nation fights for its rights. We are fighting for the rights of our own land. Our peaceful struggle is treated violently. And every action has its reaction, this is quite natural.

Q. Some Baloch Leaders are involved in mainstream politics. Why you use extra constitutional ways?

They are doing everything with fear. If you conduct a referendum, you will be clear. State never accepts our demands and wants to make us slaves.
Manuscript of interview with Shahzain Bugti, Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP) (February 25th 2012)

Q. What you will suggest to solve the Baloch issue?

- We advocate struggle for Baloch rights within the constitutional framework under federation.
- The Baloch-Islamabad trust deficit must be overcome because it is the major hurdle towards a political reconciliation.
- I believe that political dialogue can find the way out of the crisis. We need sincerity from Islamabad then we can find a political solution.
Manuscript of Interview with Mr. Haider Abbas Rizvi, Member Parliament and focal person for interview

Q. What is the political philosophy of MQM?

In Pakistan there are two types of people are living. One is the elite group and the others are the slaves. Elite has no further division in it, but the slaves are divided into Shia, Sunni, Bralvi, Dubandi (religious sects) Punjabi, Baloch, Sindhi, Mohajir and Pathan.

MQM basically wants to give the power to Pakistan's middle and lower middle class through democratic means. They should come in parliament. This is our struggle in Pakistan and the reason of existence.

Q. What is the Mohajir issue?

MQM is the only party of the world, which came into existence from a student party. The student party gave birth to a mass party that was Mohajir Qaumi Movement. It was based on the sense of deprivation among people who migrated from India to Pakistan. The philosophy of
“son of the soil” which is existing in Pakistan, has created discrimination. Mohajirs were not accepted as the sons of the soil. We were called by funny names. We were humiliated through many ways. We were not given the Pakistani identity, despite the fact that we left India by the name of Pakistan. In interior Sindh Mohajirs were settled in majority but on the name of quota system, we were again marginalized. This was not in any other Province of Pakistan. The representation of Mohajir in all the civil and other institutions was very nominal.

The political philosophy of MQM was accepted by the people and we got land slide victory.

Q. Why Mohajir Qaumi Movement was changed into Mutahida Qaumi Movement?

With the gradual piece of time, the MQM realized that the other communities of Pakistan are also facing the same discrimination, Saraiki belt is backward, Baloch are also backward. The party leadership also felt that Pakistan’s resources are in the usage of two percent privileged elite. So for all the oppressed communities of Pakistan we started our struggle and changed our name from Mohajir to Mutahidda.

Q. Why the issue of Mohajir identity is existed only in Sindh Province?

In Punjab the migrants were not in minority so the majority of Punjabi absorbed them but in Sindh the migrants had the same number of Population. In this situation a long time was required for the Mohajir-Sindhi merger. After that the linguistic bill of the Sindh government in favoring of Sindhi language as the only mean of communication further enhanced the tension, and linguistic violence further isolated the two communities.

Q. Do you think that new division of Provinces can resolve the identity issues in Pakistan?

Nowadays everything is relevant with economics. If the economic conditions are good and people are satisfied then there would not be the issue of identity. Poor economic conditions invoke the issue of identity. The behavior of Larrkana with Karachi, Lahore with Multan and the peshawar’s attitude with Abbotabad created the situation.
APPENDIX 5-H

Manuscript of interview with Mr. Shabbir Ahmad Qaimkhawni, joint incharge Sindh Tanzeemi Committee, Ex Minister Health MQM

Q. What are the objectives of MQM?

MQM wants to give power to the poor people, who are 98 percent of this country. I also belonged to a middle class family and I had no idea that I would be the Minister of the Province.

Q. Why MQM is alleged for violence in Karachi?

MQM is not involved in it. The reason is that we own Karachi. Violence is made by those who disown it. There is a continuous propaganda against MQM.

Q. What is the difference between an oath member and an ordinary member?
Now the concept of oath member is not existed because in 1987 or 1988, oath was excluded. There were very ordinary things in the oath about the loyalty with Altaf Bhai.
Manuscript of telephonic conversation with Mr. Akram Mirani. A Saraiki Intellectual. (January 24th 2013)

Q. How will you define Saraiki issue?

It was the narrative of Saraiki Nationalists that historically there was a Saraiki homeland (Upper Sindh) from Sadiqabad to Tank which created a culture and language. Some parts of it were occupied by Punjabis through colonization during British period and Migration from India after partition. Still they claim 21 districts. In their narrative they consider all the inhabitants of the area as Saraiki either they are old or new. This is the issue of Saraiki identity, which is historical, cultural and lingual.

Q. What are the main grievances of Saraiki?

There are cultural, political and economic issues and the federal government as well as the government of Punjab has the same role in enhancing the sense of deprivation.

Q. How you evaluate the role of Saraiki nationalist parties and the mainstream political parties?

Although Saraiki nationalist parties cannot gain political support but people will not support those mainstream national political parties who ignore the Saraiki issue, especially the PML (N) is not popular among the people in present scenario.
APPENDIX 5-J

A manuscript of interview with Mr. afzal Massaud, founding member, Pakistan Saraiki Party (PSP) Multan and Bahawalpur. (February 20th 2013)

Q. What is the Saraiki issue?

It was the issue of identity on the basis of language. Saraiki believe that they are entirely different with Punjabis, even their culture, traditions and heroes are different. Now the economic backwardness is also the part of this issue.

Q. How will you discuss the role of the State regarding Saraiki issue?

It is not remarkable. State is equally responsible in enhancing the issue. The social development that should be the duty of state was not performed. Resultantly many sectarian groups have established various Madrasa's (religious schools) here. They are providing, not only education but giving them food and clothing also. These institutes are erected on the main drive in and are approachable.

I believe that the enhanced extremist and redical minds in this region are due to the failure of state.

Q. Do you think that middle class of this region is able enough to successfully lead this movement.

No, still middle class is struggling. In the most rural culture, the basic issue is food and health. People from these areas are not aware. But the movement is developing by generation to generation.

Q. How will you discuss the role of the leadership in the Saraiki issue?

Leadership role is not convincing. On local level, there are different personalities working individually. They do not have strong support base that is why during past election they could not win even a single seat. Until and unless they will link their motives with national mainstream political parties they cannot be successful. They have to
finish inter group differences which are only personality clashes. Then they would be able to create political awareness.

APPENDIX 5-K

A manuscript of interview with Mr. Aamir Khakwani, Columnist (Daily Express)

Q. What is the nature of conflict of Saraiki.

It is basically the issue of lingual identity. Initially, the focus was on the recognition of Saraiki language but now different variables are involved in it. The socio-economic and political grievances of Saraiki people have heightened the issue.

Q. what is the intensity of Saraiki movement?

The intensity of the movement can be monitored through its participants. At present a part from the middle class and lower middle class, participants, the political elite is also part of it. So we can say that the intensity is increasing day by day for the creation of Saraiki Province; that is why the demand cannot be rejected.
A manuscript of interview with Mr. Salman Abid, regional head, Strengthening Participatory Organization (SPO) Punjab. (January 6th 2013)

Q. How Socio-Political and economic grievances transform the Saraiki ethnicity into ethnic politics.

It is very simple, because political and especially economic concerns have potential to enhance the conflict. The Saraiki ethnic group has political representation but they never engaged in the decision making process.

The resources are allocated to them but their distribution is not proper. Their infrastructure is not developed. The underdevelopment, actually created a sense of awareness.

Q. How will you evaluate the role of Saraiki nationalists?

In South Punjab, there are two types of leadership. First, the mainstream national Leadership, second, those belong to local groups. The local groups or Saraiki nationalists did not link their politics with the main-stream political parties. They did not develop themselves as a political party. All the groups have various differences with each other. So a unanimous resolution and efforts from their side is not being seen.

Q. How you evaluate the role of state in enhancing Saraiki issue?

The role of state is very important. Where state fails, different groups try to fill the gap. In South Punjab state is not successful to communicate effectively that is the reason, various sectarian groups are active to fill the gap. This is one of the main reasons of enhanced extremist tendencies in the region. A wide range of terrorist is a reactionary mind set.
APPENDIX 5-M


Q. What is the Saraiki Issue?

This is not the issue of identity but the issue of economic deprivation of the region.

Q. How will you evaluate the role of state regarding this deprivation?

Due to the result of state policies, Sutlej and Beas Rivers were given to India according to Indus Basin Treaty, both the rivers belonged to South Punjab. The deprived area did not get any royalty from the government. It was decided to built two main canals to keep Sutlej flowing. One was Tareemoon-Islam and the other was Baloki-Sulemanki. In Indus Basin Treaty, it is written that till 1968 both the canals will be made but still, these are not completed. That is why, Sutlej has become a river of sand. The under soil water of Bahawalpur region is down and arsenic containment is increased. That is the major reason of high mortality rate.

The other very important thing is that in this region very few districtQQQs and divisions have been formed, but in the Bahawalpur region not even a single division and district is formed. The area is lowest in literacy rate and about 52 % people are living below poverty line.

The state used to intervene in the affairs of the provinces. To minimize the intensity of Bahawalpur movement, some sharp political minds influenced the Waderas and Zamindars (local elite) of this region and invoked Saraiki-Province movement.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto the leader of PPP started this political maneuvering and Saraiki ethnicity became politicized.
Q. What is the role of local leadership?

State used to influence local people for giving them political offices. Like some leaders, got the office of the Governor and even Prime Minister also. Main-stream leadership, often exploit local leadership.

APPENDIX 6-A

Questionnaire No. 1

Research for PhD Thesis

Q.1. What is National Identity?
A. Collective conscious belief
B. Shared understanding
C. Loyalty to state

Q.2. Do you believe on national identity?
A. yes
B. No
C. Don’t Know

Q.3. Do you believe that strong relationship with race, cast, clan, language or religion weaken the sense of nationhood?
A. yes
B. No
C. Don’t Know

Q.4. Do you believe that sense of nationhood leads towards national integration?
A. yes
B. No
Q.5. What is national integration?
A. Assimilation
B. Feelings of oneness
C. Unity in diversity

Q.6. Which factor is harmful for national integration?
A. Ethnic division
B. Social division
C. Political division

Q.7. Which attribute of ethnicity is the most critical for national integration?
A. Language
B. Religion
C. Territory

Q.8. Do you agree that socio – Political and economic grievances of ethnic groups can maneuver their quest for identity?
A. Yes
B. No
C. Don’t Know

Q.9. Do you believe that the central and provincial governments have no clear data about its various ethnic groups.
A. Yes
B. No
C. Don’t Know

Q.10. Do you believe that national census on regular intervals help to develop proper policies?
A. Yes
Q.11. Do you think that state policies are responsible for developing politics of ethnicity?

A. Yes
B. No
C. Don’t Know
Q.12. Do you agree that mobilized middle class of an ethnic group can pose serious threat to national integration?

A. Yes
B. No
C. Don’t Know

Q.13. Do you think that strong leadership can mobilize ethnic groups effectively?

A. Yes
B. No
C. Don’t Know

Q.14. Do you agree that support of external forces to an ethnic group proves a final blow to the process of national integration?

A. Yes
B. No
C. Don’t Know
APPENDIX 6-B

Questionnaire No. 2

To measure the threat matrix among the three case studies

Q. 1. What is the nature of Baloch Ethnic Conflict?
   a. Actual
   b. Potential
   c. Circumstantial

Q. 2. What is the nature of Mohajir Ethnic Conflict?
   a. Actual
   b. Potential
   c. Circumstantial

Q. 3. What is the nature of Saraiki Ethnic Conflict?
   a. Actual
   b. Potential
   c. Circumstantial

Q. 4. Which ethnic group has the highest intensity of conflict and a real threat to national integration?
   a. Baloch
   b. Mohajirs
   c. Saraikis

Q. 5. What way you will suggest to overcome their grievances?
   a. Division in small administrative units
   b. Political Autonomy
   c. Independence