

Dual Aspects of Demand of Province of South Punjab: Redefining Federalism

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Abstract

Federalism in Pakistan is throughout in trouble due to delay in constitution-making, inter wing parity, and majority constraint approach. Now provincial autonomy granted through the 18th amendment is redefining federation as it has made ethnic minorities conscious about their ethnic identity and this consciousness-raising has matured in terms of voice raising for new provinces. The demand for a new province in South Punjab is viable both in ethical and economical aspects, whether it is the creation of a new province on ethnic ground or recreation of Bahawalpur province based on economic revival. It is envisaged that the dual-mode of new province in south Punjab may redefine federalism as it will be a paradigm shift from ethnic identity to economic interest and may redefine the boundaries of constituent units accordingly. So new province in South Punjab in every case may erupt the dormant volcano of the creation of new provinces across Pakistan.

Keywords: Federalism, South Punjab, Provincial Autonomy, New Province

Introduction and Background

Pakistan was founded to become an ideal state of the world ranging from a conceptual approach to the materialization of resources. The two nation's ideology was dominant overall ethnic, racial, and linguistic diversities. Federalism was one of the best political systems for the homogeneous distribution of political and economic power at the grass-root level. Pakistan was one of the populous countries of the world so it not only had numerical strength but also had a population with distinguished features. Pakistan had fertile agrarian land, mineral resources, a coastal belt, rivers, and a canal system. It also had one of the richest states of the sub-continent i.e. Bahawalpur. So Pakistan was founded to become a great and distinguished country in the world.

Unfortunately, in Pakistan, the spirit of federalism could not evolve because parochial interests mostly preceded over national interests. It gave birth to inter wing parity, majority constraint approach, and raised ethnic diversities within provinces after the 18th amendment. Provincial autonomy granted through the 18th amendment made ethnic minorities in the provinces more conscious about their identity and interests which culminated in voice raising for new provinces. Among the voices, demand for a new province in South Punjab is more viable in historical context and federation perspective, whether it is based on ethnic identity or recreation of the provincial status of Bahawalpur based on economic revival.

Proponents of Siraiki province in South Punjab and opponents of the new province based on ethnic grounds have different historical inspirations. The Siraiki nationalists believe that the forceful annexation of Multan to Lahore in 1818 by Ranjeet Singh pioneered their political deprivation and economic exploitation (Langah, 2005). Afterward, the British changed the geographical boundaries of the Siraiki region as Bannan, Tank, and Dera Ismael Khan separated from the Siraiki region to create a new province NWFP (Dhareeja, 2013).

Although Bahawalpur is a Siraiki dominant province yet it also has a distinct history of 228 years of rule by Abbassi Nawabs i.e. from 1727 to 1955. After partition, the affluent state of Bahawalpur acceded Pakistan on October 5, 1947 (Khanam, 2016). Afterward, Bahawalpur was awarded status of the province but its provincial identity was engulfed by inter wing parity. The Bahawalpur legislative assembly did not approve the merger of Bahawalpur into one unit (Ansari, 2009). But the government ignored the resistance and Bahawalpur merged into West Pakistan in 1955. (Abbasi, 1999). One unit formula proved a notorious initiative so a nationwide campaign launched against it even it was hard for the government to face the resistance. President Ayub Khan formed a committee that recommended the dissolution of one unit and the creation of five more

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provinces whereas the fourth proposed province was comprised of Bahawalpur and Multan divisions (Ahmad, 2004). Afterward, one unit was abolished but the status of Bahawalpur was not restored. It provoked the people of Bahawalpur and they initiated a violent movement to restore the provincial status of Bahawalpur (Kakar, 2012). The first clash occurred on April 24, 1970, when a peaceful procession became a victim of police action and hundreds of participants were wounded whereas two succumbed to injuries (Kanjoo, 2009). It raised the noise level of restoration of Bahawalpur province and favored the Siraiki parties who had restoration of Bahawalpur province in their manifesto in the elections of 1970. Meantimes, the prince of Bahawalpur realized the threats posed to Pakistan after the secession of East Pakistan and called off a separate province movement by declaring that it was not our priority (Qayyum, 2013). But it did not suppress the movement as the two members from the Bahawalpur region Maulvi Nizam Din Haider and Noor Muhammad Hashmi did not sign the constitution of Pakistan 1973 because it did not address the issue of the Siraiki province (Langah, 2005). Anyway, consistent efforts bore the fruits, and Siraiki was recognized as a separate language in 1981 (Ahmed, 1999). Another important development that catalyzed Siraiki nationalists was the recognition of Siraiki ethnicity as fifth nationality by Pakistan's Oppressed Nation's Movement in 1998 and the word 'Siraikistan' was also stated as a separate federating unit in its charter of demand (Ahmad, 2004).

The latest transition to democracy in 2008 strengthened the political and economic pillars of the new province in South Punjab. The 7th National Finance Commission award in 2009 added another incentive to the demand of a new province in South Punjab in which poverty and inverse population density were also recognized as criteria of distribution of resources. Afterward, provincial autonomy granted through the 18th amendment in 2010 provided logical reasoning to the demand of a new province in South Punjab.

Problem Set-up

Punjab is the most populous province of Pakistan having a population of 73.6 million which is about 55.63% of the total population of the country (Govt. of Pakistan, 2004). Whereas on a linguistic basis Punjab is divided into three zones as north; pothowari speaking, center; Punjabi speaking and south; Siraiki speaking regions (Mushtaq, 2016). Punjab was so important province that its inclusion was indispensable for the creation of Pakistan even Muhammad Ali Jinnah acknowledged its importance by calling it the cornerstone of Muslim homeland (Jalal, 1985). But it is more important to know how Punjab was tackled by the British in the colonial era. Punjab was a distinguished province of the sub-continent in terms of its agrarian economy and significant military contribution. Diversity in Punjab was at its extremes as it contained three religions; Muslim, Hindus, and Sikhs. But thrice communities were so cohesive that it was hard for Muslim League and Congress to penetrate in the Punjab. British had successfully used a multi-centric authoritative approach and congested allocation of resource to favor the British rule (Iqbal, 2020). Due to which the Unionist party had a strong base in rural Punjab and was dominated by feudal lords such as Tiwanas, Mumdots, and Daultanas (Shah, 1997).

North and Central Punjab were major army recruitment areas so both the regions were facilitated and developed accordingly whereas less than 10% of soldiers were recruited from the Siraiki belt by the British (Engerman, 2005). So the canal colonies and cantonments were established in Central Punjab whereas South Punjab could not avail the benefits of these projects (Tabish, 2014). This British strategy accumulated the resources in central and northern Punjab which flourished these regions in political and economic aspects. The British strategy dominated central and northern Punjab in power politics and dominance of these areas sustained in the post-partition era also.

British not only allocated more resources to central and northern Punjab but also exploited the local resources of South Punjab. As the primary objective of the organized settlements in South Punjab as a part of irrigation projects was to award those who supported British rule. On the eve of partition, the influx of Punjabi and Urdu-speaking migrants not only increased the number of settlers but also developed Punjabi-Urdu ruling elite on the colonial model which dominated the administration. Afterward, one unit formula not only deprived Bahawalpur of its political power but also deteriorated it economically. So clash of interests multiplied the conflict in South Punjab which made the ethnic uprising indispensable.

The political developments followed by the latest transition of democracy in 2008 expanded ethnic uprising in three dimensions.

First, the 7th NFC award added financial incentives to the backward provinces which also had a lesser population and greater land size. As South Punjab met the same criteria so it has strong expectations to avail additional benefits from the award being a separate province.

Second, Provincial autonomy granted through the 18th amendment made ethnic groups more conscious about their provincial identity and local resources. So people of South Punjab became more conscious about their Siraiki identity and their resources due to the greater land size of the region.

Third, the Renaming of NWFP province on ethnic ground developed the perception that the establishment had realized the importance of ethnic and linguistic identities.

So these three factors contributed to accelerating the demand for a separate province in South Punjab on political, economic, and ethnic grounds.

Politics of South Punjab

South Punjab comprises of three divisions; Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan and it has 11 districts. As per discussion by the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, the contribution of the southern region to the Punjab as per land size is 48.5% whereas as per population it contributes 31.57%. So the proposed new province will have about half the land size and one-third the population of existing Punjab. As per the census report of 1998, Siraiki identity has a significant contribution as it constitutes 17.4% of the population of Punjab; rural areas 21.4% and in urban areas 8.4% (Census Report, 1999).

A new province in South Punjab may lead the attitude of the state towards a new direction. Proponents of the new province in South Punjab consider it an opportunity to improve the federation as it will reduce single province dominance whereas opponents declare it a threat to the federation as it will set-up ethnic battlefields in the rest of the provinces. The resolutions passed by national and provincial assemblies also legitimized the demand for a new province in South Punjab.

The demand for a new province in South Punjab is further catalyzed by concerns of its population over the distribution of economic and other resources. One of the major concerns of South Punjab is less representation in the army and bureaucracy. It is ground reality that 75% of the army comes from north and central Punjab and there is the same case in a bureaucracy where Punjab has higher representation due to the quota system (Cohen, 2004). More representation in civil services of central and north Punjab is due to the dual effect of the quota system. Being a more populous province the Punjab has more quota in civil services. As South Punjab is comparatively backward in education and economic aspects even its backwardness closely resembles Baluchistan and rural Sindh (PILDAT, 2010). So due to the backwardness, the quota reserved for the whole Punjab is mainly occupied by central and north Punjab.

The prevalence of poverty is another major concern of South Punjab. As poverty in South Punjab is at 50.1%, West Punjab at 52.1%, Central Punjab at 28.76%, and North Punjab at 21.31% (Cheema et al, 2010).

Lower industrialization is also a major concern of people of South Punjab due to which they have lower employment and business opportunities. The primary employment of people of South Punjab is daily labor whereas people of north and central Punjab have better opportunities to engage their selves in government jobs and local Industries (Punjab Development Statistics, 2005).

Siraiki population also has concerns regarding the impact of migration into Siraiki speaking areas. As 'colonization of land' scheme brought in settlers mainly from central and north Punjab (Javaid, 2009). It developed the perception that people of north and central Punjab favored at the cost of people of South Punjab.

All these concerns laid the foundation of demand of a separate province in South Punjab. Anyway, the demand for a new province in South Punjab based on Siraiki identity also has counter-arguments.

- Poverty may be due to local factors as the allocation of resources is always based on the population and income-generating capacity of districts.
- Representation of South Punjab in civil services may be improved through the allocation of a separate quota to South Punjab in civil services.
- Feudalism is one of the reasons for the underdevelopment of South Punjab (Rais, 2009).
- The reduced investment of local capital in the industry is a major obstacle in industrial growth.

The issue of backwardness in education may be addressed through facilitating remote areas in aspects of educational institutions and capability building centers as such programs are also needed in rural Sindh and Balochistan. Backwardness in education is a matter of all territories of Pakistan which have relatively lower population density. So special incentives for school children and to facilitate higher education through quota and scholarships in universities is a more viable option to raise the educational standard in South Punjab.

Probability of Bahawalpur Province

Bahawalpur is the largest division of South Punjab area-wise as its area is 18000 square miles and its population was 7.518 million as per the Census of 1998 which contributes 10.3% to the total population of the Punjab and 5.6% to the total population of the country (Javaid, 2009). So Bahawalpur has a significant land size and population to be a province. Although the new province of Bahawalpur will be a gateway to the territorial recognition of Siraiki identity yet it will not raise ethnic conflict as it has a relatively mixed population and all ethnic groups are in favor of the recreation of Bahawalpur province.

Ethnolinguistic Composition of the Bahawalpur Division

District	Siraiki	Punjabi	Urdu	Others
Bahawalpur	64.3	28.4	5.5	1.8
Bahawalnagar	1.2	94.6	3.7	0.5
Rahimyar Khan	62.6	27.3	2.9	7.2

(Population Census Organization, 2001)

The primary objective of Bahawalpur province is to improve the federation and to revive the economic prosperity of the region as it is a general perception that the independent province of Bahawalpur would bring back the progress of the past (Bangash, 2012). So recreation of Bahawalpur province is more convenient and has a better result-oriented approach.

Bahawalpur is an important region in the agricultural perspective. The most important crops are cotton and wheat which contribute 23% and 10% of the total production of the country (Javaid, 2009). It is generally believed that the right share is not allocated to the Bahawalpur as in the case of district development, Lahore has the dominant share as Rs.75 billion whereas the share of Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Bahawalnagar is Rs. 17.7 billion, Rs. 20.6 billion and Rs.8.7 billion respectively (PILDAT, 2010).

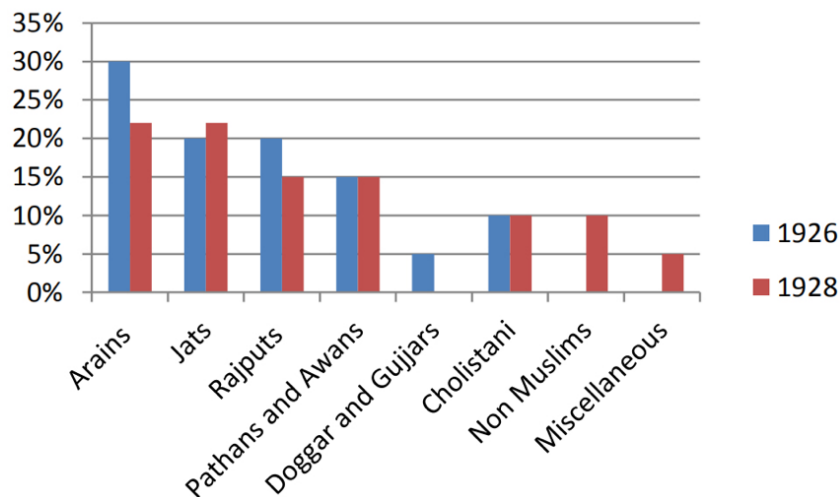
Bahawalpur is one of the most backward regions and its backwardness is attributed to the exploitation of its resources. The fear of exploitation is associated with the glorious past of Bahawalpur. Rulers of Bahawalpur were although autocratic and they discouraged political freedom but they devoted themselves to the prosperity and welfare of the people. A lot of work is done in education, health, infrastructure development, and economical spheres. Even a railway track was laid by the rulers of Bahawalpur in the colonial era and also canals were dug to complete Sutlej Valley Project to irrigate the lands of the Bahawalpur region. In Bahawalpur State, education was a more focused segment as secondary education was free but higher education was also the responsibility of the government. Even outstanding students were given a stipend and were sent abroad for further studies. There were fixed seats for students of Bahawalpur in medical and agricultural colleges before inter wing parity.

The budget of Bahawalpur in 1954-55 just before the one unit scheme was surplus and had a net closing balance worth 41 million Pakistani Rupees which was much more than the rest of the provinces of Pakistan including the eastern wing (Javaid, 2009). Bahawalpur was a self-sufficient region even contributed to the Britishers in the colonial era and also contributed to the Government of Pakistan in the post-partition era. The glorious history in terms of economic prosperity in the colonial era and immediately after the partition is the cornerstone for the restoration of the province of Bahawalpur.

The Bahawalpur region has a lot of grievances from the central government. One grievance belongs to the colonial era when British rule favored the people of central and northern Punjab at the cost of resources of South Punjab. The British rule initiated the Sutlej Valley Project and supported the settlement of people from northern and central Punjab whereas the share of the native Cholistani population in colonization of land was just 10 percent. It developed an elite class that belonged to central and northern Punjab whereas the native population remained backward.

Figure 1: Caste & Communal Distribution Plan for Peasant Grantees

Source: (Hashmi, 2018)



The objectives of colonization of land in the colonial era through the Sutlej Valley Project were as under:

- Provision of food security to the increasing population of India
- To extract revenue and to provide raw material to British industry
- To reward the landlords who supported British rule during the first World War
- To reward the military personals (Hashmi, 2018)

Anyway through this project vast area of fertile land of Bahawalpur was distributed to the people outside the South Punjab. So diversion of local resources in the pre and post-partition era was a major concern of the people of South Punjab.

Another grievance was Indus Water Treaty, as through its River Sutlej; vital for Bahawalpur in economical perspective was given to India, and interests of the Bahawalpur region were not secured accordingly (Javaid, 2009).

So political and economic deprivations stimulated voice raising for a new province in South Punjab. These deprivations gave birth to two movements in the South Punjab region:

- Siraiki province movement for the creation of a new province in South Punjab
- Bahawalpur province movement for restoration of province of Bahawalpur

A major difference between the movements is that the Siraiki province movement is based on ethnic identity whereas the Bahawalpur province movement is purely based on economic revival. Whether it is a new province based on ethnic identity or economic revival will redefine not only federation but also federalism. As it will decide that either ethnicity or economy will play a decisive role for emerging constituent units in South Asia. Anyway, it is crystal clear that a new province in South Punjab based on provincial autonomy will lead to more autonomous constituent units in South Asia either on ethnic or economic grounds. But the Siraiki activists believe that the revival of Bahawalpur province is just a conspiracy against their identity as two provinces within the Siraiki belt are not acceptable for Siraiki people (Dhareeja, 2013).

Prospects of New Province

Provincial autonomy granted through the 18th amendment to the Constitution of 1973, Islamic Republic of Pakistan not only provided an opportunity to the provinces for better utilization of their resources but it also made the people more conscious about their ethnic identity. The new province of South Punjab may earn additional financial incentives through the latest NFC award as poverty and inverse population density are newly added criteria for the allocation of resources in the 7th NFC award and based on both criteria new province of South Punjab may expect more benefits.

The expanding fold of Siraiki identity is another stimulating factor for the new province in South Punjab as sub linguistic identities have been transformed into Siraiki identity. Recognition of the Siraiki language as a separate identity is another encouraging sign for the Siraiki movement as Siraiki is regarded among the five indigenous nationalities of Pakistan (Asif, 2010). Whereas mass awareness about Siraiki province is another success for the movement as three-fourth of the interviewees admitted that the movement of separate province of South Punjab is related to Siraiki identity (Shaheen, 2015). The National Assembly passed the resolution in favor of a new province in

South Punjab is an encouraging sign for Siraiki nationalists (Mahmood, 2012). Punjab Assembly also passed the same resolution and favored a new province in South Punjab (Manan, 2012).

Unequal distribution of funds between remote areas of provinces and metropolitan cities is considered a reason for the backwardness of South Punjab. So it is believed that the new province of South Punjab will overcome its backwardness due to better allocation of resources.

The demand for a separate province in South Punjab is stimulated by three factors; consciousness of separate ethnical identity, probability of improved allocation of resources, and political deprivation.

The 18th amendment encouraged the Siraiki nationalists as they found through it the opportunity of their ethnic recognition and economic prosperity. The consciousness-raising for new provinces after the 18th amendment also has triggered the movement for restoration of Bahawalpur province (Zulfiqar, 2012). So provincial autonomy granted through the 18th amendment is a corridor to a new province in South Punjab.

Challenges of New Province

A major challenge to the Siraiki province movement is the heterogeneous nature of the region. Punjabi ethnicity is in majority in districts of Vehari, Khanewal, and Bahawalnagar. Whereas districts of Bahawalpur, Multan, Rahim Yar Khan, Layyah, and Lodhran consist of one-third non-Siraiki population. Only in districts of Muzaffargarh, Rajanpur, and Dera Ghazi Khan, there is more than three-fourth of the Siraiki population. So there is a need to align all ethnic groups for the creation of a new province in South Punjab (Shafique, 2014)

Failure to attract the masses is another challenge to the Siraiki province movement. The poor performance of Siraiki parties in elections and insufficient participation in their rallies adversely affected the demand of the new province of South Punjab.

Politicising of the issue is another challenge as Mutihada Qaumi Movement supported the Siraiki movement just to pave the demand for Mohajir province (Tunio, 2012). There was also a severe backlash of ruling parties in KPK and Punjab over the bill presented by MQM regarding the creation of new provinces in Hazara and South Punjab. Sindh opposed the creation of the new province in South Punjab on the ground that both the provinces of divided Punjab will have the same interests and due to the increased number of seats in the Senate both the provinces of divided Punjab will be in a dominant position to secure their interests. Balochistan opposed new provinces and added another obstacle in the creation of a new province in south Punjab as it demanded a merger of Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur in Balochistan in that case.

New provinces over ethnic grounds may deviate progressive federalism from decentralization to disintegration. It may raise voice for new provinces in KPK, Sindh, and Balochistan. Sindhi and Baloch also oppose the demand for a separate province on ethnic grounds as it will legitimize demand for new provinces in Sindh and Balochistan. (Kahut, 2009).

The proposed Siraiki province is also hard to materialize as it includes districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as Dera Ismael Khan and Tank (Langah, 2005). President of Pakistan Siraiki Party also stressed over demand of comprising of 21 districts based on language, culture, and history. He even rejected the proposed name as South Punjab and declared that the only acceptable name of the province is Siraiki province. (Ahmer, 2013).

It is generally believed that the dominance of Punjab and the nature of the state will never allow any ethnic-based division. Although the significant ethnic groups may be facilitated, yet the facilitation will be limited to existing boundaries of the province. Nukhbah Langah also apprehended that the colonial political attitude of the establishment is highly uncomfortable with giving credence to ethnolinguistics identity politics (Langah, 2010).

Theoretical Framework

Pakistan has to cover a long journey from conflict to crisis and it was the first country in the post-colonial era that suffered a successful secessionist movement. As a unitary or authoritative approach prevailed politics of Pakistan and interrupted federation again and again so federalism in Pakistan could not evolve as per the needs of the people of Pakistan. These unitary-based regimes were unable to align theoretical set-up as per the need and nature of the conflict so diversity was managed through either to co-opt or coerce the non-accommodative groups (Samad, 2007). Neither power-sharing mechanism was adopted among the ethnic groups to accommodate diversity nor institutions strengthened on non-ethnic based to overcome the diversity. Pakistan still could not get rid of the

majority constraint approach as inter wing parity denied the majority of the people of Bengal whereas the bicameral approach was a retort to the hegemony of Punjab. Now rising Siraiki identity is a response to posing the threat of political and economic exploitation by Punjabi speaking majority. In the same way, minority ethnic groups in South Punjab also have fear of the dominant Siraiki majority due to which demand for a new province in South Punjab could not achieve its desired momentum.

Provincial autonomy granted through the 18th amendment reinforced the demand of the new province of South Punjab. The 18th amendment made the provinces more autonomous and resourceful so it raised diversity. But after the 18th amendment provinces are more authoritative and more accountable so it is essential to accommodate the diversity to meet the due responsibility. To unlock the majority constraint approach, it is essential to implement a diversity approach partially while aligning the economic interests of the constituent units. There is a need to secure the economic interests of constituent units because alleviation of poverty directly reduces the conflict. After all, economic exploitation is a key concern of the local population.

The consociational approach believes that plural societies are continuously in the disintegration phase as every diverse segment sets its objectives. So ethnic diversity is a formidable obstacle to a stable and viable democracy (Lijphart, 1995). In this way consociational approach directly matches the majority constraint approach. Some political scientists are even more pessimistic and consider free institutions next to impossible in a country composed of multiple ethnicities (Mill, 1958). Consociationalism revolves around four characteristics; grand coalition, mutual veto, proportionality, and group autonomy (Lijphart, 1977).

Lijphart believes that federalism is the best way to provide territorial autonomy if the boundaries of ethnic groups are aligned with the boundaries of constituent units. But if the ethnic groups are dispersed and geographically intermixed, then autonomy must assume a non-territorial form (Lijphart, 2004).

Muslim League desired consociational arrangements before partition but after independence, it adopted majoritarian constitutional formulas. Whereas India aligned boundaries of constituent units based on linguistic identity (Adeney, 2002). So federalism in India is the best way to provide territorial autonomy. But the division of constituent units based on ethnic grounds did not alleviate the poverty in India. Whereas historical data revealed that poverty is directly proportional to conflict whether it is ethnic or non-ethnic. So the recreation of Bahawalpur province on economic grounds will be a role model for entire South Asia. In such a case if Bahawalpur is economically revived then definitely it will redefine federalism across South Asia.

In the case of Pakistan, the scenario is entirely different as Pakistan neither aligned boundaries of constituent units on a linguistic basis nor adopted nonterritorial autonomy rather than adopted a unitary based authoritative approach. The secession of the eastern wing, insurgencies in Balochistan, the ethnic uprising at the provincial level, and the clash of ethnic groups in the provinces is a ripened crop of unitary authoritative approach.

Political instability in Pakistan is due to the majoritarian design of its federal settings. So it is recommended that to practice democracy, Pakistan needs to adopt and maintain consociational governance at the federal center (McGarry, 2005). As the absence of consociational mechanisms has caused much of the conflict in Pakistan so there is a need for radical changes along the consociational lines for the Pakistani federation to manage ethnic diversity and ensure political stability in Pakistan (Adeney, 2009). Consociationalism is recommended for Pakistan to accommodate the diversity but the major issue of Pakistan is that it has throughout plural culture. So territorial division purely on a linguistic basis is not possible. On the other hand, non-territorial segmental autonomy may be an option but ethnic cleavages are too deep to adopt consociationalism. Pakistan has the advantage of two-nation theory and religion-based community concepts which are effective binding forces to overcome diversity.

But we cannot get rid of the consociational approach at all. As a coalition, protection of interests of small ethnic groups, due representation of ethnic groups in political and economic spheres cannot overlook as it is essential for the smooth functioning of the political system otherwise system may collapse. So partial implementation of consociationalism is needed as a measuring and monitoring tool.

Centripetal aspects direct such a political system in which the focus of political competition is directed at the center. The centripetal approach encourages cooperation and integration in divided

societies and it recommends institutions that promote multi-ethnic parties. The centripetal approach believes that the best way to manage democracy in divided societies is not to replicate existing ethnic divisions in the legislature and other representative organs, but rather to put in place institutional incentives for cross-ethnic behaviors. Centripetal institutions are designed to encourage moderate and centrist forms of political competition, rather than the polarising extremes that characterize so many divided societies (Reilly, 2003). Centripetal federalism is such a federal system in which there is a relatively strong government at the center whereas centrifugal federalism is based on more provincial autonomy.

Political competition directed at the center of extremes differentiates centripetalism and consociationalism. Whether centricity or polarisation, both theories are suitable for societies having deep ethnic differences. Although in Pakistan ethnic differences are at higher altitudes, yet ethnicities still may be accommodated without adopting extremes approaches of centricity and polarisation.

Resources Adjustment Model

The resources adjustment model is more aligned with the local needs of the heterogeneous societies of Pakistan. In the model population is divided into fully capable and partially capable segments irrespective of ethnic identity. The people residing in Balochistan, Rural Sindh, and South Punjab are considered partially capable due to backwardness in education and lack of resources. Whereas people residing in Northern Punjab, Central Punjab, and Urban Sindh are considered a fully capable population.

The basic approach of the model is that all citizens have equal rights and opportunities so they should be equally treated on resources and opportunities scales. So partially capable segments of the population should provide additional opportunities to avail the resources. So that fully capable segments of the population could not avail of the opportunities at the cost of resources of partially capable segments. The additional opportunity to partially capable segment will be based on a limited period and will be adjusted accordingly subject to improvement of concerned capability. Meantimes, the issues regarding deficiency of the partially capable segments will be addressed. The practice will be continued until the saturation of all the segments of the population in terms of capability and productivity.

Conclusion

The proposed province in South Punjab whether it is a new province based on Siraiki identity or recreation of Bahawalpur province will reimagine the federation and will set a new direction for the state. The recreation of the province of Bahawalpur on economic grounds subject to its economic revival will redefine federalism in South Asia. It may redefine boundaries of constituent units based on economic interests rather than ethnic identity. So recreation of the province of Bahawalpur may redefine federalism in South Asia.

From Pakistan's perspective, the recreation of Bahawalpur province will be a paradigm shift from dominancy to balancing the power and will address the concerns of smaller provinces as well as of South Punjab in terms of political and economic marginalization. It will accommodate multiple identities with the political structure of Pakistan and will also give a sense of ownership to the minority ethnic groups. Anyway, a new province purely based on Siraiki identity is not only an uphill task but it also will raise ethnic conflict across the state. It will further deteriorate the situation rather than improve it. But recreation of Bahawalpur province is achievable and more result-oriented task as it is purely based on potential economic prosperity. The idea of restoration of Bahawalpur province is more practical and it will have lesser negative implications and lower resistance. If Bahawalpur province meets the expectations after restoration then it will set a new trend of division of constituent units based on economic productivity. The restoration of Bahawalpur province and possible economic revival of Bahawalpur will unlock more provinces and will redefine boundaries of constituent units based on economic interests not only limited to Pakistan but also extended to South Asia.

From a theoretical perspective, consociational and centripetal aspects are right to monitor the political system accordingly but solid implementation of both approaches may raise ethnic conflict rather than accommodate it. Instead, the resources adjustment model is more suitable and matches the local needs to address diversity and mitigate the ethnic differences while securing the economic interests of people independent of their ethnic identity. As diversity is not a curse to accommodate but it is beautiful to equip.

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