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# Issues of Ethnic Federalism in Pakistan: A Case Study of Saraiki Belt

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## Abstract

The Saraiki, one of the significant ethnic groups in Pakistan is identified on the language basis. In Pakistan, the vast majority of the ethnic groups find its original base in lingual identity. The Saraiki nationalists have developed a remarkable narrative solid account supporting a different identity for Saraiki language and culture, backed by social and economic entrepreneurship on the one side and endeavors in institutionalization of Saraiki language on the other side. The current study will highlight the growth of Saraiki political awareness, the nature of the internal problems, and the origin of disputes with the state.

## Punjab and Ethnic Identities

Most of the existent ethnic groups in Pakistan have been residing here for centuries and consider their language an integral part of their identity. The Saraiki consider themselves a distinct ethnic group on the basis of their language. Population of Saraiki speaking people was 17.4% as per 1998's Punjab Population Census Report,<sup>1</sup> of which 21.4% lived in rural areas and 8.4% in urban.<sup>2</sup>

The first region from Sialkot to Lahore makes up the North-Central Punjab. The second region is the *Potwar* (or *Potohar*) plateau of North-West Punjab, extending from the Salt range of hills to the Indus River and the Pathan lands, which have exerted a strong cultural influence here. Numerous *Potwari*-speaking inhabitants of this region in fact are from originally from Pathan tribes.<sup>3</sup> The third Punjabi region is that of South. This area overlaps but is not identical with the Saraiki-speaking belt, and in certain ways, includes parts of Central Punjab such as Jhang. Saraiki language is also referred to be by the historians accompanying him when he invaded India. Malloi and Oxydraki, the two tribes having their large capital near Multan, are mentioned in the history.<sup>4</sup>

## Chronicle of Saraiki Identity

The Saraiki language and culture has developed its own distinct identity despite bearing traces from ancient *Daravadian*, *Aryans*, *Bheel*, *Khool*, white *Huns* and *Monda* along with significant reflection of Turkish, Arab, Persian and Mangol culture. Saraiki language is linked to the very roots of the ethnic people living in South Western Punjab. Many a scholar and theorist working in the field of ethnicity are often seen advocating the fact that language is indeed a significant factor in identity making.<sup>5</sup>

Since long, the Saraikis have been of the view that Saraiki is a complete language in its own and that Punjabi merely one of its languages.<sup>6</sup> At the time of British colonialism in subcontinent, the languages other than Saraiki, within the areas of Dera Ismail Khan (DI Khan), Bahawalpur, Muzaffargarh, Layyah, and Multan were known the names of their respective regions i.e. *Multani*, *Bahawalpuri*, *Muzaffargarhi*, *Riasti*, *Derawali*, *Layyahi*, *Landhi*, and *Jakti*.<sup>7</sup> During his regime, Maharaja Ranjit Singh kept Multan (1818) at its autonomous status i.e. the center of the Saraikis and the language then was known by the name of *Multani*. But after the independence, for the first time in 1960 with the consensus of Saraiki leaders, all those languages collectively started to be named Saraiki.

## Progression of Identity on Ethnic Lines

The sentiments of ethnicity are being successfully aired among the ethno-lingual groups in Pakistan. Ethnicity if used as a tool to manipulate the state authorities, can pose a serious threat to national integration. Ethnic accusation is often used as a tool to fulfill socio-political demands. Though used to generate unity among members, ethnicity turns into political when used to cherish politico-economic motives. It is denoted that political powers are the only motive of the language based ethnicity in which the leadership has played its manipulative role since ever. Our leaders concentrate on the ethnic sentiments of certain groups and use manipulative measures in lingual basis to get their motives achieved.

## Ethno-Lingual Distinctiveness of Saraiki Identity and Rest of Punjab

Most of the language planners, not bearing the fact that Punjabi and Saraiki are the two languages which can clearly be mutually understood, exert that one language is merely a language of the other.<sup>8</sup> It has been clearly stated by Gankovsky<sup>9</sup> that Saraiki is one of the many languages of Punjabi. But the Saraiki narrative is claimant of the opposite.

The two belts are different in cultural perspective, the historical evaluation of the Saraiki territory varies from the rest of the Punjab. The Saraiki region maintains historic links with Sindh and in the other hand Lahore or Central Punjab remained

connected with the Northern India. Along with this Rehman says that a major part of Saraiki and Punjabi is common on morphological basis and many a word is similar in both of them. The term language, however with no exact definition, is the conflicting element.<sup>10</sup> The Saraiki language has become a symbol of ethnic bond among the people of Southern Punjab and keep this association alive is their top most priority. The Southern Punjab had greater mutuality with Sindh than Central and Northern areas of Punjab regarding geography, culture and politics. Northern Punjab has remained an integral region of recruitment for military and state services. The British canal colonization project benefitted largely to the districts included in central Punjab.<sup>11</sup> But the people from West and Southern Punjab, being home bound, showed reluctance to do job at far off places.<sup>12</sup>

### Bahawalpur

Bahawalpur, DeraGhazi Khan(DG K) and Multan are three divisions that comprise eleven districts. Multan and DGK possess four districts each while the three districts-Bahawal Nagar, Rahim Yar Khan and Bahawalpur are included in Bahawalpur division. The issue of Bahawalpur can be comprehended by a brief study of its historical background. "In 1947, it was the first state that joined Pakistan when Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi V signed the document of association on October, 3, 1947. In 1951, an agreement was signed between Governor General KhawajaNazaim-ud-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 17,058 square miles. Provincial elections were held in Bahawalpur 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 into One Unit. East Pakistan made One Unit and the West Pakistan including Punjab, the then NWFP, Sindh and Bahawalpur 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."<sup>13</sup> After that Saraiki language movement was started by ten PPP governments (1975) in order to lower the intensity of the original movement. Kamal Omer's argued in 1975 the reaction of the Bahawalpur movement was the Saraiki movement.<sup>14</sup>

## Intra-Lingual Differences

The Saraiki speakers and its advocates of ethnic identity are of a strong view that language is the base of their identity. They also claim that long ago the rulers gave Multan to Abbasis in 750 and Bahawalpur State was a part of Multan.<sup>15</sup> Saraiki language was a significant part of educational courses and the language used in lower courts as well.<sup>16</sup> It was claimed by them that a huge number of *Bahawalpur SoobaMahazi-e* Bahawalpur Province movement<sup>17</sup> supporters had joined the party that was striving for lingual identity of Southern Punjabis, Pakistan Saraiki Party (PSP). The word "*Saraikistan*" used by Riaz Hashmi for the first time was one of the major example of Saraiki struggle. The supporters of *Bahawalpur SoobaMahazdo* not favour the creation of a province based on linguistic identity. They are of the view that before partition Bahawalpur was a princely state and acquired the status of a separate state after acceding to Pakistan in 1947. This fact is claimed to be made the basis of formation of a separate province of Bahawalpur.<sup>18</sup>

The supporters of Bahawalpur Province Movement are enthusiastic for their cause but there are six or seven parties of which just one is registered and each party bears many a difference with the others. Since long these groups and parties have been working independently with no relation to each other rendering themselves unsuccessful in creating awareness among the local folks regarding their lingual identity, resulting in negligible amount of development in Saraiki ethnic movement. No political party, except Pakistan Saraiki Party, (PSP) received people's authentication who supported other parties of national level.

PSP failed to leave any impression in the elections of 2002. Taj M. Langah form NA 149 Multan II received 107 votes, from NA 154 received 118 votes and from 155 he got 2322 in an alliance.<sup>19</sup> The president of the *Saraiki Sooba Movement Pakistan*, Malik Mumtaz Hussain Jai received only 348 votes.<sup>20</sup> The Saraiki identity's movement is gaining momentum as the time passes. According to the former president of SLP-Mazhar Nawaz Lashari- Various ethno-lingual factions focus on the issue that their provinces must base on ethnic, lingual, cultural, historical and religious grounds. The state's administrative inefficiency and economic undermining led to a great amount of anger and discontent between the society and state. Lack of coordination and trust among these political groups has further delayed their collective interest's progress. Without the listening to the reservations of Saraikis, the government finds it difficult to form any policy.

## Demand of Saraiki Province after Dissolution of One Unit

It was the first ever Saraiki Nationalist movement initiated by Bahawalpur after partition and it was considered the first effort to politicize the Saraiki ethnic identity. A renowned member of Anti One Unit Front and a Saraiki activist Riaz Hashmi, insisted to create Bahawalpur Province.<sup>21</sup> No doubt, there was no ethno-political

group in Punjab till 1969. But as the time passed, the Saraiki movement grew up with clearer objectives. Unlike the Fazal-e-Akbar Committee had suggested i.e. to form a fourth province based on Multan and Bahawalpur divisions, One Unit was abolished but it was merged within Punjab province.<sup>22</sup> Multiple associations and political groups were formed in reaction to regain the former status of Bahawalpur State. Most significant of the organizations was *Bahawalpur MutihadaMuhaaz* (BMM), also called Bahawalpur United Front which remained successful in imparting awareness regarding their distinct identity and rising large public processions. In its result, the government started arresting the prominent leaders of this movement which added to its popularity. The Urdu speakers of that area also took part in the movement. Ch.Farzand Ali, Seth Ubaid-ur-Rehman, Sardar Muhammad Khan, Mian Nizam-ud-Din Haier, were some of the movement’s leaders sent behind bars.

Two were killed along with hundreds injured in result of police’s firing in a peaceful procession on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1970- the first clash between the government agencies and Saraiki activists.<sup>23</sup> The movement was countered to a state of calm by the use of force. The leaders were arrested and an inquiry was initiated which later got rejected by BMM

Though failing to keep up its momentum, the Saraiki ethnic identity’s movement made the actual sense of distinctiveness in the heart of people, quite clear. So was proven by the winning of *BMM* against PPP during 1970’s general elections. The NA (National Assembly) as well received minimum votes for PPP in Southern Punjab. The detail is highlighted in the following table:

Table 1  
District with low PPP voting the NA Election<sup>24</sup>

Sr. No.	Districts	No. of Constituencies	No. of Constituencies won by PPP	Percentage of Vote Polled for PPP
1	Mianwali	02	Nil	5.5
2	Jhang	03	Nil	6.13
3	D.G. Khan	02	Nil	19.74
4	MuzaffarGarrh	03	02	26.08
5	Bahawalpur	02	Nil	16.17
6	Bahawalnagar	03	02	38.14
7	Rahim Yar Khan	03	01	31.31

The table depicts that circumstances were not in the favour of PPP against the BMM. The Saraiki people’s mandate of their separate province was not accepted in the (LA). Pakistan was dismembered and Bangladesh came into being after these

elections and this became a reason that Bahawalpur Province movement diminished. As the Prince Saeed-ul-Rashid made it clear that there did not exist any priority for a new province, the Bahawalpur movement faded away completely in 1972. Later, an eminent leader of the movement, Riaz Hashmi and Ubaid-ur-Rehman Seth, continued their efforts for Saraiki Province and joined PSP.

### Rise of Ethnic Conflict: 2000 to 2013

The military took over in October, 1999 ended all the activities of political parties. Many a leaders of PONM was sent abroad. Along with this, the intra-party conflict and the lack of communication infected PONM. The Saraiki activists continued their pursuits from 2000 to 2013 with not a considerable participation in the elections of 2002. Most significantly, the Bahawalpur Province Movement Ali Durrani, a vocal and senator for reviving Bahawalpur's status as a separate administrative unit. There occurred only one violent clash between the authorities and the activists but the tension grew graver and graver. But now the Saraikis consider the Bahawalpur Province Movement mere a tool of the government against *Saraiki Waseb*. The Saraikis do not accept the existence of two provinces within the Saraiki belt and the resentment regarding this group on. The contemporary PPP government did not prefer to bear conflict with Southern Punjabis. Yousaf Raza Gillani, the PM of PPP, tried to console them by repeatedly addressing that PPP government would not consider and creating a Saraiki province would be an integral manifesto of their next election. Based on the lingual and ethnic grounds, the Saraiki political organizations seek supper for their separate province as the state authorities strive to avoid any incidents of violence.

### Some Causes of the Politicization of the Saraiki Conflict

According to an agreement the prominent leadership of various political parties like PML (N), PPP and PML (Q) belonged to Saraiki *Waseb*. Derivation and destitution became the key factor leading towards the politicization of the Saraiki ethnicity. The contemporary study would clarify the actual picture of the issue.

### The Identity Question

The denial of recognition of Saraiki language gave birth to the issue of Saraiki ethnic identity. The Saraiki was for the first time incorporated by literacy and linguistic personalities of Southern Punjab in 1960. Introduction of the term Saraiki as the name of a separate linguistic community was the first objective while providing a solid platform to the Saraikis for their rights was the second one. Saraiki was not only the language but the identity of its speakers.<sup>25</sup> It is the fundamental demand of a plural society that its members get all the important ethnic identities.

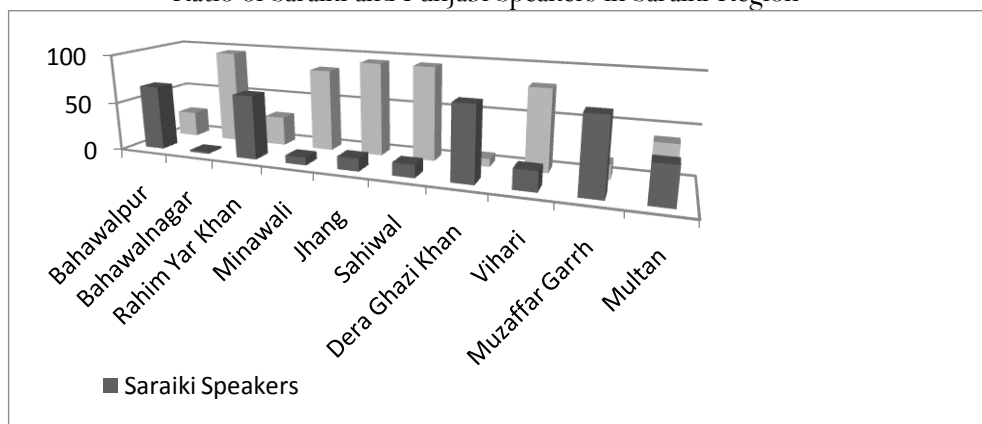
The successful societies bear a wide range of diversity among the people with their distinctiveness still intact along with a freedom of the use of mother tongue. It was observed while criticizing the state policies regarding languages that existed no Saraiki newspaper till 1990s in Pakistan and Saraiki was not taught as a language till 2006 in any university of Pakistan. BahauddinZakariya University, Multan, Pakistan established the very first Saraiki department in 2006. PTV broadcasted Saraiki program only for 20-25 minutes *Rut Rangilhry* as far as state's contribution was concerned. Along with this, Saraiki unlike Sindhi is no a medium of instruction at primary level of education or any other in Punjab. The collective demand of 7-8 Saraiki political organizations are;

- A. The proposal of Separate *Saraikistan* province, included three divisions.
  1. Bahawalpur division includes:
    - (i) District Bahawalpur
    - (ii) District Bahawalnagar
    - (iii) District Rahim Yar Khan
  2. Multan division includes:
    - (i) District Multan
    - (ii) District Khanewal
    - (iii) District Lodhran
    - (iv) District Vehari
  3. Dera Ghazi Khan Division Includes:
    - (i) Dera Ghazi Khan District
    - (ii) Muzaffargarh District
    - (iii) RajanPur District
    - (iv) Layyah District<sup>26</sup>
- B. For the development of economy, more budget allocations are required.
- C. Saraiki should be accepted as a separate language not as a language 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.<sup>27</sup>

The Saraiki intellectuals played a prominent role in safeguarding Saraiki language from other threats and stimulated in folks, the ethno-lingual realization by the help of their members literary and cultural conferences and campaigns. For Example, *Jashn-e-Farid Festival, Khawaja Ghulam Farid Conference, First Saraiki Literary Conference.*

**Ethnic Conflict vs Demographic Issue:**

Graph 1  
Ratio of Saraiki and Punjabi Speakers in Saraiki Region<sup>28</sup>



The above graph shows that Vehari, Bahawalpur, Mianwali, Jhang and Sahiwal have been included in Punjabi speakers’ areas due to an increase in their number with the passage of time. It is often claimed by Saraiki activists, while they bluntly criticize the state authorities that the Saraiki’s were forced to write Punjabi as their mother tongue and were shown as a minority during the Census, raise their voices for their due rights.<sup>29</sup>

Table 2  
Comparison of Census Reports about Saraiki Speakers in Pakistan<sup>30</sup>

Language	1951	1961	1981	1993	1998	2001*
Saraiki	Not mention**	Not mention***	9.93	12.6	-	10.53

\* The census report of 2001 is done by Private educational institutions quoted by Rehman, 2010, 21

\*\* and \*\*\* In both census Saraiki language was not mentioned as a separate language. Rather it was merged in Punjabi



Along with this various settlers from Ludhiana Ferozpur and other cities of Punjab were invited by Nawab of Bahawalpur under the same settlement policy and it was the time when he had commenced the “Sutlej Valley Project” in order to increase the states’ resources. The process continued even after independence till the settlers had become 40% of the total population and their number kept on increasing day by day due to heavy perks and privileges, rendering the demographic balance to change entirely.<sup>31</sup> The ratio of Saraiki and Punjabi speakers in Saraiki region according to 1981 Census Report was;

Table 3  
Ratio of Saraiki and Punjabi Speakers in Saraiki Region

Name of District	Saraiki Speakers	Punjabi Speakers
Bahawalpur	66.7%	27.0%
Bahawalnagar	1.3%	95.2%
Rahim Yar Khan	65.0%	29.9%
Mianwali	8.3%	83.9%
Jhang	10%	90%
Sahiwal	10%	90%
Dera Ghazi Khan	73.4%	6.3%
Vihari	11.4%	83.6%
MuzaffarGarrh	80.5%	13.9%
Multan	44.7%	43.8%

Source: Census Report, 1981

It is criticized that a huge area of Cholistan was given to 6150 army officers. They were also allotted around 48,024 acers of agricultural land of Punjab during the span of 1952 to 1985. Along with this, 500,000 acers of area was allocated to military personals from the Saraiki belt. This allotment from 1960s continues till date in the name of development projects. So was claimed by Kanjoo- a Saraiki activist- that around 500,000 acers of Saraiki land was given to army Generals and Brigadiers.<sup>32</sup>

Issues of Health & Educational Backwardness and Quantum of Representation

Marginalization of Saraiki representation in various departments is an important cum alarming factor. 56.1% of the total population of the country resides in Punjab, which includes Saraiki areas as well and without the Saraikis, population of Punjab will remain maintain minimal representation in military and higher civil services. The only reason causing so is their social underdevelopment. Following tables will show the situation.

Table 4  
Number of DMG and OMG officers from Punjab<sup>33</sup>

Division	Number of officers
Lahore	338
Gujranwala	149
Rawalpindi	146
Faisalabad	129
Sargodha	104
Sahiwal	63
Multan	73
D.G. Khan	43
Bahawalpur	41

Table 5  
Government Employer and their ratio in total No. of 127,876<sup>34</sup>

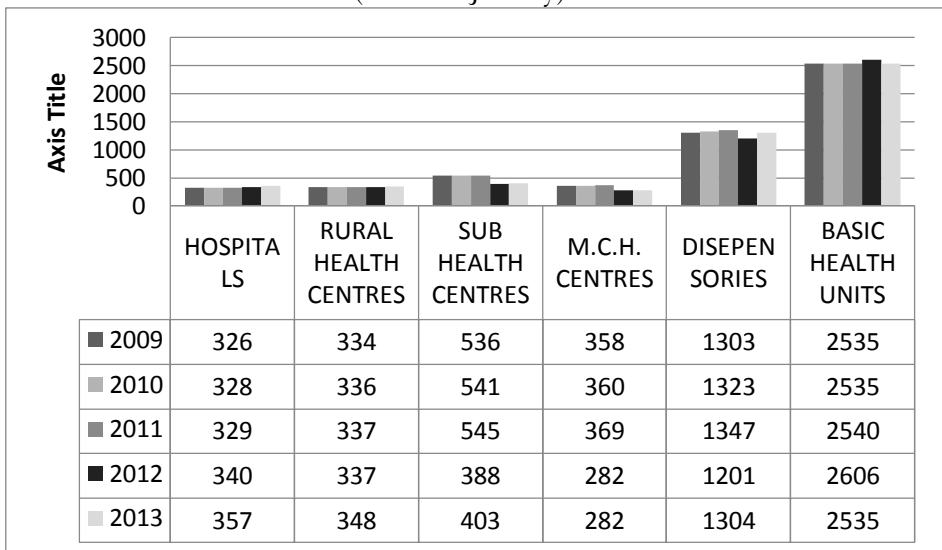
Division	Number	Percentage
Lahore	43,141	33.7%
Rawalpindi	30,542	23.9%
Multan	9,402	7.4%
D. G. Khan	3,237	2.5%
Bahawalpur	5,732	4.5%

Table 6  
Officers in Number Highest to Lower Grades and their Ratio<sup>35</sup>

	Multan	D.G. Khan	Bahawalpur	Total	Percentage
G.22 Total 46	03	No	01	04	8.7%
G.21 Total 127	06	05	09	20	15.7%
G.20 Total 437	26	11	11	48	11%
G.19 Total 1055	51	24	31	106	10%
G.18 Total 1870	28	43	90	161	8.6%
G.17	189	110	127	426	11%
Lower	9,021	3,044	5,463	17,528	13.7%

From 1947-2013 out of 23 Chief ministers of Punjab the percentage of chief ministers from Southern Punjab is 18% only. Whereas, total of 35 Governors from 1947 to 2013, percentage of Governors from the South Punjab is just 17%. The Saraiki area lacks development projects like health and education. The Situation of Health in South Punjab with respect to the rest of the Punjab can be analyzed through the following graphs and tables.

Graph No.4  
 Health Institutions, The Punjab: 2009 to 2013  
 (As on 1<sup>st</sup> January)



Source: Punjab Development Statistics, (Lahore: Bureau of Statistic Government of the Punjab, 2014,) 191

The major educational institutions, for a long time, had been limited to Punjab. BahauddinZakria University Multan and Islamiya University Bahawalpur were formed for the first time in 1975. All the administrative staff for divisional and district management programs in DGK, Muzaffargarh, Rahimyar Khan and Multan were non- Saraiki. Quite a dark picture is presented by the rural Saraiki areas. The health and education standards in Saraiki region according Punjab Development Statistics are miserable. Following table can elaborate the above mentioned abysmal condition:

Table 7  
Comparison of Primary Schools in Punjab and Saraiki Area

Area	Number	Percentage
Saraiki Area / South Punjab	15455	34.37%
Rest of the Punjab	29515	65.63%
Total	44970	100%

Source: Punjab Development Statistics, 2010

The above-mentioned tables show the current status of education in Southern Punjab versus the rest. The Southern region of Punjab constitutes 48.5% of the total area and the standards of education are significantly poor here. The education levels at decadence are both primary and higher. Among a total of 22 public sector universities of Punjab, the Southern region of Punjab bears only 2. Similarly only three medical colleges among a total of 11 are coping with the emerging demands of South Punjab. Along with this, only one engineer and technology institution has been established in Multan, as says the HEC's approved list of universities.<sup>36</sup> Such circumstances are rendering a huge number of deserving students deprived of their basic educational rights. Another reason of educational backwardness in Southern Punjab is that the financially poor students remain unable to go too far off areas in order to gain education. The negligence of the Language Planners (LP) to make Saraiki the medium of instruction at primary level has also caused a major setback to education. The insufficient behavior of the local government has worsened the anti-state sentiments among the deprived Saraikis.<sup>37</sup>

Table 8  
Literacy rate in various districts of south Punjab / Saraiki Waseb

District	Literacy ratio 1998 Census Report
Bahawalpur	35.0
D.G. Khan	30.6
Khanewal	39.9
Lodhran	29.9
Multan	43.4
MuzaffarGarh	28.4
R. Y. Khan	33.1
Vehari	36.8

Source: Population Census Organization, Statistics Division GOP1998-99

The UNESCO office Islamabad also conducted another important study regarding literacy trends in Pakistan which indicates the high and low literacy areas

of the Punjab. This report indicates that literacy level is significantly low in the areas of Saraiki Waseb in South and West Punjab. The following table explains the figures mentioned in the report:

Table 9  
Districts of Punjab in high, low and very low level literacy.

Category	Districts of Punjab	Category	Districts of Punjab
Very high 59.77% hand above	Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Jehlum, Lahore	Low level 30.23% to 45%	Bhakar, Khushab, Mianwali, Hafizabad, Sheikhupura, Sahiwal, Multan, Khanewal, Kasur, Vehari, Pakpattan, Layyah, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, Jhang, D.G. Khan, Okara, Rahim Yar Khan
High level 45.00% to 59.77%	Attock, Chakwal, Sargodha, Toba Tek Singh, Mandi Bahawalddin, Gujranwala, Narowal, Sialkot	Very low level 30.23% and below	Lodhran, Muzaffargarh, Rajapur

Source: Dr. Z. Iqbal, Literary Trends in Pakistan, Islamabad, UNESCO Office, 2003, P 23, Quoted in Hasmi, P. 331-332

**Economic Greivences:**

Economic deprivation has badly aggravated the issue of ethnicity. The economic disparity among various regions of Punjab has rendered anti-state feelings to prosper.

Table 10  
Per Capita Income and Expenditure in the Punjab Region

	North Punjab	East Punjab	South Punjab	West Punjab
Mean Household P.C.E*	1264	1181	901	886
Mean Household P.C.E Rural	1080	1002	777	813
Mean Household P.C.I**	1551	1580	1274	1090
Mean Household P.C.I Rural	1204	1329	1121	1003

Source: [www.pndpunjab.gov.pk/ps\\_2005](http://www.pndpunjab.gov.pk/ps_2005), accessed 30-01-2016  
[www.pndpunjab.gov.pk/system/files/Development-Statistics-2009.pdf](http://www.pndpunjab.gov.pk/system/files/Development-Statistics-2009.pdf)  
 accessed 30-01-2016  
[www.pndpunjab.gov.pk/system/files/Development-Statistics-2009.pdf](http://www.pndpunjab.gov.pk/system/files/Development-Statistics-2009.pdf)  
 accessed 30-01-2016

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

\*\* P.C.I stands for Per-Capita Income

As per the Census Report of 1998, 73.621 million people lived in Punjab with 22.586 million residing in the South Western region. The unjust allocation of the funds has always been a hot topic in the criticisms of Saraiki activists. If we compare the growth of population with the number of development funds allocated, it would become easy to comprehend the economic grievances of the Saraikis.

Table 11  
 Estimated Growth of Population in South Punjab

(Population in Millions)

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Punjab	86.812	88.289	89.79	91.36	92.869
South Punjab	27.209	27.723	28.345	28.779	29.32
Percentage of the population of S. Punjab	31.34%	31.40%	31.46%	31.52%	31.57%

Source: Punjab Development Statistics 2010

The official Population Census Reports show a gradual rise in South Punjab's population as compared to the other areas of Punjab. Following table shows the poverty ratio in South West Punjab:

Table 12  
 Poverty Level in the Districts of South West Punjab

Division	Percentage
D.G. Khan	50.58%
Bahawalpur	39.86%
Multan	38.91%

Source: PILDAT, 2010, 13

Strict and revolutionary measures are required to improve this state.

Table 13  
Allocation of Development Funds to South Western Punjab 2003-11

No.	Fiscal Year	Total Volume of ADP (RS in Million)	Allocation to the Region of South Punjab	Allocation of Amount in Percentage
1	2003-04	30.500	7.100	23.279%
2	2004-05	43.440	9.460	21.777%
3	2005-06	63.000	11.790	18.714%
4	2006-07	100.000	17.760	17.760%
6	2018-09	160.000	25.700	16.063%
7	2009-10	172.000	41.880	24.349%
8	2010-11	182.000	52.819	29.021%

Source: P & D Department (2010) Government of Punjab

Table 14  
Comparison of Percentage of Allocation of ADP and the population of South West Punjab from 2006-2010

Year	ADP to South West Punjab	Percentage of the Population of Southwest Punjab as compared to entire Punjab
2006	17.76%	31.34%
2007	14.69%	31.40%
2008	16.06%	31.46%
2009	24.34%	31.52%
2010	29.02%	31.57%

Source: P & D Department (2010) Government of Punjab

### Future Prospects, Solutions and Recommendations

The Hierarchy of Needs Model starts with Psychological needs at the bottom i.e. they need to be fulfilled first and are then followed step wise by safety needs, the love/ belonging needs, esteem needs and at the top is the self-actualization stage that comes after all the prior human needs are fulfilled.<sup>38</sup>

## Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

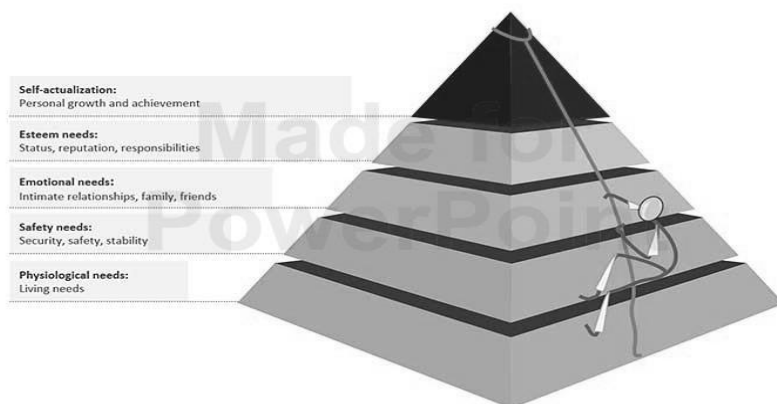


Figure1. Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs<sup>39</sup>

With regards to the Saraiki issue, the psychological needs are the natural requirements of the Saraiki people which include supply of food and protection whilst the fundamental necessity. As respect to, financial and ethnic privileges that are connected with the survival and well-being of people are included in this level, they are right to work, to an adequate standard of dwelling, training and also the too readily take part in the national existence of the community. Which means that the people of South Punjab receive top-most concern for that work within the mega-development tasks like Quaid-i-Azam Solar Park and they get equal chances to training and become supplied with technical training as well. The correct and equivalent use of possibilities like training and work might assist the Saraiki individuals to secure their physiological requirements?

The second degree of privileges following the mental requirements rotates round the requirements of protection. This degree demands the people of Saraiki belt should be supplied with protection of living and home also it will be guaranteed these privileges. As far as the people from the Saraiki belt are concerned, they will feel protective when they are being given the chances of better living in their own area.

The third degree entails love requirements and belongingness. This degree demands that Saraiki's people will be involved within the larger financial and governmental setup by which levels could be developed by them within Pakistan's federation. The provision of entrepreneurs in different provinces of Pakistan and opportunities for the Saraiki youth of jobs in addition to sufficient manifestation of



Saraiki people in civil and military bureaucracy might enable change the problem to some greater degree.

Confidence needs' next degree also have begun to keep fruits of these levels consequently and could be accomplished once the Saraiki individuals have created levels within the federation. That will guarantee them that they therefore are not really a nest of central or upper Punjab and are equivalent people of Pakistan but are similarly qualified and similarly essential.

The 'fifth and final level' is of self-actualization. At this time, the Saraiki people after having almost all their requirements satisfied might achieve the point where they will be left without any unaddressed issues and might hence lead towards improvement and the enhancement of culture and of the nation in the larger stage. That is self's purpose -actualization where the turmoil might remain changed.<sup>40</sup>

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