

**ETHNO-FEDERALISM, NATIONALIZATION OF PARTIES AND THE DYNAMICS
OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE: THE CASE OF PAKISTAN**

By

Gul-i-Hina Shahzad

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to analyze how federalism along with decentralized levels of governance can help in accommodating multiple identities, interests and political representation of ethnic minorities. Primarily, it deals with the question of ethno-federalism in non-democracies and, specifically, it takes into account the case of Pakistan- an ethnically diverse country still in the process of democratizing. It discusses the prospects of ethno-federalism in Pakistan – the territorial reorganization of provinces along ethnic lines and its consequences for social and ethnic peace in the provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan. Using comparative analysis of the party nationalization scores before and after devolution of power in Pakistan, I show that the political parties are quite denationalized in Pakistan. I calculate party nationalization scores by using the Gini coefficient method as proposed by Jones and Mainwaring using the Election Commission of Pakistan data. My findings suggest that devolution of power does not impact the nationalization scores of parties substantially at the national level. Hence, I look at the provincial parties and analyze that they are fairly regional. I argue that Pakistan is in the process of becoming an ethno-federal state and adopting ethno-federalism might lead to further denationalization of parties and party systems. Whether Pakistan's shift towards ethno-federalism will help the federation in managing ethnic diversity or not depends on the federal design it constitutes, the extent of regional autonomy it grants and the readiness of the federal government to consider the ethnic group's demands.

Key words: Federalism, political decentralization, ethno-federalism, ethnic minorities, party nationalization, political representation, provincial politics

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Introduction

Federalism has become an increasingly important topic in political science research as more and more countries are moving from centralized system of governance to the decentralized. Federalism coupled with political decentralization is considered to be an effective mechanism for dealing with ethnic pluralism in heterogeneous societies. It is more difficult to establish democratic governance in countries which have deep societal divisions than in homogeneous societies (Lijphart 2004). Moreover, there is consensus among experts that the ethnic or societal divisions exist more in the countries that are not yet democratic or fully democratic than in well-established and functional democracies.

Previous studies have taken into account different aspects of federalism and suggested it to be an effective tool for mitigating ethnic conflicts (Siegle and Mahony 2000). However, less attention has been given to the question of how federalism helps in accommodating multiple interests and identities of ethnic, religious or linguistic minority groups within a heterogeneous country in non-democracies. While various scholars have studied federalism and ethnic diversity in democracies, my research will deal with this aspect in non-democracies or aspiring democracies. It will also seek to understand the relationship of ethno-federalism and the strength of ethnic parties specifically at the provincial level.

As Pakistan is a highly heterogeneous society, an ethno-federation (Juhász 2005), and not a fully-established democracy as yet, it becomes an interesting case to study in this regard. Therefore, this thesis will deal with two overarching questions. First, does ethnic federalism lead to (de)nationalization of parties, giving more strength to the ethnic political parties at the provincial level? Specifically, in the case of Pakistan, what impact does the adoption of ethno-federalism

have on the (dis)integration of political parties in the provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan? Second, what consequences does it have for the political stability, social and ethnic peace and the political representation of the regional ethnic minorities? It is noteworthy to mention that I focus on the provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan because they are the most and the least developed provinces in Pakistan, respectively. This selection is also substantiated by the fact that these two provinces have the highest differential in political representation at the national level; the former with the higher and the latter with the lower level of representation.

The thesis proceeds in the following manner. It discusses the theoretical framework adopted for the research, and describes the methodology and data used. The first chapter assesses the prospects of ethnic federalism in Pakistan and analyzes if Pakistan is becoming an ethno federal state. The second chapter deals with the question of whether strengthening of ethnic regional political parties lead to further de-nationalization of parties. The third and final chapter analyzes the role of provincial political parties and their representation at the provincial government and provincial assemblies. This chapter also examines why provincial political party systems are different from the national ones and what are the dynamics of provincial politics in Pakistan. The conclusion provides synthesis of my arguments and suggests further policy recommendations.

Theoretical Framework

This research consists of two bodies of literature: one is of ethno-federalism and the second is of the nationalization of political parties. While evaluating federalism, the focus is often on the inter-governmental interactions and the role of political parties is overlooked, however, studying political parties will provide the necessary linkage between the dynamics of local governance and the national governance. My research analyzes the nature of (de)nationalization of political parties at the national level and also assesses the provincial parties and their role in representation of ethnic groups. Pakistan has a multi-party system which constitutes more of regional parties and less of nationalist parties, it is expected that granting more power to the provinces along ethnic lines may lead to further ‘denationalization’ of party politics in Pakistan. Surprising as it may seem, no research has been done on how national the ‘national parties’ are in Pakistan, even less is known about those political parties that operate in the provinces. Hence, my research is the first step towards analyzing the role of political parties in linking provincial to the national, and to analyze their impact on the representation of ethnic groups.

The literature on federalism focuses mostly on two aspects: division of power among federal and regional government (Riker 1975) and distribution or decentralization of power among multiple centers (Elazar 1966). Enikolopov and Zhuravskaya highlight the benefits of fiscal decentralization and emphasize that decentralized levels of government entails ‘higher preference homogeneity’ (Oates 1972), and provides incentives to the local politicians to respond to the needs of people of their region (Enikolopov and Zhuravskaya 2007). For the purposes of this thesis, I incorporate the definitions of federalism as follows: “A political organization in which the activities of government are divided between regional governments and a central government in such a way that each kind of government has some activities on which it makes final decisions”

(Riker 1975, 101). “Two (or more) levels of government which combine elements of shared-rule through common institutions and regional self-rule for the governments of the constituent units” (Watts 1996, 7). The definition of ethnicity is adopted by Dawn Brancati’s criterion that “an ethnic group is a group of people that belong to a certain ascriptive category, such as race, ethnicity, language, tribe, religion (Brancati 2006, 654).

According to Jozsef Juhasz, ethnic federations are defined as “countries which are nationally and ethnically heterogeneous and work in a federal structure at least partially based on national and ethnic heterogeneity” (Juhász 2005, 246). Taking into account the analysis of Henry Hales, an ethno-federal state is “a federal state in which at least one constituent territorial governance unit is intentionally associated with a specific ethnic category.” (Hale 2004, 167). However, some scholars have expressed the concern that the creation of such structures along ethnic lines may inculcate the separatist sentiments and allows these groups to establish institutional arrangements for partition from the federal government.

According to Philip Roeder, the ethno-federal institutions tend to create and exacerbate ethnic conflicts as the issue becomes not merely about those ethnic communities’ rights but if those communities feel the sense of belonging to that ‘common-state’ (Roeder 2009). Moreover, such ethnic and pluralistic national federations provide fertile ground for secession and separatism (McGarry and O’Leary 2009). While ethno-federalism accommodates various ethnic groups through the regional distribution of power, these arrangements might provide conditions conducive to secessionism (Deiwiks 2009). Also, if the ethnic group is concentrated in an administrative unit, it increases the level of differentiation of that unit in terms of ethnicity as compared to the rest of the country, and this ultimately increases the demands for sovereignty (Sambanis and Milanovic 2005).

As Lars-Erik Cederman highlights, ethno-political mobilization becomes likely in the following conditions: (1) when the representatives of an ethnic group are excluded from central executive power; (2) if they have recently experienced a loss of relative power; and (3) if groups in power are ‘underrepresented’ in comparison with other power-sharing partners. Moreover, the ethno-nationalist conflict might also increase with the ethnic group’s relative demographic size. (Cederman, Wimmer and Min 2010, 2). Others also argue that federalism exacerbates ethnic conflicts by strengthening the regional identities of ethnic groups and encouraging them to gather resources to pave a path for separation from the central government (Hardgrave 1994; Kymlicka 1998). As Hale highlights that an ethno-federation survives if it does not have a concentrated ethnic region, and in the case of Pakistan it does possess a core ethnic region which may increase the likelihood of the state collapse or further disintegration of a country into mini-states (Hale 2001).

Nevertheless, federalism has been regarded as effective tool for mitigating ethnic conflicts (Siegle and Mahony 2000). As it is also possible that federal structures successfully create ‘dual loyalties’ both to the center and to the unit by increased level of security (Adeney 2012). As a growing number of scholars suggest, federalism along with political decentralization helps in mitigating ethnic conflicts and secessionism in democracies by bringing government closer to people and allowing for more autonomy and citizen participation (Horowitz 1991; Stepan 1999; Gurr 2000, Kaufman 1996; Lijphart 1977). Dawn Brancati argues that there is less conflict and anti-state revolt in decentralized levels of governance, yet, it is also significant to regulate regional parties by providing decentralized structures or substitutive institutional means (Brancati 2006). Also, it is not necessary that all ethnically diverse federal systems fail. Considering the territorial proximity, India has survived the restructuring of states along ethno-lingual lines. Moreover, other countries such as Canada, Belgium, Spain, Nigeria, Russia, Iraq, Switzerland, Bosnia–

Herzegovina and Ethiopia are also examples of federal states with ethnic territorial reorganizations (Adeney 2012).

Be that as it may, while looking specifically at non-democratic countries, suitability of federalism is evidently contested. As federalism is a democratic form of government rooted in constitutionalism and rule of law but there are countries with federal structures that are not fully democratic. The case of Pakistan becomes interesting to study in this regard as it is in a process of democratization and highly heterogeneous society that has shifted towards higher decentralization with the 18th constitutional amendment in 2010¹.

¹ Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution of Pakistan in 2010 curtailed Presidential powers to dissolve the Parliament making Pakistan the Parliamentary Republic. The power was devolved from the federal government to the provincial and provinces were granted more autonomy by fiscal federalism through the enactment of the 7th National Finance Commission which increased the amount allocated for provinces out of the federal reserve by 10%.

Methodology and Data Collection

For the purposes of analysis, I use qualitative research methods such as process tracing to evaluate the patterns of power sharing among the two provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan in Pakistan and the federal government, respectively. My analysis primarily is based on the post-Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment, as devolution of power to provinces occurred after the passing of Eighteenth amendment in the constitution of Pakistan in 2010. The removal of Presidential powers and granting more autonomy to provinces by fiscal federalism were a few progressive steps taken which paved a path for more federal governance in Pakistan. Therefore, I analyze the nationalization of political parties before and after this change.

I calculate the party nationalization index for the General Elections of 2008 and the General Elections of 2013 by using the data of the Election Commission of Pakistan. Party Nationalization Scores (PNS) are calculated by incorporating the Gini coefficient method as proposed by Jones and Mainwaring's research on "The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems" (Jones and Mainwaring 2003). I analyze the vote shares each party received in the General Elections of 2008 and 2013, respectively. It is noteworthy to mention that this analysis does not take into account all political parties in Pakistan rather a selection of only five to six major political parties is made based on the fact that these parties are active in the national politics and in forming government of Pakistan over the last few decades.

I conduct the analysis to assess the degree of nationalization of political parties in Pakistan and their linkage with the provincial politics in Pakistan. As the previous literature on federalism in Pakistan does not provide specificities with regards to the role of political parties, therefore, it is significant to analyze the parties and party systems. I collect data regarding the description and

composition of provincial governments and provincial assemblies of Pakistan from their official websites.²

² Furthermore, I was able to access all the primary information/documents. As I belong to one of the provinces- Punjab, I am fluent in speaking Punjabi (besides Urdu, which is the national language of Pakistan) and posses some basic knowledge of other languages spoken in the region as well which was advantageous in gathering and analyzing data for the research.

Chapter 1: Pakistan: An Ethno-Federal State?

Owing to the ethnic diversity in Pakistan, it has been argued that Pakistan is an ethno-federation consisting of multi-ethnic groups divided along cultural, linguistic and ethnic identities (Juhász 2005). As Pakistan is not a fully established democracy and a deeply divided society, managing ethnic diversity has been one of the crucial issues it has faced since its inception. However, very few constructive efforts have been made by the Pakistani leadership to accommodate ethnic identities through a federal structure as the focus of the centralized state has been on building a Pakistani-identity while subjugating the regional and sub-national identities (F. Ahmed 1996). The secession of East-Pakistan in 1971 is also perceived as an example of not accommodating the cultural and lingual challenge of Bengali people, as the ruling elite focused on strengthening Urdu as an official language of Pakistan, not catering to the multiple grievances of Bengalis (Rahman 1996). The immense armed conflict in Baluchistan to repress the nationalist and separatist movements in 1970s is also one of the most visible contentions that Pakistan encountered related to federal-province relations and ethno-national movements (M. S. Khan 2014). It is largely attributed to the institutional imbalance in the form of bureaucratic-military set-up inherited from the partition time.

The multiple military takeovers in the history of Pakistani governance have prevented the country from maintaining a peaceful democratic structure and political institution building. Moreover, the fissures within society along the lines of identity, be it linguistic, ethnic, cultural or religious and sectarian have magnified over time. Religion no longer remains an element of social cohesion, nor does it balance the grievances of individuals that claim multiple identities. The Baloch nationalist movement, the demand for Hazara province in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and a seperate province for Saraikis are some of the many examples which Pakistani state has to counter.

This chapter evaluates the role federalism can play in alleviating ethnic tensions in Pakistan. It analyzes to what extent Pakistan is becoming an ethno-federal state and whether its provinces follow ethnic boundaries. If yes, is it a positive step for alleviating ethnic tensions in the region or is it a step towards disintegration of Pakistani nationalism.

1.1 Nature of Democracy and Constitutional Development in Pakistan

Pakistan's history of governance has evolved from being unitary and centralized to a parliamentary federation. In the past, it has been majorly under military dictatorships, which hampered the growth of democratic agencies and civilian institutions. The path of democracy has been tumultuous since its inception. After the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, Pakistan was established in the name of religion –Islam- as a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent. Owing to the legacy of British India, it has been a federation ever since (Waseem, Federalism in Pakistan 2010). During the rule of British India, various states which are now part of Pakistan were previously under the indirect imperial control. They were regarded as provinces; Punjab in 1849, NWFP³ emerging out of Punjab in 1901; Sindh after separation from Bombay in 1937; Baluchistan in 1970 (Waseem, Federalism in Pakistan 2010, 4).

After the establishment of Pakistan, the Government of India Act of 1935 was adopted as the first interim constitution (Khalid 2013, 202). Federalism in both India and Pakistan is based on the 1935 India Act which was adopted at the time to accommodate diversity and grant provincial autonomy to the provinces in the British India (Samad 2013). However, the Muslim-majority provinces were not given proper autonomy- “Punjab never had a Muslim League government. NWFP was ruled by the Congress. Bengal and Sindh produced weak coalition governments,

³ NWFP is the North-West Frontier province which is now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) after the 18th Constitutional Amendment in Pakistan

sometimes operating outside the command structure of the Muslim League.” (Waseem 2010, 5). In 1940, the Lahore Resolution was passed in which Muslim League demanded separate independent states in Muslim majority areas, this resolution later became foundation of the independence movement for a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent (now called Pakistan) (Waseem 2010, 5). After independence, Pakistan ended up with an imbalanced federal structure with more than half of its population residing in the east wing (present-day Bangladesh) and the other half in the west wing (present-day Pakistan).

The post-independence phase from 1947 to 1956 was deeply entrenched in dealing with this disparity between two wings of the country which also formed the basis of 1956 and 1962 Constitution of Pakistan (Samad 2013, 3). In order to deal with this administrative predicament, the bill was passed in 1955 to merge the provinces of West Pakistan into ‘One Unit’. The first Constitution of Pakistan was drafted in 1956 and it allocated 150 seats for each wing in a unicameral legislature (Ahmad 2010, 19). However, the federated units were not territorially reorganized to facilitate ethnic groups along linguistic lines, and the issue of regional languages still remained unresolved (Ahmad 2010, 19). Religion was considered to be a constitutional category of identity, hence, the demands of language-based identity were delegitimized (Waseem 2010, 7).

Two years later, this constitutional failure faced the enforcement of martial law in the country when Ayub Khan came into power in 1958 (Ahmed and Begum 2015). The constitution was abrogated and under the guise of Basic Democracies⁴ system in 1959, Ayub Khan overturned the form of governance from parliamentarism to presidentialism in the Constitution of 1962

⁴ The system introduced by General Ayub Khan in 1959 to develop a political culture of democracy as he held elections of 80, 000 Basic Democrats equally divided between East and West Pakistan (Ahmed and Begum 2015, 78).

(Ahmed and Begum 2015, 78). The second Constitution of Pakistan in 1962 dealt with no federal mechanisms of accommodating provincial demands. “The centralized state organization of the 1956 and 1962 constitutions, rife with Punjabi domination, an overdeveloped, all-powerful military-bureaucratic oligarchy and insensitivity to ethnic differences resulted in the tragic breakup of the country in 1971” (Ahmad 2010, 20).

Although the fall of East Pakistan was tragic in itself, the efforts were geared to redesign the constitution so as to pave the way for a consistent federal arrangement. With the Constitution of 1973, a bicameral legislature was introduced to stifle majoritarianism (Samad 2013, 4). It led the country towards a federal-parliamentary arrangement- each province having its own provincial government while accommodating the cultural and lingual recognitions of the provinces (Ahmad 2010). However, the route to democracy has been disrupted by a series of military takeovers. The constitution of 1973 was suspended with the reign of military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 and later in the period of General Pervaiz Musharaf in 1999 (Ahmed and Begum 2015). The militarization of the entire political structure in the period of Musharaf destabilized the democratic and constitutional development in Pakistan. The constitutional history of Pakistan witnessed 21 amendments in the Constitution of Pakistan to date (Dawn 2015).

It is the passing of the Eighteenth Constitutional amendment in 2010 which has paved a path for more democratic procedure for federal governance. The abrogation of legal sanctity to a military takeover and invalidation of unconstitutional acts, curtailing and removal of certain Presidential powers, granting more autonomy to provinces by fiscal federalism were some of the positive steps taken. This has been done by the enactment of the 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award which increased the financial amount allocated for the provinces out of the federal reserve by ten percent (Ahmad 2010). It also marks a shift towards more fiscal federalism as the

distribution criterion for finances has also been altered. Instead of population density, other indices such as poverty, revenue generation and inverse population density have also been taken into account to accommodate the concerns of other provinces (Waseem, Federalism in Pakistan 2010). Moreover, the ratio of the resource distribution to provinces also altered by decreasing the share of Punjab and increasing the share the Baluchistan as it allotted “Punjab 51.74%, Sindh 24.55%, NWFP 14.62% and Baluchistan 9.09%” (Waseem, Federalism in Pakistan 2010, 13).

Various scholars have worked on the prospects of federalism in Pakistan. Iram Khalid suggests that Pakistani federation is well suited for co-existence of multiple interests and identities, and to harmonize the sentiments of autonomy without affecting the unity of the state (Khalid 2013). As compared to the centralized system, federal system of governance is more compliant for the marginalized communities and diverse ethnicities but Federation’s capacity to administer diversity varies across societies and among levels of federations (Mushtaq 2009). As a result of Eighteenth amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan, the institutional capacities of various federal and provincial ministries were devolved and reoriented to improve coordination among provinces, and reforms and expansion in the workings of newly reserved institutions (Chandio 2013).

Moreover, with the recent changes to the constitution, the federal government can alter electoral laws in the provinces under the Federal Legislative List making “electoral processes more fair and just for minority groups, and thereby, to enhance their political representation through any number of devices, such as delimitation of electoral districts, separate electorates, reservations, and proportional representation” (M. S. Khan 2014, 127). The major scholarship on federalism in Pakistan has pivoted on the analysis of the development of federalism, its reform packages and various political, administrative, legal and judicial responses following the 18th constitutional amendment (Waseem 2010). What is lacking, however, is an assessment of how this reform has

impacted the accommodation of the concerns of ethnic minorities in Pakistan or if it has created more ethnicization.

1.2 Federalism, Ethnicity and Secessionist Movements: The case of Baluchistan and Punjab

Pakistan, being an ethnically diverse society, consists of several ethnic groups which are mainly divided on lingual identities (Map 1). As Punjab is considered to be the core ethnic region in Pakistan with majority representation in the National Assembly and in the Army and bureaucracy, the other three provinces begrudge its dominance (Adeney 2012). The demands have been raised to divide Southern region of Punjab along ethnic lines as it constitutes of mainly Saraiki speaking people while the rest of Punjab majorly- central Punjab- consists of people who speak Punjabi language. In such a scenario, it is essential that the federal design distributes power-sharing to harmonize relations between groups. As Lijphart suggests consociational arrangements consisting of grand coalition, cultural segmental autonomy, proportionality and mutual vetos can serve as an alternative to majoritarian democracy to establish peace (Lijphart 1999). The power sharing could be formal or informal but it is important to have other smaller units' interests protected as well under the federal system.

Pakistan has survived as a federation without splitting up since 1971; however, serious tensions exist mainly due to lack of representation of smaller units at the center, deficiency in the revenue distribution from the extraction of natural resources and less economic development in the other provinces (Adeney 2012). In order to understand the ethnic tensions of the two provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan, it is essential to look at the origin and impact of Saraiki separate province movement and Baluchistan nationalist movement and its link with the ethno-federalism in Pakistan.

1. 2.1 Saraiki Province Movement

South Punjab is known as the Saraiki area, which has witnessed the resurgences of regionalist forces demanding the Pakistani state to accommodate their identities within the state structure. Ever since independence, the government has shown little interest to initiate any development process in Southern Punjab, or the Saraiki belt. The region lacks proper infrastructure, health and education facilities (Bengali 2012). Moreover, the people of the Saraiki belt have left out of the political and economic capital of Pakistan, and the less political representation and misallocation of resources puts them in a constant struggle over resources with the other dominating ethnic groups in the region. In terms of budget allocation, the distribution of resources is highly skewed as well (Siddiqi 2011).

All these factors contribute to the sense of victimhood, exploitation, deprivation and alienation from the Pakistani central state which led to the assertion of a separate province in the South Punjab region. Even though the demand itself is not new, it gained considerable momentum during the last decade. The Saraikis' claim of a separate province for their community is not on administrative basis but on the basis of a separate identity. However, the demand of the Saraiki province is opposed by the Pakistani state, society and the stakeholders on the basis that a province cannot be solely formed on a cultural and linguistic basis.

The formation of Saraiki identity is based on language, culture and the collectivization of historical experiences. The Saraiki language movement started in 1960s which was largely cultural in nature as the resurgence of Saraiki identity was started by the Saraiki intellectuals in order to

get political and economic rights. However, in the early 1970s, the dissolution of One Unit⁵ and merger of Bahawalpur province in the Punjab changed the dynamics of Saraiki movement (Javaid 2011). The turning point was in 1975 when an All-Pakistan Saraiki Literary Conference was held in response to the government decision to implement Punjabi as the medium of instruction for primary education within the whole Punjab (Shackle 1977). The efforts led to the state recognition of Saraiki as an independent language in the 1980's. Moreover, the political platform was created to put forth the political demands of Saraiki people. Later, this movement became forceful in early 2000s.

However, there are various complexities in the division of Punjab to make a separate Saraiki province. The Saraiki nationalist demand that the new Saraiki province should include all the Saraiki dominated areas of Punjab which includes 22 districts (Feyyaz 2011) and the fact that Saraiki language is also spoken in other provinces of Pakistan makes the division more complicated. Furthermore, Pakistani state and some political parties are not yet ready to allow the formation of provinces on ethnic lines as they are afraid that national integrity of the country will be jeopardized in doing so and it will lead to disharmony and clashes of sovereignty. Be that as it may, it is important to acknowledge ethnic diversity, treat all ethnic groups equally and promote the cultures and languages of various ethnic groups, rather than suppress ethnic differences in the name of national unification and integration (F. Ahmed 1996).

⁵ The One Unit policy was launched by the Government of Pakistan in 1954 under which all the four provinces of Pakistan were merged into one polity known as West Pakistan, and the other unit was East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)

1.2.2 Baluch Nationalist Movement

Unlike Punjab, Baluchistan is the least developed province which comprises mainly Baluchi, Brahvi and Pashto speaking groups. It has been historically subjected to violence and atrocious killings due to unfair treatment and negligence by the central government which eventually instigated nationalist spirit in Baluch leaders and transformed into the Baluch nationalist movement (Dunne 2006). The rise of the Baluch nationalism is based more on the economic and political grievances rather than ethnic. The ideology is a political construct which hardly relies on linguistic features since Baluchis speak two languages mainly Baluchi and Brahui.

Baluchistan region is administratively divided among three countries Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. The Baluchistan province which is a part of Pakistan has economic and strategic significance not only to the Pakistani government but also to other neighboring countries and international world such as Iran, China, India and the US. Pakistan extracts enormous amounts of minerals and Sui gas from Baluchistan and two major pipelines pass through it- one from Iran to India and the other from Turkmenistan to India. Moreover, it also has two naval bases of Gwadar and Ormara (Dunne 2006, 3).

However, the Baluchis have suffered at the hands of Pakistani central government as the center gets all the profits from the resource extraction and the Baluchis do not even receive enough Sui gas allocation for their daily usage. These sentiments of neglect trace back to the post-partition time when the authority of central government instigated the nationalist feel among Baluchis and it escalated in 1948 when Baluchis rebelled against the Pakistani forces' invasion in Baluchistan (Dunne 2006). The second conflict that arose in 1958-59 was the armed resistance against the One Unit policy, and after the third clash in 1963-69, the One Unit program came to end with the imposition of LFO by General Yahya Khan in 1970. However, the catastrophic uprising started

from 1973 to 1977 with the discharge of the provincial government of Baluchistan and the prohibition on the ruling NAP. The formation of the Baluchistan People's Liberation Front, eventually led to the guerilla warfare against the central government (Abbas 2005).

In 2004 the ethnic insurgency began, the violence increased as the Baluch leader Nawab Akbar Bugti was killed by Pakistan Army in 2006 and the illegal imprisonment and abduction of other Baluch leaders by the government of Pakistan (Kupecz 2012, 97). In 2008, under the leadership of President Zardari the conflict reduced with the civilian government, however, in the later years violence in Baluchistan escalated. "In 2009, 792 attacks resulting in 386 deaths were recorded; approximately 92 percent of the attacks were linked to Baloch nationalist militants. Violence increased in 2010, with 730 attacks carried out resulting in 600 deaths." (Kupecz 2012, 97). Hence, it becomes essential to analyze the existing conflict situation and insurgency in Baluchistan.

According to the Baluch nationalists, the existing predicament in Baluchistan is a result of the incessant disregard of the Baluchi people and the manipulation of the natural resources by the people of Punjab (Dunne 2006, 5). Moreover, the people who argue for an independent Baluchistan state, they claim that they should be recognized as a separate state which is perceived as a threat to the unity of the federation by the central government (Dunne 2006, 6). Hence, the possibility of reorganization of a state on ethnic grounds under a federal system for the region of Baluchistan may present as a feasible administrative and constitutional solution. Nonetheless, the question which arises here is that if ethnic federalism is the only viable solution in this regard.

Having examined the situation of ethnic conflicts in the provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan, I argue that both provinces differ in their demands of ethnic recognition and territorial claims. Both provinces demand regional autonomy but in different ways. In the case of South

Punjab, the Saraiki people demand ethnic recognition by territorial reorganization of the province along ethnic lines, and making of a separate province under the state. However, Baluchis, are ethnically recognized as they have a separate province but they demand separation from the state and this involves separate sovereignty claim. In order to delve into further analysis, it is pertinent to analyze if Pakistani state is ready for adopting ethno-federalism yet.

1.3 Is Pakistan ready for (ethno) federalism?

Whether Pakistan's shift towards federalism and the adoption of ethnic federalism will help the federation in managing ethnic diversity or not depends on three factors: the federal design it constitutes, the extent of autonomy it grants to the provinces and the readiness of the federal government to consider the ethnic group's demands. According to Katharine Adeney, the federal design depends on the quantity of units a federation has, the division of a core group, the extent of the institutionalization of power for those groups be it formal or informal and the resource distribution to administer it (Adeney 2012). As Pakistan has relatively smaller number of units as compared to other federations with a core group which is not divided, and not enough formal access to the decision making as yet. Adeney highlights that the greater the number of units in a federation, the more stable that federation is (Adeney 2012, 543). Nonetheless, the larger number of units may result in division of the core region as happened in India and Germany.

In the case of Pakistan, the presence of one 'core' ethnic region and the inadequate representation of other smaller groups in the state apparatus have caused tensions among the relatively smaller number of units. It is noteworthy to mention that power-sharing mechanisms are essential, as the effective representation of a political group is required for protecting its political interests and raising their voices against any injustices done in the name of majority and

dominance. This representation can be formal as in the case of Belgium or informal as in India (Adeney 2012, 544).

Moreover, evaluating the extent of provincial autonomy, the devolution of responsibilities to the provincial level may help in bringing the government closer to people with the enhanced accountability and administrative efficiency, as people can directly hold the provincial government accountable for any lapses in financial procedures. Alternatively, this puts more responsibility on the provinces to generate the greater amount of their own revenues. As after the Eighteenth Constitutional amendment, the devolution of seventeen ministries to the provinces did occur, but it lacked the provision of sufficient financial resources to execute it. Moreover, the revenues from the center have decreased substantially as compared to the estimate made National Finance Commission (NFC) was passed in 2010 (Adeney 2012). The abolition of the concurrent list and lack of human resources also pose questions for the capability of the local governments to provide goods and services.

As far as the inclination of the central government is concerned, it seems to be reluctant to regard the reorganization of territorial boundaries along ethnic lines as it would undermine the centralized power of the state and might lead towards more separatist sentiments. However, according to Katharine Adeney, the secessionist elements develop due to denial of legitimate demands of autonomy of that group as it happened in the case of Tamils residing in Sri Lanka (Adeney 2014). Moreover, in the case of Punjab and Baluchistan, the denial of the economic and political demands of those groups led to the rift between the federal government and the ethnic groups. It is their democratic right to ask for equal political representation, fair procedures and equitable resource distribution.

As this chapter has shown that the Pakistani federation faces several challenges in the implementation of ethno-federalism, the prospects are that ethno-federalism may alleviate ethnic tensions of the region if it is institutionalized properly. The current federal design of Pakistan inculcates the sentiments of dissatisfaction among the smaller units because of the dominance of Punjab and their underrepresentation in the core state institutions. The upheavals of the Baluch Nationalist movement and Saraiki province movement are linked to this disparity as well. However, their demands are mainly to preserve their ethnic identities by territorial separation. Be that as it may, if the provinces follow ethnic boundaries, with the adoption of ethno-federalism, the Pakistani federation would be divided into several ministates. For territorial autonomy to work, it would require power-sharing mechanisms of governing coalitions and legitimate representation of the ethnic group (Sisk 1996). Therefore, for the successful working of ethno-federalism, the institutionalization of diversity within the governing structure is essential- be it formal or informal.

With the adoption of ethno-federalism, it is perceivable that it may lead to strengthening of regional identities. What is more interesting to see is that if adoption of ethno-federalism in Pakistan leads to further denationalized politics. As with the attempts of political decentralization and devolution of power to the subnational level in the country, it could be expected that adopting ethno-federalism might cause denationalization of parties and party systems. In order to assess the linkage between national and provincial politics, it is essential to analyze what role political parties play and how (de)national they are. The next chapter deals with the further analysis in this regard.

Chapter 2: Nationalization of Political Parties in Pakistan

This chapter deals with understanding the conception of nationalization of parties and their impact on governance of the country. In order to evaluate if adopting ethnic federalism leads to (de)nationalization of the party systems in Pakistan, this chapter analyzes the intersection of party systems and ethnic federalism. With the passing of the Eighteenth Constitutional amendment in 2010 and more devolution of power to the provinces, can we expect de-nationalization of party politics in Pakistan? If so, how should we evaluate this fact/trend: as strengthening local representation or as a force of disintegration?

Owing to the segmented party systems in Pakistan, it is expected that the political parties at the national level can be quite de-nationalized. Therefore, in order to test this hypothesis, I calculate party nationalization scores before and after the devolution. I hypothesize that the devolution of power, as occurred in 2010, will lower the nationalization scores of political parties at the national level. Hence, this chapter analyzes the degree of nationalization of the political parties in Pakistan by evaluating the support parties have at the national level and across provinces.

The chapter discusses the various conceptualizations of nationalization of parties and party systems and its methods of measurement. After the detailed analysis of different methods used, the selection of method is made for calculating the party nationalization scores. The party nationalization scores are calculated for the dominant political parties in Pakistan followed by the discussion of results. This chapter also highlights the factors which affect nationalization of political parties and party systems while putting Pakistan in a comparative perspective with other countries.

2.1 Conceptualization and Measurement: Nationalization of Party Systems and Parties

Analyzing the role of political parties is crucial for understanding the linkage between the dynamics of local governance and the national governance. Various scholars have worked on the nationalization of party systems and parties as the patterns and degree of nationalization differ considerably across countries. The general approach adopted is that for understanding the nationalization of party systems, it is essential to analyze the district level party systems as it is assumed that the factors which impact district level party systems also influence the national party systems. Rekha Diwakar highlights that the national party system is formed depending on the level of 'aggregation' or 'linkage' between district level and the national level party systems (Diwakar 2010). Maurice Duverger has done tremendous work to assess how electoral systems affect district level party systems. As Duverger's Law suggests that the elections under plurality rule lead to two party systems at the district level and his Hypothesis suggests that proportional representation (PR) and the double ballot majority system lead to multipartism (Duverger 1954). He extends his analysis to the national party systems as well. However, Gary Cox disagrees and suggests that the district level electoral structure does not lead to bi-partism at the national level. He argues that there are other considerations such as the desire to be the president or prime minister which provides motivation to form 'linkages' across districts, and hence, converges to the two-party systems at the national level (Cox 1997).

While evaluating the conceptualization of the nationalization of party systems and parties, various measurements have been proposed. The landmark study conducted by Mark P. Jones and Scott Mainwaring uses the Gini coefficient method to measure the degree of the nationalization of political parties and party systems for the cases of the US, Canada and 15 Latin American

countries. (Jones and Mainwaring 2003). They defined nationalization of parties and party systems as follows: “A highly nationalized party system is the one in which the major parties’ respective vote shares do not differ much from one province to the next. In a weakly nationalized party system, the major parties’ vote shares vary widely across provinces.” (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 140). Similarly, for a highly nationalized party the geographic units have less variation in terms of their vote share while denationalized parties’ vote share differ substantially across geographic units (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 140).

Using the measure of inverted Gini coefficient, they calculate the *Party Nationalization Score (PNS)*. A Gini coefficient measures the variation of votes a party received in every region/province. “A Gini coefficient of 0 signifies that a party received the same share of the vote in every sub-national unit. A Gini coefficient of 1 means that it received 100 percent of its vote in one sub-national unit and 0 percent in all the rest.” (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 142). They calculate the score by taking the inverse of Gini coefficient i.e., to subtract the Gini coefficient from 1 ($PNS = 1 - \text{Gini coefficient}$). A high PNS score signifies a high degree of nationalization for that political party. The party is more nationalized as the score increases. Similarly, they calculated the *Party System Nationalization Scores (PSNS)* by multiplying the nationalization scores for every party by its national vote share and then taking the sum of this product for all the parties (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 143). This measure allows to analyze changes in the system over time and as well as the comparison of other countries.

The alternative approach of *party aggregation* is proposed by Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman on the formation of national party systems. They define nationalized party systems as “one in which the same parties compete at different levels of vote aggregation” (Chhibber and Kollman 2004, 4). In other words, the party system is nationalized when the party systems at the

provincial or regional levels reflects the pattern of the party systems at the national level. In their study, they use Laakso and Taagapera's (1979) measure 'N' to calculate the effective number of political parties at the national level in elections of lower house for four countries – India, Canada, Great Britain and the US (Chhibber and Kollman 2004, 39). It is important to have an effective number of parties as there exist numerous political parties which are not active in the national politics, however, effective number of parties points to the political parties which are competitive.

In their analysis, the effective number of political parties 'N' provides the distribution of votes across parties. The higher 'N' indicates the fragmentation of votes among parties whereas the lower 'N' signifies that votes are not that fragmented rather concentrated on a small number of parties ⁶ (Chhibber and Kollman 2004, 165). Furthermore, they calculate the party aggregation score to see the extent of nationalization of party systems. *Party Aggregation Score* is calculated by taking into account the difference between the effective number of parties at the national level and the average effective number of parties at the regional level (Chhibber and Kollman 2004, 164-165). The score of 0 indicates that party systems at the provincial level are the same as the party systems nationally and the score of more than 0 indicates that more parties are there at the national level than in the districts. The low score suggests better party aggregation and hence, more nationalization of the party systems (Chhibber and Kollman 2004, 165).

Unlike the measure used by Jones and Mainwaring, this measure does not have particular values for party rather takes into account the difference in an election of each party system of the district/region and the national party system. Moreover, their work on the formation of national

⁶ "The *effective number of parties index* N gives increasing weight to parties that get higher proportions of the vote. The formula is the inverse of the sum of the squared proportions of the vote or of the seats. For n parties receiving votes, and for p_i representing the proportion of popular votes received by party i." (Chhibber and Kollman 2004, 5)

$$N = \frac{1}{\sum_{i=1}^n p_i^2}$$

party systems also assesses the connection between party systems and the power dynamics of different levels of government. They argue that national party systems are established depending on which level of government the power resides in. Hence, the national party systems are formed when the national government yields the economic and political power, whereas regional parties emerge when power drifts towards the lower levels of government i.e., provincial governments. According to their analysis, the authority associated with the levels of government play significant role in the victory of political parties (Chhibber and Kollman 2004).

Another approach of electoral volatility is used by the study conducted by Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta. The electoral volatility measures “the degree to which there is variation in aggregate party vote shares from one election to another” (Hicken and Kuhonta 2011, 9). They calculate the electoral volatility by taking the difference in the percentage of votes gained or lost by the party from one election to another and then taking the sum of the difference and dividing by 2. The mathematical expression is as follows: $(\sum |v_{it} - v_{it+1}|) / 2$ (Hicken and Kuhonta 2011, 9). The low volatility score reflects that the party has consistent support from election to election whereas the high electoral volatility is reflective of a gap in the vote shares from one election to another (Hicken and Kuhonta 2011, 9). The volatility score refers to the institutionalization of the party system and better institutionalization of party systems entails the greater nationalization or a firmly established national party system with the democratic experience (Moser and Scheiner 2012).

While using the same conceptualization as used by Chhibber and Kollman, Gary Cox incorporates the measure of inflation and modifies the calculation of nationalization score. (Cox 1999) According to Cox, the electoral coordination happens at both the district level and the national level, and is based on the effective number of political parties. He uses the inflation factor

(I) to measure the linkage between the local parties and the national parties. He takes the difference of the effective number of parties at the national level and the average effective number of parties at each district i.e., $D = ENP_{nat} - ENP_{avg}$. The increased 'D' represents a poor linkage and the larger resultant inflation of the national party system over local party system. By dividing this measure of 'D' by the effective number of parties at the national level, gives the inflation factor as follows: $I = 100 * [(ENP_{nat} - ENP_{avg}) / ENP_{nat}]$ (Cox 1999, 155). This provides the percentage for the measure of nationalization and with the increased inflation, the nationalization decreased.

The empirical analysis on two dimensions of party nationalization--the static/distributional and the dynamic nationalization is conducted by Scott Morgenstern, Stephen M. Swindle and Andrea Castagnola. The static/distributional nationalization measures "the consistency of party's support across a country at a particular point in time" whereas the dynamic nationalization refers to "the degree to which a party's vote in the various districts changes uniformly across time" (Morgenstern, Swindle and Castagnola 2009, 1322). They tested these two aspects by conducting a multivariate regression analysis on 60 parties across 28 countries using the institutional variables of executive systems, electoral systems, federalism, ethnic fractionalization and democratic or party age. They grouped parties into four types: locally focused, unbalanced, unstable, and nationalized (Morgenstern, Swindle and Castagnola 2009, 1336). Their results suggest that the dynamic nationalization is influenced by the institutional factor of executive type if it is presidentialism or parliamentarism, and the static/distributional nationalization is dependent on the electoral system that a country has (Morgenstern, Swindle and Castagnola 2009, 1336).

The approach adopted by Kasuya and Moenius adds to the previous literature by combining the two dimensions of 'inflation' as studied by Cox and 'dispersion' measure of Chhibber and Kollman and developing another measure of nationalization of party system (Kasuya and Moenius

2008). They define degree of party nationalization as “the extent to which parties compete with similar strength across sub-national geographic units” (Kasuya and Moenius 2008). They modified inflation measure of Cox by calculating the weighted measure of inflation as ‘I’ can be used only when the district size i.e., the total number of votes in each district is almost the same. This may not necessarily be the case; hence, the weights are allocated based on the vote share of each district relative to the vote share at the national level while calculating ENP_{avg} . The new measure is ENP_{w-avg} . (Kasuya and Moenius 2004). The weighted inflation factor is as follows: $I_w = [(ENP_{nat} - ENP_{w-avg}) / ENP_{w-avg}] * 100$ (Kasuya and Moenius 2004, 550).

While evaluating the above mentioned methods proposed by various scholars, it is noteworthy to mention that Jones and Mainwaring’s method of PNS calculation is apt for comparison of varying degrees of party nationalization. By using the Gini coefficient method, the comparison of degree of nationalization can be evaluated not only across parties but across party systems, within party systems over time, across parties within countries and within parties over time (Jones and Mainwaring 2003). However, the other methods using the effective number of parties or the inflation factor do not cater to this comparison aspect in such a way. Unlike other methods, the Gini coefficient method is not country-specific, it allows for comparison across countries (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 142). This is beneficial for my analysis as it enables me to put Pakistan in a comparative perspective with other countries and evaluate the extent of party nationalization. Moreover, due to the limited data availability of the district-level i.e., provincial level provincial parties in the case of Pakistan, I am unable to use the district level analysis as suggested by Cox and Chhibber and Kollman.

2.2 Selection of the method: Measuring the Nationalization of Political Parties in Pakistan

After having analyzed the various measures proposed by scholars for nationalization of parties and party systems, I use the method proposed by Jones and Mainwaring with the use of Gini coefficient (Jones and Mainwaring 2003) for calculating Party Nationalization Scores (PNS) for the case of Pakistan. The choice of method is made depending on the suitability for comparison purposed and the limited availability of the district-level data. The selection is also made in relation to the variation in support of political parties from all four provinces at the national level. The national politics is driven by a few major political parties in Pakistan which won either majority or make coalitions to form the government. The major political parties which are dominant at the national level are described in the Table 1.

Table 1: Major Political Parties in Pakistan

Political Parties in Pakistan
1. Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) 2. Pakistan People's Party (PPP) 3. Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) 4. Pakistan Muslim League (PML) 5. Awami National Party (ANP) 6. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) 7. Jamat e Islami 8. Jamat e Ulema 9. Pakistani Awami Tehreek

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP 2013)

However, for the purposes of this paper, I take into account the following political parties of Pakistan: Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N), the current ruling party in 2015; Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the party which made previous government (2008-2013); Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaaf (PTI), a ruling party in KPK (2015); and Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), a

significant coalition party for federal government since 1980s (ECP 2013). The choice of these political parties is made because these parties play a significant role in analyzing the national politics. They have either won majority and made federal government or made coalitions to form the government at the national level.

As Pakistan is a federal parliamentary democratic republic with a bicameral legislature consisting of National Assembly - a lower house and Senate - an upper house. The elections are held by the constitutionally established institution Election Commission of Pakistan. For the purposes of analysis, the General Elections of 2008 and General Elections of 2013 are taken into consideration for the National Assembly of Pakistan. As devolution of power occurred in 2010 with the 18th amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan, the analysis is based on the pre and post-Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment. The data for party wise total votes polled for the General Elections of 2008 and General Elections of 2013 is taken from the Election Commission of Pakistan database (ECP 2013). The detailed list of the vote bank of all the political parties for the General Election of 2008 and 2013 is attached in the appendices 1 and 2 at the end of the paper.

2.3 Calculation of Party Nationalization Scores for Pakistan

In order to calculate the party nationalization scores of political parties in Pakistan, I took party-wise total votes casted for each particular party from all the provinces i.e. Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and calculated Gini coefficients for each party using the method provided by (Jones and Mainwaring 2003) . As a Gini coefficient provides with the variation of the vote share for each party, it indicates if that party received same share of votes in every province or not. The Party Nationalization Scores (PNS) are calculated by subtracting the value of Gini coefficient from 1 as used by (Jones and Mainwaring 2003). It is noteworthy to

mention here that the unit of analysis used is political parties of and not party systems. The details are as follows:

Table 2: Party Nationalization Scores for the General Elections of 2008

Party Name	Gini Coefficient	Party Nationalization Scores (PNS)
1. Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N)	0.70	0.30
2. Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	0.485	0.515
3. Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM)	0.742	0.257
4. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI)	-	-

Note: It is noteworthy to mention here that one of the major political parties Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) boycotted the General Elections of 2008, hence, it is not included in the calculation of PNS scores for 2008.

The analysis yields that the Party Nationalization Score (PNS) for almost all the political parties is quite low which indicates the trend of de-nationalized parties in Pakistan. The criterion for gauging the extent of high and low nationalization score is adapted from the research of (Jones and Mainwaring 2003). Based on their analysis, the point of reference for this research has been selected as follows: the Party Nationalization Score of below 0.7 is considered as low nationalization score, the PNS which lies in between 0.7- 0.8 is regarded as intermediate nationalization score and the PNS above 0.8 is categorized as a high nationalization score.

According to this criterion, the nationalization score of all political parties in the General Election of 2008 falls under the category of low nationalization score (Table 2). The low nationalization score for PML-N indicates that it draws more support from the Punjab province as compared to the other provinces as it is a Punjab-based party. The total number of votes PML-N

received in Punjab is 5594061 and the votes from other provinces are: 277,559 votes from KPK, 133,656 votes from Sindh and 15,208 votes from Baluchistan (ECP 2013) (Appendix 1). Based on the total number of the votes, the party got 92% of all their national votes from Punjab which accounts for a bit more than half of the national population. In all other provinces, PML-N received around 4-6% of the provinces' votes.

Similarly, PPP is a Sindh-based party and it has more support from the province of Sindh. The total number of votes PPP received in Sindh is 3611644 and the votes from the other provinces are: 563057 votes from KPK, 5548153 votes from Punjab and 563057 votes from Baluchistan (ECP 2013) (Appendix 1). PPP secured 56% of all their national votes from Sindh and around 8% of the provinces' votes. Moreover, MQM- another Sindh-based party, received 98% of all their national votes from Sindh and a very little vote share around less than 1% of the provinces' votes from other provinces. This reinforces the fact it is a strong regional party which is active at the provincial level in the province of Sindh (ECP 2013) (Appendix 1).

Furthermore, for the General Elections of 2013, the nationalization scores of all political parties also belong to the category of low nationalization scores as shown in Table 3. In 2013 General Elections, the largest Punjab-based political party received 11,365,363 votes in Punjab and the votes from other provinces are: 856,135 votes from KPK, 592,954 votes from Sindh and 134,758 votes from Baluchistan (ECP 2013) (Appendix 2). Based on the total number of the votes, the party got 87% of all their national votes from Punjab and in all other provinces, PML-N received around 5-10% of the provinces' votes and in Punjab the party received around 40% of the province's votes.

Table 3: Party Nationalization Scores for the General Elections of 2013

Party Name	Gini Coefficient	Party Nationalization Scores (PNS)
1. Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N)	0.655	0.344
2. Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	0.462	0.537
3. Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM)	0.736	0.264
4. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)	0.547	0.425

Similarly, the major political party in the province of Sindh, PPP had 3,209,686 total votes in Sindh, and 472,550 votes from KPK, 2,464,812 votes from Punjab and 51976 votes from Baluchistan (ECP 2013) (Appendix 2). PPP secured 52% of all their national votes from Sindh and around 3-7% of the provinces' votes. Moreover, MQM received 97% of all their national votes from Sindh and a very little vote share around 1% of the provinces' votes from other provinces. Taking into account the vote shares of PTI, it has 74% of its national votes from Punjab and 16% of the provinces' votes from the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) whereas around 9% of the vote shares of the provinces' votes is from the rest of the provinces (ECP 2013) (Appendix 2).

2.4 Discussion of Results and Analysis

As with the devolution of power to the provinces occurred in 2010, the comparison of the party nationalization scores in the General Elections of 2008 and 2013 is made to assess the variation in the degree of (de)nationalization of parties in Pakistan. Overall, the Party Nationalization Scores of Pakistan depicts the trend of de-nationalized politics which is in accordance with the theoretical expectation. However, while evaluating the nationalization scores

of both General Elections of 2008 and 2013, the expectation was that the PNSs for the 2013 General Elections will be lowered as compared to the PNSs for the 2008 General Elections. According to the hypothesis, the increased devolution of power to the provinces after the 18th constitutional amendment in Pakistan should have led to more de-nationalization of parties and hence, decreased Party Nationalization Scores in the 2013 General Elections' analysis. However, the nationalization scores of political parties came out to be almost the same for the General Elections of 2013 analysis as they were in the analysis of General Elections of 2008. Table 4 depicts the comparison of Party Nationalization Scores for both elections of Pakistan.

Table 4: Comparison of Party Nationalization Scores for the General Elections of 2008 and General Elections 2013 of Pakistan

Party Name	Party Nationalization Scores (PNS) 2008	Party Nationalization Scores (PNS) 2013
1. Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N)	0.300	0.344
2. Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	0.515	0.537
3. Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM)	0.257	0.264
4. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI)	-	0.425

It is interesting to note that the Party Nationalization Scores for the General Elections of 2013 analysis increased a little rather than decreasing. This could be partly due to the fact that the implementation of the steps towards devolution as recommended post-18th amendment is still in process and needs to be done in practice. The political system needs more time to institutionalize the change towards political decentralization. As Asma Faiz highlights that even after five years of the passing of 18th constitutional amendment in Pakistan, the federal government keeps its

centralized character (Faiz 2015). The transition towards political decentralization still remains to be done. Another reason could be that we might need to evaluate this impact over the longer period of time. The comparison with just two years of elections might not be able to provide with the overall trend of (de)nationalization.

Moreover, while evaluating the nationalization scores in comparative perspective, the trend of variations among parties is interesting to note. The Party Nationalization Score for PPP for the year 2013 is 0.537 which is a little higher than the rest of 0.425, 0.344 and 0.264 for PTI, PML-N and MQM, respectively. Furthermore, for the year 2008, the Party Nationalization Score for PPP i.e., 0.515 is relatively higher than the rest of nationalization scores of 0.30 and 0.257 for PML-N and MQM respectively.

2.4.1 Comparison of Party Nationalization Scores of Pakistan with other countries

In order to understand the nature and degree of nationalization, it is essential to situate Pakistan in a comparative perspective with other countries. While comparing the nationalization scores of political parties of Pakistan with the nationalization scores of political parties of other countries as analyzed by Jones and Mainwaring, Pakistan has average PNS score of around 0.4-0.5. It lies closer to the political party of CONDEPA of Bolivia with the average PNS of 0.4, the RP political party of Canada with the average PNS of 0.54, the PRE party of Ecuador with average PNS of 0.55, and PSDB party of Brazil with the average nationalization score of 0.59 (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 154).

As CONDEPA (Conciencia de Patria) is a populist party in Bolivia which draws its support mostly from the Department of La Paz. Hence, it is a weakly nationalized party (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 151). Similarly, RP – the Reform Party of Canada is a right-wing populist party

(Abedi 2004) which has a low nationalization score of 0.54. It first contested national elections in 1988 but managed to have a 2% of the vote which showed that it is highly concentration in the West (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 151). Moreover, PRE –Ecuadorian Roldosist Party in Ecuador is a less nationalized party with the PNS of 0.55 (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 150). Furthermore, the PSDB – Brazilian Social Democracy Party which is a centrist political party in Brazil (PSDB 2013) is also denationalized as it has a low PNS score of 0.59. While evaluating the varying degrees of nationalization, it is necessary to analyze which factors explain the variance in nationalization. The possible explanatory variables are discussed below.

2.4.2 Factors affecting Nationalization of party systems and parties

Taking into account the various factors which impact the nationalization of political parties, some scholars have highlighted that presence of ethnic diversity affects the degree of nationalization. As Allan Sikk and Daniel Bochsler argue that “ethnic heterogeneity of territorial units influences patterns of party support and hence contributes to the levels of party nationalization” (Sikk and Bochsler 2008, 2). Moreover, as studied by Daniele Caramani that social and ethno-linguistic cleavages influence the degree to which a party system is nationalized (Caramani 2004). Cox also shares the same point of view while he takes into account the ethnic variation for calculating the number of parties (Cox 1997). Furthermore, the empirical analysis of Morgenstern, Swindle and Castagnola also entails the institutional variable of ethnic fractionalization to see its impact on both the dimensions of nationalization (Morgenstern, Swindle and Castagnola 2009, 1328).

Furthermore, the presence of federalism also influences the level of party nationalization in a country. Morgenstern, Swindle and Castagnola highlight that the federalism lowers the nationalization of political parties as they expect that “the decentralized political structures

(federalist) should yield political differentiation (non–nationalized politics), because political administrative (de)centralization should have a direct and positive impact on political party (de)centralization” (Morgenstern, Swindle and Castagnola 2009, 1328). According to their analysis, the federal systems lower the nationalization of parties from both dimensions- the dynamic and static/distributional, hence, they incorporate the interaction term of federalism and ethnic fractionalization to gauge the impact of both on the nationalization of parties. Their results suggest that the federalism affects dynamic dimension more than the static/distributional nationalization but both negatively while ethnic heterogeneity has a positive impact on static/distributional nationalization. However, the combined effect of both federalism and ethnic heterogeneity lowers the level of nationalization (Morgenstern, Swindle and Castagnola 2009, 1334-1335).

The low nationalization of parties is also related to federalism by Jones and Mainwaring in their study. They underline that “the federal countries tend to have lower nationalization scores reflecting greater variance in parties’ electoral performances across the sub-national units” (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 159). They argue that with the presence of federalism, the parties are encouraged to gather and participate at the state level and hence, cultivate more differences in the electoral competition as compared to the centralized level of governance (Jones and Mainwaring 2003, 159). Be that as it may, it becomes essential to comprehend the dynamics of provincial politics in order to evaluate if ethno-federalism will lead to further denationalization of parties in Pakistan. As the presence of (ethno) federalism strengthens the ethnic cleavages in the society, it is plausible that provincial parties may have more regional and ethnic dimension. Hence, it is crucial to examine the extent to which provincial parties play a role in strengthening or lowering the nationalization of parties in Pakistan. The next chapter analyzes the provincial parties in Pakistan.

Chapter 3: Provincial Political Parties in Pakistan- Is All Politics Local?

This chapter deals with the role of provincial political parties and party systems in Pakistan. The provincial politics in Pakistan is quite different from the national politics despite some regional parties also competing at the national level. The regional parties play a significant role in understanding the dynamics of local governance in the country. All four provinces in Pakistan – Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa depict their own cultural and ethnolinguistic identities, and the people own their regional identities more than their national ones. Owing to the segmented regional identities, the question of whether the regional political parties are driven along ethnic lines needs to be explored further.

The federal structure of Pakistan provides the provinces with their own provincial governments but the extent to which power is decentralized to the provincial level even after the 18th Constitutional amendment is not visible in the political system of Pakistan (Waseem 2015). As Asma Faiz highlights that even after the 18th Constitutional amendment, there is a long way to go for proper implementation of political decentralization in practice (Faiz 2015).

This chapter explores why the provincial party systems in Pakistan are different from each other and from the national party systems. It also discusses the role of regional parties in accommodating the interests of ethnic minorities of the region and analyzes the extent to which ethno-federalism can alleviate ethnic tensions of the region. Be that as it may, the scholarly literature on the provincial governments of Pakistan is quite scanty, and surprising it may seem, no work has been done on the (de)nationalization of political parties in the regions of Pakistan. Therefore, my research is a first step towards analyzing the linkage between the dynamics of local governance and the national governance in Pakistan. The previous studies on federalism in

Pakistan has focused more on analyzing the intergovernmental relations or fiscal transfers of power and resources, however, the role of political parties is understudied in this regard.

This chapter briefly discusses the underpinnings of regional parties and the impact of political decentralization on governance of the country. It also discusses the political parties which are active at the provincial level in Pakistan but focuses on the detailed analysis on the provincial political parties of Punjab and Baluchistan. Moreover, it assesses if more strength is given to the ethnic political parties at the provincial level, will it lead to (dis)integration of political parties.

3.1 Political Decentralization and Regional Parties

The regional political parties play a significant role in analyzing the workings of government apparatus, protection of regional identities and the prospects of democratic institution buildings in the region. Dawn Brancati argues that political decentralization leads to the strengthening of regional parties as she writes: “Political decentralization encourages politicians to form regional parties, and voters to vote for them, because decentralized systems of government have regional legislatures in which regional parties have a greater opportunity to govern than is the case in national legislatures” (Brancati 2007, 136).

According to Brancati, political decentralization is “a system of government in which there is a vertical division of power among multiple levels of government that have independent decision-making power over at least one issue area” (Brancati 2006, 654). Nonetheless, the presence of different levels of government does not fulfill the criterion of a politically decentralized system rather that system has to have autonomy to legislate on specific matters. As Daniele Treisman aptly points out that decision-making decentralization is the “extent to which subnational actors have right to make political decisions” (Treisman 2002, 32). He categorized Pakistan as a case where the subnational units have a ‘weak autonomy’ and ‘residual authority’ (Treisman 2002,

32). He uses the term weak autonomy to describe when the “constitution reserves exclusive right to legislate on at least one specific policy area to subnational legislatures” and a residual authority is defined when “constitution gives subnational legislatures exclusive right to legislate on policy areas not specifically assigned in constitution” (Treisman 2002, 14). These variations in the authority to legislate highlight the degree of decentralization a regional government has.

In the case of Pakistan, the strengthening of political decentralization along with the institutional mechanisms of federalism may serve a fertile ground for social and ethnic peace. Nonetheless, it remains contentious if political decentralization leads to less ethnic tensions or it aggravates them. As Philip Roeder has highlighted the fear of secessionism if ethnic federalism is allowed to flourish (Roeder 2009). Similar concern has been expressed by Brancati that the strength of regional parties along ethnic lines may increase demands for more group autonomy and recognition (Brancati 2006). Be that as it may, I argue that decentralizing power down to the state or provincial level allows for proper representation given to each group and ensures minority rights of ethnic groups. The political recognition of ethnic minorities through legislatures reduces ethnic tensions and conflicts when they have better representation. According to Lijphart, the proportional representation enables better minority representation as it is not only better than single member districts but is superior to all other electoral institutions (Lijphart 2004).

Moreover, political decentralization provides for more regional autonomy, the regional governments are able to take into account the concerns of minority groups, and it provides ethnic communities with a sense of satisfaction that their rights and regional identities are preserved. Thus, it lessens the prospects of ethnic conflicts or secessionist forces arising among ethnic groups. Furthermore, the study conducted by Kristin M. Bakke and Erik Wibbels highlights that the “degree to which fiscal decentralization, intergovernmental fiscal transfers, and political

copartisanship across tiers of government can contribute to peace depends on a society's level of wealth and its ethnic composition" (Bakke and Wibbels 2006, 3). Hence, the level of inequality among ethnic minority and majority groups may pose a danger to the stability of decentralization. Such an inequality exacerbates the redistributive claims that minorities are likely to make on the central state (Bakke and Wibbels 2006). Therefore, for the effective working of decentralization, the regional governments need to ensure efficient resource allocation and resource controls. In order to understand the dynamics of regional politics in Pakistan, the analysis of provincial political parties is essential.

3.2 Provincial Political Parties of Pakistan

As Pakistan has a multi-party system with a diverse 288 political parties (ECP 2013) active at the provincial as well as at the national level, analyzing the role of political parties is crucial for understanding the ethno-political grievances of the people. It is noteworthy to mention here that very little scholarly literature is available on the subject matter for the provincial political parties in Pakistan. Hence, I have accessed data mainly from the Election Commission of Pakistan regarding the political parties (The detailed list is attached in the appendix at the end). The details and composition of provincial governments and provincial assemblies are taken from their respective official websites. Although this section will briefly provide the overview of major political parties of all four provinces, the focus will be on the prominent political parties of Punjab and Baluchistan province.

The politics in Punjab is quite different from the other provinces. The party system in Punjab reflects the patterns of parties at the national level, hence, it could be argued that the politics in Punjab is well-integrated into the national party system. However, it is not the case with other provinces –Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as they have political parties with a

marked regional dimension. The political parties of these provinces are effective in making provincial government and provincial assembly but they have very limited representation at the national legislative level. The detailed composition of the provincial governments and the provincial assemblies is given in Table 4 and 5.

Table 4: Composition of all Provincial Governments of Pakistan

Provincial Governments	Location	Governor	Chief Minister
1. Government of Punjab	Lahore, Punjab	Mohammad Sarwar (PTI)	Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif (PML-N)
2. Government of Sindh	Karachi, Sindh	Ishrat-ul-Ibad Khan (MQM)	Qasim Ali Shah (PPP)
3. Government of Baluchistan	Quetta, Baluchistan	Mohammad Khan Achakzai (PMAP)	Abdul Malik Baloch (NP)
4. Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)	Peshawar, KPK	Mehtab Ahmed Khan (PML-N)	Pervez Khattak (PTI)

Sources: Government of Punjab: <http://www.punjab.gov.pk/>, Government of Sindh: <http://www.sindh.gov.pk/>, Government of Baluchistan: <http://www.balochistan.gov.pk/>, Government of KPK: <http://www.pakp.gov.pk/2013/>

Table 5: Composition of all Provincial Assemblies of Pakistan

Provincial Assemblies	Speaker	Deputy Speaker	Total number of Seats	Party wise- Number of seats
1. Punjab Assembly	Rana M. Iqbal Khan	Sardar Sher Ali Gorchani	371	PML-N(312), PTI (30), PML(Q) (8), PPPP (8), PML-Z (3) JI(1), BNA (1), PMLN(1)
2. Sindh Assembly	Agha Siraj Khan Durani	Syeda Shehla Raza	168	PPPP (67), MQM(47), PTI (4), PML-N (7), PML(F) (8)
3. Baluchistan Assembly	Mir Jan M. Jamali	Mir Abdul Quddus Bizenio	65	PML-N (22), PKMA (14), NP(10), JUI(F) (8), PML(Q) (4), BNP (2), ANP (1), MWP (1), BNP Awami (1)
4. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly	Asad Qaiser	Imtiaz Shahid	124	PTI (56), JUI(F) (17), PML-N (16), QWP(10), JI(8), ANP(5), AJIP (5), PPP (5)

Sources: Punjab Assembly: <http://www.pap.gov.pk/index.php/home/en>, Sindh Assembly: <http://www.pas.gov.pk/index.php/members/bydistrict/en>, Baluchistan Assembly: <http://www.pabalochistan.gov.pk/index.php/home/en>, KPK Assembly: <http://www.pakp.gov.pk/2013/>

The politics in Sindh is dominated by two major political parties –Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) and Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM). PPP is a federalist party founded by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1967 (A. Khan 2002). It has come into power and made national government five times –first in 1970 and then in 1977 under Bhutto’s leadership, later in 1988 and 1993 under Benazir Bhutto’s leadership (daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) and lastly in 2008 under Asif Ali Zardari’s leadership (husband of Benazir Bhutto) (Pakistan Peoples Party n.d.). It holds 67 seats in the Sindh Assembly (Table 5). Moreover, the second largest party in Sindh is MQM which is a liberal-secular party maintaining second position in the Sindh Assembly (Akhtar 2011). It has 47 seats in the Sindh Assembly (Table 5). Both parties make provincial government in Sindh as the Governor of Sindh –Ishrat-ul-Ibad Khan is affiliated with MQM and the Chief Minister of Sindh –Qasim Ali

Shah is associated with PPP (Table 4). Other political parties active in Sindh include Pakistan Muslim League-F (PML-F) and National People's Party (ECP 2013).

The politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is dominated by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) as it won 56 out of 124 seats in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly in 2013 elections (ECP 2013) and is currently running government in the province. The current Chief Minister of KPK –Pervez Khatak belongs to PTI (Table 4). Other prominent political parties active in the province are Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam-F (JUI-F), Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan, Qoumi Wattan Party, Awami National Party and Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (ECP 2013).

Furthermore, the politics in the province of Baluchistan has been influenced by the leadership of various political parties. As the government alliance in the Baluchistan Assembly includes the following political parties: Pukhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party, Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N), Pakistan Muslim League-Q (PML-Q), National Party and Majlis Wahdatul Muslimeen (Provincial Assembly of Baluchistan 2015) (Table 5). The other political parties of the region include Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam-F (JUI-F), Awami National Party, Awami Party, Jamote Qaumi Movement, and Baluchistan National Party (ECP 2013).

3.2.1 Comparison of Punjab and Baluchistan Provincial Politics

While comparing the provincial dynamics of Punjab and Baluchistan, that party systems in both provinces have quite dissimilar patterns. As national politics in Pakistan is heavily influenced by major political parties of Punjab such as PML-N, the provincial politics in Punjab mirrors the national party system. However, it is opposite in the case of Baluchistan. In Baluchistan, the major party dominated at the regional level is rarely represented at the national level. For instance, the National Party and Pukhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party are quite functional at the provincial level

they never made it into the national government (ECP 2013). Both parties have tremendous support at the provincial level as they make current provincial government in Baluchistan. The Governor of Baluchistan –Mohammad Khan Achakzai belongs to Pukhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) and the Chief Minister –Abdul Malik Baloch is from the National party (NP) (Table 4). However, the parties do not have support at the national level. It depicts the de-nationalized nature of the party system in the case of Baluchistan according to the criterion of a weakly nationalized party system provided by (Jones and Mainwaring 2003). Therefore, it could be argued that the effect of more devolution or political decentralization would be more prominent in the case of Baluchistan as compared to Punjab.

As the politics in Baluchistan is more region-based, the implementation of ethno-federalism might exacerbate the already ingrained separatist sentiments in the people. Hence, with more power to the regions, the fear of secessionism might dig its roots deeper in the province of Baluchistan. The two provinces also differ in their demands from the central government. In the case of Punjab, the demand for the division of Punjab is based on gaining a separate territorial and regional autonomy, while, in the case of Baluchistan, the people have an independent region with their own regional government but they demand more access to power and resources. This reiterates the argument made by Philip Roeder that if more power is granted to the regional ethnic parties, their demands for more power and autonomy will be propelled (Roeder 2009).

3.2.2 If Regional Parties are Ethnic?

In order to evaluate if regional parties are ethnic, it is vital to comprehend what constitutes regional parties. Régis Dandoy highlights that regional parties can be defined as “an autonomous party formation of regional obedience, whose ideological, program and organizational identity (...) are of regional nature” (Dandoy 2010, 197). He emphasizes underlines that the regional parties

are ethnic when they demand reorganization of national state structures (Dandoy 2010, 196). According to him, besides the territorial aspect, the ethno-regional parties require ‘an exclusive group identity’ (Dandoy 2010, 197). Hence, the ethno-regionalist parties emphasize on both regional identity and ethnic recognition (Dandoy 2010, 198). Some scholars categorize regional parties on territory basis and hence, argue that the regional parties may not necessarily be ethnic in nature. As Maxmilián Strmiska highlights that ethno-regional parties are a subgroup of regional parties, and according to him, ethnic parties cannot be identical to regional parties nor do all regional parties always ethno-regional (Strmiska 2003).

Given the dynamics of provincial political parties, it seems that they cannot be categorized as ethno-regional parties. However, the demands of the people of the regions of Baluchistan and South Punjab are ethno-regional. According to the typology presented by Dandoy, the demands of Saraiki people can be categorized as mild demands (challenges to internal order) which fall under ‘decentralist’ category, ‘federalist’ in nature, and demanding authority and powers in a federal framework for a separate province of Saraiki (Dandoy 2010, 206). On the other hand, the demands of Baluchis can be characterized as the strong or radical demands (challenges to international order) which fall under ‘secessionist’ category, ‘independentist’ in nature, and demanding independence from the state of Pakistan (Dandoy 2010, 206). Perhaps the notion of territorial political autonomy as adopted by Ruth Lapidot suggests an alternative for alleviating ethnic tensions. He defines territorial political autonomy as “an arrangement aimed at granting to a group that differs from the majority of the population in the state, but that constitutes the majority in a specific region, a means by which it can express its distinct identity” (Lapidot 1996, 33).

The ethno-regional trend of the demands of Baluchis and Saraikis is quite evident if we evaluate the history of their demands and aspirations. Given the nature of ethnic dynamics of the

provinces, what needs to be analyzed is that if the provincial political parties play a unifying role for the national politics or if they act as a centrifugal force and sway politics away from the national rather than strengthening it. On the one hand, the strength of regional parties is beneficial for granting more autonomy to the regions and in facilitating the ethnic minority groups' concerns. On the other hand, it leads to further de-nationalization of party politics and might pull a federation apart. The nationalized political parties are a source of integration for a federation but in the case of Pakistan, the paradox is that even the 'national' parties are not national. The question that needs further evaluation is that can ethno-federalism work without the nationalized parties? It is pertinent to analyze in the presence of ethnic regional parties what factors would keep a country together.

Conclusion

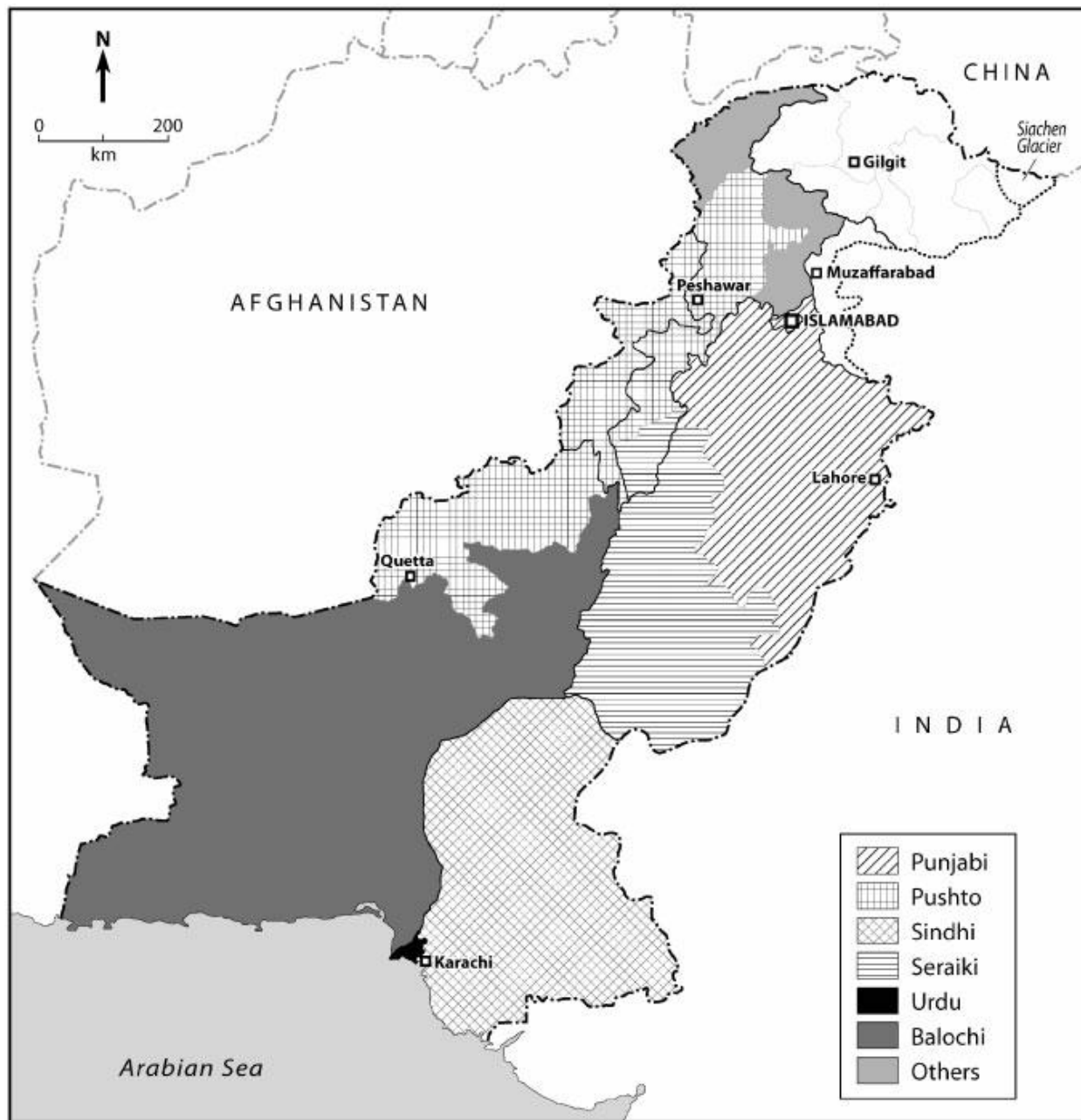
This thesis has conducted two levels of analysis. The first level of analysis suggests that Pakistan is in the process of becoming an ethno-federal state. The claims of Saraiki people for a separate Saraiki province and Baluch nationalists demanding an independent Baluchistan depict that. I have argued that if provinces follow ethnic boundaries i.e., if territorial reorganization of provinces along ethnic lines takes place, it will lead to further denationalization of politics in Pakistan. With the adoption of federalism and devolution of power to the provinces, it seems likely that the demands of the ethnic groups in Punjab and Baluchistan may strengthen. Whether it is a positive development or not depends on the perspective we view it from. From the ethno-nationalist point of view, the people of the provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan consider it as a good step as it allows for the preservation and territorial recognition of their ethnic identities. However, from the centralist state point of view, the shift towards ethno-federalism might be seen as a threat to national integration and unity of the federation. Hence, it is quite a slippery slope in this regard. Moreover, the literature on ethno-federalism is also ambivalent on the extent to which ethno-federalism can contribute to social and ethnic peace in ethnically divided societies.

The second level of analysis dealt with the nationalization of parties in Pakistan. I evaluated the Party Nationalization Scores before and after devolution by taking into account the General Elections of 2008 and 2013. My findings did not meet the expectation that after the devolution, the nationalization scores will be decreased, however, the scores increased instead. This was partly because we need to evaluate this trend over a longer period of time, with more data, and partly because the current federal system of the country still lacks the implementation of devolution in practice.

For evaluating the nationalization of political parties, I analyzed the effect of devolution at the national level but due to the lack of evidence there, I shifted the analysis to the provincial party system as devolution occurs at the provincial level. Having analyzed both national and provincial parties, I argue that provincial political parties have a distinct regional dimension, which is not ethnic (yet) but it depicts denationalized politics in Pakistan. My findings suggest that devolution has more impact at the regional level but for the effect of devolution to be visible in the political system, two things are required. First, the steps for devolution as identified in the Eighteenth amendment should be implemented properly. Second, in order for devolution to work, it requires more time to be implemented and institutionalized. If the steps for devolution are implemented properly, its results might be visible in the next two or three election periods.

In lieu of the resistance from the centralized Pakistani state, the possibility of the establishment of ethno-federal units and the division of the core group seems to be not that likely in the near future. Nonetheless, if the implementation of the ethno-federal structure does happen, it would require proper power-sharing mechanisms such as governing coalitions and legitimate representation of the ethnic group (Sisk 1996). It is also essential that the territorial autonomy is institutionalized through the federal structure. Whether Pakistan's shift towards ethno-federalism will help the federation in managing ethnic diversity or not depends on the federal design it constitutes, the extent of autonomy it grants to the regions and the readiness of the federal government to consider the ethnic group's demands. Moreover, the political institutions need to be strengthened to accommodate various ethnic identities. Be that as it may, the devolution of power to the provinces and political decentralization are necessary for the successful working of (ethno) federalism in Pakistan and alleviating ethnic tensions.

Map 1: Ethno-linguistic composition in Pakistan



Source: Katharine Adeney's adoption of the map (Adeney 2012, 545)

Appendix 1: Party wise total votes polled (General Elections 2008)

S.No .	Party Name	National Assembly	Balochistan (PB)	KPK (PF)	Punjab (PP)	Sindh (PS)
1	Pakistan Peoples Party	10666548	165959	563057	5548153	3611644
2	Pakistan Muslim League	8007218	449950	435932	5852907	1181298
3	Pakistan Muslim League (N)	6805324	15208	277559	5594061	133656
4	Independent	3865954	348103	820695	3270598	199613
5	Muttahida Qaumi Movement Pakistan	2573795	5149	2927	22418	2592509
6	Mutthida Majlis-e-Amal Pakistan (MMA)	766240	203526	496990	160515	82424
7	Awami National Party	704811	64231	578405	327	69138
8	Pakistan Muslim League (F)	685684	2518	0	182753	533385
9	National Peoples Party	148892	5450	0	143	174848
10	Pakistan Peoples Party (Sherpao)	141975	315	215465	2887	527
11	Balochistan National Party (Awami)	72956	68150	0	0	0
12	Pakistan Democratic Party	64505	51	0	25244	79
13	Sindh United Party	33641	0	0	14378	23328
14	National Party	27076	10534	0	0	0
15	Pakistan Awami Party	19248	0	6242	110	0
16	Pakistan Peoples Party (Shaheed Bhutto)	14292	410	0	0	1408
17	Pakistan Citizen Movement	5441	0	0	0	0
18	Pakistan Bachao Party	5147	0	95	0	0
19	Jamait Ahle-Hadith Pakistan (Elahi Zaheer)	4008	0	0	1571	0
20	Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (S)	3885	0	0	257	2923
21	Hazara Democratic Party	3174	7629	0	4637	0
22	Awami Himayat Tehreek Pakistan	2929	0	619	0	0

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan <http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/partywisevotebank.pdf>

23	Pasban	2318	0	0	99	0
24	Punjab National Party	2263	7	38	2105	157
25	Jamhoori Wattan Party	2173	0	0	354	22
26	Pakistan Tehrek-e-Inqalab	1670	0	0	0	0
27	Sunni Tehreek	1501	116	0	3993	1785
28	Azad Pakistan Party	1492	41	0	0	0
29	Pakistan Muhafiz Party	1480	0	0	0	0
30	Pak Muslim Alliance	874	0	0	0	2869
31	Pakistan Ittehad Tehreek	235	0	0	0	0
32	Pakistan Gharib Party	215	0	0	0	0
33	Markazi Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (FK)	197	0	0	662	0
34	Pakistan Aman Party	181	0	0	361	0
35	Pakistan Qaumi Party	99	0	0	293	0
36	Pakistan Qaumi League	72	0	0	0	29
37	Pakistan Freedom Party	9	2	0	241	0
38	Balochistan National Party	0	350	0	0	0
39	Labour Party Pakistan	0	23	0	0	15
40	Tehrik-e-Istaqlal (Rehmat Khan)	0	0	34	4495	0
41	Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan (Nisari)	0	0	0	689	0
42	Seraiki Sooba Movement Pakistan	0	0	0	160	0
43	Bedar Pakistan	0	0	0	132	0
Total Polled Votes		20694543				

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan <http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/partywisevotebank.pdf>

Appendix 2: Party wise total votes polled (General Elections 2013)

Party Name	National Assembly	Balochistan (PB)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (PK)	Punjab (PP)	Sindh (PS)
Pakistan Muslim League (N)	14874104	134758	856135	11365363	592954
Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf	7679954	24030	1039719	4951216	607383
Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians	6911218	51976	472550	2464812	3209686
Independent	5880658	352300	867989	6217856	873171
Muttahidda Qaumi Movement	2456153	1927	7903	51374	2510853
Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (F)	1461371	207167	733777	153398	105799
Pakistan Muslim League	1409905	53305	5991	1377130	64718
Pakistan Muslim League (F)	1072846	760	0	13968	1138400
Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan	963909	3627	404895	489772	131141
Awami National Party	453057	31122	556525	1776	23722
MUTAHIDA DEENI MAHAZ	360297	10070	38378	134369	117713
Pukhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party	214631	167900	8401	847	2115
National Peoples Party	197829	0	0	0	208499
Pakistan Muslim League(Z)	128510	16	0	114734	0
Bahawalpur National Awami Party	113365	0	0	60174	0
Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Nazryati Pakistan	103098	63956	7393	76	548
Awami Muslim League Pakistan	93046	251	1049	12511	2092
Sindh United Party	82634	0	0	0	68648
Tehreek-e-Tahaffuze Pakistan	76358	385	16036	63509	1171
Pakistan Muslim League (J)	71773	0	7575	61136	12
Awami Jamhuri Ittehad Pakistan	71175	0	63497	0	0
Jamiat Ulma-e-Pakistan (Noorani)	67966	2753	3705	45010	20904
Balochistan National Party	63979	81217	0	0	276
National Party	61148	76018	222	1319	42

All Pakistan Muslim League	54231	108	21933	26222	4778
Pakistan National Muslim League	52398	0	0	55783	0
Pakistan Peoples Party (Shaheed Bhutto)	50046	571	7452	21805	24528
Qaumi Watan Party (Sherpao)	46574	37	102	0	37
Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara	43265	0	22611	0	877
Majlis-e-Wahdat-e-Muslimeen Pakistan	41520	8799	0	37444	36868
Sunni Ittehad Council	37732	657	0	34592	1374
Pakistan Sunni Tehreek	25485	696	931	61851	6398
Sindh Taraqi Passand Party (STP)	23397	0	0	0	9965
Qoumi Wattan Party	19253	0	193964	537	45
Awami Warkers Party	18650	0	7633	2494	101
Balochistan National Party (Awami)	12866	10667	0	0	0
Hazara Democratic Party	11052	12354	0	6870	0
Mohajir Qaumi Movement Pakistan	10575	0	0	251	4521
Jamote Qaumi Movement	10468	11976	0	0	0
Pakistan Saraiki Party	5236	0	1320	2010	0
Pakistan Kissan Ittehad	4367	0	0	9044	0
Pakistan Falah Party	4207	0	1450	2425	960
Awami Justice Party Pakistan	3803	0	0	771	0
Pakistan Justice Party	3230	0	6	1399	0
Islami Tehreek Pakistan	2694	0	0	39	2973
Christian Progressive Movement	2523	0	0	4613	0
Mohib-e-Wattan Nowjawan Inqilabion Ki Anjuman	2503	0	0	196	0
Mutahidda Qabil Party	2399	0	0	0	0

Party Name	Natio nal Assem bly	Balochistan (PB)	Khyber Pakhtunk hwa (PK)	Punjab (PP)	Sindh (PS)
Mutahida Baloch Movement Pakistan	471	3	0	642	0
Menecracy Action Party of Pakistan	447	0	0	29	0
Awami Himayat Tehreek Pakistan	330	0	0	0	0
Islami Inqalab Party	274	0	258	32	36
Pakistan Human Rights Party	266	0	0	2775	0
Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam (S)	258	0	7952	0	0
Pakistan Gharib Party	256	0	0	146	0
Sindh Dost Ittehad (SDI) Party	250	0	0	0	192
Istehkaam-e-Pakistan Movement	240	0	0	257	0
Pak Wattan Party	220	0	0	75	0
Istiqlal Party	218	0	0	50	0
Hazara Awami Ittehad Pakistan	214	0	1127	0	0
Pakistan National Democratic Party	191	0	0	269	0
Communist Party of Pakistan	191	0	0	29	0
Ghareeb Awam Party	174	0	0	141	0
Pakistan Muslim League- Muttahida	172	0	0	0	0
Pakistan Muslim League Council	152	0	0	2	0
Afgan Qomi Movement	152	101	0	0	0
Pakistan Brohi Party	149	0	0	0	0
Pakistan Muhajir League	134	0	0	94	0
Pakistan Muhafiz Watan Party	126	0	0	376	0
Azad Pakistan Party	116	0	0	0	0
Pakistan Muslim League (Zehri Group)	101	0	0	0	0
Tehrik-e-Masawaat	99	0	0	0	0

Party Name	National Assembly	Balochistan (PB)	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (PK)	Punjab (PP)	Sindh (PS)
All Pakistan Bayrozgar Party	89	0	0	0	0
Pakistan Aman Party	71	0	0	168	0
MUTTHIDA MAJLIS-E-AMAL PAKISTAN	69	0	1882	0	0
Pakistan Motherland Party	68	0	0	0	0
Pakistan Muslim League Humkhiyal (Like	64	0	0	0	0
Pakistan Qaumi Party	55	0	0	32	0
Pakistan Islami Justice Party	54	0	0	21	0
Tehreek-e-Wafaq Pakistan	48	0	0	10	0
Salam Pakistan Party	34	0	0	0	0
Aap Janab Sarkar Party	30	0	0	0	0
Jamiat Ulma-e-Pakistan (Niazi)	27	0	0	0	0
Pakistan Muhammadi Party	24	0	0	99	0
Aalay Kalam Ullah Farman Rasool (saw)	15	0	0	362	0
All Pakistan Youth Working Party	14	0	0	0	0
Punjab National Party	13	0	0	150	0
Pakistan Awami Quwat Party	9	0	19	1246	39
Pakistan Awami Inqalab	7	0	491	0	0
Qomi Awami Tehreek	0	0	0	0	2451
Pak Muslim Alliance	0	0	0	0	505
Afghan National Party	0	0	0	0	0
Markazi Jamiat Al-Hadith (Sajid Mir)	0	499	0	0	0
Markazi Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith Pakistan	0	15	0	6	0
Haqiqi Jamote Qaumi Movement	0	9	0	0	0
Pakistan Rah-e-Haq Party	0	0	19975	0	0
Hazara Qaumi Mahaz	0	0	355	0	209

Party Name	National Assemb	Balochistan (PB)	Khyber Pakhtunkh wa (PK)	Punjab (PP)	Sindh (PS)
Tehreek Pasmanda Awam Pakistan	0	0	0	596	0
Mutahida karwan-e- Pakistan Party	0	0	0	135	0
Pakistan Inqilabi Khidmatgar Tehreek	0	0	0	56	0
Jamat Alaye Kalam Ullah Furman-e-Rasool	0	0	0	53	0
Justice and Development Party Pakistan	0	0	0	44	0
Pakistan Welfare League	0	0	0	40	0
Tehreek-e-Insaniat Pakistan	0	0	0	33	0
Pakistan Mazdoor Kissan Party	0	0	0	0	0
Peoples Muslim League Pakistan	0	0	0	0	39079
National Awami Party	0	0	0	0	14901
Pakistan Green Party	0	0	0	0	378
Total	45388404	1311482	5383033	27875857	9836050

Source: Election Commission of Pakistan <http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc2013/voteBank.pdf>

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