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## Ethno-nationalism, Linguistic Identity and the Political Autonomy: A comparative study of Mahagujarat & Bahawalpur

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# Ethno-nationalism, Linguistic Identity and the Political Autonomy: A comparative study of Mahagujarat & Bahawalpur

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## Abstract

Ethnicity becomes impressionable when it achieves the awareness of its uniqueness. There will be least a country in the world which is based on a nation ideology. In modern times the concept of nation is changed into nation-state in which different ethnic groups develop an identity as ethno-nationalism. As India and Pakistan had been a colony of the British crown and both the countries gained independence at the same time. But in case of policy making related demarcation of the states and autonomy, both countries have opted different methodologies. In this regard many of princely states had to fight for their autonomy according to the Indian Act 1935. History witnessed commonalities in both the countries Pakistan & India related to the issue of autonomy on behalf of ethnicity. In 1970 the Gujarat achieved its federalization on account of ethnic disparity but in case of Bahawalpur, princely state has great hindrance in achieving federalization although the model is same. There are many things common in the model of achieving federalization in Gujarat (India) and the Bahawalpur (Pakistan). The study will examine the model of autonomy for the Mahagujarat and the Bahawalpur keeping in view the ethno nationalism and linguistic disparities.

**Keywords:** Federalization, Ethno-Nationalism, Princely State, Linguistic Disparities, History.

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## Introduction

Bhawalpur previously has known as princely state with rich and diverse culture now is a district of Pakistan in southern Punjab. This is consisted upon 15,918 square mile. Geographically Bahawalpur has prominent place in Pakistan map, this links Khyber to Karachi. This has desert Cholistan in the Eastern side while Sutlaj River runs in North and Head Punjnad faces western front. Its bordering districts are Lodhran, Bahwalnagar, and Rahim yar khan. The population of the area is 798,509 according to the census 1998. The local language of the area is Saraiki. Bahawalpur holds the status of 12th largest city of Pakistan. The population of the area is almost 90% Muslim. Bahawalpur has tremendous history and the Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan Abbasi was the founder of the city in 1748. Being a princely state it became part of Pakistan after partition on October 3, 1947. (Musarrat, 2008)

In the perspective of ethnic paradigm Gujarat in India also shares the history on the same lines. Gujarat which occupies the western part of the state in India, it is consisted of 196,024km area with a coastline of 1,600 km. Rajasthan is to the north border, Maharashtra towards the south, Madhya to the east and the Arabian Sea and the Pakistani region Sindh towards the west. Its capital city is Gandhinagar and its largest city is Ahmadabad. Its population is 60 million. Sections of the western coast of India were the parts of the Bombay presidency while British rule. In 1937, Bombay presidency, comprised of Maharashtra and Gujarat, was part of a province of British India. The independence didn't affect the status of Bombay presidency as a province and it remained the same. Due to the vastness of province Gujarat was facing problems on federal as well as lingual accounts so the demand for linguistic states came up thus Linguistic Provinces Commission set up in 1948. This had to give recommendations for or against reorganizing provinces on linguistic basis. On 1 May 1960, two new states, Gujarat and Maharashtra, were created.

Sub-continent in regard of federalism had witnessed vast history. Various governments managed their rule of law by implementing territorial autonomy. This proved an effective methodology at the time of Mughals as well as British government also adopted the same way of federalization, divide and rule. However, once the British government decided to leave India, according to the Indian independence act 1947, the princely states would no longer have the protection of the crown of England. At the time of independence there were 565 princely states which had to accede according to the will of people. The constitutional process had started before partition and All India Congress & All India Muslim League; both the parties were working in perspective of federalism. Muslim League was in favor of federalized system because that would provide security to the people who were in minority. (Adeney, January 2007)

### Research problem

A lot more work is yet to be done on the autonomy for the territorial grounds in Pakistan. It is not less than a dilemma that as being a federation, Pakistan remains unsuccessful in providing the same to the “Princely state Bahawalpur”. The ethnic disparities stand out as an individual entity but still no work is done as yet. Whereas our neighboring state India, which got independence at the same time successfully, not only managed autonomy but also has done great legal work since its inception. Modern culture of federal state has been opted by Pakistan but somehow it could not provide the liberty to its citizens on ethnic lines. The study will examine the process of federalization and stance of Pakistan government specifically on these lines. The study will compare Pakistan and Indian legislation upon federalization and critically analyze the weaknesses in the context of Pakistan.

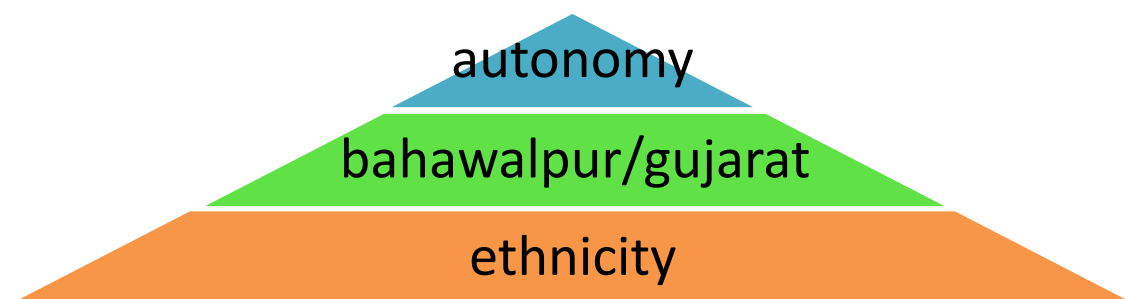
### Research questions

How did Pakistan and India legislate the matter of linguistic disparities on ethnic lines?

What had been the preferences of Pakistan and India in the context of autonomy on the territorial grounds?

### Research frame work

The study revolves around frame work in which ethnicity is a base for autonomy. Ethnicity gives the direction to the identity towards self-awareness, self-evaluation, claims for distinctive ethnic justness & claims for individual political sub-unit,



Figure#1 model of the study

Self-government, bluff secession and secession. The natural flux of ethnicity in the current study is leading to autonomy in the context of Bahawalpur/Gujarat.

### Literature review

*“ The peculiar emotional depth of the ‘us’-‘them’ syndrome which is an intrinsic part of national consciousness, by bifurcating as it does all mankind into ‘members of the nation’ versus ‘all others’*

*appears thereby to pose a particularly serve impediment to coordinated action with any of the 'others.'*" (Conversi, 2003, p. 10)

### **Ethnicity & ethno-nationalism**

Ethnicity as advocated by Conversi (Conversi, 2003) is a faith in something which might be genuine and it roots back to the shared heritage and common beliefs. Ethnicity can also be bifurcated into the realms of objectivity and subjectivity such that objectivity alludes to the idea of shared language, faith, historical antecedents and subjectivity embodies ethnicity by unique status, kinship, integrity and common pursuits (Karim, 1991). On the contrary, Connor (1997) has focused on the abstract, subjective and cognitive nature of this construct, rather than its goal 'substance'. All the more, personality doesn't build from certainties instead it flourishes on the basis of perceptions, recognitions, observations that are as significant or more than the real world pertaining to ethnicity. In the same vein, Max Weber embodied ethnicity in the subjective arena where the political sections of the society cultivate the perception of shared ethnies and integrity (M. M. Berdún, M. Guibernau, J. Rex, 2010).

Ethnicity gains ethno national status when it gets deep rooted by political venues. This is also a fact that nationalism comes under political doctrine which is gained collectively due to social bonds. On the contrary, ethno-nationalism is linked with the characteristics of shared hereditary. However ethnicity under goes six levels (Karim, 1991) which are as under:

- Self-awareness
- Self-evaluation
- Claims for distinctive ethnic justness
- Claims for individual political sub-unit, self-government
- Bluff secession
- Secession

Federalization, a kind of regional integration which is governed by a unified political structure that works by constitutionally disseminating power across local sub-government levels thus protecting and preserving their leadership (He, 2007). In literature of politics it is achieved in two ways, either through the formation of constitution for federalization and then holding a referendum or through the formation of actual federal establishments and then later revising the constitution accordingly (He, 2007). In its essence, in this modern age of today federalization is a pertinent step towards establishing autonomy and political uniformity (Bhattacharyya, 2010 ). Despite the fact that it's a great initiative in the political

landscape but it is important to highlight here that a sequence of unrest, agitation and ethnic conflicts convince the authorities for such an outcome. Repercussions of such political initiative are a great debate in its own right because of the existence of contradictory outcomes in the longer run. (J., 2006)

### **Bahawalpur**

Hussain in his paper, Pakistan ethnic nationalism and politics of integration, suggests that Bahawalpur has a history in its own. It was a gifted property to Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan by Nawab Hayat-ullah, the governor of Multan. Consequently Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan extended the area and rose as an independent state. In 1933-1938 Nawab had friendship agreement with the British government and on this basis of friendship state supported British government in war of independence, 1857. The Jamiat-ul-Muslameen in 1927 was the first political engagement of the people of the state later became part of Muslim League in 1942. The Nawab of the state stated at the time of independence of Pakistan, "in view of geographical position of my state and its culture and its economic affinities with the Pakistani dominion, my representatives should participate in its labors and deliberations of constituent assembly, which will enable the two states to arrive at a constitutional arrangements, with regards to certain important matters of common concerns." Soon Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Abbasi signed instrument of accession with Pakistan on the 3rd of October, 1947. Nawab keeping his sovereignty as head of the state, surrendered his authority and consequently Bahawalpur became federated state of Pakistan. (HUSSAIN, 1999)

In Federation of Pakistan and Creation of New Provinces: A Case of Bahawalpur Province by Umbreen Javaid; Bahawalpur as a princely state had no longer protection of British crown and with a princely status it was first state that acceded to Pakistan on October 7, 1947. Despite of the fact that Nawab had been offered special benefits to the princely state Bahawalpur in case of accession to India by Jawaharlal Nehru . However Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan-V took the responsibility of newly emerged country by granting seventy million rupees to the government of Pakistan and one month salaries to all the government employees.

He generously devoted his private land to the University of Punjab, King Edward Medical College and the Mosque of Aitcheson College Lahore.

The government of Pakistan and Amir Sadiq Muhammad-V endorsed an agreement of accession in 1951 which was accepted by Khawaja Nizamuddin, Governor General of Pakistan. That agreement was more to understand the status of the state that would be

remained equal to a province and accountability of defense, foreign affairs and currency would be altered to the government of Pakistan under the Act of 1935. In the long period of One Unit, the Amir of Bahawalpur was to hold his status. Makhdoomzada Syed Hassan Mahmood elected as the first chief minister of Bahawalpur province (1954-55) through legislative assembly and he headed the assembly comprising 49 members. That was the only time when a special budget was allotted for the betterment of the same recognized region because assembly could continue till October 14, 1955 later it became part of One Unit Scheme. Whereas the end of the One Unit scheme depressed the people and Bahawalpur came under the control of Punjab province in March 30, 1970. It was clearly against the agreement and the wishes of the people of Bahawalpur and unfortunately it was ignored by General Yahya Khan. (javaid, 2018)

Mushtaq & shabeen suggested in the article *The Saraiki Province Movement in Punjab, Pakistan: Prospects and Challenges*, the end of provincial status had not been appreciated by the people of Bahawalpur; instead this developed a sense of movement. Many of activist had been jailed and two people had lost their lives while protest in 1970. Bahawalpur **Subah Mahaz Movement** and **Bahawalpur Muthida Mohaz** were known movements of the region. The movement was its peak and public support was phenomenal. However the partition of East Pakistan in 1971 caused a set back to the movement, in such conditions the Amir of Bahawalpur also said, *"The demand of separate province was not a priority"*. Later this movement could not keep that momentum continued and many of its supporters & leaders of the movement mingled in the regional groups for the support of Saraiki identity. With time it evolved into political party, as the **Pakistan Saraiki Party**.

The union of bhawalpur movement with Multan region activists coined the word **"Saraikistan"**. The educated elite were also in favor of Bahawalpur as administrative unit. The first **All Pakistan Saraiki Literary Conference 14-16 March 1975** proved a platform for Saraiki language and culture. Haji Saifullah, the opposition leader and Christopher Schakle, the linguist from the University of London participated. Many identity based speeches had been made and Saraiki quota for jobs suggestion had been raised. Even though Saraiki origin lawyers of Lahore High Court formed a forum for the encouragement of saraiki and Taj Langah was head of the forum. The elections for the Saraiki parties could bring nothing new.

The isolation of the region continued for years but the movement reappeared strongly as a consequence of the 18th constitutional amendment in April 2010. The 18th amendment proved to be a source of autonomy of the provinces and this motivated actively for Saraiki

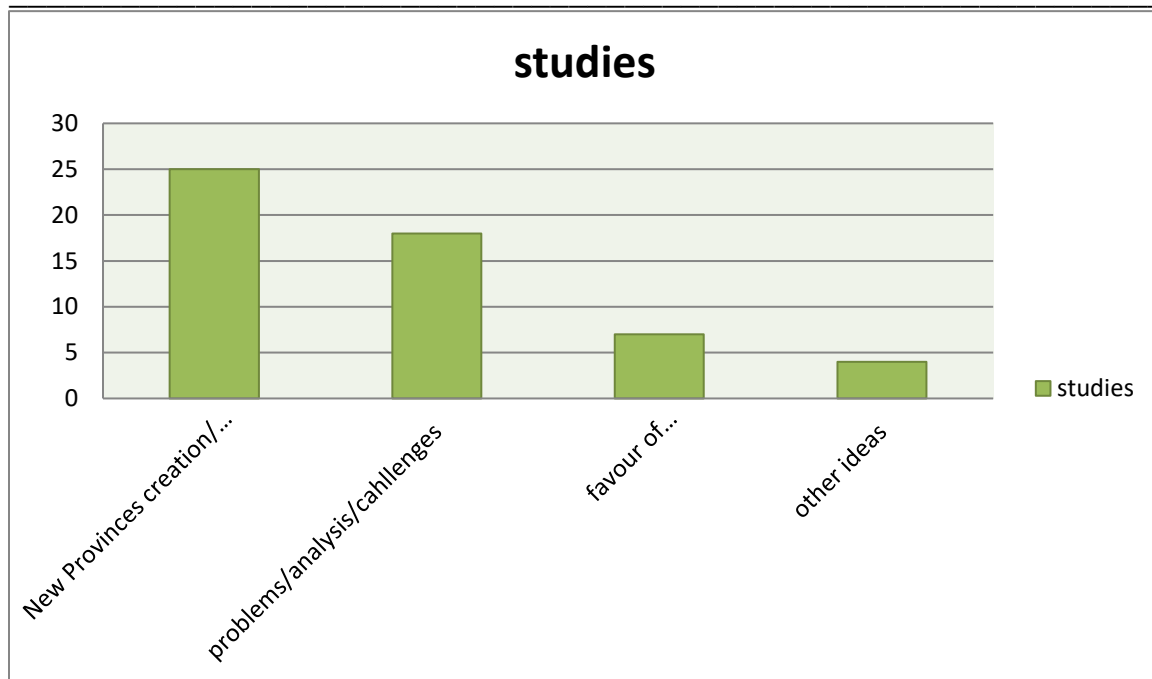
Province. In this political scene political parties more of baffled the demand. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) resolution for the formation of new regions was accepted in National Assembly on May 3, 2012. In that view a commission based on parliamentarians was set to report potential alternatives for production of new regions in Punjab. For the purpose of point scoring Pakistan Muslim League (N), the governing party in Punjab, initiated two resolutions in Punjab Assembly namely Saraiki Province and second as reestablishment of Bahawalpur Province. Despite of being passed by Punjab Assembly resolutions remained unfruitful. (Muhammad Mushtaq, July -December 2017)

18th amendment was passed to null the 17th amendment made in Musharraf tenure. It was a comprehensive act by all the political parties to reform the constitution in the light of the charter of democracy. This facilitated a platform to the Special Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Reform (SPCCR). There were 27 members in SPCCR and 9 members from three main political parties, PML-N, PPP, PML-Q, including Senator Raza Rabbani and rest of 18 members were from ethnic political parties. However the formula of SPCCR proved a success because with other constitutional reforms provincial autonomy was another cause to address.

Now at the time of current government ethnic parties, Janoobi Punjab Suba Mahaz has developed an affinity with ruling political party Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI) for the creation of South Punjab Province in first hundred days. (Waseem, August 2010)

Currently a **National Conference on making New Provinces in Punjab: challenges and opportunities, on 5-6 December, 2019** held by Political Science Department of The Islamia University of Bahawalpur. Prof. Dr. Syed Khawaja Alqama participated as chief guests. In that conference valuable researchers and academics from renowned universities from all over the country presented the idea about the creation of new provinces. Dr. Syed Mussawar Hussain Bokhari (Chairman, Department of Political Science) and the other respectable faculty members put their efforts in execution of this conference. Such activities in the region are for the support of the identity and uniqueness.





Figure#2 studies conducted in National Conference on making New Provinces in Punjab: challenges and opportunities, 5-6 December, 2019

In the conference fifty-four studies had been conducted in which twenty-five studies had been collected in the favor of the new provinces creation, prosperity & creation of the Saraiki province. The eighteen studies had been collected regarding the analysis of the problems and the challenges related to the division. However the seven studies had been done under the lens of the federalism and the constitution and four studies had been linked upon the other subjects.

### **Mahagujarat**

Gujarat that is recognized as the land of Gandhi and land of Siri Krishna went through tension and anxiety in the era of 1950s. Political insight of M.K Gandhi has timely observed that Indian government without delaying should remap boundaries of provinces on linguistic basis. Nonetheless newly born country has a challenging condition regarding distinct ethnies. Government paid lots of efforts in developing functional structures and institutions to curb the ethnic calls and clashes. (S Malik;A M. Abbasi, S. Gul, 2019, p. 15). The elites of Gujarat were raising voices for provinces separation on lingual bases. Before partition there existed no such political movement which could raise voice for separate province of Gujarat. Despite the fact some of Gujarati intellectuals started working on unity of Gujarati lingual community that they claimed as Mahagujarat.

At the time of independence Gujarat remained part of Bombay presidency like many other princely states. One of the major reasons of attachment of Gujarat with presidency was Bombay. (Isaka, 2015, p. 145). In the early years the first difficult task was building of state and nation. India had no other choice except federalism due to its vastness and diversification. In the theoretical arena federalism embodies itself around two visible advantages that is unification of political structure and diversity. The second challenge for government was associated with separation of the states depending upon vastness and formation of political-governing units. 'The Indian National Congress' (INC) assisted the process of redrawing the states on linguistic basis. The reorganization of the provinces was predefined but after independence Nehru, Patel and Gandhi showed least agility. (Mawdsley, 2002).

Moreover, Bombay has great importance for Gujaratis in colonial time due to its commercial, social and cultural oppressions. This carried a prominent status in trade and manufacturing. Though publishing industry was flourishing rapidly in Bombay even before it got developed somewhere else in India.

Nehru said in his speech to the Lok Sabha on 7 July 1952:

*"I feel that behind the demand for linguistic provinces there lies something more difficult to deal with than the problem of languages. That something is a feeling on the part of the people who make the demand that they have not had a square deal, that if they were left alone to manage their affairs they would see they got it. I cannot say whether there is much justification for the existence of such a feeling but the fact that it exists is not good for us. If we still function in a narrow, provincial way, reserving one group for our favors to the exclusion of another, it is unfortunate."*

The readjustment of boundaries affected the general elections in 1952 and 1957 and prominently lesser the vote bank. The process of readjustment of states on lingual basis was incomplete till the States Reorganization Act 1956 in parliament. The biggest challenge was to separate Gujarat and Maharashtra from Bombay city. Gujaratis out of fear of assimilation in Maharashtra had headed a 'Save Bombay' movement though the suggestions of SRC caused protest in Marathi district and later riots broke out in Gujarat. (Tillin, 2013)

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru delegated the States Reorganization Commission (SRC) in December 1953, to give suggestions on the demarcation of states on lingual bases. The head of the commission was Justice Fazal Ali that was why it was named Fazal Ali

Commission. The commission reported in 1955 to reorganize states of India. This was also a fact that commission was not in favor of demarcation of states on linguistic basis because it would affect the unity of state. SRC after rising clashes suggested that Bombay state should remain as a bilingual state. Jawaharlal Nehru also carried the same suggestion related to form three states; Gujarat, Maharashtra, and centrally governed city-state of Bombay to end the conflict. Before suggestions were implemented Protest broke out in Bombay and other Marathi-speaking regions later known as Samyukta Maharashtra Movement claiming independent Marathi state. Morarji Desai, then the Chief Minister of Bombay State, was holding against opinion towards separation. Ahmadabad college students visited local congress house close to laal darwaza for separate state on 8 August 1956. Morarji Desai gave his cold response and police repression caused five to eight students' death. The state soon after these conditions, gross protests started happening across the nation. In such conditions people were arrested and sent to jail to curb the conflict from bloodshed. Many political figures remained house arrest, including Indulal Yagnik and Dinkar Mehta, Dhanvant Shroff initially in Ahmedabad later sent in Sabarmati Central Jail. Conditions were getting worse on massive account and political conditions pushed Morarji Desai to fast for week long. Such political horizon developed disappointment prior demarcation of three states as Nehru had already suggested. Approximately 180 parliamentarians reverted to the previous status of bilingual state because of bloodshed and political turmoil. Soon demarcation of Gujarat and Marathi keeping Bombay as centrally governed city was implemented. After great struggle Mumbai became part of Maharashtra and Gujarat took the possession of Dang. (Manohar, 2014)

### **Primordial Theory- Linkages to Ethno-nationalism, Linguistic Identity & Federalization**

Primordial is a term that explains to what is ancient, fundamental and original. This is more accurately described as the social existence of humans. The similarities of language, kinship, faith, and customs are built-in people on its own. These connections are the root cause of ethnicity and they make people different from each other. The theory explains one's feelings and preferences for relatives and affinity in a different way. The bonding related to the kinship develops at the time of the birth and it prolongs. Relationships of such kinds are more strong, near and dear for a person. The primordial attachments are actually a source of developing communities and this is how nations are developed. (Bačová V., 1998)

Bahawalpur has rich historical background, lingual dialect and cultural norms that prominent its significance not only on national but international level. Its rich and historical architectures are known as its recognition. There are multiple factors involved which support to the idea of Bahawalpur as separate province. The social infrastructures of Bahawalpur and medical and education departments are waiting for the alleviation of the area as province. In case of autonomy backwardness due to ignorance of current provincial government can be eradicate. The vastness of area is affecting the general masses at large account. The autonomy of the region is highly needed in current situation. The Punjab province does not have enough funds to fulfill the requirements of a single province and merger of the bhawalpur province is another load on the budget. The Bahawalpur province is a venue of opportunities for the residents of southern region because the options for jobs, business, skill education, medical facilities, roads and infrastructure will be just for them. In that case federal government will be in the position to provide true citizen rights to the people of south region.

The public of Bhawalpur is well aware of their lingual and cultural difference. Many conferences have been held in the region to promote and produce awareness on national level so the process of autonomy can be solved with the help of dialogue and discussion. **National Conference on making New Provinces in Punjab: challenges and opportunities, on 5-6 December, 2019** held by Political Science Department of The Islamia University of Bahawalpur.

Gujarat that carried a historical background had recognized its uniqueness as identity back in history because Gujarat as a state had four basic divisions. They had cultural and social paths of homogeneity that could be observed at different points of time. This was easy to build the status of different and separate ethnicity. In modern times of India, congress was in favor of a linguistic determination of state boundaries in 1920. British didn't separate these states on the lingual basis because they could divide and rule.

Indian government after independence received coarse reactions of masses on behalf of linguistic clashes and demanded autonomy as separate states. Gujaratis had ethnic awareness and ethnic self-evaluation for a long time but they never verbalize their demand because of staying connected with Bombay.

They knew it well that they had different languages and culture which was not similar to the other state. The uniqueness of identity forced them to shape the movement. The period of struggle for recognition turned the movement violent and riots changed the face of struggle. Mahagujarat movement was demanding separate states on the lingual basis but the real purpose was to attain autonomy. Finally, the Indian government implied a modern strategy to deal with the ethnic problem and they gave a status of the federal state to both the conflicting states, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

In this way like many other western countries USA, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, and MALYA, the Indian government adopted the way of federalization. This was more likely a good option in sense of nation-state. That step prolonged the bond of ethnic identity to stay loyal to the central government and the state flourished under such divisions. The same option is valid for Bahawalpur and federal government should take measures keeping in view the autonomy of the region. Democracy in this regard pays great support to the federalization and without democracy, the system of federalization remains unaccomplished. In real terms, the primordial theory also talks about individual recognition. The real essence of federal government is also to share the power among territories for confidence building measures.

### **Hypothesis**

*H1 "Autonomy or secession is achieved when uniqueness of ethnic group is self-defined."*

*H2 "The matters of Lingual disparities and seeking autonomy are impressions of ethnicity."*

### **Research Design**

The research approach for the scope of this study is qualitative and quantitative. Although, subjective strategies are particularly helpful in assessing individuals, events in a qualitative research design (Neuman, 2014). More specifically, historical or archival research is employed in this study under a qualitative research design. Historical research is the research technique used by the researcher when the past account of events artifacts and circumstances in a society or a culture are brought under examination (Neuman, 2014). For the sake of the current study books, Journals, Databases and electronic searches were adopted.

The subjective research techniques utilized for this examination are portrayed further beneath and included literature regarding the Bahawalpur, Mahagujarat movement, ethno-

nationalism, linguistic disparities and political autonomy. The literature which involved the Gujarat unrest since the 1950-1970s was brought under review however the literature extending from the history of Gujarat riots and their reviewed analysis to date was considered. While in case of the Bahawalpur, the literature has been reviewed related to the history of Pakistan inception and particularly the history of Bahawalpur as princely state. In particular, the grounded theory utilized for linking the history of events regarding Bahawalpur, the Mahagujarat movement, ethnicity and autonomy is the “Theory of Primordialism (Geertz, 1963). This theory builds on the notion that ethnic identity is deep-rooted in an individual along with other basic attributes and therefore is unchangeable. For example, the community, language, background or history an individual belongs to, are among many other attributes that do not undergo any change (Bačová, 1998). In the same vein, ethnic origin according to the theory of Primordialism is hard to detach from people. While the quantitative research have been made through the fifty-four samples collected from a **National Conference on making New Provinces in Punjab: challenges and opportunities, on 5-6 December, 2019**. It was held by the political science department, Islamia University Bahawalpur. The conference content helped to understand the themes of the ethno nationalism, linguistic disparities and political autonomy particularly in case of Bahawalpur one part of the study.

### **Analysis and findings**

The ubiquitous nature of primordial theory embodies the attachment of people to their origin and reflects the compelling need for uniformity of power and ethnic identity in the creation of larger yet autonomous political units for homogenized social integration. These larger units voice the rights of people of unique origin and provide the power and regional and territorial identification. The scope of the study is built around two main research questions and can be recapitulated as under;

How did Pakistan and India legislate the matter of linguistic disparities on ethnic lines?

What had been the preferences of Pakistan and India in the context of autonomy on the territorial grounds?

The following section provides a systematic analysis of the research question raised and build a mechanism to identify and understand the associated dynamics of this mass integration.

This study is based on the primordial attachments associated with the ethnicity that developed the movements in Bahawalpur and Gujarat for autonomy due to ethno-nationalism and lingual disparities. To address the first question, how did Pakistan and India legislate the matter of linguistic disparities on ethnic lines? The factors behind the creation of such movements are many for the scope of this study while few bitter realities comes up in case of comparison of these two movements built on the same model in different countries. To name a few, mass migration and creation of separate countries from Hindustan to India and Pakistan based on culture and religion was the first factor that created the divide for other ethnicities in both the countries. This divide is the key predictor for other ethnicities to seek autonomy for regional and social representation. In case of Mahagujarat in India, within early years of inception Indian political leadership had reached to the point that there would be no peace until the redrawing of the territorial boundaries. In this regard, the States Reorganization Commission (SRC) in 1953 was the first step towards the separation of the state of Gujarat from the presidency. Then the States

Reorganization Act 1956 was another milestone in the creation of Gujarat as separate province on linguistic grounds. Although the government already had understood the dire need for separation because clashes between two ethnic states were causing agitation. Many of the functionaries of the state were affected under such conditions. Political electoral vote bank got influenced and that challenged the political contenders. Later Nehru himself realized the solution under federalization.

However in case of Pakistan the things had been remained in initial form including the constitutional development for long time after the foundation at first place. Later at the time of the constitution development the stress was given to the thing prominently was provincial autonomy but creation of new provinces moreover on linguistic basis had never been a subject. Here no legislation could work on this subject instead creation of a province on linguistic reasons had been considered an illegal act. It was more considered as an offence and against national integrity. Then mall functioning of political echelon proved a failure in recognizing real need of time. One of the main hindrances was two-third majority in assemblies as well as parliament which could not let things happen in this direction. Well in case of India the majority in Lok-Sabha itself is enough for creation of the new province and further state legislation work in this regard as well.

While the second question moves around the preferences of Pakistan and India in the context of autonomy on the territorial grounds.

In this regard we need to understand the real thing at first place that the Muslim League was clear headed about the autonomy for the protection of minorities. The minorities in subcontinent were supporting the Muslim League just for the recognition of their rights. Pakistan at the time of inception had loads of things to establish including infrastructure, institutions and constitution from the beginning. India had adopted old colonial pattern of political identity and institutions. Pakistan was divided into two wings which was a source of tension keeping in view the national integrity. However all princely states Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Kalat and other territories became part of Pakistan except few which had been captured India by force and manipulation.

Pakistan is a country based on ethno-lingual threads. This has a deep impact positive at the same time negative. Ethnicity can be used for the exploitation at the state level for socio-political wills of a certain group and most of the time political leaders take advantage of such disparities to fulfill their hidden agendas. In such case blood, kinship, language, culture, traditions and social fabric critically viewed as primordial theory instruct. The countries in the modern world have now understood that ethnic lines are not for divisions & hate but these lines are more to provide strength and unification as nation-state.

The 2009 order was for the Gilgit-Baltistan which provided it province like autonomy. This was for strengthening the region in conventional politics and administration. The 18th amendment was passed to null the 17th amendment made in Musharraf tenure. It was a comprehensive act by all the political parties to reform the constitution in the light of the charter of democracy. This facilitated a platform to the Special Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Reform (SPCCR). There were 27 members in SPCCR and 9 members including Senator Raza Rabbani from three main political parties, PML-N, PPP, PML-Q and rest of 18 members were from ethnic political parties. However the formula of SPCCR proved a success because with other constitutional reforms provincial autonomy was another cause to address.

Now at the time of the current government ethnic parties, Janoobi Punjab Suba Mahaz has developed an affinity with ruling political party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) for the creation of South Punjab Province in first hundred days.



India in such case developed States Reorganization Commission (SRC) in December 1953, to give suggestions on the demarcation of states on lingual bases. Though Indian National Congress knew it already that the best solution for the stable state was federalization of princely states but the political elites were perplexed in the beginning but they changed their mind. In the literature of politics, it is achieved in two ways, either through the formation of the constitution for federalization and then holding a referendum (He, 2002) or through the formation of actual federal establishments and then later revising the constitution accordingly. However India supported to the idea of the federalization on linguistic grounds. Therefore the political elite gave importance to the identity and so far India has recognized 1600 languages on this ground.

The real dilemma yet in Pakistan is that the political elite play their card for the point scoring and for that reason these pundits could not legitimate language one of the types of identity. The political leaders of Pakistan are perplexed in the constitutional development and for that reason they counted the religion instead of the language. This is the major cause behind the weak political stratum in Pakistan.

## **Conclusion**

The current study revolves around the idea of ethno-nationalism, linguistic disparities and political autonomy, a comparative study Mahagujarat movement and Bahawalpur. The primordial attachments backed the idea that people with different ethnics cannot be detached from their core origin. It also strengthens the idea that social and ethnic movements impart a great impact on the ruling government to not only accept their ethnic identity and political demand of autonomy but also provide them a constitutional solution for federalization. But Pakistan federal system has appeasing approach related ethnicity and autonomy of the regions. There are many of cases like Bahawalpur autonomy which share the same model of Mahagujarat but remain pending due to the negligence of legislation and judicial unresolved inquiries.

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