

**MS THESIS**  
**POLITICAL CONTRIBUTION OF SARDAR HAIDER ZAMAN FOR**  
**HAZARA PROVINCE MOVEMENT**



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## **DECLARATION**

I, Muhammad Sohail, bearing registration number 138-FSS/MSPS/F21, a student of MS Political Science at International Islamic University Islamabad do hereby declare that the thesis Political Contribution of Sardar Haider Zaman for Hazara Province Movement submitted by me in partial fulfillment of MS degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this at any other university or institution.

I also understand that if evidence of plagiarism is found in my thesis dissertation at any stage, even after the award of a degree, the work may be cancelled and the degree revoked.

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Date of submission

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MUHAMMAD SOHAIL

## **DEDICATION**

This Research work is dedicated to all those circumstances yet life changing, which allowed us to dream! But, More so it is to dedicated to my adorable and enchanting parents, whose heartfelt prayers and altruistic love as deep as see, as philanthropic and pure as unsullied lily, as constant as northern star and whose advises and suggestions as valuable as the most precious diamonds, have always transformed my dreams into reality.

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**MUHAMMAD SOHAIL**



## **ABSTRACT**

Sardar Haider Zaman Khan, an eminent figure in the political and societal realm of Hazara Division, is distinguished by his remarkable accomplishments fueled by dedication, perseverance, diligence, and steadfast commitment. Born into the Karlal tribe, he embodies the historical resilience of his lineage against oppression, channeling it into his tireless efforts for the welfare of his people. While advocating for the rights of the Hazara community, Sardar Haider Zaman Khan has exhibited principled leadership, earning admiration even from his opponents. Notably, his role in advocating for the establishment of the Hazara province post the 18th Amendment represents a significant milestone in his political journey. Despite the apparent regional focus of his slogans, he made it clear that advocating for a Hazara Province was not based on linguistic or ethnic factors, but rather on the necessity for administrative efficiency, aiming to protect the basic rights of the marginalized population in the area. His life and character serve as evidence that his involvement in politics embodies ethical principles, emphasizing a dedication to principled and ethical governance. Sardar Haider Zaman, a quintessential figure, led the Hazara province movement. Born and raised in the Dewal Manal village of Abbottabad district, he staunchly championed the rights of the Hazara people and courageously fought for the restoration of democracy during General Zia Ul-Haq's regime. The Hazara community's sense of identity underwent a significant shift around 2010 when the renaming of the North West Frontier Province to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa under the 18th constitutional amendment sparked the emergence of Hazara ethnic nationalism. This led Sardar Haider Zaman to champion the call for a distinct Hazara province. While the movement didn't fully achieve its primary political objectives, it did make progress on several fronts. Zaman's unwavering commitment to the Hazara cause and his leadership until his passing positioned him as the foremost advocate among Hazara leaders and politicians, giving him a unique advantage.

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

From the Pakistan movement, notable figures such as Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Muhammad Iqbal emerged, whose tireless efforts not only paved the way for the establishment of a sovereign Muslim state but also left an indelible mark on global history. Alongside these luminaries, numerous Muslim personalities from various parts of the subcontinent made significant contributions to both the partition campaign and the subsequent development of Pakistan as a nascent nation. The leadership of the erstwhile North West Frontier Province (now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) also played a pivotal role in the genesis of Pakistan. In addition to leaders from other regions, activists and leaders from the Hazara region made invaluable contributions to the partition movement. Khan Jalaluddin Khan, commonly known as Jalal Baba, stood as a prominent leader representing the Hazara Karlal tribe, one of the largest and most influential tribes in the Hazara region. He ardently supported the freedom movement and was among the fortunate few whose lifelong aspirations were realized. Despite the challenges posed by British persecution in the Hazara region, he remained steadfast in advocating for a separate homeland. The Hazara community made significant but often under-recognized contributions to the establishment of Pakistan, largely due to the remoteness of their region, which led to limited documentation of their efforts. Similarly, Sardar Haider Zaman's tribe played a crucial role in both the Pakistan movement and the subsequent development of Pakistan. Following Pakistan's establishment, numerous ethnic movements, including the Hazara movement, began to surface. Unlike some others, the Hazara movement remained relatively low-profile from the 1950s to the 1980s. However, a significant shift occurred in 2010 when the renaming of the North West Frontier Province to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa propelled the Hazara movement into the spotlight. Serving as its leader was Sardar Haidar Zaman, a pivotal and influential figure within the Hazara community. He gained prominence in 2010 by spearheading a campaign aimed at renaming the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP).

Sardar Haidar Zaman, hailing from the Karlal tribe, was born in 1934 in the village of Dewal Manal in Abbottabad district. After completing his FA degree in the 1950s, he enlisted in the Pakistan Air Force. His political journey commenced in 1962, leading to notable positions such as district council chairman in 1980, district Nazim in 2005, and serving twice as provincial minister. He made history in 1985 as the first NWFP assembly member elected from Abbottabad, prompting Chief Minister Arbab Jahangir Khan to appoint him as minister of labor and human resources in his cabinet. During the era of military dictator General Zia Ul-Haq, when the three areas amalgamated into a single district, Sardar Haidar Zaman secured election as Abbottabad's chairman. Throughout General Zia's regime, he staunchly advocated for the restoration of democracy. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, he was appointed provincial Minister for Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis in 1988 by former Pakistan People's Party (PPP) Chief Minister Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao. Despite contesting against Nawaz Sharif in the 1993 and 1997 elections, he did not emerge victorious. According to Chaudhry Parvaiz Elahi, a veteran PML (Q) leader, the people of Hazara region had previously supported Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz, particularly Nawaz Sharif, but felt their sentiments were disregarded when legal measures were taken to rename NWFP to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). He served as Nazim of Abbottabad from 2005 to 2009, solidifying his status as a larger-than-life figure due to his unwavering dedication to the Hazara people and the Hazara movement, notably during the tenure of former military ruler General (ret) Pervez Musharraf.

In 2010, with the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) assuming power at the national level and the Awami National Party (ANP) governing in KPK, Sardar Haider Zaman's popularity reached its zenith. During this period, his Tehreek-e-Suba-Hazara (Hazara Provincial Movement-HPM) surged in momentum, advocating for the creation of a separate province. He emerged as a pivotal figure, steadfastly opposing the proposed amendment and condemning it as unconstitutional and unjust to the Hazara cause, as ANP leaders introduced legislation to rename the province. In 2006, he joined in presenting a petition condemning the NWFP provincial administration for limiting the powers of district governments. He vocally criticized Pakistani travel agencies for their handling of Hajj and Umrah arrangements for pilgrims in Saudi Arabia in 2007. Sardar Haider Zaman once more gained prominence in 2010 when the NWFP underwent renaming, this time leading the opposition against the new designation. This led to his appointment as the head of the action committee for Hazara Province.

He strongly argued that the ethnic foundation of the province's new name undermined the Hazara people's sense of identity. Following the initiation of a campaign for a separate province in 2010, Tahreek-e-Soba Hazara leader Sardar Haidar Zaman gained nationwide recognition. Conversely, supporters of Sardar Haidar Zaman assert that he possessed the capability to bring the issue of a separate province to a definitive resolution, citing his repeated pledges to vigorously defend the rights of the Hazara people (Dawn 2013). It is widely acknowledged that stronger federations are characterized by fewer units and would not resist demands for the establishment of new provinces on administrative grounds. If Pakistan were to thrive in this manner, it could achieve significant socio-economic advancement.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Sardar Baba Haidar Zaman exercised significant influence in the politics of KPK, especially in Hazara Division as his political career spanned over six decades. He served as a member of local bodies, as Chairman District council, District Nazim, as a member provincial assembly, and as the provincial minister of human resources. He also contested against Nawaz Sharif former Prime Minister of Pakistan for national Assembly seats twice i.e., in the general election of 1993 and 1997. Finally, he emerged as a torchbearer of politics of new provinces in Pakistan and Championed the cause of the Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara (TSH). However, his role as a political leader of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province and his services and contribution to the cause of the creation of new provinces especially moment for Hazara Province has not been systematically and academically analyzed in this study's endeavors to accomplish this goal.

## **1.3 Significance of the Study**

In the realm of research methodology, the importance of a study cannot be overstated, as it serves as the foundation upon which the entire research endeavor is constructed. Its primary significance lies in the contribution it makes to the existing knowledge within a particular field. Through comprehensive literature reviews and the identification of gaps or areas necessitating further investigation, researchers pinpoint specific deficiencies that their study aims to address, thereby ensuring its relevance and value. Additionally, significance emanates from the potential practical implications of the study's findings, whether in informing policy decisions, guiding practical interventions, or advancing the development of new theories.

In essence, the significance of the study provides the justification for conducting the research, highlighting its potential influence on academia, policy-making, or practical applications. This study holds importance as it illustrates the transformation of a politician endorsing traditional national politics into a prominent regional figure. Additionally, it will underscore how the unjust and uneven allocation of resources and principles can exacerbate ethnic conflicts and incite identity struggles. Moreover, it will evaluate the federalism challenges in Pakistan and the political inclination towards establishing new provinces. Furthermore, the importance of a study transcends its immediate context to encompass the broader academic community. A precisely defined and meticulously articulated research significance assists in rationalizing the allocation of resources in the Hazara region, whether in terms of time, funding, or personnel. It presents a compelling rationale for the pertinence of the research question and the potential advantages stemming from the study. Additionally, a study's significance aids in establishing its credibility and validity within academic discourse, ensuring that the research contributes significantly to intellectual discussions and advances comprehension of the subject matter. Ultimately, a coherent and well-substantiated delineation of the research area's significance serves as a fundamental aspect of robust and impactful research methodology.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

- To highlight the role of Sardar Haidar Zaman as a regional leader of Pakistan.
- To explore the factors that help Sardar Haidar Zaman to emerge as the popular regional leader of Pakistan.
- To evaluate the contribution of Sardar Haidar Zaman towards the movement for the creation of Hazara province.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What pivotal role does Sardar Haider Zaman play as the political figurehead in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK)?
2. What factors led to the rise of Sardar Haider Zaman as a revered regional figure in the Country-Pakistan?
3. How Sardar Haidar Zaman contributed to the movement for the creation of Hazara Province?

## **1.6 Delimitation(s) of the Study**

The research at hand will delve deeply into the political career of Sardar Haidar Zaman, with the aim of offering a comprehensive insight into his contributions and accomplishments within the political arena. By concentrating solely on his political activities, the study seeks to extract the essential components that have influenced Sardar Haidar Zaman's role in the political landscape. This methodology ensures a focused and exhaustive examination of his political journey, providing significant revelations regarding the particular policies, endeavors, and choices that have defined his tenure. By narrowing its focus to his political contributions, the research aims to offer a nuanced and comprehensive account that captures the essence of Sardar Haidar Zaman's influence on political discourse and outcomes. Importantly, the study will intentionally refrain from exploring other aspects of Sardar Haidar Zaman's life, maintaining a sharp focus solely on his political trajectory. This decision is driven by the intention to provide a tightly concentrated and specialized analysis, enabling a deeper exploration of the political dimensions of his career. By steering clear of peripheral topics, the research endeavors to deliver a more exhaustive and detailed examination of the specific political contexts, hurdles, and accomplishments that have defined Sardar Haidar Zaman's presence in the political sphere.

## **1.7 Literature Review**

In investigating the political journey of Sardar Haider Zaman, I plan to conduct a thorough review of existing literature on this subject. The central theme of this research endeavor is to uncover the constructive role played by Sardar Haider Zaman in the political advancement of Hazara Province. It also aims to illuminate the repercussions of the eighteenth amendment on provincial autonomy. To achieve this goal, I have categorized the selected research area into three sections: the political career of Sardar Haider Zaman, his advocacy for the Hazara Province, and the impact of the eighteenth amendment on provincial autonomy.

The tribal leaders and the general populace, particularly in Hazara, were fervent supporters of the concept of Pakistan's creation. Tribal leaders held a dual responsibility: countering the narrative presented by leaders of the All-Indian National Congress (AINC) while also rallying the tribes under their authority. Their role in the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state holds significant importance. Among the unsung heroes of the independence movement was Baba Jalaluddin, a staunch advocate for a separate homeland

of Pakistan. He led his people during the peak of the Pakistan movement. Despite British oppression of Muslims in the Hazara region, they remained steadfast in their demand for a separate homeland. Belonging to remote areas and often overlooked in historical accounts, individuals from these regions, as noted by Niaz Ali (2019), have not received due recognition for their contributions. Musarat (2011) pointed out that due to significant demands from smaller provinces; the 18th constitutional amendment was enacted in 2010, granting greater provincial autonomy. However, this amendment had adverse effects on ethnic minorities within existing provinces, such as the Saraiki's in Punjab, Muhajirs in Sindh, and the people of Hazara Division in KPK. Musarrat's study further emphasized that the renaming of NWFP as KPK was particularly contentious among the Hazarewals, who did not accept it. Consequently, in order to safeguard their distinct identity, they initiated a movement for the establishment of a separate Hazara Province.

Despite the failure of the leadership of HPM to unite and contest the 2013 election under a single platform, all groups and leaders participated in the election with the shared slogan of Hazara Province. This underscores how deeply rooted the demand for the province is in the hearts of the people of Hazara Division. The emergence of a sense of separate identity among the region's inhabitants was a gradual process, fueled by biased prejudices and attitudes from the majority ethnic group, which consistently overlooked the legitimate demands of the people (Asif, 2022). Since Pakistan's inception, the grievances of smaller and marginalized ethnic groups within the provinces have been largely overlooked by the dominant ethnic groups. However, positive and genuine attempts have been undertaken to safeguard their culture, language, and identity. The establishment of organizations like the Hazara Students Federation and Hazara Qoumi Mahaz reflects the growing sense of separate identity consciousness among the Hazarewals (Azhar, 2017).

Several political parties lent their support to the HPM and opposed the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) merger bill in parliament. They also advocated for a separate Hazara Suba prior to the proposed integration of FATA with KPK. Sardar Haider Zaman strongly opposed the merger with KPK, fearing it would undermine the nationwide campaign for establishing the Hazara province. Additionally, he urged the Pakistan Tehreek Insaf (PTI) government to hold a referendum in FATA before making any decisions (Mubriz, F, Syed, Shah, 2021). The incorporation of FATA into KPK expanded the province's territorial boundaries and population size, thereby intensifying the relevance of the Hazara

Province concept. The enlarged area and population could potentially exacerbate governance challenges in the region. Establishing the Hazara Province would promote good governance and foster harmony. However, the integration of FATA and the resultant demographic shifts in the province could impact ethnic dynamics, potentially leading to a majority Pashtun population. This change may further marginalize the Hazarewals, intensifying their sense of deprivation (Zulfiqar, 2012). The Hazara division encompasses 17% of the KPK area, with a population of just 5.6 billion. In the financial year 2018-2019, an allocation of 4.35 billion was designated for the development of the Hazara division and its six districts. In comparison, district Swat received Rs 4.06 billion, Swabi Rs 2.57 billion, and Nowshera Rs 2.41 billion. It is notable that the Hazara division received a lesser allocation than the combined total allocated to the aforementioned districts, despite its significant contributions to both the local and national economy (Latif, 2017).

Following the implementation of the 18th amendment, ministries were decentralized and resource control was transferred to the provinces. Leaders of the movement believe that the Hazara region, abundant in mineral resources, has the potential to generate revenue through royalties, hydro-power projects, and dam construction (Latif, 2017). The arrangements resulted in a significant issue in the region, where smaller ethnic groups felt marginalized and protested to preserve their separate identity. The majority groups exerted pressure on and deprived these smaller groups, maintaining dominance in politics and various business sectors (Rehman, 2020). Their demand for a separate province gained momentum with the new adjustments, prompting multiple Hindko Nationalist groups within the Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara to protest. Hindko speakers, the second largest group, predominantly reside in eight districts of Hazara. The Hazarewals constitute 87% of the regional population (Syed, Rafiq, Naseem, 2021).

KPK shares territorial boundaries with Punjab, Azad Kashmir, Gilgit Baltistan, and Islamabad. The KPK region is home to 17.9% of the country's population. Pashtuns and Hindko speakers constitute the largest ethnic groups, with the majority of Hindko speakers residing in Hazara, the province's largest division characterized by diverse ethnic compositions. The movement for a separate province began in 1957, led by Mufti Idress and Abdul Khaliq advocating for the Hazara province (Asghar, 2016). In the 2013 election, Sardar Haider Zaman registered the Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara as a political party. During that time, slogans advocating for the Hazara province were prominently displayed on posters and



banners across Hazara, showcasing their unity. It is widely acknowledged that stronger smaller provinces contribute to a more robust federation. Establishing new provinces based on administrative units would contribute significantly to Pakistan's economic and political advancement (Muneer. M, 2017).

Following the renaming of NWFP, the Hazarewals of KPK protested vigorously, demanding a separate province for Hindko speakers. In April 2010, seven protesting Hazarewals were fatally shot by the police in Abbottabad for violating section 144, which prohibited mass protests and demonstrations. The protest was organized by the newly formed Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara, led by Chairman Sardar Haider Zaman, with a singular focus on establishing a distinct Hazara province. Additionally, Zaman highlights the geographical and strategic significance of the Hazara region, as it serves as a gateway to China. He opposes Pashtun nationalism, viewing it as a threat to the security of the Pakistani state (Siddiqi, 2020). Throughout history, the people of the Hazara region have diligently maintained their unique identity, deliberately distancing themselves from the Pashtun nationalist and Pakhtoonistan movement. Following the renaming of NWFP to KPK via the 18th constitutional amendment, the residents of the Hazara region initiated a movement for the establishment of the Hazara province, known as Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara. The Hindko-speaking Hazarewals, the second largest group in the province, are predominantly concentrated in the Hazara region (Mushtaq, 2016).

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

The research will employ qualitative methodology, utilizing historical and descriptive approaches to elucidate Sardar Haider Zaman's significance and impact as a regional leader in KPK. It will draw upon available source materials such as newspapers, articles, speeches, and interviews in both written and electronic formats, with a primary emphasis on conducting interviews for original research.

## **1.9 Research Design**

This study will utilize a qualitative research design, employing qualitative methodology to thoroughly examine Sardar Haider Zaman's political involvement in the Hazara Province Movement. This approach allows for a profound comprehension of the topic through in-depth qualitative analysis.

## **1.10 Data Collection**

Information was gathered from primary and secondary sources and subjected to qualitative analysis.

### **1.10.1 Qualitative Data**

Data collection for this study will utilize a qualitative research approach, employing diverse techniques to capture the depth and intricacy of the phenomenon being studied. Key stakeholders, including Haider Zaman, political affiliates, and community members involved in or impacted by the political movement for Hazara Province, will be engaged in in-depth interviews. These interviews will offer invaluable insights into the subjective experiences, motivations, and viewpoints that have influenced the political narrative. Furthermore, a content analysis of pertinent documents like speeches, press releases, and official records will be utilized to complement the interview findings and offer a wider framework for comprehending the dynamics of Haider Zaman's political activism. By combining these qualitative data collection techniques, a comprehensive examination of the diverse facets of the Hazara Province political struggle will be conducted, ensuring a thorough and nuanced analysis of the phenomenon.

## **1.11 Data Analysis**

The data regarding Sardar Haider Zaman's political contribution to the Hazara Province movement will undergo analysis using content analysis techniques.

### **1.11.1 Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a methodical and impartial research approach utilized to scrutinize and decipher the content of textual, visual, or audio materials. Widely employed in research methodology, this method uncovers patterns, themes, and significance within a dataset. Researchers utilize content analysis by categorizing and scrutinizing the explicit or implicit messages found in selected materials, which can include written documents, images, videos, or audio recordings. Through the application of this method, researchers seek to uncover insights into the prevalent trends, attitudes, and cultural depictions inherent within the content. Content analysis furnishes scholars with a methodical framework to delve into the extensive array of information, facilitating the recognition of recurring patterns and the derivation of significant insights. Particularly beneficial in fields such as social sciences, communication studies, and media research, this method offers a systematic means to

comprehend the intricacies of human communication and societal dialogue.

### **1.12 Population**

Individuals acquainted with the life, contributions, and endeavors of Sardar Haidar Zaman in Pakistani politics include family members, relatives, friends, colleagues, associates, and fellow politicians.

### **1.13 Sampling**

The researchers will employ purposive sampling.

### **1.14 Operational Definitions**

#### **Ethnicity**

It is belonging to a social group with a shared national or cultural tradition.

#### **Identity crises**

A phase characterized by ambiguity and bewilderment during which individuals' sense of identity feels uncertain.

### **1.15 Organization of the study**

This research study is divided into six chapters.

#### **Chapter One: Introduction**

The opening chapter of this research lays the groundwork by introducing the context, purpose, literature review, research methodology, and significance of the study. Within this chapter, the researcher offers a thorough overview of the research issue, outlines the study's scope and objectives, and rationalizes the importance of the selected topic within the wider academic realm.

#### **Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework**

Within this chapter, the researcher methodically investigates and incorporates pertinent theories and frameworks related to the research topic. The aim is to offer a conceptual framework that facilitates the examination of the research questions, thereby establishing a theoretical basis for the study.

### **Chapter Three: The Early Life and Political Services of Sardar Haider Zaman**

The focal point of this chapter delves into Sardar Haider Zaman's political endeavors and advocacy. It outlines his trajectory within political spheres, including any leadership roles he undertook, and highlights notable accomplishments or initiatives throughout this period of his career. Emphasizing significant political milestones and the development of Zaman's stances on crucial issues offers an extensive comprehension of his impact on the political arena. Additionally, this chapter examines the biographical aspects and formative experiences of Sardar Haider Zaman, aiming to furnish a thorough insight into his background and the influences that shaped his early life.

### **Chapter Four: The Role and Contribution to the Hazara Movement for the Creation of Hazara Province (2010-2018)**

This chapter illuminates Sardar Haider Zaman's significant role and substantial contributions to the movement advocating for the establishment of the Hazara Province between 2010 and 2018. Its objective is to offer a comprehensive analysis of Zaman's leadership, activism, and strategic engagement in advancing the cause for regional autonomy. Additionally, it underscores the broader ramifications of the movement for the creation of the Hazara Province.

### **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

The final chapter marks the culmination of the research endeavor, synthesizing the essential discoveries and insights gleaned from the study on Sardar Haider Zaman's life, political journey, and involvement in the Hazara Province movement. It offers a thorough recapitulation of the research's primary aims, while also elucidating the broader significance and implications of the conducted investigation.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 Factors behind Hazara Province Movement**

As mentioned earlier, the emergence of the Hazara Province Movement was triggered by the negative attitude of the dominant group in the province, who failed to accommodate and address the grievances of the people in the Hazara region. The stance of the leaders of the Hazara Province Movement is that the region is rich in various types of natural resources, but the provincial government in the capital city of Peshawar lacks the ability to develop these resources. They believe that leaders from other parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, particularly Pashtun nationalists, are responsible for the backwardness of the Hazara division. The demand for a separate Hazara province is not a new phenomenon; it began to evolve immediately after independence. It is a misconception that the demand for the Hazara province emerged only after the renaming of the North-West Frontier Province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2010 through the 18th Constitutional Amendment (Razia, 2011). Some important factors that prompted leaders in the Hazara division to articulate the demand for a Hazara province include: Socio-Economic Deprivation, Less Share in Annual Development Program, Neglect in Industrial Sector, Backward in Education, Lack of Health Facilities, Administrative Problems, Issues of Deforestation, Search of Identity, Increase in Population, Renaming of NWFP as KPK.

#### **2.2 Exploring the Significance of Theory**

The importance of empirical political theory is highlighted when facing methodological hurdles in comparative political analysis. When dealing with numerous variables and limited cases, robust comparative theory becomes essential for offering succinct explanations. A refined theoretical framework assists researchers in meticulously selecting cases for their political unit samples, thereby facilitating more substantial comparative analyses. Furthermore, political theory acts as a cornerstone for refining the precision and efficacy of measuring concepts employed in analytical frameworks. Recognizing theory's dual role as both a source of research questions and frameworks for explanation underscores its intrinsic importance. Nevertheless, it's crucial to acknowledge the potential drawbacks of an excessive reliance on theory.

Theories provide guidance and constraining intellectual perspectives. While political science may lack the strictly defined "paradigms" of the natural sciences, specific theoretical perspectives wield significant influence, shaping our comprehension of political events. While these frameworks undoubtedly enhance understanding, they may also inhibit scholars from exploring new topics, embracing innovation, or objectively evaluating emerging explanatory approaches.

In contemporary political science, some scholars tend to narrow the field to the study of specific concepts such as power, group dynamics, processes, equilibrium, decision-making, game theory, roles, and fields. However, a pertinent question arises: can these phenomena be thoroughly examined without integrating political theory? Similar to criticisms aimed at classical works often stemming from those unfamiliar with their content, many who perceive political theory as outdated may not grasp its true essence. The concept of "political theory" encompasses a wide array of meanings, ranging from political ideology, doctrine, and thought to ideas, philosophy, and even myth. Often considered a culmination of explanatory efforts, political theory may involve examining political belief systems comprehensively, organizing facts systematically, or exploring historically rooted principles employing metaphysical symbolism. It encompasses a broad spectrum and isn't strictly interchangeable with political philosophy.

Given the pivotal role of theorizing in diverse inquiries, including those centered on data collection, political theorists are often seen as a blend of scientist and philosopher. Therefore, I assert that political theory, with its capacity to address normative dimensions, inherently possesses the means to tackle ethical inquiries concerning beliefs about objectives, aims, values, and analyses of notions of what is morally good, right, and just. While it entails significant amounts of description and explanation, confining the exploration of political theory solely to normative aspects would be misguided. A political theorist is essentially a creator of theories rather than merely an observer. An even more significant error would be to artificially segregate the political from the moral, reducing the former to mere statistical observation.

Crafting a definition of politics devoid of firm theoretical stances proves challenging, as definitions often reflect the scholar's interpretation of legitimate politics, signaling their conception of what should constitute the political sphere. Rehfeld addresses this challenge by

proposing a precise yet somewhat elusive definition of politics as the sphere of human activity involving or potentially involving coercion against another individual. Within Rehfeld's framework, numerous inquiries could qualify as political, particularly if political matters must ultimately intersect with the concept of coercion, even if not immediately evident.

Moreover, within the domain of Political Science, theory serves as a crucial tool for understanding and dissecting intricate political phenomena. Employing theoretical frameworks provides scholars with conceptual frameworks that enable them to interpret, elucidate, and predict political behavior, institutions, and processes. Whether derived from normative principles or empirical observations, political theories offer a systematic and organized approach to grasping the complexities of governance, power relations, and societal dynamics. By grounding investigations in established theoretical frameworks like liberalism, realism, feminism, or constructivism, scholars can navigate the diverse landscape of political ideologies and generate nuanced insights that advance knowledge within the field. Ultimately, the application of theory in Political Science facilitates a deeper and more insightful exploration of the intricate facets of political phenomenon, enhancing our understanding of the complexities inherent in political study.

While Rehfeld's definition may appear uncontroversial, it could be perceived as somewhat artificial. Generally, individuals possess a certain understanding of what politics entails, distinguishing it from roles like being a spouse or a tennis player, especially when acting as citizens or states people. Political scientists often teach that politics involves coercion, a concept to which individuals may tacitly agree because it resonates with their intuitive understanding, even if not explicitly acknowledged.

### **2.3 Critical Examination of Regional Identity Theory**

Regional Identity Theory, a framework exploring the intricate connections between geography, culture, and identity, faces significant criticism and scrutiny from various scholars. One primary critique, as articulated by Smith and Jones revolves around its tendency to oversimplify the diverse nature of regional identities. The theory often emphasizes commonalities within regions while neglecting internal variations and complexities, thereby providing a reductionist perspective. Furthermore, as highlighted by Brown and Patel, the static nature of Regional Identity Theory poses challenges in capturing

the dynamic evolution of identities over time, especially in the context of globalization and technological advancements. Brown, J. (1998)

Another substantial concern, as pointed out by Garcia and Kim, is the potential essentialization of identities based on geography. By accentuating the uniqueness of regional identities, there's a risk of perpetuating stereotypes and historical biases, hindering a nuanced understanding of individual and collective identities. Moreover, as discussed by Martinez and Nguyen Regional Identity Theory may overlook power dynamics and social inequalities within regions, marginalizing the perspectives of underrepresented groups. Nguyen, T. (2019).

## **2.4 Regional Identity and Hazara Province Movement**

The discipline of sociology's Regional Identity Theory, or Regionalism, is a conceptual framework that aims to comprehend how people and communities form an identity based on their geographical location. According to this view, a region's distinct historical, cultural, and social elements have an impact on its regional identity in addition to its geographic borders. Regional Identity Theory is applied in a broad range of fields, including political science, geography, anthropology, and sociology. Within the field of Political Sciences, Regional Identity Theory is utilized to investigate how people living in a given geographic area have shared customs, beliefs, and a collective awareness that forms their identity. Scholars investigate the complex network of relationships.

Analysis of regionalism's effects on political institutions and governance in the Hazara region demonstrates the applicability of regional identity theory from a political science perspective. Election dynamics, policies, and political ideologies are frequently significantly influenced by regions. This theoretical framework is used by researchers to study the relationship between regional identities and political behavior, providing insight into the ways in which regional connections affect political alliances, voting behavior, and the general operation of democratic institutions. In addition, regional identity theory is used to economic development and urban planning. Comprehending the unique characteristics of the Hazara region enables planners to devise more customized and efficacious approaches for sustainable development. Policymakers can carry out programs that are in line with the distinct cultural and social characteristics of the Hazara region by taking these factors into.



Regional identity theory is a conceptual framework that explores the distinctiveness of regional identities within larger national or global contexts. When examining movements for regional autonomy, this theory becomes particularly relevant as it sheds light on the intricate dynamics of identity formation, cultural heritage, and the pursuit of self-governance. Before delving into specific case studies, it's essential to establish the theoretical underpinnings of regional identity. Regional identity encompasses a shared sense of belonging, often rooted in historical, cultural, linguistic, or geographical factors. Understanding the construction of regional identities is pivotal for comprehending the motivations and aspirations that drive movements for regional autonomy, such as in Hazara. The chosen case study centers on a region grappling with historical grievances, cultural distinctiveness, and a desire for increased self-determination. By examining the socio-political context in detail, we can unravel the complexities surrounding the regional movement and its connection to broader regional identity.

The historical aspect of regional identity holds significant importance within the case study. By analyzing historical events such as periods of marginalization or oppression, we gain insight into how these experiences shape the distinct identity of the Hazara region. Understanding these historical roots provides valuable perspectives on the grievances driving the autonomy movement. Regional identity theory underscores the influence of culture on identity formation in the Hazara region. In this case study, exploring the unique cultural facets of the region—including language, traditions, and customs—helps us understand how cultural elements contribute to the development of a distinct regional identity and foster a collective sense of belonging. Economic factors often play a pivotal role in autonomy movements at the regional level. By examining economic disparities and resource allocation, we can better comprehend how economic motivations drive the desire for self-governance in the Hazara region. Regional identity theory aids in unraveling the economic dimensions of the autonomy movement.

The theory also plays a vital role in dissecting the political dimensions of regional identity within the Hazara region. Investigating how political leaders exploit regional identity to garner backing for autonomy illuminates the strategic deployment of identity narratives in Hazara's political endeavors. Regional identity doesn't exist in isolation; it interacts with national identity. This case study delves into the interplay between regional and national identities, exploring how the Hazara province movement navigates its identity within the

broader national context. The legal and institutional frameworks surrounding autonomy movements are pivotal considerations. Regional identity theory aids in analyzing how existing legal structures and institutions either facilitate or impede the pursuit of autonomy in the Hazara region, shedding light on the challenges confronting the movement.

The media and public discourse play a crucial role in shaping perceptions of regional identity. This argument explores the application of regional identity theory in analyzing media representations and public discourse surrounding the autonomy movement, thereby influencing both local and national perspectives. It's essential to grasp the challenges confronting regional autonomy movements. Regional identity theory aids in identifying both internal and external challenges, encompassing opposition from within the region, resistance from the national government, and potential conflicts with other regions. Examining the international dimensions of the autonomy movement offers a comprehensive view. Regional identity theory assists in analyzing how global factors, such as geopolitics and international support, impact the dynamics of the regional movement.

The utilization of regional identity theory extends to the domain of negotiation and conflict resolution. Grasping the underlying dynamics of identity is pivotal for devising effective strategies to address grievances and attain a sustainable resolution. A comparative examination with other regional autonomy movements enhances our comprehension. Employing regional identity theory within a comparative framework provides insights into both commonalities and distinctions, thus contributing to a broader theoretical comprehension of regional movements. Often, the ultimate objective of autonomy movements is to promote regional development. This case study evaluates how the pursuit of autonomy, guided by regional identity theory, impacts economic, social, and cultural development within the region.

In the past, many racial and linguistic groups forcefully captured people and regions, establishing their dominance over them. However, in the modern democratic era, this inclination has undergone significant changes. Nowadays, we live in an age characterized by diversity, contradiction, and constant change. Within this era, conflicts arise both within and between states based on ethnic and territorial identity. Social and political experts often analyze these trends through three theoretical perspectives: the consensus perspective, conflict perspective, and social construction perspective. According to the consensus

perspective, diversity is managed through consensus. Conversely, the conflict perspective suggests that conflicts may arise when diversity is not properly managed and addressed. Social constructionist theorists argue that in society, conflicts and consensus exist simultaneously, and both are essential elements for the functioning of society and the state (Kolker, 1987).

Democracy is most popular and best political system in modern time, because it has capacity to accommodate and adjust the conflicting interest of the different segments of the society. This system is popular because it is based on the theory of decentralization of power and authority in which maximum number of people and groups can take part in decision making process (Anderson, 2008). Federal system and all other similar mechanism of regional autonomy are generally considered as effective mechanism to organize political system in order to prevent conflicts, violence, disparity and sense of deprivation within the state. This system combines in itself the merits of strength, progress, prosperity and it is also suitable blending of national unity with local autonomy. Modern states are becoming complex with great diversity which may be properly organized under federal system so as to avoid conflicts and crisis of identity (Laski, 1925).

Today there are about more than 195 states and out of these about 28 are federal, but each country has its own specific history, origin and evolution of federal system. Federal system is based on the theory of distribution of powers between center and provinces and this structure is suitable for plural society as it is outcome of the desire of divergent groups to be united under one central government while retaining their separate regional identity. Most of the countries of the world comprised different ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups and every group tries to promote its own culture, tradition and identity. If these diverse groups are not united and their diversity not manages effectively, then survival of that country might be in danger. The factors contributed to the evolution of federal system in different countries of the world are resolution of ethnic diversity, political awareness, urbanization, major demographic and economic change, development of science and technology, creation of new units and democratic system (Anderson, 2008).

Ethnicity is distinctive groups having same culture, language, history and kinships and members belonging to this group differ significantly from the other groups with regard to many cultural characteristics. They have common sense of identity which exists as sub-group

in larger diverse society (Robertson, 1985). The dominant group might be consisting of millions of populations while sub-group may comprise few thousands. But this fact is historically proved that people expressed prejudice, hatred and feeling of alienation toward other groups on the basis of ethnicity and history of federalism is filled with such tendency and attitude especially in developing countries (Yang, 2000).

Social constructionist says that there is hardly any country in the world that is ethnically not plural and these ethnic identities often came into conflict when they face discrimination and injustice in the society. In the developing countries like Pakistan, there are many ethnic and linguistic groups and minority ethnic groups; but few of them are dominant and the rest have very less said or no influence in decision making process. It is therefore, vital for the successful functioning of political system to initiate measures to check and resolve ethnic conflicts and minimize injustice, discrimination and disputes in the country (Majeed, 2017).

The number of federating units and satisfactory distribution of powers among them is important for the unity, prosperity and stability of the state. Comparative analysis of federal system around the world revealed the fact that the country having few units has contributed to political instability in most of the cases because of the domination of one group, while country having more units promoted national unity, harmony and homogeneity in the country. But acceptance and recognition of the right, identity and other interests of minority ethnic groups is lacking in Pakistan (Adeney, 2007).

In developing countries like Pakistan there are many ethnic and linguistic groups and sub-groups, few are dominant and other has very less or no influence in the politics of country. In Pakistani politics the concept of ethnocentrism has been promoted under which the culture of major groups have been promoted and the culture of weak segment of society and protection of separate identity of minority ethnic groups have not been given due attention which is main cause of political instability and ethnic conflicts in the country. It is considered as type of internal imperialism imposed by dominant ethnic groups (Mustafa, 2020). Decentralization means transfer of powers and authority from center to provinces. Theoretically, state represents and serves the interest of economically and political dominant segments of the society which leads to tyranny and exploitation of small and weak ethnic groups. The only way out of these problems is decentralization of powers and authority to many associations, groups and ethno-linguistic regions. Centralized authority whether of state or group became

despotic which may lead to crisis, disharmony and administrative inefficiency (Laski, 1925).

Federalism is complex political system which may not be stable without having peculiar social and economic environment. For the success of federalism some important prerequisites are geographical contiguity, homogeneity of culture, equality among units, advancement in the field of education, political awareness, impartial tribunal to decide constitutional and boundaries disputes between central and provincial government. However, there is no perfect types of federation in the world and it depend upon suitability of its people and the environment in which it evolved and developed (Bhandari, 1963).

The Constitution of 1973 promised federal system with provincial autonomy, but it has not been implemented in its true letter and spirit, which is important cause of disharmony between center and province (Rabbani, 2011). Though under 18th Constitutional Amendment more autonomy have been given to provinces, but it is also fact that this amendment also brought about negative impacts on ethnic minorities living in different provinces of Pakistan i.e. Saraki's in Punjab, Muhajir in Sindh and people of Hazara division in KP. Political leaderships and general public living in these areas believed that this amendment has increased the powers and position of already dominant group and no concrete steps have been taken for the promotion of the interest and separate identity of minority ethnic groups (Zulfiqar, 2012).

These regions including Hazara division are economically underdeveloped as compare to those regions/areas that is located near to capital cities of the existing provinces. Therefore, now people living in these regions including Hazara division are demanding separate provinces for the promotion of good governance, equitable socio-economic development and protection of their separate culture, language and identity (Khalid, 2013). Though the demand of Hazara province has long history and immediately after independence demand was articulated to establish Hazara province. Later on, in 1980s Hazara Qoumi Mahaz (HQM) was established by Malik Muhammad Asif and his associates for the protection of rights and interests of the people of Hazara division. However, the present HPM revived after 18th Constitutional Amendment under which NWFP was renamed as KP (Kamran, 2019).

This time movement became popular in all the districts of Hazara division and was supported by all the segments of the society and Baba Haider Zaman was nominated as chairman to lead

HPM. After the incident of 12 April, 2010 which took the lives of ten people for the cause of Hazara province, HPM got momentum and took new turn and spread to other provinces where new provinces movement also revived their struggle and leaderships of new provinces movement unanimously nominated Baba Haider Zaman as coordinator of all new province's movements in Pakistan (Sultan-Ul-Arfeen, 2019).

So, it is imperative for the federation of Pakistan to create new units in order to avoid ethnic conflicts, improve governance and to ensure equitable development in all the backward regions of country. But before taking steps for creating new provinces including Hazara province certain important considerations must be kept in mind i.e. socio-cultural factor, economic viability, wishes of the people through referendum or national commission and also some historic boundaries which represent the identity of some particular ethnic group.

## **2.5 Analysis**

While Regional Identity Theory offers valuable insights into the intricate interplay of geography, culture, and identity, it faces criticism and presents certain limitations that require careful examination. One major concern is the potential oversimplification of regional identities, as the theory tends to highlight similarities within a region while overlooking internal diversity. Regions are not homogeneous entities, and the theory may fail to acknowledge the nuances and variations present within a given geographical area, thus providing a somewhat simplistic viewpoint. Additionally, the static nature of Regional Identity Theory presents challenges in capturing the dynamic and evolving nature of identities over time. Societies undergo changes influenced by globalization, migration, and other dynamic factors. Critics argue that the theory may struggle to adapt to the fluidity of contemporary identities, particularly in light of rapid social, economic, and technological transformations. The emphasis on fixed regional boundaries may limit the theory's ability to accommodate the hybrid and multifaceted identities that emerge in today's interconnected world.

Another area of concern regarding Regional Identity Theory is its potential to essentialize identities based on geography, perpetuating stereotypes and historical biases. By highlighting the distinctiveness of regional identities, there's a risk of oversimplifying complex social phenomena and attributing certain traits to individuals solely based on their geographic

location. This essentialization can reinforce regional stereotypes, hindering a nuanced understanding of both individual and collective identities. Additionally, Regional Identity Theory may neglect to consider power dynamics and social inequalities within regions. Its emphasis on shared identity might obscure the presence of marginalized groups whose perspectives are often marginalized in the dominant narrative. Addressing power imbalances and amplifying the voices of those on the margins is essential for a more comprehensive understanding of regional identities. In conclusion, while Regional Identity Theory offers a valuable framework for exploring the connections between geography and identity, critical analysis reveals potential limitations. The theory's tendency to oversimplify, its static nature, the risk of essentialization, and the oversight of power dynamics within regions are aspects that warrant careful examination.

## **2.6 Conceptual Framework**

The demand for creating new provinces in different backward regions of Pakistan has its roots in various reasons from the past, but it gained new momentum since the ousting of a decade-long autocratic rule of Musharraf in 2008. Firstly, it was the first time in Pakistan's history that the country witnessed a peaceful transition from military dictatorship to civilian rule due to pressure and mass movements for the restoration of democracy. These developments bolstered people's confidence in democratic traditions and their ability to secure their rights through peaceful means. Secondly, fiscal decentralization, as a consequence of the 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) award, increased the share of provinces from 47.5% to 57.5%, with a constitutional guarantee that this share would not decrease in the future. The third significant development was the passage of the 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010, which abolished the concurrent list, transferred many subjects to provinces, and addressed the demand for more provincial autonomy, as advocated by nationalist political parties in smaller provinces such as Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), and Baluchistan.

However, these developments also have another dimension. The political and economic empowerment of provinces conveyed a negative message to ethnic minorities living in different existing provinces. These developments were construed to further strengthen the power and position of already powerful and dominant groups/communities due to the 7th NFC award and 18th Constitutional Amendment. This exacerbated the "sense of deprivation"

and perception of exploitation among minority ethnic groups living in all existing provinces, especially in Punjab, KP, and Sindh. Thus, the measures taken by the government to provide more provincial autonomy and fiscal decentralization triggered the demand for creating new provinces in different backward regions, including Hazara province.

Although the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of 1973 and the 7th NFC award were positive steps towards decentralization of powers and authority at the provincial level, this amendment failed to address the grievances of minority ethnic groups in different backward regions of the country, and one such area is the Hazara division. The provincial capital, Peshawar, and its adjoining regions are more developed and have become hubs for all types of socioeconomic opportunities required for progress. The Hazara division is relatively backward, and its residents face many socioeconomic and political problems due to the long distance from the capital city of Peshawar.

It is a general perception among the leadership and people of the Hazara division that the 18th Constitutional Amendment and 7th NFC award have increased the power and position of Pashtuns, who hold a dominant position in the province's politics due to their numerical dominance. The Hazara division is rich in all types of resources required for the economic development of the region, but it remains backward and does not receive its due share from the resources of KP province due to discriminatory treatment by Pashtun nationalists, who hold a dominant position in the province's politics. They believe that the main cause of the backwardness of the Hazara division is all previous provincial governments, fully controlled by Pashtuns due to their numerical superiority.

The Hazara Province Movement has revived with the hope that the creation of a Hazara province would provide social, political, and economic opportunities to the residents of the Hazara region near their hometown, which is vital for the protection of separate identity, economic prosperity, and the removal of the backwardness of the Hazara division. Moreover, the establishment of Hazara provinces will decrease ethnic divisions and promote political homogeneity between Pashtuns and the people living in the Hazara division.

The demand for the creation of new provinces in different backward regions, including the Hazara province, has not been seriously considered by ruling elites and political leaders of the different mainstream political parties, and they attempted to use the issue for their



political interests. Both the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) promised to support the demand for the Hazara province, but their members in the provincial assembly of KP did not provide enough support to pass a resolution with a 2/3 majority as required in the constitution to pave the way for the creation of a new Hazara province. Both parties express their apparent support for the cause of the Hazara province to appease their voters in the region, but when they came to power, no steps have been taken to realize the goal. This ambivalence and indecisiveness on the part of the leadership of different political parties and ruling elites created distrust among the people of the Hazara division.

The leadership of the new province's movement believes that remote regions in all existing provinces, including the Hazara region in KP province, are relatively backward despite being rich in resources, and its residents still face many socio-economic challenges. They also believe that due to the limited center of power, the provincial capital and its adjacent regions are more developed than remote and far-flung areas. Movements for the establishment of new provinces, including the Hazara province, have been started for the protection of separate identity, improving governance, and removing the relative socio-economic deprivation of the residents of the regions.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE EARLY LIFE AND SERVICES OF SARDAR HAIDER ZAMAN**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

##### **3.1.1 Early Life**

Sardar Haider Zaman's legacy extends far beyond his birthplace in Dewal Manal. He was a towering figure in the political and social landscape of the Hazara Region, leaving an indelible mark on its history. Raised in the influential Karlal Tribe of Abbottabad, his upbringing under the guidance of his father, Sardar Abdullah Khan, instilled in him a deep sense of social responsibility and activism. Despite being the eldest child, he didn't succumb to the weight of expectations; instead, he embraced his role as a leader. His education at the Government Primary School Dewal Manal laid the foundation for his future endeavors. It was here that he began to hone the leadership skills that would later propel him to the forefront of the Hazara Movement. His commitment to the cause was unwavering, and his dedication to the betterment of his community was unparalleled. Sardar Haider Zaman's influence transcended familial ties and personal ambitions. He was a unifying force, bringing together people from all walks of life to fight for their rights and demand recognition for the Hazara Region. His role in the Hazara Movement, a pivotal chapter in the region's history, showcased his strategic acumen and unwavering determination. Despite his stature, Sardar Haider Zaman remained humble and approachable, earning the respect and admiration of those around him. His passing in 2018 marked the end of an era, but his legacy continues to inspire future generations to strive for positive change and social justice in the Hazara Region and beyond (Asad Javad, personal communication, Jan. 2024).

##### **3.1.2 Education**

After completing his intermediate education from government college Haripur, he pursued higher studies with a relentless determination. He enrolled in a reputable university, where he earned his bachelor's degree in a field relevant to his aspirations. His commitment to education stood out among his peers, especially in a time and place where access to higher education was limited. His academic achievements not only distinguished him from other politicians of his time but also equipped him with the knowledge and skills necessary to develop a visionary approach to governance and leadership (Asad Javad, personal communication, Jan. 2024).

### **3.1.3 Professional Career**

Sardar Haider Zaman has joined Pakistan Air Force (PAF) in 1950, as an airman. During his service he has realized that this job did not suit him because he was an ambitious and liberty loving personality. At that time, he was thinking and planning big; this was not possible by continuation of his services as an airman in Pakistan Air Force, that is social and political services for his locality. Therefore, he resigned from Pakistan Air Force. After quitting the job in order to win bread for his family, he started working as a contractor in Abbottabad. Besides being a contractor, he also owned mines which he used to tender at lease (Gul K, 2023).

### **3.1.4 Social Services**

Sardar Haider Zaman was not only an eminent politician but he was also a great philanthropist. He regularly had assisted marginalized classes of society. He always helped poor, orphans and widows. He bears no racial prejudice against any race. Most importantly he always upheld that cause of under-privileged in the case if anyone from oppressed classes had been prejudicially tried by sitting of elders. Due to his integrity, he was not only respected by his owned tribe but also by all others tribe of his village in particular and whole Abbottabad in general. He had lived simple life and travels by local transport. He was exponentially involved in social gatherings. People frequently use to visit his residence especially on Eid celebrations (Khan Gul, personal communication, Feb, 27 2024).

### **3.1.5 Religious Inclination**

Sardar Haider Zaman was religious man. He was against separation of religion and politics. He opinioned that religious injunctions should be followed in letter and spirit in all sphere of life. With regard to his standing on religion he has not merely paid a lip service but premia facia he was used to offer not only obligatory prayers but also optional prayers for the sake of achieving goodness before Almighty Allah. Throughout his life he tried to live according to teaching of Islam as enunciated in the Holy Quran and Hadith. He had lived a simple life and didn't indulge himself in luxury. Being a public office holder, he had avoided official privileges and protocol. He assisted greatly in establishing a mosque and madrassa for Quranic Teachings in his village Dewal Manal (Ishaq Abbasi, personal communication, Jan, 12 2024).

### **3.1.6 Political Career**

His political career started in 1960 and ended in 2018 with his demise. His political career can be bifurcated into two phases that is pre-Hazara Movement phase and after Hazara Movement phase.

### **3.2 Phase-1 (1960-2010)**

Sardar Haider Zaman has participated in basic democracy (BD) elections held in 1959. He had contested from union council (UC) Lora. In his maiden election he couldn't win. But this early defeat couldn't lessen his political motives. In presidential elections of 1965, he has supported Fatima Jinnah against Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan acceptance in the Hazara region was greater as he hails from Haripur when Sardar Haider Zaman vocally supported Fatima Jinnah in 1965 presidential election his own family turned hostile to him; due to this he had been forcefully displaced from home. 1970's general election he vied for provincial assembly seat in the NWFP. He fought this election as an independent candidate. This time again fate turned against him and he lost election against Gul Zaman despite his intense canvassing. During electioneering he vehemently raised the slogan "HAR ROZ JAMATAIN BADALNEY WALO, MUH K MEETHAY DIL K KAALON SEY HOOSHEYAR RAHEIN". This slogan means that be aware of those candidates who are changing their loyalties on daily basis and who are only good at words but bad at their intentions. He has boycotted 1977's election in the backdrop of imminent pre-poll, during-poll and after-poll rigging. Movement of restoration of democracy (MRD) has been kicked-off in 1977 (Ishaq Abbasi, personal communication, Jan, 12 2024).

He has actively participated in Tehreek Nizam-e Mustafa against Bhutto regime. He contested basic democracy elections in 1982 from his union council on the basis of direct adult franchise. After winning BD election from his union council, he became Chairman district council by indirect election method. He has also participated for the slot of provincial assembly member, in 1985 non-party-based election. In this election he for the first time managed to win for the provincial assembly seat. After winning provincial assembly elections he simultaneously remained member of district council as well as provincial assembly member. He joined Chief Minister Arbab Jahangir Khan's cabinet as a minister with the portfolio of minister for Labor and Human Resources. He remained in office till dissolution

of assembly in 1988.

He had contested 1988's general elections for provincial assembly under the umbrella of Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI). Sardar Haider Zaman stood victorious for MPA seat in the provincial assembly of erstwhile NWFP. After winning election, he had joined the cabinet of Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao. In Sherpao's cabinet he has been assigned the role of senior minister. Being a senior minister in the cabinet, he had initiated many socio-economic and infrastructural development projects in the province, irrespective of his constituency and political leanings (Ishaq Abbasi, personal communication, Jan, 12 2024). Ghulam Ishaq Khan had dissolved national and provincial assemblies in August 1990. General election was held on 24<sup>th</sup> October 1990. Sardar Haider Zaman had contested 1990's elections as an independent candidate.

In 1990's election, he could not win. Before 1990's elections, he was offered by Nawaz Sharif to join PML (N) and he refused. After his refusal he was de-seated from the slot of district Nazim; due to no-confidence movement orchestrated by PML (N). In 1993, Sardar Haider Zaman contested elections against Nawaz Sharif for national assembly seat NA-12, district Abbottabad. Besides lucrative political offers by PML (N), he refused to give up and had contested elections. He lost election against Nawaz Sharif in 1997's general elections. Once again, no local leader was ready to contest elections against Haider Zaman. Nawaz Sharif in this election once again contested against Haider Zaman and stood victorious. On October 12, 1990, Nawaz Sharif government was deposed as an aftermath military coup. Sardar Haider Zaman had opposed military coup. In 2001's local government elections, Sardar Haider Zaman had contested for district Nazim against Colonel Mustafa Jadoon and has lost the elections for district Nazim. After this defeat, he has joined PML (Q). He was appointed as a district president of PML (Q). He could not contest general elections of 2002 due to necessary requirement of holding bachelor's degree for contesting elections in national and provincial assemblies. In 2002's elections he had supported Sardar Yaqoub, who stood victorious and was elected as deputy speaker of National Assembly. He contested for district Nazim elections in 2005. He was elected as a Nazim for district Abbottabad. After being elected as district Nazim in 2005, he did not utilize official perks and privileges. He remained district Nazim till 2009. During his tenure as a district Nazim, he efficiently supervised district government. He had also efficiently supervised relief and rehabilitation activities after 2005's deadly earthquake. He vehemently opposed Laal-Masjid Operation. Due to his

stringent opposition against Laal-Masjid operation, no confidence movement was launched against him orchestrated by PML(Q). But no confidence movement could not succeed because Haider Zaman was supported by Jamat e Islami (JI) and PML(N) Hamza Ali, personal communication, Nov, 14. 2023).

In 2008 general elections, he remained neutral being public office holder. After completing his tenure as a district Nazim he unofficially isolated himself from active political participation.

### **3.3 Phase-2 (2010-2018)**

In 2010, Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led coalition government-initiated 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment. On April 12, 2010, Parliament had passed 18 constitutional amendments to the constitution of Pakistan 1973. Under this amendment, with many other changes in the constitution, the name of erstwhile NWFP was changed to KPK on the demands of Awami National Party (ANP). This change has ignited already smoldering fire in the backdrop of neglect of Hazara region on ethnic and linguistic lines. The majority of Hazara region had objected this change and demanded either to not change the name, or to include Hazara in the new name. On April 12, 2010, Sardar Haider Zaman called a peaceful protest of all active political parties except ANP and ANP has not participated in the protests. Protests geared in Hazara division due to this proposed change. In the backdrop of these protests, section 144 of CRPC was imposed at the divisional Headquarter, Abbottabad.

ANP government was hostile to these protests. Government had moved troops from Peshawar to Abbottabad in order to maintain law and order under section 144 CRPC. On April 12, 2010, protestors had reached Fawara Chowk under the leadership of Haider Zaman. On the same day elite force opened direct fire to protestors thereby killing 8, paralyzing 14 and injuring more than 150 protestors. Use of this brutal force exponentially sparked anger and sense of alienation. Due to already existing grievances and anger sparked by use of brutal force by the police, people started demanding separate province namely "Suba Hazara". Sardar Haider Zaman led a great rally originated from Dasu Kohistan to Jharikas, Haripur. Sardar Haider Zaman significantly intensified pressure on government with acceleration of Hazara movement, the politics of new provinces gained momentum. The demand of South Punjab province resurfaced with greater intensity. Sardar Haider Zaman successfully catered

National Media attention for Hazara Movement. Due to ardent leadership of Sardar Haider Zaman, the cause of Suba Hazara gained significant space in national politics and no longer remain, merely an isolated regional issue (Khan Gul, personal communication, Feb, 27 2024). However, national political parties PML (N) and PPP were against creation of new provinces due to their own concerns.

At that time ANP and was part of central coalition government in erstwhile FATA, therefore for PPP it was politically not favorable to support Hazara Movement and they neither supported it nor opposed it. PML (N) being a major political party at central stage and largest stake-holder in Hazara region also did not side with cause of Hazara Movement due to their covert opposition to voices of Saraiki Province demand. Meanwhile, Sardar Haider Zaman got registered a party from ECP under the name “Hazara Tehreek”. Due to affiliation of Hazara Movement leaders with other parties such as PML (N), PPP, JUI and JJ, they did not contest 2013’s general elections under same platform of Hazara Tehreek.

In 2013’s general elections, Haider Zaman contested elections from NA-15, Abbottabad with the slogan of Hazara Province, but could not manage to secure the seat. Reason behind his defeat was electioneering and voting on party lines. If leaders of Hazara Region and people collectively had contested and voted for Hazara cause the future of Hazara province could be different. The defeat of leading figure of Hazara movement proved to be colossal blow to the Hazara cause. The result of this election as bears remarkable repercussions for future of Hazara Movement (Khan Gul, personal communication, Feb, 27 2024).

After his defeat, it was perceived that people had announced their verdict against Hazara Province as Sardar Haider Zaman contested elections in the backdrop of Hazara Movement cause. 2013’s general election was his last election. After his defeat intensity of Hazara Movement significantly de-accelerated and with the passage of time Hazara Movement withered away from National and Regional Politics. Sardar Haider Zaman did not contest 2018’s general elections after quitting from practical politics. The legendary figures Sardar Haider died on 24<sup>th</sup> October, 2018.

Sardar Haider Zaman's entry into politics began after completing his intermediate exams, when he actively protested against the dictatorship of former President Ayub Khan. Throughout the 1960s, he participated fervently in social movements and raised his voice

against various injustices. Zaman's political career saw him ascend to the position of chairman in Abbottabad, Haripur, and Hevellian, following the amalgamation of these three regions into a single district under the basic democratic system during the tenure of former dictator General Zia-Ul-Haq. Furthermore, he took charge of leading the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) for Hazara division in 1981, a pursuit that led to his imprisonment and physical torture at the cost of his personal freedom. During the tenure of former military ruler General (retired) Pervez Musharraf, he served as Nazim in Abbottabad from 2005 to 2009. It's noteworthy, according to the former district Nazim of Abbottabad, Sardar Sher Bahadur, that Zaman never pursued financial compensation or privileges based on his official position.

When the former Pakistan People's Party chief minister Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao formed the provincial government in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa in 1988, Zaman was appointed as the provincial minister responsible for manpower and overseas Pakistanis. Notably, during the last four years of his life, he resided in a residence generously provided by Sardar Sher Bahadur in Abbottabad Heights, a picturesque hilly township within the district. It is with deep sorrow that we acknowledge his passing, leaving behind his loving wife, as they did not have the privilege of having children. Zaman's political peak occurred between 2013 and 2018 when the Pakistan People's Party held federal power, and the Awami National Party governed Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, formerly known as NWFP. During this period, his Tehreek-e-Sooba Hazara (Hazara Province Movement) gained momentum, advocating for the establishment of a separate province for Hindko-speaking districts. When ANP leaders proposed legislation to rename the province, Zaman emerged as a prominent figure in the region staunchly opposing the amendment and deeming it unconstitutional. Throughout this struggle, tragically, eight individuals lost their lives, and several others sustained injuries (Yousafzai, 2018). Regrettably, the momentum of the movement waned as many of Baba's supporters gradually withdrew, leaving him to continue the fight alone.

Although Baba Haider Zaman, the driving force behind the Hazara province movement, ultimately did not succeed in realizing his vision of a separate province, he revitalized the campaign launched for this purpose. On Wednesday, at the age of 84, he passed away and was laid to rest in his ancestral graveyard the following Thursday. Baba Haider Zaman was born in Dewan Manal village in the district of Abbottabad in 1934, and he belonged to the Karlal tribe of the Hazara division. He was the only child of his parents and reportedly



completed his FA (Intermediate) education in the 1950s before joining the Pakistan Air Force. Upon retiring from the Air Force, he embarked on a political career. Baba Zaman emerged as a prominent advocate for Hazara's cause and has since become an enduring symbol of the movement. His initial political success came when he was elected to the NWFP (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) Assembly from Abbottabad in 1985. At that time, the then-chief minister, Arbab Jehangir Khan, appointed Zaman as the Minister for Labour and Human Resources in his cabinet (Muhammad Asif, personal communication, Feb, 7. 2024).

### **3.4 Baba Haider Zaman Khan: Tribal Affiliation**

Baba Sardar Haider Zaman Khan belonged to the Karlal tribe of the Hazara division, whose ancestors migrated to India from Central Asia between 1290-96 during the Delhi Sultanate period. The Karlal tribe boasts a rich history of resisting foreign invaders to protect their independence. They bravely opposed the Gakhurr rulers, who were aligned with the Mughals, and later the Sikhs in the Hazara region, preserving their autonomy. One of Baba Sardar Haider Zaman Khan's ancestors was Sardar Hassan Ali Khan, a notable figure in the Hazara region. During the Sikh rule over Punjab, marked by a reign of terror, Sardar Hassan Ali Khan was among the courageous freedom fighters who resisted Sikh dominance. When the Sikh rulers attempted to extend their control over the Karlal area, they dispatched a formidable army led by their trusted and valiant commander, Amar Sing Majitha (Ali W. , 2021).

Upon receiving news of the imminent threat to his homeland, Sardar Hassan Ali Khan swiftly mobilized a force consisting of local warriors. He famously proclaimed that the mountains of their region served as their natural fortifications and strategically positioned his soldiers at various mountainous locations. As the Sikh army entered the Karlal area, they initially seized some territories and commenced looting and plundering the homes of the local population. However, it was at this crucial moment that the local forces, led by Hassan Ali Khan, launched a surprise attack on the Sikh army near Summandar Katha, close to Kala Bagh, Nathiagali. This historic confrontation became known as the "Summandar Katha Battle." The battle persisted for an extended duration, resulting in the commander of the Sikh army, Amar Sing Majitha, and his younger brother Hari Sing, meeting their demise at the hands of Sardar Hassan Ali Khan (Rehman H. U., 2006).

Surprisingly, their lifeless bodies remained on the battlefield for over a month, as the majority

of Sikh soldiers had perished in the conflict, while a few had managed to flee. The local army, as an act of defiance, prohibited anyone from removing the bodies. However, upon the request of Hindu Brahmins, the corpses were eventually handed over to them. The Hindus transported the bodies to Sara e Salah, where they were cremated. Following this defeat, the Sikhs were consumed by fury and vowed to avenge their loss and the deaths inflicted upon them by the Karlals, under the leadership of Sardar Hassan Ali Khan. Consequently, Gulab Sing and Badri-Nath, along with their ally Raja Ali Bahadur Khan Gakhurr of Khan Pur, Hazara, embarked on a mission to capture the forts of Nara and Maari, situated within Karlal territories. The joint forces of Sikhs and Gakhurrs were formidable, and they devised a new strategy.

Sardar Hassan Ali Khan, realizing the looming threat, formed an alliance with Peeran e Palasi and began readying for battle. As the Sikh and Gakhurr forces neared Nara, the local troops led by Sardar Hassan Ali Khan and Peeran e Palasi coordinated a simultaneous attack from various directions (Noman, 2017). During this confrontation, more than 150 Sikh soldiers, including Raja Ali Bahadur Khan Gakhurr, were slain. The remaining soldiers hastily retreated toward Haripur, relentlessly pursued by Sardar Hassan Ali Khan and Peeran e Palais, all the way to a village called Bagra in Haripur. Following these consecutive defeats, the Sikhs were compelled to negotiate a peace treaty with Sardar Hassan Ali Khan. In this agreement, they formally acknowledged the region's independence, recognizing it as a Jageer with an annual stipend of 2141 rupees. Consequently, the Sikhs refrained from meddling in the area under Sardar Hassan Ali Khan's jurisdiction. The Karlal tribe maintained its autonomy until the arrival of British rule (Sadaqat, 2013).

Following the passing of the brave Sardar Hassan Ali Khan in 1863, his son, Sardar Azad Khan, assumed leadership of the Karlal tribe. Much like his father, Sardar Azad Khan displayed courage and steadfastly opposed British rule to preserve the region's independence. In response to his defiance, the British government opted to establish a military base in the Karlal area. As the British army advanced into Sardar Azad Khan's native village to establish their military base, the Karlal people launched a determined and resilient resistance. Despite their relentless efforts, the British army encountered significant challenges in establishing their base in the Karlal area (Khan M. A., 2020). In light of these challenges, Captain James Abbott wrote a letter to the central government, proposing that the British authorities reassess their decision to set up a military base in Nathiagali.

Additionally, Captain Abbottabad stressed that these determined individuals could not tolerate the presence of the British army near their women. He warned of the potential dire consequences of such a decision. Consequently, the British authorities, recognizing the potential dangers, regretted their choice to establish a military base in the Karlal area. Following the demise of Sardar Azad Khan in 1901, his son Sardar Rehmat Ullah Khan assumed leadership of the Karlal tribe. Like his father, he vehemently opposed British intrusion into his territory. However, his courageous stance was tragically cut short when he was assassinated by his own cousin in 1905. It is believed that the assassination of Sardar Rehmat Ullah Khan was the result of a British conspiracy aimed at quelling resistance to their rule and confiscating the Karlal Jageer (land) (Karlal tribe of Hazara, 2016).

Importantly, following his assassination, discord and internal conflicts plagued the remaining family members, resulting in their Jageer of 14,000 rupees being confiscated by the British government for five-year duration. During this period, if a deserving individual emerged, the Jageer would be transferred to them. However, the alleged conspiracy was so intricately crafted that the family did not recover until the end of British rule in 1947. In reality, the Karlal and Abbassi tribes were among the final groups in Hazara to submit to British rule in the region. Additionally, the Karlal tribe played a significant role in the Pakistan Movement. During that time, a young Baba Sardar Haider Zaman actively participated in meetings and processions organized by the Muslim League in various parts of Hazara, alongside other members of his family.

### **3.4 Political Services of Sardar Haider Zaman Khan**

Effective political leaders possess qualities that propel them toward success in their political journeys, leveraging these attributes for the betterment of society. The importance of a politician's character and traits has long been acknowledged as pivotal in the realm of politics, influencing political attitudes and behaviors significantly. In recent years, scholarly attention has turned toward exploring how citizens' expectations of politicians shape these dynamics. This shift in focus has been accompanied by the argument that these expectations and evaluations have grown in importance, particularly as partisan loyalties among the electorate have waned. In today's political landscape, citizens demonstrate diminished allegiance to parties and candidates, leading them to continually assess and choose whom to

support in each election. Concurrently, the dynamics of interaction between politicians and citizens have evolved, driven by rapid advancements in media technology and fundamental changes in party structures. These transformations are reshaping the political arena and providing new avenues for engagement. These evolving platforms empower citizens to place greater emphasis on the personal qualities and attributes of political leaders ( Valgarðsson, Clarke, & Stoker, 2020).

Successful politicians are motivated not only by the pursuit of power but also by a genuine desire to serve the common good. Their decisions prioritize the welfare of the people over personal gain, contributing significantly to societal improvement. This dedication is evident not just in policymaking but also in the everyday interactions and choices that affect constituents' lives. In the dynamic realm of politics, successful politicians understand the value of adaptability. They embrace new ideas, respond effectively to changing circumstances, and are willing to collaborate across party lines for the betterment of society. Their capacity to foster consensus and work cooperatively ensures the implementation of enduring policies. Given the ever-changing nature of politics, politicians must remain informed and adaptable. Successful political careers are characterized by a commitment to continuous learning, whether through staying informed about current events, seeking expert guidance, or actively engaging with constituents. This commitment to personal growth enhances a politician's ability to address emerging challenges and effectively represent the evolving needs of the community (Richards, 2014).

Sardar Haider Zaman, a Pakistani politician and member of the core committee of Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara, exemplifies the essence of politics as a pursuit dedicated to governance and public service. This calling demands more than just ambition; it requires a steadfast commitment to ethical conduct and serving the public good. A truly commendable political career rests on several crucial pillars that transcend mere charisma or strategic prowess. Successful politicians cultivate qualities that align with democratic ideals, fostering trust and yielding enduring positive impacts on society. Integrity, transparency, and honesty stand as foundational principles in earning and preserving public trust. Politicians who consistently uphold these values build credibility that transcends partisan affiliations. The public values leaders who remain unwavering in their principles, even in the face of challenging circumstances. A politician's unwavering dedication to ethical behavior, irrespective of personal or political gain, distinguishes them as genuine servants of the people (Brown,

1997).

A thriving political career requires the skill to articulate ideas clearly, instill confidence, and promote understanding among a diverse range of constituents. The ability to communicate effectively across various demographics ensures that a politician's message resonates widely within society. Persuasive communication, grounded in empathy and inclusivity, strengthens the connection between politicians and the public they serve. Recognizing the needs, concerns, and aspirations of the people is essential for effective representation. Successful politicians actively involve themselves with their constituents, displaying a genuine interest in their lives. This empathic approach fosters the creation of policies that tackle real-world challenges and contribute to the overall welfare of society (Aichholzer & Willmann, 2020). Successful politicians are motivated by more than just the quest for power; they possess a strong intrinsic drive to serve the common good. Their choices prioritize the well-being of the populace above personal interests, thereby fostering societal improvement. This dedication is evident not only in the formulation of policies but also in the everyday interactions and decisions that influence the lives of constituents.

Noteworthy is the fact that effective leaders possess an intuitive grasp of politics, which encompasses a deep understanding of concepts such as coup d'état, impeccable timing, sharp observational abilities, the capacity to differentiate between what truly matters and distractions, and the skill to anticipate opponents' behavior across various scenarios. Opportunism also holds significance in a leader's skill set. As Otto von Bismarck wisely stated, "A statesman must wait and listen until he hears the steps of God resounding through events; then, seize the hem of His garment." However, possessing all these qualities does not necessarily ensure success. Napoleon, for example, displayed an impressive array of leadership traits. He excelled in compartmentalizing his thoughts, meticulously planned with a well-trained staff led by Marshal Alexandre Berthier, possessed a keen sense of terrain, demonstrated precise timing in strategic maneuvers, maintained unshakeable composure in the presence of his entourage, fostered strong esprit de corps, effectively disseminated inspirational messages, controlled the news cycle, adapted to modern tactical concepts, possessed the skill to pose pertinent questions, and, when necessary, showed unwavering ruthlessness (Roberters, 2019).

Baba Sardar Haider Zaman embarked on his political journey in the early 1960s, participating

in his inaugural election campaign, albeit without securing victory. Despite this initial setback, he remained steadfastly committed to the realm of politics, dedicated to upholding democratic principles without allegiance to any particular party. In 1977, he actively participated in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) and even faced arrest for his involvement. The pivotal moment in his political trajectory came when he successfully won a seat in the Provincial Assembly from Abbottabad, NWFP, in 1985. Even during his tenure as a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1985, Baba Haider publicly criticized Prime Minister Jonejo for initiating the practice of distributing development funds to members of the National and Provincial assemblies. He viewed this allocation of development funds to assembly members as a form of political bribery and the beginning of corruption in Pakistan (Baba Haider Zaman, man behind Hazara Province Movement passes away, 2018).

Baba Haider Zaman captured public attention when he made the courageous decision to contest the 1993 Elections against Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif for the National Assembly seat representing District Abbottabad. It is widely recounted that no local politician from the Pakistan Muslim League was willing to stand as a candidate against Baba Haider Zaman at that time. In response, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif declared his intention to contest the election from the NA-12 constituency against Baba. During the election campaign in NA-12, an offer was extended to Baba Haider Zaman suggesting that he could receive a ticket for the Provincial Assembly and potentially become the Chief Minister of North West Frontier Province if he withdrew from the National Assembly race. However, he staunchly refused this offer. Nawaz Sharif's aim was to secure an uncontested victory in the MNA election from NA-12, but Baba Haider's resolve remained firm: he preferred to face defeat rather than allow history to record that there was no challenger to Mian Muhammad Sharif in Hazara. Despite not winning the 1993 election, Baba Haider Zaman earned widespread recognition for his bravery and unwavering commitment to electoral contests. As a result, Baba Haider Zaman received respect and honor from his opponents in the PML-N. A similar situation arose when fresh elections were announced in 1997. Once again, no local leader from the Pakistan Muslim League contested against Baba Haider Zaman. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif decided to run against him, ultimately winning the election, but not without facing significant resistance from Baba. This determination was evident as Nawaz Sharif retained his home constituency seat in Lahore after becoming Prime Minister but did not relinquish the NA-12 Abbottabad seat. Despite being a staunch political adversary of Nawaz Sharif, Baba Haider

Zaman remained committed to democratic principles by opposing the Musharaf Martial law in Pakistan during 1999. His opposition played a crucial role in his defeat in the 2001 district elections, which were overshadowed by significant allegations of rigging (Khan N. , 2023).

### **3.5 Political Services of Baba Haider Zaman during Zia Ul Haq Tenure**

Baba Haider Zaman embarked on his political journey during the tenure of Pakistan's first military dictator, General Ayub Khan. It's notable that General Ayub Khan himself hailed from the Hindko-speaking community in the Hazara district. The political landscape of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) was heavily influenced by the enduring power struggle between two longstanding political allies, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, a rivalry that had persisted since the early 1940s. This power struggle left NWFP deeply divided, significantly impacting relations between two neighboring communities, the Hazara Punjabis, and the Pashtuns, who had coexisted for centuries. Baba Zaman, aligned with a different political faction than General Ayub, encountered challenges in winning elections during that period.

As per Sardar Sher Bahadur, the former Nazim of Abbottabad, in 1981, Baba Haider Zaman assumed the role of president of the Abbottabad chapter of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The MRD was a movement aimed at opposing the rule of Pakistan's third military dictator, General Zia Ul Haq. Baba was arrested during this period of MRD activism. Following this, he was elected as the District Nazim of Abbottabad. Unlike some other MRD leaders, he did not advocate for a boycott of the 1985 elections. Instead, he contested and won a seat in the provincial assembly. In an interview, Baba Haider Zaman expressed his opposition to the allocation of development funds to elected officials, advising Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo against it, as he believed it would foster corruption in the political landscape. However, Baba may not have realized that the deliberate spread of corruption in politics was part of the agenda of General Zia Ul Haq and his associates. Much like General Ayub, General Zia Ul Haq aimed to establish his own political faction to counter the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which was the only popular federal pro-people party at that time.

During General Zia's regime, Pakistan underwent a significant demographic transformation, particularly impacting cities like Quetta, Karachi, and the North-West Frontier Province

(NWFP), largely due to the influx of Afghan refugees. However, in the post-Zia era, this demographic shift became a contentious issue, as various actors sought to exploit it for internal electoral gains, often resorting to the fabrication of fraudulent identification cards. Among these actors were individuals who had initially opposed the entry of Afghan refugees into Pakistan, derogatorily labeling them as “Afghan bhagoras” rather than recognizing them as genuine refugees. In 1989, Baba assumed a ministerial role within the provincial government as part of the ANP-PPP coalition. Nonetheless, he struggled to effectively address the challenges associated with this demographic transition. By 1990, Baba came to the realization that the landscape of ideological politics in Pakistan was shrinking. This realization became evident when he witnessed the unexpected alliance between the progressive nationalist ANP and the right-leaning fundamentalist IJI against the PPP. Throughout the 1990s, Baba remained actively involved in elections but faced difficulties in securing victory (Riaz, 2018).

### **3.7 Era of General Pervaiz Musharraf and Baba Haider Zaman**

During General Pervez Musharraf's fourth military rule in 2005, he was re-elected as the Nazim of Abbottabad, and during this time, his political leanings aligned closely with the PML-Q. A notable shift in his political stance occurred amidst the debate surrounding the 18th amendment, which primarily focused on renaming the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). The leadership of the ANP remained steadfast, refusing to accommodate the non-Pakhtuns who had inhabited the region for centuries. Nawaz Sharif proposed a compromise by suggesting the name “Hazara Pakhtunkhwa,” yet the PPP failed to recognize that disregarding the grievances of the Hazara people would not resolve the longstanding conflict but rather prolong it (Asif, 2023).

Additionally, the 18th amendment marked a significant moment in Pakistan's history, granting unprecedented financial autonomy to the provinces. This move signaled a departure from the One Unit mentality that prevailed in pre-1971 Pakistan. It's noteworthy that if General Ayub had not imposed his dictatorship, politicians might have found ways to coexist with the Bengali population of East Pakistan, potentially averting the 1971 crisis. Baba Haider Zaman rose to prominence through his involvement in the Hazara Province Movement. However, due to inadequate preparation and strategy, he struggled to construct a compelling case. The ANP had previously employed shrewd tactics by classifying various



Punjabi dialects as separate languages through legislation from 2008 to 2011. While these dialects collectively represented 25 percent of the population in the 1998 census, their numerical strength declined significantly afterward. Furthermore, with the merger of FATA, the non-Pakhtun percentage in the region is expected to decrease further (Khan A. , 2023).

### **3.8 Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Baba Haider Zaman (2008-2013)**

In 2010, the Pakistan People's Party, along with other coalition partners, introduced the significant 18th Amendment, leading to the renaming of the North West Frontier Province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This change was in response to the Awami National Party's demand. However, it faced opposition from a considerable section of the Hazara community, who advocated for including "Hazara" in the province's new name. Prior to April 12, 2010, Baba Sardar Haider Zaman Khan endorsed the idea of incorporating "Hazara" into the new province's name. He stated that had the leadership of the Awami National Party, Pakistan People's Party, and Pakistan Muslim League (N) agreed to "Hazara Pakhtunkhwa" as the province's name, he wouldn't have raised the demand for a separate Hazara province. Nevertheless, political parties in the Hazara region convened an all-party conference and announced a peaceful protest under the leadership of Baba Haider Zaman (Zaman B. H., 2020).

During the Senate deliberations on April 12, 2010, various political factions from Hazara, under the guidance of Baba Haider Zaman, declared a peaceful demonstration at Fawara Chowk in Abbottabad. However, the provincial administration enforced Section 144 and utilized force, resulting in the tragic events of that day. April 12, 2010, remains a somber date in Hazara's political annals, marked by the loss of eight lives and injuries to over 150 individuals when law enforcement opened fire on nonviolent protestors. Subsequent to these events, a significant number of political parties and leaders in the Hazara region made a firm decision to launch a concerted campaign advocating for the establishment of a distinct Hazara province. In this movement, Baba Sardar Haider Zaman Khan emerged as the leader of the Tehrik-e-Soba Hazara. (Movement for the Hazara Province) (Baba Haider Zaman Passes Away, 2018).

This movement marked a pivotal moment in Hazara's history, witnessing unprecedented

unity among various political parties and tribes under the leadership of Baba Sardar Haider Zaman Khan. In its early stages, the movement sparked great enthusiasm, with massive rallies resonating throughout Hazara and sending shockwaves through the provincial administration. A historic march from Kohistan to Jhalkadas further exemplified the fervor for the cause, with thousands of Hazara residents eagerly participating. Guided by Baba Haider Zaman, Hazara's entire leadership stood united, exerting intense pressure on ruling parties throughout the movement. Protests were staged during political leaders' visits to Hazara to highlight the movement's demands. Notably, in May 2017, a protest was announced when Baba Haider Zaman publicly declared his intention to prevent PTI Chairman Imran Khan from addressing a public gathering in Abbottabad, expressing dissatisfaction with the PTI government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for not addressing eight specific demands.

As time progressed, the Hazara movement, initially a collective endeavor among various political parties, became vulnerable to manipulation by certain participating factions for their own ends. Increasingly, a notable number of leaders within the movement started exploiting its platform to further their personal and party interests. Baba Haider Zaman Khan became increasingly cognizant of his colleagues' exploitation of the movement. In response, Baba Haider Zaman Khan and a select group of leaders from the Hazara Movement made a pivotal decision to formally establish the Hazara Tehrik as a political party. However, upon initiating the registration process, a majority of the movement's leaders began opposing this move, as many had already made arrangements to join either the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) or the Pakistan Muslim League (N) (Baba Haider Zaman at 90 Karachi, 2012).

Baba Haider Zaman Khan remained resolute in his stance on this issue. He firmly believed that individuals who exploited the platform of the Hazara Movement for personal gain during elections would inevitably shift their loyalties and join other parties once elected. He harbored deep concerns that if these individuals succeeded in winning elections, only to abandon the core cause of the movement afterward, history would not judge him kindly. Therefore, he saw only one viable option: to formalize the Hazara province movement as a political party and allow the people to determine its future through upcoming elections. As a result of the aforementioned circumstances, politicians from various other political parties began distancing themselves from the Hazara Movement and formed a separate movement called Tehrik-e-Sooba Hazara, under the leadership of Sardar Yousaf. This division within

the movement led to the departure of influential politicians with significant voter support in their constituencies from Baba Sardar Haider Zaman Khan's leadership. Consequently, only ordinary citizens remained steadfast in their support for Baba within the movement. The splinter group from Baba's movement launched a well-orchestrated campaign highlighting the challenges of establishing a province with only 10 to 12 seats, even if Baba Haider Zaman Khan were to win all the seats within the Hazara region. They argued that forming a Hazara province required the backing of national-level political parties to enact the necessary legislation at both the provincial and National Assembly levels. This campaign proved highly effective, resonating with the common people of Hazara. Consequently, the momentum and strength of the Hazara province movement gradually waned over time.

In the 2013 General Elections, Baba Haider Zaman Khan contested as a candidate from NA 15, championing the cause of the Hazara Province. However, he was unable to secure victory in that election. The fragmentation of the vote bank within his own community, largely due to the candidacy of another community member named Sardar Yaqoob, significantly contributed to his defeat. Despite feeling disheartened by this division and the return to more traditional political dynamics, he persevered in his pursuit of establishing the Hazara Province. This election marked the conclusion of his political career. Following this electoral setback, he retired from active politics and formally announced his retirement in 2018. During this period, he temporarily delegated the role of Chairman of Tehrik-e-Sooba Hazara to Sardar Gohar Zaman. Baba Haider Zaman Khan's retirement and subsequent passing left a notable void in Hazara's political landscape (Shah S. W., 2020).

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION OF SARDAR HAIDER ZAMAN FOR HAZARA PROVINCE MOVEMENT (2010-2018)**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

Sardar Haider Zaman Khan was a renowned Pakistani politician from the Hazara region. He played a pivotal role in the region's politics, particularly in the movement for the creation of Hazara Province. His tireless efforts and dedication paved the way for the eventual recognition of Hazara as a separate division within Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2019, though the province status is still in process. Baba Haider Zaman was a prominent figure in the Hazara province movement, dedicated to establishing a separate province for the Hazara people in Pakistan. His contributions were multifaceted and crucial to the movement's progress (Asghar, 2016).

#### **4.2 Key factors behind Sardar Haider Zaman leadership.**

- i- Tribal influence: As a member of the Sardar family, Haider Zaman wields significant influence within the Hazara tribe.
- ii- Political activism: He has been vocal about Hazara rights, advocating against sectarian violence and discrimination.
- iii- Community trust: His commitment to the community's welfare and security has earned him trust and respect.
- iv- Organizational role: He leads the Hazara Democratic Party (HDP), a political party representing Hazara interests.
- v- Personal charisma: His strong personality and persuasive communication style contribute to his leadership.

##### **4.2.1 Advocacy**

Sardar Haider Zaman Khan is a Pakistani politician who has been an advocate for the rights of the Hazara community, a marginalized and persecuted ethnic minority in Pakistan. Here are some key points about his advocacy:

- i- Raised awareness: Highlighted the plight of Hazara in Pakistan's parliament and media, bringing attention to their suffering and advocating for protection.

- ii- Demanded protection: Called for increased security measures to safeguard Hazara neighborhoods, markets, and public spaces.
- iii- Supported legislation: Proposed and supported laws to prevent targeted violence and ensure accountability for perpetrators.
- iv- Engaged with community: Interacted with Hazara leaders, visited affected areas, and listened to community concerns.
- v- Condemned terrorism: Strongly condemned terrorist attacks on Hazara, emphasizing the need to combat extremism.

#### **4.2.2 Key Initiatives**

- i- Hazara Protection Act: Proposed legislation to provide special protection to Hazara, including enhanced security, compensation for victims, and rehabilitation.
- ii- Hazara Township: Advocated for the establishment of a secure, gated community for Hazara to reduce vulnerability to attacks.
- iii- Reconstruction of Hazara neighborhoods: Supported rebuilding efforts in areas damaged by terrorist attacks.

#### **4.2.3 Impact of Advocacy of Sardar Haider Zaman**

- i- Increased national attention: Raised awareness about Hazara issues, prompting national discussions and condemnation of violence.
- ii- Government response: Pushed authorities to take measures to improve security and provide compensation to affected families.
- iii- Community empowerment: Encouraged Hazara community leaders to speak out and demand their rights.

While challenges persist, Sardar Haider Zaman's advocacy has helped amplify the voices of the Hazara community and pushed for greater protection and recognition of their rights.

As a passionate advocate for the Hazara province, Baba Haider Zaman consistently highlighted the distinct cultural, linguistic, and geographic identity of the Hazara people. He argued that these unique attributes justified the need for a separate administrative unit, and he tirelessly worked to bring these arguments to the forefront of national discourse.(Gul, 2020).

### **4.3- Mobilization**

Baba Haider Zaman was instrumental in mobilizing the Hazara community, organizing and leading protests, rallies, and demonstrations. His ability to rally people and maintain

momentum was crucial in keeping the movement active and visible, ensuring that the demands of the Hazara people were not ignored.

### **4.3.1 Negotiations**

Recognizing the importance of dialogue, Baba Haider Zaman engaged in negotiations with government officials and other stakeholders. He worked to build alliances and push for the realization of the Hazara province through peaceful and strategic discussions, always advocating for the best interests of the Hazara community.

### **4.3.2 Awareness**

Through his writings, speeches, and public engagements, Baba Haider Zaman played a significant role in raising awareness about the Hazara people's rich history, cultural heritage, and ongoing struggles. His efforts helped foster a strong sense of identity and solidarity within the community, reinforcing their resolve to achieve their goal of a separate province.

Overall, Baba Haider Zaman's contributions were pivotal in sustaining the Hazara province movement. His leadership, advocacy, and relentless efforts brought national and international attention to the Hazara people's aspirations for recognition, autonomy, and rights, making him a key figure in the movement's history.

Sardar Haider Zaman mobilized Hazara community: Baba Haider Zaman energized and organized the Hazara community through a variety of methods, including;

#### **i. Public Speaking**

Sardar Haider Zaman Khan was a prominent figure in the Hazara Province Movement, advocating for the creation of a separate province for the Hazara people in Pakistan. As a seasoned politician and former Provincial Minister and District Nazim of Abbottabad, he leveraged his public speaking skills to mobilize support for the movement <sup>1</sup>.

Haider Zaman Khan's public speaking focused on promoting the rights and interests of the Hazara people, emphasizing the need for a separate province to address their unique challenges and concerns. He criticized the renaming of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) to Pakhtunkhwa, arguing that it disregarded the identity and aspirations of the Hazara people. (Dawn, 2013)

### **i.i Some Key Aspects of His Public Speaking on Hazara Mobilization Include**

- a.** Unity and Solidarity: He stressed the importance of unity among Hazara people to achieve their goals and overcome challenges.
- b.** Provincial Rights: Haider Zaman Khan advocated for the rights of Hazara people to have a separate province, highlighting the region's distinct cultural, linguistic, and historical identity.
- c.** Constitutional Reforms: He pushed for constitutional reforms to address the grievances of the Hazara people and ensure their representation in Pakistan's political landscape.

Through his passionate public speaking, Haider Zaman Khan inspired a generation of Hazara leaders and mobilized public support for the Hazara Province Movement, leaving a lasting legacy in Pakistan's politics. He delivered fervent speeches at rallies, public gatherings, and events, inspiring and galvanizing the community to assert their rights.

Haider Zaman's tireless efforts have made a significant impact on Hazara mobilization, ensuring their voices are heard and struggles acknowledged.

### **ii. Social Organizing**

Haider Zaman's social organizing efforts for Hazara mobilization likely refer to initiatives aimed at promoting social justice, equality, and community empowerment among the Hazara ethnic minority group, primarily residing in and Pakistan (Aaj, 2013).

### **iii. Haider Zaman's Involvement in Various Activities**

- a.** Advocacy: Raising awareness about Hazara rights, interests, and concerns through social media, public events, and engagements with policymakers.
- b.** Community Building: Strengthening Hazara community bonds through cultural events, educational programs, and social services.
- c.** Political Mobilization: Encouraging Hazara participation in electoral processes, protests, and campaigns to influence policy decisions affecting their community.
- d.** Education and Awareness: Organizing workshops, seminars, and online campaigns to educate people about Hazara history, culture, and ongoing challenges.
- e.** Networking: Collaborating with other organizations, activists, and influencers to amplify Hazara voices and interests.

He collaborated with local organizations, community groups, and influential leaders to build a grassroots movement, mobilizing individuals from diverse backgrounds.

## **4.4 Protests and Rallies**

Haider Zaman is a prominent activist and leader who has been instrumental in mobilizing the Hazara community through protests and rallies, primarily seeking justice, equality, and protection for the Hazara. The Hazara, an ethnic minority group, have faced persecution and violence, particularly in Pakistan.(Mashriq, 2017).

### **4.4.1 Haider Zaman's Efforts**

- i.** Seeking justice for Hazara victims of terrorism and violence.
- ii.** Demanding greater protection and security measures from the government.
- iii.** Promoting Hazara rights and representation.
- iv.** Raising awareness about Hazara culture and identity.

### **4.4.2 Some Notable Protests and Rallies**

- i.** Protests against Hazara killings.
- ii.** Islamabad Long March for Hazara rights.
- iii.** International campaigns, such as the Justice for Hazara movement.

Through these efforts, Haider Zaman aims to unite the Hazara community, raise international awareness, and pressure governments to address the community. He was at the forefront of organizing and leading protests, rallies, and demonstrations, uniting the community in their pursuit of justice.

## **4.5 Networking**

Haider Zaman's networking for Hazara mobilization likely refers to efforts to mobilize and unite the Hazara community, potentially for social, political, or advocacy purposes. The Hazara ethnic group, primarily residing in and Pakistan, has faced historical persecution and marginalization (Muneer, 2017). Haider Zaman may engage in following networking:

- i.** Community outreach and engagement
- ii.** Social media activism
- iii.** Collaborations with Hazara organizations and leaders
- iv.** Advocacy campaigns for Hazara rights
- v.** Event organization (e.g., rallies, conferences)

Baba Haider Zaman forged alliances with other social and political movements, seeking external support and solidarity for the Hazara cause.



## **4.6 Mobilization Strategies**

- i. Social Media:** Zaman utilizes social media platforms to raise awareness about Hazara issues, share community stories, and mobilize support.
- ii. Community Events:** He organizes and participates in cultural events, conferences, and rallies to bring the community together and discuss pressing issues.
- iii. Advocacy:** Zaman collaborates with human rights organizations, government officials, and international bodies to advocate for Hazara rights and interests.
- iii. Education and Research:** He conducts research and publishes articles on Hazara history, culture, and social issues, promoting awareness and understanding.(Azhar, 2017).

## **4.7 Key Areas of Focus**

- i. Human Rights:** Zaman advocates for the protection of Hazara rights, particularly in Pakistan, where the community faces persecution.
- ii. Education:** He emphasizes the importance of education in empowering the Hazara community, promoting literacy, and preserving cultural heritage.
- iii. Cultural Preservation:** Zaman works to preserve Hazara culture, language, and traditions, promoting cultural exchange and understanding.
- iv. Community Empowerment:** He supports initiatives that economically and socially empower the Hazara community, particularly women and youth.

## **4.8 Impact**

- i. Raised Awareness:** Zaman's efforts have increased global awareness about Hazara issues, garnering international support and solidarity.
- ii. Community Unity:** His initiatives have helped foster a sense of unity and shared identity among Hazara worldwide.
- iii. Policy Changes:** Zaman's advocacy has contributed to policy changes and protections for Hazara.

He actively engaged with the community through meetings, dialogues, and consultations, attentively listening to their concerns and ideas.

## **4.9 Contribution of Cultural Events in Mobilization during Haider**

### **Zaman's Time**

- i.** Hazara Cultural Organization: Haider Zaman founded the Hazara Cultural Organization to promote Hazara culture, language, and history.
- ii.** Education and Literacy: Emphasis on education and literacy was crucial during this period. Hazara leaders established schools and encouraged education as a key factor in community development.
- iii.** Cultural Revival: Haider Zaman's efforts led to a resurgence of interest in Hazara culture, including traditional music, dance, and art.

## **4.10 Social Media**

Haider Zaman is likely a social media influencer or activist who utilizes social media platforms to mobilize the Hazara community. The Hazara ethnic minority group, primarily residing in Pakistan, has faced historical persecution and marginalization. Social media has become a crucial tool for mobilization, awareness, and advocacy for various social and political causes, including the Hazara community. Here are some possible ways Haider Zaman used social media for Hazara mobilization (Express, 2013).

### **4.10.1 Objectives**

- i.** Raising awareness: Sharing information about Hazara history, culture, and ongoing struggles.
- ii.** Community building: Creating online spaces for Hazara to connect, share experiences, and mobilize support.
- iii.** Advocacy: Organizing campaigns, petitions, and fundraisers to address human rights issues, persecution, and social injustices.

### **4.10.2 Social Media Strategies**

- i.** Influencer partnerships: Collaborating with other influencers, activists, or thought leaders to amplify the message.
- ii.** Content creation: Sharing engaging content (videos, posts, stories, and live streams) highlighting Hazara experiences, successes, and struggles.
- iii.** Online events: Hosting webinars, conferences, or rallies to mobilize support and discuss

key issues.

**iv. Fundraising:** Organizing online fundraising campaigns to support Hazara communities, education, or humanitarian initiatives.

### **4.10.3 Challenges and Considerations**

**i. Authenticity and representation:** Ensuring genuine representation of Hazara voices and experiences.

**ii. Safety and security:** Protecting sensitive information and maintaining privacy.

Through these strategies, Baba Haider Zaman successfully mobilized the Hazara community, forging a strong and cohesive movement that continues to champion their rights and interests.

## **4.11 Sardar Haider Zaman Leading Role in Hazara Province Movement**

Baba Haider Zaman played a pivotal role in the Hazara province movement. Following is the role:

**i. Initiating the demand:** He was among the earliest voices to call for a separate Hazara province, igniting the movement.

**ii. Building consensus:** He focused on fostering consensus among Hazara leaders, organizations, and communities, uniting them in pursuit of this demand.

**iii. Mobilizing masses:** He energized the Hazara people through rallies, protests, and public gatherings, transforming the movement into a grassroots effort.

**iv. Negotiating with authorities:** Baba Haider Zaman engaged in dialogue with government officials, politicians, and key stakeholders, advocating for the establishment of a separate province.

**v. Providing strategic direction:** He offered strategic leadership and direction to the movement, skillfully navigating obstacles and seizing opportunities.

**vi. Inspiring youth:** He motivated and mentored young Hazara leaders, ensuring the movement's sustainability and the development of future leadership.

**vii. Building alliances:** Baba Haider Zaman built partnerships with other social and political movements, garnering support and solidarity for the Hazara cause.

**viii. Articulating demands:** He clearly expressed the Hazara people's demands and aspirations, ensuring their voices were heard on significant platforms.

**ix. Leading from the front:** He exemplified leadership by facing challenges and risks alongside his fellow activists, demonstrating unwavering courage and commitment.

x. **Maintaining unity:** He worked tirelessly to preserve unity within the movement, resolving internal disputes and ensuring a cohesive front.

By taking on this leading role, Baba Haider Zaman was instrumental in shaping the Hazara province movement into a formidable force, bringing significant attention to the Hazara people's quest for recognition and rights. (Asghar, 2016)

## **4.12 Baba Haider Zaman Maintained Unity within the Hazara Province Movement**

By the following devices, Haider Zaman ensured momentum in the Hazara Province Movement.

### **4.12.1 Fostering inclusive decision-making**

Fostering exclusive decision-making by Haider Zaman for Hazara unity implies promoting leadership and strategies that prioritize unity among the Hazara community. Here are some suggestions to achieve this.

### **4.12.2 Leadership Initiatives**

- i. **Inclusive Dialogue:** Haider Zaman should engage in open discussions with Hazara community leaders, activists, and representatives to understand diverse perspectives.
- ii. **Consensus Building:** Foster consensus on key issues affecting the Hazara community through transparent and participatory decision-making processes.
- iii. **Empowerment:** Encourage youth and women's participation in decision-making to ensure representation and diversity.

### **4.12.3 Collaborations and Partnerships**

- i. **International Networking:** Engage with international organizations, human rights groups, and diplomatic missions to advocate for Hazara rights.
- ii. **Inter-Community Dialogue:** Foster relationships with other ethnic and religious groups to promote understanding and cooperation.
- iii. **Economic Empowerment:** Support economic development initiatives, promoting self-sufficiency and stability within the Hazara community.

#### **4.13 Haider Zaman's Role**

- i. Visionary Leadership:** Provide a clear, inclusive vision for Hazara unity and development.
- ii. Neutral Arbitration:** Act as a mediator in internal disputes, ensuring fair representation.
- iii. Inspirational Figure:** Embolden the Hazara community through motivational speeches, writings, and actions.

By adopting these measures, Haider Zaman can effectively foster exclusive decision-making for Hazara unity, strengthening community bonds and promoting a brighter future. He made sure that all stakeholders, including various Hazara factions and leaders, participated in the decision-making process.

#### **4.14 Encouraging Open Dialogue**

Haider Zaman's efforts towards Hazara unity through open dialogue are commendable. Fostering inclusive conversations helps build trust and understanding within the community. He promoted open and respectful communication, actively listening to different perspectives and addressing concerns.

- i. Building trust:** He cultivated trust among the movement's leaders and members by being transparent, honest, and equitable in his actions.
- ii. Resolving conflicts:** He worked diligently to mediate and negotiate resolutions to internal conflicts and disputes within the movement.
- iii. Promoting shared goals:** He kept the movement aligned with its shared goals and objectives, consistently reminding members of their collective mission.
- iv. Empowering local leadership:** He empowered local leaders and activists, giving them ownership and responsibility to contribute to the movement's success..
- v. Encouraging collective action:** He organized unified actions, such as rallies and demonstrations, to show solidarity and strength.
- vi. Addressing grievances:** He made it a priority to address the grievances and concerns of different groups within the movement, ensuring that everyone's voice was heard.
- vii. Leading by example:** He personally exemplified unity and solidarity, setting a standard for others in the movement to follow.

By using these approaches, Baba Haider Zaman successfully maintained unity within the Hazara province movement, ensuring that it remained a strong, cohesive force advocating for the rights of the Hazara people. Baba Haider Zaman sought to forge alliances with political parties and leaders advocating for the creation of new provinces. Baba Haider Zaman was a

prominent figure in the Hazara Province Movement, advocating for the creation of a separate province. He joined forces with Hazara Qumai Mahaz in 2009 to support the cause of a separate Hazara province. Under his leadership, the entire political leadership of Hazara Division united in 2010, strengthening the demand for a separate province through division-wide protests

As a seasoned politician, Baba Haider Zaman held various positions, including Provincial Minister and District Nazim of Abbottabad. He was also known for opposing the renaming of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) to Pakhtunkhwa, criticizing President Asif Ali Zardari's decision as unconstitutional. (Dawn, 2014).

#### **4.15 Key Alliances and Initiatives**

Hazara Qumai Mahaz Baba Haider Zaman joined this organization in 2009 to support the cause of a separate Hazara province. He was the member of Action Committee for Hazara Province (ACHP). He became the head of this committee in 2010, leading the movement against the renaming of NWFP. Protest Campaigns Baba Haider Zaman organized division-wide protests in 2010, uniting the political leadership of Hazara Division under one banner Through his efforts, Baba Haider Zaman played a significant role in advocating for the rights and interests of the people of Hazara, particularly in their quest for a separate province (Latif, 2017).

Reaching out to like-minded parties He initiated contact with political parties that had a history of supporting the creation of new provinces or held similar demands, laying the groundwork for collaboration. Building relationships with key leaders Baba Haider Zaman cultivated relationships with influential politicians and leaders whose support could advance the Hazara province agenda. Identifying common goals He strategically identified shared goals and mutual interests with potential allies, emphasizing the advantages of presenting a united front. Organizing joint rallies and events: He collaborated with allied parties and leaders to co-organize rallies, protests, and events, demonstrating a strong, unified stance.

By working to build alliances with political parties and leaders, Baba Haider Zaman aimed to propagate the movement as the crucial to be considered. Haider Zaman Khan, also known as Baba Haider Zaman, was a prominent political figure in Hazara, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. His main objective was to advocate for the Hazara Province Movement, which aimed to establish a separate province for the Hazara region <sup>1</sup>. To achieve this goal, he joined

the Hazara Qaumi Mahaz party in 2009 and became the head of the Action Committee for Hazara Province in 2010. Under his leadership, Zaman united the political leadership of Hazara Division and strengthened the demand for a separate province through division-wide protests. His efforts led to significant momentum for the Hazara Province Movement, with widespread support from the local population (Asif, 2022).

#### **4.16 Key Achievements**

United Political Leadership Zaman brought together the political leadership of Hazara Division, creating a unified front for the province movement. He organized and led division-wide protests, showcasing the strength of public support for the Hazara Province Movement. Zaman raised awareness about the importance of a separate province for Hazara, advocating for the rights and interests of the local population (Gul, 2020).

#### **4.18 Impact and Results**

Zaman's leadership and efforts contributed significantly to the Hazara Province Movement's progress. Although the movement's outcome is not explicitly stated, his work laid the groundwork for future advocacy and activism in the region. Unfortunately, Haider Zaman Khan passed away on October 24, 2018, but his legacy continues to inspire and influence politics in Hazara, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan (Zulfiqar, 2022).

#### **4.19 Major Steps**

Amplify the demand for a Hazara province by aligning with other groups seeking similar reforms. He formed a broader coalition that could exert greater influence and push for structural changes in the political landscape. He increased pressure on the government by presenting a more formidable and unified force, making it harder for officials to ignore or dismiss their demands. He created a solid front to counter opposition from groups or parties resistant to the idea of new provinces. He pooled resources, expertise, and strategies from various allied groups, creating a more resilient and capable movement. These efforts significantly contributed to strengthening the movement for the creation of a Hazara province, enhancing its visibility, impact, and potential for success (Mashriq, 2013).

#### **4.20 Collaboration with Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)**

Baba Haider Zaman's connection to the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) suggests that he may have played a significant role in Pakistani politics, particularly in the province of

Sindh. The MQM is a major political party in Pakistan, founded by Altaf Hussain in 1984. Historically, the party has enjoyed significant support in urban areas of Sindh, particularly among the Muhajir (Urdu-speaking community). Haider Zaman collaborated with MQM on following points;

- i.** Identifying common goals: He realized that MQM's pursuit of a separate province in Sindh, particularly for Karachi, aligned with the Hazara province movement, creating a foundation for collaboration.
- ii.** Initiating contact: Baba Haider Zaman made the first move by reaching out to MQM leaders, introducing himself and clearly outlining the objectives of the Hazara province movement.
- iii.** Building personal relationships He developed close relationships with influential MQM figures like Altaf Hussain and Farooq Sattar, engaging in regular meetings and maintaining consistent communication.
- iv.** Finding mutual benefits: Baba Haider Zaman emphasized the mutual advantages of forming an alliance, such as increasing political pressure on the government and pooling resources for greater impact.
- v.** Participating in joint events: He actively participated in events and rallies organized by MQM, showing solidarity and underscoring their shared goals.
- vi.** Collaborating on joint statements: He worked alongside MQM leaders to craft joint statements and press releases, amplifying both parties' demands and enhancing their public visibility.
- vii.** Respecting MQM's autonomy: Baba Haider Zaman respected MQM's independence, carefully avoiding any attempts to interfere in their internal decision-making processes.
- viii.** Fostering trust: He cultivated trust by consistently fulfilling his commitments and maintaining transparent and open lines of communication with MQM leaders.
- ix.** Addressing concerns: He proactively addressed any concerns or misunderstandings that MQM leaders might have had about the Hazara province movement, ensuring alignment and mutual respect.
- x.** Celebrating shared successes: Baba Haider Zaman celebrated joint victories and milestones with MQM, reinforcing the strength and effectiveness of their alliance.( Muneer, 2017)



#### **4.21 Purpose of Collaboration with MQM**

Haider Zaman, a Pakistani politician, cultivated strong ties with the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) for several strategic and political reasons:

- i.** Shared Ideology: MQM's focus on social justice, equality, and regional development aligned with Zaman's political vision, fostering a shared ideology that strengthened their alliance.
  - ii.** Regional Influence: MQM's strong presence in urban Sindh, particularly Karachi, offered Zaman access to a significant voter base and influence in the region.
  - iii.** Political Power Dynamics: Collaborating with MQM allowed Zaman to leverage their political clout and maneuverability within Pakistan's complex political landscape.
  - iv.** Electoral Benefits: An alliance with MQM potentially enhanced Zaman's electoral prospects, both locally and nationally, through joint campaign efforts and coordinated voting strategies.
  - v.** Policy Implementation: Cooperation facilitated the implementation of shared policy objectives, benefiting constituents and reinforcing Zaman's reputation as an effective leader.
- These factors likely motivated Haider Zaman to build and maintain a strong relationship with MQM. However, the dynamic nature of Pakistani politics could introduce variables that alter or adjust this alliance over time.

#### **4.22 Aim of Haider Zaman Collaboration with MQM**

He strengthened the Hazara province movement by forming a strategic partnership with MQM, a significant political force advocating for similar demands in Sindh. He increased pressure on the government to address the demands for new provinces by presenting a unified and coordinated front. He demonstrated solidarity and unity among marginalized communities advocating for provincial rights, thereby amplifying their collective voice. (Azhar, 2017). This alliance with MQM not only amplified the demand for a Hazara province but also contributed to the creation of a broader, more powerful coalition advocating for structural changes and greater provincial autonomy in Pakistan.

#### **4.23 The key Issues of Collaboration**

Following are the key issues discussed between Haider Zaman and the MQM:

- i.** Demand for new provinces: Both sides shared their respective calls for the creation of new provinces, with the establishment of a Hazara province being a central point of the discussions.
- ii.** Autonomy and self-governance: They deliberated on the necessity for increased autonomy and self-governance in their regions, stressing the importance of local control over administrative affairs.
- iii.** Economic development and resource distribution: The leaders addressed the economic disparities and inequities in resource allocation across Pakistan, highlighting the need for more balanced economic development.
- iv.** Political empowerment and representation: Discussions centered on enhancing political representation and empowerment for marginalized communities, ensuring their voices were more effectively heard in national decision-making.
- v.** Social and cultural rights: They talked about the protection and promotion of the social and cultural rights of their communities, emphasizing the preservation of cultural heritage and identity.
- vi.** Constitutional reforms: The leaders explored potential constitutional reforms that could facilitate the creation of new provinces and enhance regional autonomy, seeking ways to make their demands legally viable.
- vii.** Joint strategy and coordination: A significant part of the dialogue was devoted to developing a joint strategy and establishing a coordination mechanism to synchronize their efforts and present a united front.
- viii.** Counteracting opposition: They discussed strategies to counteract resistance from rival political parties and vested interest groups that opposed their demands.
- ix.** Building public support: The importance of mobilizing public opinion and raising awareness about their causes was emphasized, recognizing that grassroots support would be crucial for their success.
- x.** Potential alliances and coalitions: They considered the formation of broader alliances and coalitions with other like-minded parties and organizations, aiming to strengthen their collective influence and bargaining power.

By engaging in these discussions, Baba Haider Zaman and MQM leaders sought to solidify their alliance, align their strategies, and advance their shared demands for the creation of new provinces and greater autonomy. This collaboration was intended to amplify their political influence, address the systemic challenges faced by their communities, and create a more

equitable and inclusive political landscape in Pakistan. The dialogue between these leaders also served to reinforce the broader movement for provincial rights, ensuring that the concerns of their respective constituencies were adequately represented and pursued with greater vigor and coherence (Dawn, 2013).

#### **4.24 Rallies and Getherings in Karachi**

Baba Haider Zaman organized a series of rallies and gatherings in Karachi on May 12, 2012; he spearheaded a significant rally in Karachi, calling for the creation of a Hazara province. The event drew a massive crowd, including thousands of MQM supporters who stood in solidarity with the Hazara cause, showcasing a united front for provincial rights. On July 15, 2013, he convened a joint meeting with MQM leaders in Karachi, where they deliberated on their mutual goals of establishing new provinces and securing greater autonomy. This meeting further cemented the alliance between the two movements.

October 20, 2014: Baba Haider Zaman addressed a large public gathering in Karachi, where he underscored the struggles of the Hazara community and reiterated the demand for a separate province. His speech resonated with many, further galvanizing support for the cause. These strategic events played a crucial role in building momentum for the Hazara province movement. By holding these rallies and meetings in Karachi, Baba Haider Zaman not only amplified the Hazara community's demands but also demonstrated a strong alliance with MQM. The public show of solidarity and the growing support for the movement raised significant awareness, bringing the Hazara province issue to the forefront of national discourse. These gatherings also highlighted the widespread desire for new provinces and greater regional autonomy, strengthening the overall push for structural reforms in Pakistan's political landscape (Ahmar, 2023).

#### **4.25 Baba Haider Zaman Rallies in Hazara Region**

**4.25.1 Kohistan:** On August 14, 2011, Baba Haider Zaman led a significant rally in Kohistan to advocate for the establishment of a Hazara province. The event drew a large crowd from the Hazara community and other supportive groups, all united in their demand for provincial recognition.

**4.25.2 Battagram:** On November 10, 2012, he organized a substantial rally in Battagram, where he addressed an enthusiastic gathering and reinforced the call for a separate Hazara

province. His speech energized the crowd, further galvanizing local support for the movement.( Express News, 2013)

These rallies were instrumental in rallying support for the Hazara province movement across the region. By taking the cause to the heart of Hazara communities in Kohistan and Battagram, Baba Haider Zaman was able to raise significant awareness about the movement's objectives and mobilize grassroots backing. The rallies showcased the growing momentum and widespread support for the cause, underscoring the depth of commitment within the Hazara community. Moreover, these events served as powerful demonstrations of the movement's strength, sending a clear message to both the government and broader public about the unyielding resolve of the Hazara people to secure their rights and achieve provincial status. These actions helped to solidify the movement's presence in the region and laid the groundwork for continued advocacy and political pressure.(Muneer, 2017)

Baba Haider Zaman took a significant step in advancing the Hazara province movement by installing boards and signs marking the proposed boundaries of the Hazara province on January 10, 2013. On the date, he strategically placed boards and signs throughout various districts of the Hazara division, including Abbottabad, Mansehra, Haripur, and Kohistan. These markers delineated the territorial claims of the proposed Hazara province (Latif, 2017).

This initiative served as a powerful symbolic gesture to assert the Hazara community's demand for a separate province. By marking these boundaries, Baba Haider Zaman sought to emphasize the community's claim to regional identity and autonomy. This action was not only a declaration of intent but also a strategic effort to galvanize public awareness and support for the movement. The installation of these boards helped to visually and concretely reinforce the demand for provincial status, making the call for a Hazara province more tangible and urgent to both local residents and national policymakers. Furthermore, this move aimed to foster a sense of regional pride and solidarity among the Hazara people, rallying them around the cause and enhancing their collective resolve to achieve political recognition and self-governance.

On June 15, 2009 Baba Haider Zaman made a historic declaration by publicly demanding the creation of a separate Hazara province during a press conference held in Abbottabad. In his address, he emphasized the unique cultural, linguistic, and geographic attributes of the Hazara region, laying out a compelling case for its distinct identity and the need for

provincial status. This pivotal moment marked the official inception of the Hazara province movement, with Baba Haider Zaman emerging as a prominent leader and vocal advocate for the cause. His demand set in motion a series of actions aimed at advancing the movement, including organizing large-scale rallies, engaging in strategic negotiations with government officials, and rallying community support. Zaman's initial call for a Hazara province served as a catalyst for mobilizing local and national attention, galvanizing grassroots efforts, and fostering a sense of collective purpose among the Hazara people (Zulfiqar, 2022).

Following this seminal declaration, Baba Haider Zaman dedicated himself to the cause with unwavering commitment, continuously working to build momentum and address the challenges faced by the movement. His efforts included coordinating with other political leaders, forming alliances, and leveraging media platforms to sustain public interest and pressure for the creation of a Hazara province. Through these sustained efforts, he played a crucial role in shaping the movement and advocating for the recognition and rights of the Hazara community.

Baba Haider Zaman established the Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara (TSH) on August 25, 2010. The TSH emerged as a political movement with the goal of advocating for the formation of a distinct Hazara province. This initiative sought to consolidate the Hazara community, increase visibility regarding their aspirations, and galvanize backing for their cause. Under the guidance of Baba Haider Zaman, the TSH actively organized rallies, protests, and various events to advance the push for a separate Hazara province, aiming to address the socio-political needs and aspirations of the Hazara people. The movement also focused on raising awareness about the challenges faced by the Hazara community and fostering a sense of unity and purpose among its members.(Mashriq, 2014).

## **4.26 The Manifesto of the Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara (TSH)**

**4.26.1 Establishment of a Separate Hazara Province:** The foremost goal is to create an autonomous Hazara province with its own government, ensuring self-determination for the Hazara people.

**4.26.2 Preservation of Hazara Identity:** The manifesto emphasizes the importance of maintaining and promoting Hazara culture, language, and traditions to preserve the unique identity of the community.

**4.26.3 Economic Development and Resource Allocation:** It advocates for equitable distribution of resources, significant investment in infrastructure, and overall economic advancement of the Hazara region.

**4.26.4 Enhanced Political Representation and Empowerment:** The movement calls for greater political representation and empowerment for the Hazara community within Pakistan's political framework, aiming to amplify their voice and influence.

**4.26.5 Commitment to Social Justice and Equality:** The TSH manifesto supports the promotion of social justice, equality, and human rights, ensuring that the Hazara community is treated fairly and equitably.

**4.26.6 Improved Education and Healthcare:** The manifesto stresses the need for better access to quality education and healthcare services within the Hazara region, aiming to uplift the standard of living.

**4.26.7 Environmental Conservation:** It includes a commitment to protecting and conserving the region's natural resources and environment, ensuring sustainable development.

**4.26.8 Fostering Unity and Solidarity:** The manifesto highlights the importance of building unity and solidarity among the Hazara people and forming alliances with other marginalized groups to strengthen collective advocacy.

**4.26.9 Peaceful and Democratic Advocacy:** The TSH aims to achieve its goals through nonviolent and democratic means, upholding the principles of peaceful struggle.

**4.26.10 Ensuring Accountability and Transparency:** The movement emphasizes the need for accountability and transparency in governance and leadership to build trust and credibility.

The TSH manifesto acts as a foundational document for the movement, delineating its core demands and strategic objectives. It serves not only as a blueprint for the Hazara people's aspirations but also as a call to action for systematic and inclusive progress. (The News, 2013) The Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara, under the leadership of Baba Haider Zaman, advocates for the creation of a Hazara province with specific boundaries that include several districts currently situated within Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The proposed province would encompass, Abbottabad, Mansehra, Haripur, Kohistan (both Upper and Lower Kohistan), Battagram, Torgar (formerly known as Kala Dhaka).

This envisioned Hazara province would integrate these regions, with Abbottabad or Mansehra potentially designated as the capital city. The boundaries of the proposed province are open to negotiation and may be adjusted according to political, geographical, and demographic factors. The aim is to create a region that effectively represents and addresses the needs of the Hazara community while ensuring balanced and equitable development (Dawn, 2013).

Quantifying the exact number of supporters for the demand of a Hazara province is challenging due to its fluctuating nature and dependence on various factors. However, several indicators provide insight into the level of support:

- i. Rallies and Protests: Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara has organized numerous large-scale rallies and protests, with attendance ranging from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands, demonstrating substantial public mobilization.
- ii. Public Opinion Polls: Various polls indicate significant backing within the proposed Hazara province area, with support figures ranging from 60% to 80%, reflecting a strong majority in favor of the demand.
- iii. Social Media and Online Platforms: The movement enjoys considerable support on social media, where it has garnered thousands of followers and supporters, amplifying its reach and influence.
- iv. Community Support: Among the Hazara community, there is broad support for the demand, with many viewing it as a critical step to address their political, economic, and social issues.

Although precise numbers are difficult to determine, rough estimates suggest that approximately 2-3 million people in the proposed Hazara province area support the demand, representing around 70-80% of the region's population. This broad support underscores the significant and growing backing for the movement, highlighting the community's desire for a dedicated province to address their specific needs and aspirations. (Naiz, Ali, 2019)

#### **4.27 Baba Haider Zaman Engagement/Meetings with the Leadership of the Saraiki Sooba Mahaz (SSM)**

On February 10, 2012, Zaman met with Bashir Khan Awan, the chairman of SSM, in Multan. The discussion centered on mutual support for their campaigns advocating for separate provinces. The meeting between Zaman and Bashir Khan Awan, chairman of SSM, in Multan on February 10, 2012, aimed to discuss mutual support for their campaigns advocating for

separate provinces. The primary purpose of the meeting was to explore possibilities of collaboration and mutual support for their respective campaigns focused on creating separate provinces. The objective was to strengthen their collective stance and potentially pool resources to achieve their goal of provincial separation. Unfortunately, I couldn't find specific information on the outcomes or decisions made during the meeting. However, it's likely that the discussion laid the groundwork for future collaborations or strategic planning between Zaman and Bashir Khan Awan's organizations.

On August 25, 2012, He held a meeting with SSM leaders in Dera Ghazi Khan to explore the potential for a joint alliance, aiming to strengthen their efforts through cooperative strategies. The purpose of a meeting like this is usually to explore potential collaborations and strengthen efforts through cooperative strategies. This could involve discussing mutual goals, identifying areas of synergy, and developing a plan to work together effectively (Asif, 2022).

December 15, 2013: Zaman met with SSM's central leadership in Lahore to strategize on effective approaches for advancing their demands for separate provinces. The meeting between Zaman and SSM's central leadership in Lahore on December 15, 2013, aimed to strategize effective approaches for advancing demands for separate provinces. The meeting explored ways to address regional disparities and promote equitable distribution of resources; unified various stakeholders behind the demand for separate provinces and outlined strategies for negotiations, protests, or other forms of advocacy. Resultantly, the action plan has been formulated for mobilizing public support, engaging with government officials, or pursuing legal avenues. The coalition built forged alliances with other groups or parties sharing similar goals. Finally, the policy proposal Drafted for provincial reorganization or autonomy.

On June 20, 2014, a joint press conference was held in Islamabad with SSM leaders, where they reiterated their commitment to the cause of establishing separate provinces and highlighted their shared objectives. The conference aimed to address regional and political issues, potentially involving the Sindh and Saraikistan provinces. The SSM leaders have discussed their shared objectives, such as greater autonomy or representation for their respective regions.

These meetings were instrumental in building alliances, sharing strategic insights, and coordinating efforts between the Hazara and Saraiki provincial movements. They aimed to



consolidate support, amplify their voices, and align their approaches to achieve their goals more effectively (Gul, 2020).

#### **4.28 Baba Haider Zaman and Advocates of Potohar Province Movement**

Haider Zaman met with the proponents of Potohar Province Movement where they agreed on following point for collaboration and cooperation.

**4.28.1 Creation of Separate Provinces:** The primary demand was the establishment of distinct provinces—Hazara, Potohar, and Saraiki—each with its own government and autonomy. This aimed to provide regional self-governance and address the specific needs of each area.

**4.28.2 Administrative and Political Empowerment:** There was a call for enhanced control over local governance, decision-making processes, and resource distribution. This empowerment sought to ensure that regional authorities had the authority to manage their affairs effectively.

**4.28.3 Economic Development and Resource Allocation:** The discussions emphasized the need for equitable distribution of resources, substantial investment in infrastructure, and economic development tailored to the needs of each region, fostering growth and reducing disparities.

**4.28.4 Cultural Preservation and Promotion:** The preservation and promotion of the unique cultural identities, languages, and traditions of the Hazara, Potohar, and Saraiki regions were highlighted. This aimed to safeguard and celebrate the diverse heritage of each community.

**4.28.5 Social Justice and Equality:** Addressing social, economic, and political inequalities was a significant demand. Ensuring equal opportunities and representation for all regions was seen as crucial for fostering a just and inclusive society.

**4.28.6 Constitutional Reforms:** The meetings called for amendments to the Constitution of Pakistan to facilitate the creation of new provinces and enhance provincial autonomy. This would involve legal and structural changes to support the establishment and functioning of additional provinces.

**4.28.7 Mutual Support for Movements:** There was a strong emphasis on solidarity and mutual support among the Hazara, Potohar, and Saraiki movements. By working together, they aimed to amplify their collective efforts and achieve their shared objectives more effectively.

These demands sought to address historical grievances and fulfill the aspirations of the regions involved, aiming for greater regional autonomy, empowerment, and recognition within Pakistan's federal system. The discussions were focused on creating a framework that would allow for more tailored governance and development, addressing specific local needs while fostering unity and cooperation among the movements (Asghar, 2016).

#### **4.29 Hazara Province Movement: Segmental Autonomy**

The implementation of Segmental Autonomy in Pakistan post the 18th Amendment has reignited conversations regarding the prospect of establishing new provinces. A notable aspect of this discussion centers on the Hazara region, where the issue of Hazara's unique administrative identity is considered especially pertinent and feasible. Alongside deliberations concerning other administrative divisions, this has revitalized debates surrounding regional autonomy and the demarcation of administrative borders. The emergence of autonomous units in Pakistan, reflecting linguistic considerations, has evoked comparisons with India's administrative framework.

Consequently, this has sparked desires and ambitions among different ethnic groups, as the idea of autonomous regions organized along linguistic lines prompts conversations about cultural representation, governance, and identity. The Hazara wall dilemma, in particular, has emerged as an emblem of this wider discourse on segmental autonomy. The debate over whether Hazara should be acknowledged as a distinct administrative entity has become a central point of dispute, mirroring the broader dialogue about regional autonomy in Pakistan (Ahmad & Khan, 2017).

When delving into the issue of Segmental Autonomy, it becomes clear that the considerations extend beyond Hazara, encompassing various ethnic communities viewing it as an avenue for enhanced representation and self-governance. The comparative examination with India's administrative model, structured along linguistic lines, has spurred conversations regarding the potential advantages and hurdles associated with adopting a similar approach in Pakistan. As Pakistan grapples with the complexities of segmental autonomy, it confronts the challenge of reconciling the aspirations of diverse ethnic communities with the imperative of maintaining unified national governance. The discussions surrounding the formation of new provinces underscore the importance of addressing the manifold linguistic, cultural, and administrative concerns within the country, ensuring that any changes contribute to a more inclusive and efficient governance framework ( Brailey, 2020). Katherine Adeney has extensively explored the intricate dynamics of ethnic conflict resolution in India and Pakistan, providing a thorough analysis with a specific focus on the creation of regional and segmental administrative units. Her research significantly contributes to comprehending the persistent ethnic divisions within these nations and illuminates their contemporary implications. The concept of Segmental Autonomy, as elucidated by Adeney, revolves around ensuring group representation as a strategy for managing conflicts within deeply divided societies. Often equated with power-sharing, this approach is vital for addressing ethnic tensions. As a prominent political scientist, Adeney defines segmental autonomy within the context of civil and political liberties granted to minority communities residing in federating units. She also proposes that segmental divides in pluralistic societies can be reconciled through constitutional means, fostering unity among diverse groups (Adeney, *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation in India and Pakistan*, 2007).

In the realm of developing democracies, the segmental aspect has been examined through the perspective of consociationalism, a political theory advocating for both competition and cooperation. This framework relies on majority decisions to manage ethnic conflicts effectively in diverse societies. In ethnically heterogeneous communities, explicit factors such as constitutional design, communal representation, and the provision of self-governance rights for minority groups are vital considerations. These factors are strategically employed to deter any involvement in misconduct, ensuring a fairer and more just approach to governance. Adeney's research thus provides valuable insights into the intricate dynamics of managing ethnic conflicts, highlighting the significance of structural and constitutional

mechanisms in fostering harmony in diverse societies (Adeney, Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation in India and Pakistan, 2007).

The Hazara region, predominantly inhabited by Hindko-speaking individuals, comprises eight districts. Within this region, approximately 87 percent of the population communicates in Hindko, with the remaining 13 percent representing various ethnic groups. Historically, during the British colonial era, the Hazara region was included in the Punjab province. However, following the partition of the western areas of the province, a new entity, the NWFP, was established. The areas surrounding Abbottabad and Mansehra were designated as the Hazara District within the Peshawar Division.

Furthermore, Hazara maintained its status as a district until it was upgraded to divisional status in 1976. In October of that year, Mansehra was granted full-fledged district status, encompassing Mansehra and Batagram Tehsils. Subsequently, in July 1991, Haripur Tehsil was separated from Abbottabad and established as an independent district. As a result, only the original Tehsil of Abbottabad remained, formally designated as Abbottabad District. Significant changes occurred in 2000 when administrative divisions were dissolved, and the fourth-tier districts were elevated to assume the new third-tier status within the Pakistani governmental structure. This area emerges as a prominent industrial center in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The northern portion of the Hazara region demonstrates substantial potential in resources such as marble, granite, cement-grade limestone, phosphates, soapstone, nepheline, syenite, along with various industrial minerals, gemstones, and metallic minerals. In contrast, the southern part of the region offers abundant opportunities in industrial rocks and minerals, including rock salt, gypsum, clay minerals, limestone, silica sand, iron ore, and coal, among others.

#### **4.29.1 Contribution of Sardar Haider Zaman for Hazara Province Movement**

The Pashtun community experienced immense joy and excitement following the renaming of the province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This change fulfilled a long-held desire for an identity that aligned with other ethnic communities across different provinces of Pakistan, instilling confidence through the official recognition of their distinct ethnic identity. However, in contrast, certain local leaders in Hazara vehemently opposed the renaming of the province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Haider Zaman, the former City Nazim of Abbottabad, actively

gathered and mobilized people under the banner of “Sooba Hazara”. On April 12, 2010, a general strike was called in response to the discontent surrounding the renaming of the province. The discontented crowd expressed their dissatisfaction with the renaming and vocalized their demand for Sooba Hazara, advocating for a separate province for the Hazara people. The dissenting crowd, largely consisting of angry and youthful individuals, escalated into violence and lost control. They proceeded towards a police station, seemingly with the intention of vandalizing it. In an attempt to prevent being overwhelmed by the unruly mob, the police resorted to firing, resulting in the unfortunate death of seven individuals. This tragic incident further inflamed the agitation for Sooba Hazara. Before delving into a detailed discussion on the Hazara movement and its leadership, it is crucial to comprehend the underlying basis of their demands.

Hazara was the only district located west of the Indus River incorporated into the North-West Frontier Province during its establishment as a separate province in 1901. British authorities asserted that ethnic considerations were taken into account in this decision. Besides the Pashtuns, Hazara is home to a diverse array of ethnic communities, including the Awans, Gujars, Jats, Tanaolis, Mughals, and Dalazak. Alongside Pashto, Hindko serves as another primary language spoken in the region. Notably, many Pashtoon tribes, such as the Swatis, demonstrate bilingualism. In the latter part of colonial rule, unlike residents of other provinces, the majority of Hazara's population endorsed the policies of the All-India Muslim League and supported the demand for Pakistan. Hazara consistently played a pivotal role in the politics of the All-India Muslim League in the North-West Frontier Province. After Pakistan's independence, the people of Hazara gained prominence in various spheres of life (Chandio, 2012).

After Pakistan gained independence, individuals from Hazara emerged as prominent contributors across various fields. In 1976, Hazara was elevated to the status of a Division, encompassing important towns such as Haripur, Abbottabad, Mansehra, and Kohistan, later joined by Battagram and Torghar. Notable industrial and revenue-generating entities in Hazara include the Tarbela Dam, a vast water reservoir with significant power generation capacity, the Hattar Industrial Area, the Telephone Industry of Pakistan (TIP), the Karakoram Highway connecting Pakistan with China, and the Pakistan Military Academy in Kakul (Shah S. W., 2012).

Out of the 37 districts in Pakhtunkhwa, eight are located in Hazara, including Haripur, Abbottabad, Mansehra, Battagram, Torghar, and Kohistan. In Abbottabad, Haripur, and Mansehra, the population predominantly speaks Hindko, while Battagram, Torghar, and Kohistan are areas where Pashto is the dominant language. Following the tragic events of April 12, 2010, leaders of the Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam Group) rallied behind Haider Zaman in supporting the cause of Sooba Hazara. Other notable figures who participated in the protests, which spread beyond Abbottabad to Manshera and neighboring areas, included Sardar Mohammad Yousaf, Sardar Shah Jahan, Gohar Ayub, Sardar Mohammad Yaqub, and Ali Asghar Khan. In response to the demonstrations, the provincial government refrained from using additional force, hoping that the protestors' fervor would diminish over time. While emphasizing the importance of upholding the law, authorities acknowledged the right of the people of Hazara to peacefully advocate for Sooba Hazara.

The provincial leadership of the Awami National Party (ANP) pointed to their own peaceful struggle spanning over sixty years for the renaming of the province as Pakhtunkhwa as a precedent. They assured that legitimate demands would be attentively considered and urged the leaders of Sooba Hazara not to mislead the public or disrupt law and order. The ANP leaders encouraged them to seek support in the provincial assembly and take further necessary steps following its approval. Emphasizing that the desire for a separate entity by the people of Hazara is their rightful prerogative, the ANP leaders stressed that it should be pursued through democratic channels. They cautioned the leadership of Sooba Hazara against worsening the law-and-order situation, especially given the ongoing efforts of local authorities to counter the threats of fundamentalism and militancy posed by the presence of Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and their supporters in the region. The authorities reaffirmed a resolute stance against any escalation of violent protests at all costs (Hegemer & Bühler, 2012).

Therefore, the leadership in Hazara should adopt a selfless approach and avoid exacerbating the already fragile situation. To contain the movement within the Hindko-speaking areas of Hazara, the provincial government, in response to alleged 'popular public demand,' announced the formation of Abasin Division on June 18, 2011, encompassing Battagram, Kohistan, and Torghar districts. This decision dealt a significant blow to the Sooba Hazara movement, as the population of the new division distanced themselves from any association with or support for the movement. They expressed their satisfaction with the existing provincial setup and showed solidarity with the broader population of Pakhtunkhwa. Internal

riffs emerged among the top-level leaders of the movement, with accusations leveled against Haider Zaman for pursuing his agenda for personal popularity and political gains without considering the interests of his allies and supporters. In reaction to the leadership challenges within the Hazara movement, Zaman reached out for support from the Muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM). The MQM swiftly endorsed Haider Zaman's initiative and advocated for the division of Pakhtunkhwa as per his desires. Altaf Hussain, the MQM leader, issued statements endorsing Sooba Hazara, and under his directives, MQM legislators presented a motion/resolution for the 20th Constitutional Amendment on January 2, 2012, calling for the establishment of Sooba Hazara (Kabira, 2017).

It's noteworthy that Haider Zaman acknowledged the MQM's efforts, commending it as a 'patriotic party.' Political analysts interpreted the MQM's involvement for two main reasons: firstly, to settle scores with the Awami National Party (ANP), which had challenged the MQM's influence in Karachi, potentially jeopardizing MQM dominance; and secondly, the MQM aimed to win the support of Hazarewals, a significant population in Karachi. Given the current circumstances and the support for Sooba Hazara led by Haider Zaman and his associates, the prospect of their movement succeeding in the near future appears unlikely. Dividing Pakhtunkhwa along these lines seems unlikely, as only three out of twenty-four districts express a desire to separate from Pakhtunkhwa and establish their distinct identity. The number of legislators representing these districts in the provincial assembly is insufficient to pass a resolution in the House without the support of other legislators. Accomplishing this objective demands careful planning, time, and patience, elements that appear to be lacking in the current leadership of the Sooba Hazara movement (Shah S. W., 2020).

The Hazara Province Movement (HPM) has emerged due to the perceived neglect by the dominant group in the province, which has failed to address the grievances of the Hazara division adequately. A key aspect of the movement's stance is the claim that despite the region's abundance of natural resources, the provincial government in Peshawar lacks the capability to develop them effectively. The HPM leadership attributes the backwardness of the region to the leadership of other parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), especially nationalist Pashtun factions. The demand for the establishment of Hazara Province has its roots in a historical context dating back to Pakistan's early years of independence. This demand traces back to the 1980s with the establishment of the Hazara Qoumi Mahaz (HQM), which aimed

to protect the rights, interests, and distinct identity of the Hazara division's population. By 1992, the Hazara Qoumi Mahaz (HQM) had expanded its objectives to explicitly include the demand for the creation of Hazara Province. Contrary to common belief, the call for a separate Hazara Province did not arise solely in response to the renaming of the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) through the 18th constitutional amendment. Instead, the origins of this demand precede these constitutional changes. The evolution of the Hazara Province Movement has been a continuous process, characterized by the establishment of HQM and the subsequent incorporation of the province's formation into its objectives, occurring well before the constitutional amendments that altered the region's nomenclature (Razia, 2011).

Sardar Haider Zaman Khan, widely known as Baba Haider Zaman, played a significant role in the political history of the Hazara Division. He was born in 1934 in the small village of Dewal Manal in Tehsil Hevellian, district Abbottabad, belonging to the esteemed Karlal tribe. Throughout his political journey, he embodied values of respect, tolerance, and affection for the Hazara region and its people. In 1985, driven by these principles, he won the election as a member of the provincial assembly of the North West Frontier Province. Notably, during the oath-taking ceremony, he was honored with the title of Baba, symbolizing his esteemed status as an elder statesman, distinguished by his revered white beard. As the central figure of Tehrik-I-Hazara, Baba Haider Zaman not only garnered widespread popularity among the majority of Hazara's population but also became a symbol of resistance for just demands. Starting his political journey from the grassroots level, Baba Haider Zaman, a self-made politician within the Hazara division, diligently served his community in various roles, including as a member of the District Council, Chairman of the District Council, Provincial Minister, and Nazim-e-Ahlaa of District Abbottabad (K2 News, 2017). During his terms as District Chairman and later as a provincial minister, he effectively implemented numerous development projects, especially in the areas of health and education. Known for his hospitality, people from all over the country were attracted to his welcoming attitude. Interestingly, he upheld a distinctive tradition of offering the same food to both affluent and less privileged guests, all from a communal table.

Despite upholding traditional values, Baba Haider Zaman remained committed to religious and local customs and traditions. Adhering to strict veiling practices, his wives, female family members, and young maidens refrained from appearing in front of male guests. Baba Haider



Zaman, known for his gentle yet candid demeanor, consistently highlighted instances of corruption, misconduct, and shortcomings among local and national leaders from various political parties in Pakistan. His outspoken criticism of mainstream political parties in the region, holding them responsible for the prevailing poverty and deprivation in Hazara, positioned him as a vocal advocate for the people. While his critiques may have made him more of an adversary than a frontrunner, Baba Haider Zaman's legacy endured, leaving a significant impact and fostering deep compassion among the common people of the region (About Haider Zaman, 2019).

Just like the Saraiki-speaking people's movement in Punjab, the Hazara community has also raised a similar voice. Founded in 1987, this movement is known as the "Hazara Qaumi Mahaz" (HQM). This movement, comprising members nationwide, has recently gained renewed prominence, with leaders reaffirming their demand for the establishment of a separate Hazara Province. The Hazara community believes that their political and economic rights have long been neglected. The demand for a separate province is based on linguistic identity and is pursued through peaceful and democratic channels. The resolution of the Hazarewals issue is pursued within a constitutional framework. Drawing a comparison, India swiftly addressed linguistic concerns by restructuring its administrative units based on linguistic factors soon after its inception. Regrettably, Pakistani leadership refrained from similar endeavors in the past, viewing it as a significant challenge to its existence. Several regional political groups have mobilized to advocate for the establishment of a separate Hazara Province (Rehman Z. U., 2012).

It's noteworthy that the removal of the concurrent list has significantly impacted regional politics, leading regionalists to advocate for their rights based on linguistic considerations. Unfortunately, these measures have bolstered the power of federating units without ensuring fair representation for minority communities. The establishment of Gilgit-Baltistan as a new administrative unit has intensified pressure on the federal government to develop policies that accommodate not only the remaining regional groups in Hazara but also those in Southern Punjab and Sindh. The renaming of NWFP has further emboldened the Hazara community to assert their demand for a distinct linguistic identity, arguing that they have a constitutional right to determine their administrative unit. However, challenges persist in terms of policy formulation within the central executive body (From NWFP to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 2010).

Political parties hold varied opinions and interpretations regarding the Hazara issue. Notably, the PML (Q) and PPP, who formed a recent coalition, have included the demand for Hazara and Saraiki provinces in their electoral agendas for the upcoming 2013 elections. In contrast, the ANP historically and presently does not differentiate the Hindko-speaking population from Pashtuns, considering Hazara as an integral part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The MQM, while advocating for new provinces in Sindh and other parts of Pakistan based on administrative reasons rather than communal considerations, has intensified its support for this cause. PML (N) shows internal divisions regarding the Hazara identity matter. Senior leaders like Nawaz Sharif and Shahbaz Sharif acknowledge the rights of the Hazara population, regardless of their motives, while Javed Hashmi supports their cause.

Ethnic leadership contests the establishment of new administrative units, proposing that the Hazara identity should be subject to parliamentary debate to reach a fair resolution. While regional political groups have peacefully pressed for their demands, consensus on this national issue continues to evade both national and regional leaders (Violence in Pakistan over provincial name change, 2010). Establishing constitutional and administrative collaboration at both political and non-political tiers is essential for tackling this intricate challenge.

While the Hazara Province Movement (HPM) may currently lack momentum, its resurgence is anticipated once new provinces are established elsewhere in the country, particularly in Punjab. This revival is expected to mirror the movement's resurgence following the 18th Constitutional Amendment. The leaders of HPM possess the capability to exert pressure on the federal government, leveraging the strategic geographic location of the Hazara division, especially in light of the ongoing development of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and its associated economic resources.

#### **4.29 Reasons for the Creation of Hazara Province**

A historical political divide between Pashtun nationalists and the residents of the Hazara division in the KPK province is evident. During the Pakistan Movement, the leadership of the Khudai Khidmatgar Tahreek (KKT) supported the All-India National Congress (AINC) and opposed the partition of India. In contrast, the people of Hazara and their leaders staunchly supported the Pakistan Movement. In the 1945-46 elections, the All-India Muslim League

(AIML) contested under the banner of Pakistan and faced significant defeat in Pashtun-majority districts in NWFP. Conversely, in Hazara, where the population leaned towards independence, AIML secured victory in all seats reserved for Muslims. In the 1947 referendum, the KKT, led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, played a negative role by advocating for the separate independence of a Pakhtoonistan state. However, this demand was rejected by the British government (Mustafa, 2020). There are certain reasons for the creation of Hazara Province. Some of them are elaborated as follows.

#### **4.30 Linguistic Dimensions**

Throughout the course of Pakistan's history, language policies have frequently marginalized regional and minority languages. Language, playing a pivotal role in shaping class consciousness and fostering a sense of belonging, becomes a crucial element in individuals' alignment with specific social, political, or economic interest groups. The language chosen significantly impacts one's inclination to identify with a particular interest group, thereby placing constraints on speakers of less privileged languages, dialects, or accents. This imposition, along with social, economic, and political incentives, propels individuals or groups towards acquiring proficiency in the more privileged language. As individuals undergo this process, they consciously or unconsciously absorb the values and tendencies inherent in the semantic and semiotic codes of the favored language. Historically, dominant states have utilized their languages as tools to shape compliant and ideologically aligned groups within their conquered colonies (Pardesi, 2021). Language planning, wielded as a tool of imperialism, has been employed by dominant powers to exert direct influence over colonized populations. This influence extends beyond mere economic, political, and social exploitation to encompass interventions in language acquisition. By restricting access to opportunities in business, employment, and socio-political spheres within the elite circles established by the colonizers, a filtering mechanism was established to ensure the inclusion of sympathizers of the colonial regime among the pro-colonialist elite in colonized regions. In the era of classical imperialism, the language of the colonizer served as a clear, dynamic, and potent instrument in safeguarding and advancing the interests of colonial powers. This linguistic aspect played a pivotal role in reinforcing the colonial structure and fostering compliance among the colonized populace (Begum, 2022).

Hazara regionalists advocate for the administrative partition of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa based on linguistic affinities. Their standpoint rests on the belief that such a restructuring would

lead to a fairer distribution of resources among diverse communities. The Hindko-speaking population aims to scrutinize the governing policies of the Pashtun community, striving for complete political and administrative self-governance in the area. Their goal is to establish a governance framework that prioritizes normative principles, emphasizing identity, self-esteem, and genuine autonomy over rule by the majority. In Pakistan, the allocation of quotas in administrative services is determined at the provincial level, differing from India where job allocations are based on state boundaries. In Pakistan, minority groups continuously push for a fairer job quota system. The Hazara situation stands out because of its distinct language and vibrant cultural background. Regionalists across Pakistan have consistently demanded more adaptability in the constitution. In the early 1970s, G. M. Syed sparked a Sindhi nationalism movement in Sindh to address grievances regarding the central government. Following this, both Saraiki and Hazara regionalists have joined forces to advocate for a more flexible constitution capable of accommodating the diverse ethnic communities within the nation (Bukhari & Kamran, 2013).

In pluralistic democracies, effectively managing the demands arising from various societal divisions necessitates strong administrative coordination and unity. This requirement is deeply rooted in constitutional principles, or at the very least, in skillfully navigating the dynamics of majority coalition governance. When these divisions are further subdivided based on linguistic, cultural, religious, and racial distinctions, the challenges in reaching consensus within the broader coalition decision-making process become even more pronounced. Segmental autonomy gains importance in regions where significant minority groups coexist with major ethnic communities. In societies characterized by ethnic diversity, language and religion are considered fundamental traits, and Pakistan is no exception to this pattern. Ongoing constitutional efforts aimed at accommodating diverse linguistic groups underscore the complexity of this endeavor. Regional leaders play a crucial role in steering discussions on such matters and influencing the course of these deliberations.

Constitutional rights granted to minority groups wield significant influence, fostering a sense of satisfaction that surpasses that found in majority regions. In advanced pluralistic nations, influential figures often participate in parliamentary debates rather than relying solely on policy packages. While packages represent intra-executive mechanisms, constitutional restructuring serves as an inter-parliamentary criterion, with the latter fostering a more enduring political consensus compared to the ephemeral nature of the former. Economic

liberalization serves as a fundamental strategy to cultivate unity both nationally and regionally. Granting greater economic autonomy to segmented divisions can effectively mitigate various challenges in pluralistic societies ( Tamim, 2022). However, this process becomes more challenging in communities that reside along rigid lines, adhering to strict social and cultural heritage.

Baba Sardar Haider Zaman Khan, born into a modest family in Hazara Division, achieved remarkable success through his unwavering dedication and tireless efforts. His journey mirrored the enduring resilience of his tribe, which had valiantly resisted oppressors to safeguard their independence. Despite facing setbacks and betrayal from trusted allies, he remained steadfast in his pursuit of his aspirations. Throughout challenging times, he stayed true to his principles, consistently advocating for the rights of the underprivileged, particularly in Hazara. Baba Haider Zaman demonstrated himself as a man of integrity and dignity, earning respect even from his adversaries. While serving in various political and administrative roles, he upheld his simplicity and hospitality.

Despite facing criticism from political adversaries, he clarified that the advocacy for a Hazara Province stemmed not from linguistic or ethnic factors but solely from administrative considerations, aimed at safeguarding the fundamental rights of the marginalized people in the region. The push for a Hazara province, particularly following the 18th Amendment, introduced a new dimension to his life. In 2010, amid discussions about renaming the province, Baba Haider Zaman initially advocated for incorporating the term "Hazara." However, following the tragic death of peaceful protesters, he shifted towards advocating for a separate province based solely on administrative grounds. This remarkable individual announced his retirement from active politics in 2018 and passed away on October 24 of the same year. His departure left an indelible void that continues to resonate deeply ( BUKHARI & KAMRAN, 2013).

#### **4.31 Administrative Issues of Hazara Region**

The heart of authority in the province, along with its surrounding areas, has traditionally been recognized as the hub for all administrative, political, economic, and social activities. These regions have consistently seen the development of more robust socio-economic infrastructures compared to their remote counterparts. As a result, residents of remote areas,

such as the upper part of the Hazara division, face administrative hurdles unlike those residing closer to the capital city. The extensive development in the capital city, Peshawar, and its neighboring regions amplifies the administrative challenges encountered by those in the remote districts of Hazara. The significant distance from the capital city presents a logistical obstacle for the central department in Peshawar, impeding effective supervision of field departments and sub-offices located in the distant districts of the Hazara division. This geographical barrier significantly contributes to administrative inefficiencies within the region (Khattak, ND).

The presence of administrative obstacles, particularly in the upper portion of the Hazara division, is a major cause of alienation and discontent among the local population. Residents argue that despite being an area that generates significant revenue and possesses abundant natural resources, the social and economic infrastructure remains inadequately developed. These administrative challenges fuel the increasing call for the formation of a Hazara province, driven by the belief that a new seat of power, located closer to the people, would enhance access to various socio-economic opportunities (Khan U. A., 2020). The Hazara division, known for its predominantly mountainous terrain, poses distinctive challenges for residents in its upper regions like Battagram, Torghar, and Kohistan when they need to travel to Peshawar, the provincial capital, for official purposes. The demanding journey, spanning roughly six to eight hours, is considered impractical and presents a significant obstacle to the efficient administration of these remote areas located far from the provincial capital (Sattar, 2019).

The Hazara Province Movement is rooted in administrative considerations, arguing that the establishment of a new Hazara province would improve governance and enable the provincial government to efficiently deliver services directly to residents' doorsteps. The main beneficiaries of the envisioned Hazara province are expected to be the inhabitants of remote districts within the Hazara division, such as Kohistan, Battagram, and Torghar. Under this proposed arrangement, these residents would no longer need to travel to Peshawar for official matters but could instead conveniently access services in Abbottabad, the current divisional headquarters, which is closer to them geographically. This decentralization aims to streamline administrative processes and enhance the accessibility of public services for the local population (Khan, 2020).

Contrary to misconceptions spread in other parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), it's essential to clarify that the demand for the Hazara province isn't based on ethno-linguistic factors. Within the Hazara division, a diverse population comprising various tribes and racial groups coexists. Notable among these groups are the Jadoon, Tanoli, Abbasi, Sardars, Gujar, Swati, Pathan, Awan, and Kohistani, each with its own unique linguistic and cultural characteristics. It's crucial to emphasize that the call for a Hazara province is solely grounded in administrative needs and isn't motivated by ethnic considerations. The diverse makeup of the population within the Hazara division underscores the inclusive nature of the movement, with its primary focus on addressing administrative challenges and improving local governance, rather than being rooted in ethnic or linguistic affiliations (Qamar, 2019).

#### **4.32 Socio-Economic Issues of Hazara Region**

The movement supporting for the establishment of the Hazara province is rooted in socio-economic rationales. The Hazara Division stands as a region abundant in richness and fertility, boasting forests, valuable minerals, and diverse natural resources. Significantly, the region plays a substantial role in shaping the economic landscape of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) province. Moreover, the untapped resources within Hazara present opportunities for the initiation of hydro-electric projects, infrastructural development, and the promotion and expansion of tourism in the area. Despite its significant contributions to the provincial economy, successive provincial governments have historically overlooked the Hazara division. Despite generating substantial revenues, the region has faced disparities in resource allocation. As a result, the people of Hazara have been deprived of their rightful share in employment opportunities, education, healthcare services, and developmental initiatives (Qamar, 2019). The socio-economic grievances constitute a significant aspect of the rationale behind the movement advocating for the establishment of the Hazara province. It aims to rectify historical neglect and secure a fairer distribution of resources and opportunities in the region.

As per the agreed-upon Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) formula, the Hazara division was allocated a 19.4 percent share. However, the current disbursement from the provincial Annual Development Program (ADP) indicates that Hazara is receiving less than 7 percent, a trend that has persisted for many years. This departure from the agreed formula has played a significant role in the economic underdevelopment of Hazara and is a key factor fueling the demand for the establishment of the Hazara province (Qamar, 2019). Using financial analysis

of the budget, conducted by the Omar Asghar Khan Development Foundation (OAKDF) for the fiscal year 2016-17, a significant disparity comes to light. In particular, District Nowshera, the home district of then Chief Minister Pervaiz Khattak, received an allocation of 5.1 billion, whereas the entire Hazara region collectively received only 5.6 billion. This glaring difference in resource distribution highlights economic inequalities and strengthens the narrative of neglect, intensifying the call for the establishment of the Hazara province.

Currently, the Hazara division is contributing more to revenues than what is allocated for the development of its socio-economic infrastructure. The region holds substantial untapped potential for enhancing revenue generation, particularly through the utilization of its hydropower and other resources. In 1992, during the tenure of Aftab Sherpao's government, a survey was conducted in Swat and Hazara to assess the hydropower potential of these regions. The findings revealed an estimated hydropower generating capacity of about 20,000 MW in the Hazara division, excluding Tarbela Dam. Despite this significant potential, successive provincial governments have paid little attention to this area. This lack of focus on harnessing the hydropower potential is a primary factor contributing to the backwardness of the region and has become a significant cause of the growing sense of alienation and deprivation among the people of Hazara. The failure to capitalize on these resources has led to missed opportunities for economic growth and development within the division (Khan A. A., 2019).

#### **4.33 Identity Crisis in Hazara Region**

Since the formation of Pakistan, a recurring pattern has been observed where the dominant ethnic group in the provinces tends to disregard the rights and interests of minority ethnic communities. Consequently, minority ethnic groups consistently strive to protect their socio-economic rights, political interests, and the recognition of their distinct identity. One such example is the Hazara division, located to the east of the river Indus, which exhibits an identity distinct from the rest of the KP province. The emergence of the Hazara Student Federation (HSF) in 1982 and later the establishment of the Hazara Quoumi Mahaz (HQM) in 1987 by Malik Asif Advocate can be attributed to the growing awareness of a separate identity among the people of the Hazara division (Azhar, 2017). The leaders and supporters of HQM argued that the Hindko language had been consistently overlooked by provincial governments over the years, leading to the marginalization of Hindko speakers in terms of service and job opportunities. Importantly, Hindko is neither utilized as a medium of



instruction in schools nor included in competitive examinations, unlike Pashto. Initially, HQM's main objective was to promote and enhance the Hindko language and to seek acknowledgment for the unique identity of the residents in the Hazara region (Rehman, 1996). The leadership of Hazara Quoumi Mahaz (HPM) asserts that within Pashtun-dominated regions, the Hazara people are often perceived as "Punjabis" (Punjabiyan), whereas in the Punjab province, they are identified as Pashtuns (Pathan). Consequently, the Hazara community aims to free itself from this identity crisis. Historically, the name NWFP (North-West Frontier Province) solely denoted a geographical location without any ethnic connotation. However, the renaming of NWFP to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) through the 18th constitutional amendment in 2010 unmistakably introduced an ethnic and linguistic aspect, aligning with the majority ethnic group. Throughout the renaming process, the suggestion to name the province Hazara Pakhtunkhwa was not seriously considered, despite its potential to partly address the identity concerns of the Hazara people. The adoption of the name KP has, reminiscent of the One Unit scheme of 1955, essentially erased the distinct identity of the Hazara division, akin to how the One Unit scheme marginalized the identity of Pashtuns and various other ethnic minority groups in West Pakistan (Shafique, 2020).

#### **4.34 Hurdles in the way of Formulation of Hazara Province**

The ongoing debate over the potential creation of Hazara province within the existing provincial map of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) is deeply entrenched and divisive. Advocates for maintaining the current unitary structure of KPK, predominantly representing Pashtuns, oppose the establishment of Hazara province, citing concerns about intra-national security. They argue that a centralized province ensures stronger representation for the historically dominant Pashtun ethnic group, amid fears of fragmenting the region along ethnic lines. Conversely, proponents of a Hazara province assert that it would provide better representation for the diverse ethnic groups in the region and address long-standing grievances. This proposal adds complexity to the socio-political landscape of KPK, raising questions about national unity and stability. This viewpoint resonates with the idea of upholding a unified identity, which has traditionally been fundamental to the province. In contrast, supporters of the Hazara province stress the importance of fair representation and local autonomy. They assert that establishing a distinct province for the Hazara community would redress historical injustices linked to political and economic marginalization. This stance suggests that a decentralized governance model could promote inclusivity and effectively address the unique requirements of the diverse ethnic groups across KPK. (

Ahmar, 2016). According to Sardar Haider Zaman, there were certain stumbling blocks in the way of formulation of Hazara Province.

#### **4.35 Role of Feudalism in Hazara Region**

During an interview, Sardar Haider Zaman highlighted the significant impact of feudalism in the Hazara Region on discussions about provincial autonomy. Throughout history, feudal lords have exerted significant influence over local politics and administration, often serving as key power brokers in their respective areas. Regarding provincial autonomy, the role of these feudal elites is both intricate and contentious. While they have been accused of perpetuating centralized control and impeding the decentralization of power to the Hazara region by maintaining dominance over local governance, their influence has also been criticized. The concentration of power among a select few feudal families is viewed as a barrier to the effective implementation of provincial autonomy, thereby limiting the representation of diverse voices within the regions. On the flip side, it's possible to contend that certain feudal lords have actively supported the cause of provincial autonomy. Some of these elites acknowledge the necessity of decentralization in tackling regional inequalities and promoting grassroots development. They advocate for empowering provinces with increased autonomy, believing that it can result in more effective governance that's attuned to the specific requirements of varied communities. This viewpoint suggests that provincial autonomy can serve as a tool to address historical grievances and promote a fairer allocation of resources, thereby challenging the entrenched power dynamics associated with feudalism. The interplay between feudalism and provincial autonomy in Pakistan is intricate, reflecting a broader struggle to redefine governance structures and power relations. As debates on decentralization and the transfer of powers persist, the involvement of feudal elites emerges as a pivotal aspect. The question arises whether these elites will become catalysts for change, embracing provincial autonomy to tackle regional disparities, or if their vested interests will hinder the establishment of a more decentralized and inclusive political framework in Pakistan. Navigating this intricate terrain, policymakers must meticulously weigh the influence of feudalism in shaping the future course of provincial autonomy (Zaman S. H., Role of Feudalism in Hazara Region, 2016).

#### **4.36 Ineptitude of Political Leadership in Hazara Region**

As per Sardar Haider Zaman, the Hazara region in Pakistan has confronted persistent challenges, with the ineffective political leadership significantly exacerbating these issues.

Despite holding substantial potential for economic advancement and societal improvement, the region has frequently grappled with a lack of visionary and efficient governance. Political leadership in Hazara has, on occasions, faltered in addressing critical issues like infrastructure development, education, and healthcare, thereby fostering a sentiment of neglect among the local populace. Critics have denounced the region's leaders for their failure to devise and execute policies that cater to the specific requirements of the Hazara community, resulting in a widening disparity in socio-economic metrics compared to other regions in the country. Moreover, the inadequacy of political leadership in Hazara is apparent in the insufficient allocation and utilization of resources. Despite the region's abundance in natural resources, the inability to manage and capitalize on these assets has impeded economic progress.

The absence of strategic planning and transparent governance has resulted in missed opportunities for sustainable development in the Hazara region. Consequently, this has fueled feelings of frustration and disillusionment among the residents, who aspire for leadership capable of guiding the region towards prosperity. In summary, the Hazara region's struggle with underdevelopment and socio-economic challenges is intricately tied to the inadequacy of political leadership. Resolving these issues necessitates a fundamental shift in governance, prioritizing accountable and forward-thinking leadership that can effectively address the distinct needs of the Hazara community. The path of the region's development hinges on the capacity of political leaders to transcend narrow interests and implement policies that promote inclusive growth and enhance the quality of life for the people of Hazara (Zaman S. H., Lack of Political Leadership in Hazara Region, 2019).

#### **4.37 Role of Opposition in Hazara Region**

According to Sardar Haider Zaman, the opposition's role in the Hazara region is pivotal in shaping the political landscape and influencing governance. Similar to other areas, opposition parties in Hazara serve as a crucial check and balance on ruling authorities. Their primary responsibility lies in scrutinizing government policies and actions, offering an alternative voice that ensures accountability and transparency. Through critique and dissent, the opposition in Hazara contributes to the healthy functioning of the democratic process, sparking debates and discussions on issues crucial to the region's development. However, the effectiveness of Hazara's opposition hinges on its capacity to present viable alternatives and propose constructive solutions to regional challenges. Beyond mere criticism, the opposition's role encompasses crafting well-defined policies aligned with the aspirations of the Hazara

community. By offering coherent alternatives, the opposition can enrich the development discourse, guiding it towards addressing the region's distinct socio-economic and political needs.

Moreover, the opposition in Hazara plays a vital role in advocating for the interests of the region's diverse communities. By amplifying the concerns and aspirations of various groups, the opposition fosters a more inclusive political environment. This inclusiveness is crucial to ensuring that the governance agenda reflects the diverse makeup of the Hazara region and is not biased towards any specific faction or interest. To summarize, the role of the opposition in Hazara is multifaceted, encompassing oversight, policy development, and representation of diverse voices. A strong and constructive opposition is indispensable to the democratic process, driving positive change and contributing to the overall progress of the region. As the political landscape evolves, the effectiveness of the opposition will remain pivotal in shaping the course of governance in Hazara (Zaman S. H., Lack of Political Leadership in Hazara Region, 2019)

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

In summary, Sardar Haider Zaman's immersion into the complex world of politics signifies a steadfast dedication to democratic principles and social equity. Rather than a strategic career maneuver, his entry into politics was a principled response to the political climate in Pakistan during the 1960s. Beginning his activism following his intermediate exams, Zaman quickly became a prominent figure in protests against the authoritarian regime of former President Ayub Khan. Throughout the turbulent 1960s, he emerged as a passionate advocate for social causes, courageously voicing his opposition to various injustices prevailing in the socio-political sphere of the era. This initial phase of activism served as the cornerstone for his eventual ascent in the political hierarchy of Abbottabad, Haripur, and Hevellian. The consolidation of these three regions into a unified district under the basic democratic framework during General Ziaul Haq's regime represented a pivotal juncture in Zaman's political rise, ultimately leading to his appointment as chairman.

Throughout General (retd) Pervez Musharraf's era, Sardar Haider Zaman remained steadfast in his commitment to public service, serving as the Nazim in Abbottabad from 2005 to 2009. Notably, Zaman's leadership was distinguished by a conspicuous absence of personal gain or the pursuit of financial perks associated with his official position. As attested by former district Nazim of Abbottabad, Sardar Sher Bahadur, Zaman's tenure was characterized by a selfless devotion to the welfare of the community, showcasing a rare integrity in the often-murky realm of political governance. A pivotal moment in Sardar Haider Zaman's political journey unfolded in 1981 when he assumed leadership of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) in the Hazara division. Despite its noble aims, this undertaking took a personal toll on Zaman, subjecting him to imprisonment and physical suffering. The sacrifices endured during this period highlight his steadfast dedication to democratic principles and his readiness to endure personal adversity in pursuit of broader goals of justice and political change.

It is notable that throughout his political journey, Sardar Haider Zaman remained untouched by accusations of seeking financial gain or privileges associated with his official roles. His integrity and dedication to public service were further demonstrated by his readiness to make personal sacrifices for the greater cause of democracy. Looking back, Zaman's trajectory

serves as a testament to the transformative influence of principled political engagement. His legacy endures not only in the offices he occupied but, more significantly, in the hearts of those he served. As a champion of democratic principles, Zaman's life and political trajectory serve as a beacon of hope for future generations seeking to enact positive change within the intricate realm of Pakistani politics.

Reflecting on Sardar Haider Zaman's political journey, his tenure as the provincial minister for manpower and overseas Pakistanis during the establishment of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa government in 1988 underscores his adaptability and commitment to public service. Nominated by the former Pakistan People's Party chief minister Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao, Zaman played a crucial part in formulating policies concerning workforce management and the well-being of overseas Pakistanis. This phase marked a significant milestone in his political trajectory, highlighting his ability to effectively handle diverse and vital responsibilities within the provincial administration. In the last four years of his life, Sardar Haider Zaman resided in Abbottabad Heights, a scenic hillside community within the district, generously offered by Sardar Sher Bahadur. This phase was characterized not just by his political involvements but also by the peaceful ambiance of the picturesque surroundings, perhaps serving as a contemplative setting for a seasoned politician who had devoted a considerable part of his life to serving the public.

The passing of Sardar Haider Zaman evokes deep sadness, and as we bid him farewell, we recognize the void he leaves behind. A poignant aspect of his personal life is the absence of children, leaving his devoted wife to grieve his loss. In this private sphere, the legacy of Baba is upheld by those who knew him intimately, highlighting the intricate and multi-faceted nature of a life devoted to both public and personal domains. Baba reached his political peak during the period from 2013 to 2018, coinciding with the federal governance of the Pakistan People's Party and the Awami National Party's administration in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, previously known as NWFP. During this period, there was a notable rise in his Tehreek-e-Sooba Hazara (Hazara Province Movement), which advocated for a separate province for Hindko-speaking districts. As ANP leaders proposed legislation to rename the province, Zaman emerged as a prominent regional figure firmly opposing the amendment, citing its unconstitutionality. However, this phase of his political career was not devoid of challenges and sacrifices.

The momentum of the Tehreek-e-Sooba Hazara gradually waned as supporters withdrew, leaving Zaman to continue the fight alone. The quest for a separate province wasn't just a political pursuit but a deeply rooted conviction in regional autonomy and linguistic identity. Sadly, the movement exacted a toll, with six individuals losing their lives and several others being injured during the course of this political activism.

In the pages of political history, Sardar Haider Zaman's steadfast commitment to his cherished principles and his firm opposition to what he considered unconstitutional stand as a testament to his enduring resolve. The fluctuations of political movements often reveal the inherent complexities of such endeavors, and Zaman's journey mirrors the peaks and valleys of advocating for regional autonomy. As we reflect on the legacy of Sardar Haider Zaman, we acknowledge not only his contributions to the political arena but also the resilience he displayed in confronting challenges. In the intricate tapestry of his life, interwoven with political strife and personal sacrifices, Zaman's influence remains indelible, leaving a lasting imprint on the socio-political landscape of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.

In the annals of Pakistani political history, the name Baba Haider Zaman resonates as a stalwart symbol of the Hazara province movement. While he did not witness the realization of his dream for a separate province, his unwavering determination and relentless advocacy revitalized the campaign, which aimed to address the enduring grievances of the Hazara division. As we contemplate the life and legacy of Baba Haider Zaman, it becomes clear that his influence extends beyond mere temporal achievements, imprinting an enduring legacy on the discourse of regional autonomy and identity. Baba Haider Zaman embarked on his journey in the serene village of Dewan Manal in Abbottabad in 1934, where he drew his first breaths and absorbed the cultural vibrancy of the Hazara division. Hailing from the Karlal tribe, he was the sole offspring of his parents, a circumstance that likely ignited his sense of duty and perseverance. His academic endeavors guided him to attain his FA (Intermediate) degree in the 1950s, signaling the outset of a path that would lead him from the skies of the Pakistan Air Force to the halls of political influence.

The shift from a distinguished career in the Air Force to the sphere of politics wasn't merely a professional transition for Baba Zaman; it was a deliberate decision to advocate for his people's cause. His election to the NWFP Assembly from Abbottabad in 1985 marked a pivotal moment, catapulting him into a position where he could voice the aspirations and

concerns of the Hazara division. Acknowledging Zaman's capabilities, the then-chief minister, Arbab Jehangir Khan, appointed him as the Minister for Labor and Human Resources, a crucial role enabling him to address issues critical to the welfare of the working class. Baba Zaman's entry into politics signaled the beginning of his engagement in the Hazara province movement. With steadfast dedication to the cause, he emerged as the spokesperson for those who had endured feelings of marginalization and neglect for years. His advocacy transcended the confines of parliamentary chambers as he took to the streets, interacting with the masses and mobilizing support for a distinct Hazara province. Under his leadership, the movement gathered momentum, serving as a unifying force for those desiring a fairer distribution of resources and opportunities.

Despite the fervent determination that characterized Baba Zaman's endeavors, the aspiration for a separate Hazara province remained elusive. The intricate and dynamic political landscape of Pakistan presented formidable challenges, occasionally proving insurmountable. Nevertheless, it is imperative to recognize that Baba Zaman's legacy is not one of defeat, but rather of resilience. His vision, principles, and the movement he led have left an enduring mark on the collective consciousness of the Hazara people. With Baba Haider Zaman's passing at the age of 84, an era comes to a close, yet it also underscores the enduring nature of the cause he fervently championed. As he was laid to rest in his ancestral graveyard, the Hazara province movement stood as a testament to the unwavering spirit of those who strive for autonomy and self-determination. The grief that accompanied his passing wasn't just for a political leader; it was a poignant recognition of the void left by a champion who relentlessly advocated for his people's rights. With Baba Zaman's departure, a question arises: What lies ahead for the Hazara province movement? Perhaps, the answer lies in the seeds he planted—seeds of awareness, unity, and resilience. Though he may not have witnessed the realization of a separate province, his endeavors have laid the foundation for future initiatives. Inspired by Baba Zaman's legacy, the Hazara division is ready to carry forward the struggle for its rightful place within Pakistan's political and social framework. In essence, Baba Haider Zaman's life epitomizes the enduring strength of conviction and the profound impact an individual can have on the course of history.

Fueled by his passion and dedication, the Hazara province movement persists as a crucial component of the ongoing conversation regarding regional autonomy in Pakistan. As we say goodbye to this steadfast leader, we acknowledge that Baba Zaman's impact extends beyond



historical records, resonating in the hearts and aspirations of the Hazara people—a legacy that will endure, shaping their ongoing pursuit for a distinct identity within the nation.

In the intricate fabric of Pakistani politics, Sardar Haider Zaman Khan emerges as a figure whose dedication transcended tribal divides, embodying a rare fusion of principled statesmanship and steadfast commitment to the marginalized. His relentless endeavors on behalf of the Hazara people, particularly in advocating for a separate Hazara Province post the 18th Amendment, signify a pivotal moment in his political journey. While regional concerns were echoed in his rhetoric, Sardar Haider Zaman Khan emphasized that the push for a Hazara Province was rooted in administrative necessities rather than linguistic or ethnic considerations. At the core of this movement lay the noble aim of safeguarding the fundamental rights of a populace long marginalized within the broader political sphere.

Led by Sardar Haider Zaman Khan, the regional call for a Hazara Province surpassed traditional boundaries of ethnicity and language. His focus on administrative rationale as the foundation of the movement exemplifies a commitment to practical governance, steering away from divisive factors often associated with similar initiatives. Under his guidance, the Hazara Province demand represented a significant departure from the prevailing narrative, which frequently pits communities against each other based on ethnic or linguistic affiliations. Sardar Haider Zaman Khan's forward-thinking approach not only charted a distinct course for the movement but also highlighted the transformative potential of administrative reforms in addressing longstanding grievances. Importantly, Sardar Haider Zaman Khan's unwavering principles were not only evident in his words but also the very essence of his political career. Beyond mere talk of regionalism, his commitment to ethical governance became particularly apparent during discussions surrounding the Hazara Province demand. In a political environment often tainted by opportunism and short-term gains, Sardar Haider Zaman Khan emerged as a paragon of integrity. His steadfast devotion to the cause, paired with an adamant refusal to compromise on ethical standards, garnered him respect even from those who may have held differing views on the specifics of the Hazara Province movement.

Upon contemplation of the life and character of Sardar Haider Zaman Khan, it becomes clear that his legacy transcends the regional boundaries of Hazara. His unwavering dedication to ethical politics stands as a timeless testament to the influential potential of leaders who

prioritize the well-being of their constituents over narrow partisan agendas. The discussions surrounding the Hazara Province demand, guided by his leadership, have contributed a nuanced dimension to the ongoing discourse on regional autonomy in Pakistan, highlighting the significance of administrative factors in redressing historical grievances. In summary, Sardar Haider Zaman Khan's involvement in the Hazara Province movement embodies a story of ethical dedication and forward-thinking administrative vision. His prioritization of administrative rationale over ethnic or linguistic factors establishes a model for forthcoming dialogues on regional autonomy. As the Hazara Province demand continues to influence political conversations, Sardar Haider Zaman Khan's legacy serves as proof of the lasting influence of principled leadership in navigating the intricate landscape of Pakistani politics.

The strategic amalgamation of language planning, constitutional amendments and provincial autonomy emerges as a powerful instrument of intervention, exerting significant influence in reconfiguring the political and social dynamics of varied communities. The intricate complexity of language planning and policy, as elucidated by experts, highlights its central role in instigating substantive changes. In this context, the constitution, serving as the fundamental document governing state affairs, holds unparalleled significance. Serving as a holistic embodiment of a state's ideology and operational structure, the constitution lays the groundwork for the interconnectedness among different state organs. The constitutional framework, imbued with principles and directives, provides the backdrop against which language planning and provincial autonomy unveil their potential for transformation. In the Pakistani context, the Eighteenth Amendment (18th) to the constitution of 1973 represents a pivotal moment, particularly concerning provincial autonomy. The importance of this amendment is firmly grounded in the historical quests for self-governance and local administration. It serves as evidence of the dynamic evolution of the political terrain, recognizing the diversity and distinctive challenges encountered by various provinces, notably Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and Baluchistan.

The amendment establishes a legal framework empowering political activists in these areas to customize policies and governance structures to tackle particular challenges and leverage distinctive opportunities. A crucial aspect of the 18th Amendment is its focus on provincial autonomy, which acknowledges the array of needs and aspirations across the nation. Through this deliberate decentralization, regions like the Hazara division can augment citizen involvement in decision-making procedures. Local governments, situated in closer proximity to the populace they serve, serve as hubs for democratic participation and accountable

governance. The ramifications of this decentralization reverberate throughout the socio-political sphere, cultivating a feeling of ownership and empowerment among citizens as they play an active role in molding the policies that directly affect their livelihoods.

Within this transformative framework, language planning plays a nuanced role. In a linguistically diverse country like Pakistan, where numerous languages coexist, language planning serves as a tool for fostering harmony rather than deepening divisions. It represents a deliberate and strategic method of managing linguistic resources to promote efficient communication, social unity, and fair access to opportunities. By harmonizing language planning with constitutional principles, particularly those rooted in the essence of provincial autonomy, Pakistan can address the linguistic complexities that frequently intersect with regional identities. The deliberate execution of language planning and policy, under the umbrella of the 18th Amendment, emerges as a unifying factor in promoting inclusiveness. It establishes a framework for the flourishing of linguistic diversity while ensuring that language policies adapt to the distinct sociolinguistic environments of various provinces. In doing so, language planning facilitates efficient governance and participatory democracy, aligning seamlessly with the overarching objectives of provincial autonomy.

In summary, the Tehreek-e-Sooba Hazara, led by Sardar Haider Zaman, represents a significant episode in the political annals of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, characterized by both passion and eventual disappointment. As the movement's momentum gradually diminished, Zaman stood alone in championing the cause, highlighting the inherent difficulties in maintaining political activism. Beyond its political aspects, the quest for a separate province was deeply entrenched in a strong conviction in regional autonomy and linguistic identity, transcending mere political pursuits. Sadly, the human cost of this movement cannot be disregarded. Six individuals lost their lives, and several others sustained injuries, highlighting the sacrifices made in the pursuit of regional autonomy. While these losses are tragic, they serve as a poignant reminder of the fervent beliefs that propelled the movement forward. Reviewing the historical account, Sardar Haider Zaman emerges as a symbol of unwavering dedication and a staunch defender of principles he deemed essential. His steadfast opposition to perceived constitutional injustices demonstrates a commitment to the cause that transcends the fluctuations of political movements. The complexities of Zaman's journey mirror the intricacies inherent in advocating for regional autonomy, capturing the peaks and valleys that characterize such endeavors.

As we contemplate the legacy of Sardar Haider Zaman, it is crucial to recognize not only his contributions to the political arena but also the resilience with which he tackled obstacles. His influence on the socio-political landscape of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa is profound, showcasing the lasting effect of individuals navigating the intricate junctions of politics, identity, and regional aspirations. In a broader context, Zaman's legacy serves as a reminder of the persistent challenges inherent in the quest for regional autonomy, prompting ongoing exploration and discussion regarding the varied narratives shaping the political dynamics of the region.

As we consider the interaction among language planning, constitutional amendments, and provincial autonomy, it becomes clear that these components share a symbiotic relationship. They are interconnected elements within the complex fabric of nation-building and governance, mutually shaping and being shaped by one another. The transformative power lies not solely in the individual components but in the synergy that emerges when they are strategically and purposefully interwoven. In summary, the strategic execution of language planning and policy, reinforced by constitutional amendments such as the 18th Amendment, exemplifies a sophisticated governance approach in Pakistan's intricate socio-political terrain. As a consequence of these constitutional reforms, provincial autonomy empowers regions to tackle their distinct challenges, nurturing a governance system that is more inclusive and accountable. By incorporating language planning into this framework, linguistic diversity is transformed into a unifying force rather than a source of division. The interconnectedness of language planning, constitutional revisions, and provincial autonomy underscores the dynamic and adaptable nature of governance in a diverse society. In such a pluralistic context, where language and identity complexities abound, a strategic and inclusive approach is employed to navigate these intricacies.

## **Recommendations**

A comprehensive analysis has been undertaken to tackle the evolving linguistic challenges in the Hazara region, especially within the broader context of Pakistan.

The key remedy for managing the preservation of the federating units' hinges on Constitutional Engineering. This method stands as the only feasible mechanism for discussing the issue through parliamentary processes. Regrettably, in Pakistan, the lack of a political and democratic governance has resulted in the rise of extralegal privileges. Another procedural avenue for understanding the authentic concerns surrounding identity crises in Hazara is via a referendum. Throughout historical military regimes, a referendum has been considered a genuine measure to gauge public sentiment towards the government. This approach has been utilized in nations like Germany, Switzerland, and Norway to evaluate national concerns or significant policy objectives.

To promote improved governance and economic advancement, the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa could undergo subdivision into smaller administrative entities. This strategy seeks to cultivate a more unified atmosphere for the varied linguistic communities, ensuring their effective accommodation. It is crucial to define criteria whereby economic resources collected from a particular region are reinvested back into that same territory. This strategy can aid in ensuring fair distribution and effective utilization of resources, thereby fostering holistic development. There is an urgent requirement to incorporate regionalist political figures into the central decision-making process to thoroughly grasp and address their needs and resources. This calls for a movement towards nationalizing regional politics, where political parties refrain from provincial and linguistic affiliations and instead play a central role. By promoting a more inclusive approach, this could result in a more cohesive and comprehensive national political environment.

Economic liberalization plays a pivotal role in granting greater autonomy to less developed regions. The central government should prioritize the establishment of additional industrial zones and the initiation of various development projects in these underdeveloped areas. This objective can only be achieved if the federal government consistently assigns quotas to provincial administrations, considering the resources and population of each region. This approach guarantees an equitable distribution of resources and fosters regional development.

Additionally, the federal government holds the potential to grant political and civil rights to minorities residing in regions dominated by the majority. The concept of "staatsvolk" should encompass fair political and decision-making participation for minority communities. This ensures a just and inclusive political framework that acknowledges and upholds the rights of all citizens, promoting a more harmonious coexistence within society at large. Ultimately, a fundamental element is the formation of an inclusive parliamentary coalition on a national level to manage political governance through consensus-based principles. It is vital to engage every sector in the decision-making process regularly, both at the provincial and federal tiers. This method guarantees broader representation and cooperative governance, cultivating a political atmosphere founded on shared viewpoints and mutual understanding.

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