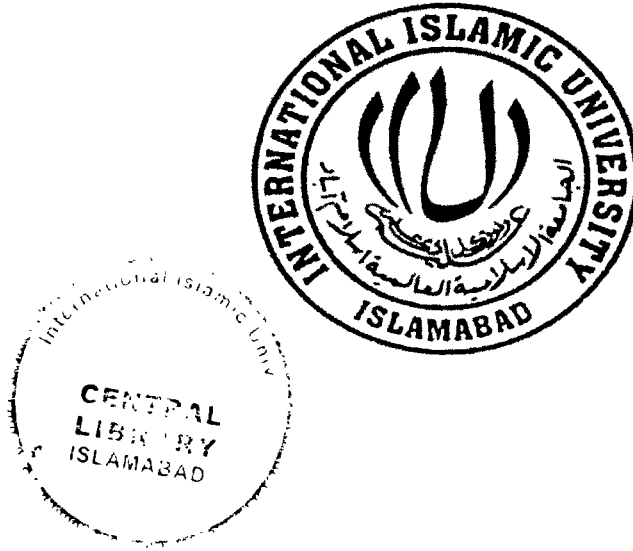


**POLITICS OF CREATION OF NEW PROVINCES IN PAKISTAN:
A CASE STUDY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR HAZARA PROVINCE**



Researcher

**MUHAMMAD ASIF
18FSS-PHDPS/F16**

Supervisor

Dr. MANZOOR AHMAD

**Department of Politics and International Relations
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN
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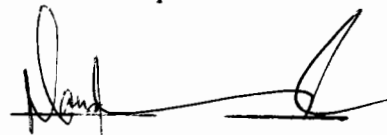
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FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we gone through and evaluated the dissertation titled “Politics of Creation of New Provinces in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Movement of Hazara Province.” Submitted by Mr. Muhammad Asif, a student of Ph.D. Political Science under University Registration No. 18-FSS/PHDPS/F16 in partial Fulfilment of the award of Ph.D. This Thesis fulfils the requirements in its core and Quality for the award of degree.

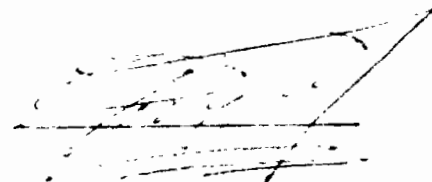
1. **Supervisor**

Dr. Manzoor Ahmad Naazer
Department of Politics & International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University, Islamabad.



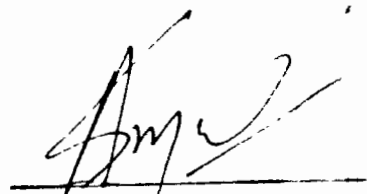
2. **Internal Examiner**

Dr. Manzoor Khan Afirid
Associate Professor
Department of Politics & International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University, Islamabad



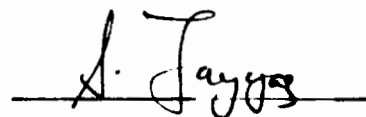
3. **External Examiner 1**

Prof. Dr. Adam Saud
Dean,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Bahria University
Islamabad.



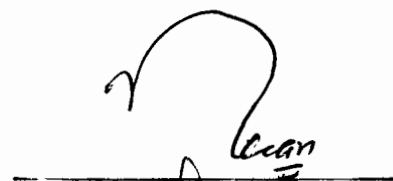
4. **External Examiner 2**

Dr. Shabana Fayyaz
Associate Professor,
Defence and Strategic Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad.



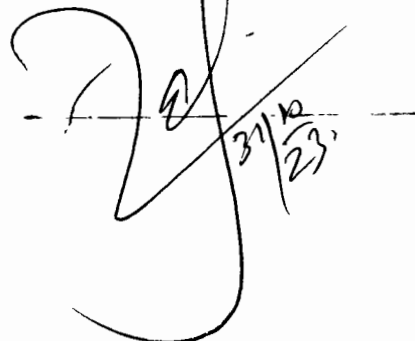
5. **Chairman/HOD of Department**

Department of Politics & International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences
International Islamic University, Islamabad.



6. **Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences**

International Islamic University, Islamabad



31/12/23

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

It is to certify that the dissertation submitted by **Muhammad Asif**, Student ID: 18FSS-PHDPS/F-16 has incorporated all the suggestion given during the process of external evaluation on the topic, **“Politics of Creation of New Provinces in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Movement for Hazara Province”**. His work is of sufficient slandered to justify its acceptance by the Department of Politics and International Relations,s International Islamic University Islamabad for the award degree of the Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr Manzoor Ahmad
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics & IR
International Islamic University
Islamabad

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Foreword

Recite with the name of all mighty Allah who created man from clinging substance and recite with the name of Allah who is most generous who taught man by the pen which he does not know.

(Al Quran)

Abstract

Federalism is suitable multi-ethnic population because it has capacity to solve the problems of diverse population by division of powers. There is hardly any state in the world which is ethnically homogenous. The size and population of federating units determine the politics of country and the units having large in size dominate the small units which may cause separatist tendency in state. Pakistan is ethnically plural society; therefore after independence federalism was introduced to accommodate the interests of multi-ethnic population. The Constitution of 1973 was also federal in character, but practically units enjoy no real autonomy. Though the imbalance between central government and its units has been corrected under 18th Constitutional Amendment by giving more autonomy to units, but it is also fact that it brought about negative impacts on minority ethnic groups within different existing provinces and new provinces movement again revived. Renaming of NWFP as KP was criticized in Hazara division, which forced the leaderships of Hazara region to revived Hazara Province Movement for the protection of its separate identity and others rights. After the murders incident of April 12, 2010 at Abbottabad that took the life of ten people, the wave of separate provinces spread in other provinces of Pakistan. The movements for new provinces have become challenge to existing federal set up in Pakistan. It is therefore, imperative for government to address these issues to avoid ethnic conflicts, improve governance and to ensure equitable socio-economic development in Pakistan.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

We live in the age of diversity, contradiction and change and differences and conflicts exist within and among nations on ethno-lingual basis and on the basis of desire for regional autonomy. Political and bureaucratic centralism and increasing domination of some powerful segments of society, has caused resurgence of ethnicity and crisis of identity in many countries of the world (Kolker, 1987). Democracy in modern time is considered as best solution of all such problems because it has capacity to accommodate and adjust the conflicting interest of different segments of the society. For administrative convenience and promotion of national unity, country may be sub-divided into number of units under federal arrangement..

Federation is a device to harmonize the need for local autonomy with the necessity to preserve the unity of state. It is suitable for diverse society which requires one central government to run and manages the matter of common importance of the country as whole and to decentralize the power to provinces that is local in nature. Hence most important principal of federation is division of power between federal government and governments of the federating units. Normally matters of common importance like law and order, foreign affairs, defense and currency, are given to central government, while subjects which is regional and local in nature is exercised by the government of provinces (Anderson, 2008).

Federal system of government was introduced in India by British government under Act of 1935, but due to criticism by Indian political parties, its central part could not be implemented and only its provincial part was enforced in 1937 (Razvi, 2006). Pakistan is ethnically heterogeneous country comprising many linguistic and ethnic groups, but administratively, it is divided into four provinces. Due to this reason after independence, the

political leaderships of newly established state decided to introduce federal system to accommodate the interests of multi ethnic population (Zulfiqar, 2012).

Since independence, Pakistan has experimented three constitutions and all of them were federal, but they lacked provincial autonomy in true sense which caused resentment and deprivation in small federating units and also among the people of backward regions and minority ethnic groups within provinces. The bias and discriminatory treatment with eastern wing caused its separation from country in 1971. The Constitution of 1973 also provided federal system with full provincial autonomy, but unfortunately, it was not implemented in its true letter and spirit, which further increased the grievances of minority ethnic groups in different provinces of country (Khan H. , 2017)

However, due to pressing demands from various political parties mainly from smaller federating units, 18th Constitutional Amendment was brought about in the constitution in 2010 by elected government of Pakistan People Party with the support of opposition. Accordingly, concurrent list was abolished from the constitution and more provincial autonomy was given to federating units. But this is also fact that this amendment brought negative impacts on minority ethnic groups in different federating units i.e. Saraikes in Punjab, Muhajirs in Sindh, and people of Hazara division in KP province. The environment of mistrust still exists in backward regions of all the existing provinces where the larger ethnic group are trying to impose its domination over minority ethnic groups. Furthermore, some regions are rich in natural resources, but these are still backward in socio-economic field (Musarat, 2011)

Therefore, for the promotion of good governance, rule of law and equitable socio-economic development, minority's ethnic groups in different parts of the country are demanding new federating units. Especially after 18th Amendment in the Constitution of

1973, the demand to establish new provinces has increased which has become new challenge to existing federal set up in Pakistan. In KP, Pakhtunes are in majority, whereas Hindko speaking population of Hazara division is major minority. Hazara division is rich in natural resources but having poor socio-economic infrastructure. Moreover, culture and identity of Hazara division is quite different from the rest of the province (Azhar, 2017).

The demand of Hazara province was firstly articulated in 1948 by intellectuals and lawyers led by Muhammad Iqbal and they also started movement for it. Than in 1957-58 Mufti Idrees and some other likeminded leaders started Kohistan Province Movement (KPM) comprising present Hazara division and some part of Tehsil Murree and this movement become popular in entire country and also become highlights of the national and local newspapers of the time, but due to One Unit and marshal law declared by Ayub Khan, it could not make any progress (Kamran, 2019).

The movement for protecting the separate identity of Hazara division, Qazi Muhammad Azhar laid the foundation of Hazara Student Federation (HSF) in different educational institutions within and outside Hazara region in 1982. Later on Malik Muhammad Asif established Hazara Qoumi Mahaz (HQM) in 1987 for the protection of separate identity and rights and interest of the Hazara division. HQM included in its objective the creation of Hazara province in 1992 and started movement for separate province. They demanded Hazara province due to backwardness, protection of its separate idendtity and allocation of less share in the development. The leaderships of HQM believed that Hazara division is generating more income than what is being spend on it (Dawn, 2008).

But present movement to establish Hazara province was revived and got momentum after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. This time the movement was started under the leadership of Haider Zaman (Baba), which was supported

by the leaderships of all political parties and all others associations and groups belonging to different segments of the society (Yousif, 2019).

After the tragic incident of 12 April, 2010 in Abbottabad which took the lives of ten people for the cause of Hazara province, the movement for creating new provinces also revived in other backward regions in all existing provinces. Hazara division is about 1/5 of the total population of KP and second highest revenue generating division after Peshawar division, but it is not getting its due share which is important cause of resentment in the region. Therefore, it is imperative for the federal government to address these issues to avoid ethnic conflicts and to bring about improvement in governance (Azhar, 2017).

Hazara has been ruled by Hindu Rajas, King Taimur, Nadir Shah Durrani, Sikhs and it came under British control in 1849, at that time it was part of the Punjab province. Major James Abbott was appointed as the first Deputy Commissioner of Hazara (Zia-ur-Rehman, 2012). British government established military garrison in the center of Hazara and named it Abbottabad. It got the status of tehsil in 1874 and became headquarter of Hazara district. It remained part of Punjab province till the establishment of NWFP province in 1901, when it was detached from Punjab and made part of NWFP. Hazara became division in 1976 and Muhammad Azam was appointed as its first Commissioner (Ahmad, 2013).

Hazara division is territorial region situated in the eastern part of KP province. It is surrounded by Northern Area and Azad Kashmir to its north-east and Islamabad and area of Punjab province in south and KP on its west (Khan, 2014). Hazara division is consisted of eight districts and it's headquarter is Abbottabad. According to census report of 2017, the population of the Hazara division is 6.2 million and it is mostly consists of Hndk speaking population, Pakhtune and Kohistani. Various tribes reside in Hazara division are Syed, Mishwani, Tareen, Jadoon, Pakhtune, Qureshi, Kohistani, Tanoli, Swati, Karlal, Gujar, Awan

and Abbasi etc. (Gazeteer, 2000). The region is rich in all types of natural resources, but it is still backward. Important natural resources of Hazara division are water resources, precious minerals, tourism and agriculture. It is generating more revenues than other divisions of KP and it is also blessed with forest which is about 19 percent of entire KP forest (Zaman, 2017).

Movement for creating new federating units has been started in different parts of the country. These include Bahawalpur Province Movement and Saraiki Province Movement in Punjab Province, Movement for Mohajir Province in urban Sindh and Hazara Province Movement in KP (Sadaqat, 2017). The consciousness about their separate identity existed among the people of Hazara Division even before the establishment of Pakistan and at all important political forums during Pakistan Movement both the communities adopted different stand (Azhar, 2017).

During the election of 1937 and 1945-46 people of Hazard division supported All India Muslim League (AIML) while Pakhtune nationalists headed by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan supported the cause of All India National Congress (AINC). Similarly in the referendum of 1947 in NWFP again people of Hazara region had given their vote in favor of joining Pakistan while Ghaffar Khan opposed the referendum and appeal the people not to take part in it. It is due to this reason that immediately after the creation of Pakistan people of Hazara demanded separate province and movement was started under the leadership of Muhammad Iqbal in 1948. In 1957-58 Mufti Idrees started Kohistan Province Movement (Kamran, 2019).

The consciousness about their separate status and socio-economic rights again revived in Hazara division during 1980s. The discriminatory treatment with the people of Hazara region by all the previous governments of NWFP was important factor to establish of HQM in 1980s by Malik Muhammad Asif Advocate and its main objectives was to protect the

rights, interest and separate identity of its people (Rehman, 2006). But present movement for the establishment of Hazara province revived after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. This time Hazara Province Movement was supported by all the segments of the society and they unanimously nominated Hadir Zaman (Baba) as chairman to lead the movement (Dost, 2012).

1.1. Rationale of the Study

Though Pakistan is federal state, but unfortunately since independence, it has been ruled mostly like a unitary state. The over centralization and discriminatory treatment with Eastern Wing caused its separation in 1971. Federal system remained continue under the Constitution of 1973 and more provincial autonomy was given to provinces, but unfortunately, its provisions were not implemented in its true letter and spirit which increased the grievances of small provinces and minority ethnic groups in different provinces. In order to remove the grievances of small federating units; 18th Constitutional Amendment was brought about in 2010, and more autonomy was given to units (Khalid, 2013).

Though 18th Constitutional Amendment was positive step to strengthen federalism, but this is also fact that it is not free from defects. Due to this reason the amendment has been criticized by different minority ethnic groups in all existing provinces like Saraikes in Punjab, Muhajirs in urban Sindh and people of Hazara division in KP. These groups are demanding new provinces for the promotion of good governance and ensuring equitable socio-economic development in their respective areas. After renaming of NWFP as KP, movement for the creation of Hazara province again revived and got momentum. This time all segment of the society and its leaderships supported the cause and all of them vowed to continue the struggle for the creation of Hazara province. It is believed that Hazara division is blessed with

minerals, forests and hydel resources which may be sufficient for its independent existence as province (Zaman, 2017).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The people of Hazara division are conscious about their separate identity, social and political rights since long and for the protection of these rights they articulated the demand of Hazara province many time in the past. However, presently movement for the creation Hazara province revived after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Amendment in the Constitution of 1973, which was criticised in Hazara division. It is believed that Hazara division is rich in natural resources but socially and economically backward and its residents are facing administrative inconvenience and many other socio-economic problems due to long distance from provincial capital Peshawar. The HPM started with the hope that the creation of Hazara province would provide socio-economic opportunities require for economic development and prosperity to the people of Hazara region much near to their home station. After 12, April 2010 incident in Abbottabad in which ten people sacrificed their life for the cause of Hazara province, the movement spread in other backward regions of the country where new province movement also revived, which has become new challenge the existing federal system in Pakistan.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- To assess the challenges to federalism and to examine the causes of the demand of new provinces including Hazara province.
- To analyses and discuss the importance of the creation of small units.
- To examine the interests of different political parties in Hazara Province Movement.
- To explore the prospects and the challenges to Hazara Province Movement.

1.4 Research Questions

- Why it is essential to redraw the boundaries of all provinces in Pakistan?
- Highlights the causes of the emergence of new provinces movements including Hazara Province Movement?
- What determines the policy of various political parties and its leaderships to the demand of Hazara province?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Socio-economic exploitation in Pakistan sowed the seed of hatred and revolt which forced the population of backward regions to make demand to establish new federating units. The movement for the creation of Hazara province was also made due to its separate identity and socio-economic exploitation and backwardness of the region. Very little research work has been carried out on the issues of the demand of new provinces especially Hazara province Movement. Hence the present study is an attempt to find out the ground realities of the problem by approaching both primary and secondary resources regarding the new provinces movements in general and HPM in particular. This study would be helpful for public to well-acquaint them about different aspects of HPM and would also be helpful for elected representatives to understand the issue and to devise strategies to address them. The study may also be helpful for the future researchers and students who want to conduct research on the similar topics.

1.6. Limitation of Study

The topic under study is limited to the politics of new provinces in general and Hazara province in particular. Though the movements to create of new federating units is in progress

in other parts of the country and brief description of new provinces movement have been made in the research work, but main focus of this research work is limited to Hazara Province Movement in KP province.

1.7. Defination of Major Terms

Federalism: Political system in which power is constitutionally distributed between central and provincial governments.

Unitary System: Political system in which all powers is constitutionally exercised by one central government.

Federating Units: The term federating units is used for provinces or states in federation.

Centralized Federalism: This term is mainly used by political thinkers for federalism in Pakistan in which central government is more powerful and provinces enjoy no real autonomy.

Provincial Autonomy: Type of federalism where federating units enjoy real powers and authority.

Identity Crisis: Period of uncertainty or confusion in a person's life due to some new changes in society.

Conflicts: A situation in which people, groups and countries are involved in serious disagreement or arguments as conflict between two cultures.

Centralization and decentralization: When all power is concentrated in the hand of central government it is centralization while in decentralization power is transferred from central to provinces or even at grass-root level.

Good Governance: Efficient exercise of political, administrative and economic powers for the benefits of general masses.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

Many racial and linguistic groups captured others people and regions and established their domination over them in past by force; but this tendency in modern democratic age has undergone tremendous change. In modern time we live in the age of diversity, contradiction and change and in this age conflicts exist both within and between the states on the basis of ethnic and territorial identity. Social and political experts often evaluate these trends in three theoretical perspectives: the consensus perspective, conflict perspective and on the basis of social construction. In the consensus perspective diversity is manage through consensus while in conflict perspective it may escalate into conflicts when it is not manage properly and social constructionist theorist hold the view that in society conflicts and consensus co-exist side by side and existences of both of them is true base of society and 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 consider 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 population while sub-group may comprises 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 say 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 (Mujeed, 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. Sarakis 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 provinces 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.

1.9. Literature Review

The systematic examination and interpretation of literature with independent verification and scrutiny helped a researcher to identify some important research questions that have not yet been fully addressed by others. Literature specifically in book form on federalism in Pakistan is commonly available and bulk of material is also available on issues concerning the demand of new provinces in Pakistan in different journals, magazines, newspapers articles; however, sufficient published materials are not available relating to

Hazara Province Movement. In order to explore the movement in its historical perspective, libraries and internet sources has been utilized and previous literature has been reviewed for guidance. Interview has also been conducted from politicians, intellectuals and political activists for finding answers to research questions which was missing in available literature. The details of literature review are as follow:

Khan (2015) and Kolkir (1957) work highlights that many powerful rulers and racial groups in past captured people and their regions by force but this tendency has been changed in modern period mainly due to rise of nationalism among the local people of different regions which forced the colonial powers to leave their colonies. The work also explained that we live in the age of diversity and conflicts which may exist both within the state between different racial, linguistic, religious and cultural groups and among states on the basis of different ideologies and claim over territories. Political centralism and domination of some powerful elements caused resurgence and evolution of regional ethnicity in many countries particularly in third world.

Robertson (1985) Khan (2016) and Anderson (2008) work explored that democracy is best political system because it is based on decentralization of authority and powers and also having the ability to accommodate the interest of different segments of the society in better way than any other system of government. Democratic system first evolved in city-states in ancient time where citizens could directly participate in the affairs of states and in decision making process. It further stated that the politics of ethnicity is common in most of the developing countries.

The work also explained that division and sub-division of state and its powers into various administrative areas i.e. states, provinces, departments and counties are common phenomena in modern time. It also stated that regarding centralization and decentralization;

modern states can be classified into unitary and federal system. Federalism is suitable for multi-ethnic society because it may resolve the problem of diverse population by division of power. The study further revealed that size and population of the province effect on the politics of the country. The existence of more units will strengthen federation because no single province will be able to establish hegemony on small and weak units. He also explained that the evolution of federal system in different countries is not same and it evolved differently due to its specific social and political environment.

The review of Yang (2000) Majeed (2017) and Bhandari (1963) work explored that in modern diverse society majority ethnic group consist of millions of people and may also larger in size and small groups may comprises few thousands. It is historically proved that people expressed hatred and prejudice toward other groups on the basis of ethnicity and history of federalism is filled with such trends especially in the politics of developing countries. It also revealed that in plural societies different groups often came into conflicts, when they face injustice or discrimination. The study proposed that to check this trend and to remove contradiction, social, political and economic measures are required to redress the grievances of the weak segment of the society.

The work also explained that Pakistan is heterogeneous society in which few ethnic groups enjoy dominant position and many small groups enjoy less or no influence in decision making process in different core institutions that is important cause of unrest and tendency of separatism in the country. The work also explained that federal system is complex political system and its success depends upon peculiar socio-political environment i.e. geographical contiguity, similarity of culture, language, religion and customs, constitutional and political equality among units, high literacy rate, political awareness, impartial tribunal and level of economic development etc.

Adeney (2007) Faiz (2015) and Sharma (1992) stated that most of the countries of the world comprised different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic group and every group try to promote its own culture and identity and if these groups are not united, the survival of that country may be in danger. The study also revealed that state having more provinces is conducive to federal stability while federation having less units has contributed to political instability and also caused disintegration in most of the cases.

The study also explored that federal system is suitable for diverse society because it is based on decentralization of power and authority. It also provides more opportunities to sub-groups and minorities in the affairs of state which promote unity in state on one hand and to check despotic tendency of the dominant group on other. The work further added that during the period of East India Company, lower classes were badly suffered due to over taxation and financial and political domination, which resulted discontentment in exploited and weak classes. The war of 1857 was reaction against the unjust policies of the company that was implemented from time to time by company administration. The study also clarified that though British succeeded in suppressing the revolt due to better strategy, but they failed to remove the feeling of hatred from the heart and mind of Indian against them.

The study of Mahajan (1985) Rafiaullah (1992) and Kapur (1970) work revealed that after the war of 1857, the rule of company ended and direct British rule was established. During this period British government brought about many changes in the administration, but all economic, political and administrative changes were means to achieve the same end and real powers and authority have not been decentralized. The study also explored that the revolt of 1857 however, compelled the British government to seek the co-operation of Indian in running the working of administration. British government introduced Minto-Morely reform in 1909 under which first time British government decided to delegate certain powers at grass-root level. In these reforms legislative and executive power was decentralized and

separate electorate was also given to Muslim but it is also fact that executive was not accountable before legislature under the act. The study also explained that after the end of First World War, British government introduced new reforms in 1919, under which, federal system was introduced and first time limited autonomy was given to provinces, which enabled Indian to have direct access with the administration and management of transferred subjects which provided them some useful administrative experience.

Sayeed (1968) Rabbani (2007) and Hussain(1964) work explored that British government sent Simon Commission in 1927 to evaluate the political conditions of India and to prepare recommendations for fresh constitutional reforms but the commission was boycotted by Indian as no Indians were included in it. But despite non-cooperation by Indian political parties and its leaderships, the commission continued its work and published report in 1930 and recommended permanent constitution and federalism with full provincial autonomy. It also explained that from 1930 to 1932 British government arranged three roundtable conferences in London and all political parties of India were invited to attend it but no consensus could be developed among them. After roundtable conferences, British government introduced Act of 1935, under which more powers and authority was decentralized and first time full autonomy was given to provinces.

The work also explained that after Second World War, British parliament passed Act of 1947, under which India and Pakistan got independence and thus British rule came to an end on 15, August 1947. But this sudden decision created many problems for newly established state. The work further revealed that the factors that promoted nationalism among the Muslim of India began to develop due to Aligarh Movement, formation of All India Muslim, Lucknow Pact, Allama Iqbal Allahabad Address and Lahore Resolution in 1940.

The study of Munir (1980) Ayesha (1985) Kalam (1959) and Rupert (1969) work revealed that when Jinnah become the president of AIML in 1935, it was weak organization and Muslim community too was not united and organized, but he reorganized it and succeeded to unite Indian Muslim under the platform of AIML in very short time. It also highlight that congress rule from 1937-39 was eye opener for Muslim; because anti-Muslim attitude adopted by Congress govt, convinced them that they had to adopt new strategy for survival otherwise they will come under the domination of Hindu. It also stated that annual session of Muslim league was held in Lahore on 23, March 1940, in which Muslim of India demanded separate states comprising all Muslim majority provinces.

The work further explained that British government sent Cabinet Mission to find out the mutually acceptable solution of Indian problems. After the Second World War, the attitude of America and other European powers was also in favor of the independence of India. Though differences existed between Congress and League on the question of division of India, but these were resolved subsequently. In February, 1947 British government announced that British will leave India till 1948 and Lord Mountbatten was appointed as new viceroy to finalize all issues related to Indian independence. After making all arrangements British parliament passed Indian Independence Act, 1947 under which all power and authority was given to respective legislature of India and Pakistan.

Rabbani (2011) Razia (2011) and Hussein (2019) stated that there are several problems and challenges which federal govt is being faced by most of the countries including Pakistan. These include harmonious relation between center and provinces, protection of smaller units against the exploitation of larger unit, tendency of separatism and issues of the re-demarcation of boundaries of provinces/creation of new units etc. He further explained that due to these problems, minority ethnic groups, in most of the existing provinces are demanding new provinces. It also stated that for the creation of new provinces some factors

must be keep in mind such as economic resources, socio-cultural factor, political and economic balance and also proposed that for the creation of new provinces referendum or national commission is suitable strategy.

The study also revealed that due to tendency of centralization, sense of deprivation developed among the people of East Pakistan which became the cause its separation in 1971. The study further explored that federalism require democratic society which promote harmony and national unity in the country and may also ensure equitable social and economic development. It also highlights that the Constitution of 1973 given by elected government were profoundly federal because it was based on political, economic and administrative decentralization of power and authority. He further stated that it was massively altered by military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq and General Musharraf, which greatly disturbed central-province relations and it further increased the grievances of small federating units.

However, elected govt of PPP brought about 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 under which more autonomy was given to provinces by abolishing concurrent list from the constitution. Pakistan is multi-ethnic society and facing ethnic conflicts since its establishment because some ethnic groups are larger in size and population and also having more influence in decision making. The study proposed that for the promotion of national unity, there is a need to bring about reforms in all state institutions to protect the interest of weak segments of the society. The study also revealed that Pakistani society is complex and consisted of several ethnic and social groups. Among these few are well-organized and strong and they are able to protect its interest then weak segment of society which has no strong organization and capacity to protect its interest. He proposed that for the promotion of national unity, all the segments of the society should have due share in the administration of state.

The analysis of Zulfiqar (2012) Abbasi (2016) Hamid (2017) Chaduhry (1967) and Mahmud (1980) work explored that after the establishment of Pakistan federal system was introduced, but all previous governments have not taken sincere efforts for the implementation of federalism in its true litter and spirit which is important cause of sense of deprivation among small units and sub-nationalities in the country. The Constitution of 1973 was formulated with the consensus of elected leaderships of all political parties, federal system remain continue and more autonomy was given to provinces but it too could not promote much unity and harmony in the country.

The review of the work further explained that after the establishment of Pakistan, first Constituent assembly was set up and Muhammad Ali Jinnah was elected as Governor General and president of assembly. The Constituent assembly has to perform two important work, first to act as legislature and secondly to make new constitution for the country. The study further revealed that first Constituent assembly passed Objective Resolution in 1949 which laid the foundation of constitution making in Pakistan. It was historic in a sense that it combines in itself both the features of Islamic and Western democracy and under it federal and parliamentary system was announced for the country. The examination of work also explored that all the amendment proposed by minorities was not accepted by the assembly, which sown the seed of suspicion, alienation among minorities and minority ethnic groups in Pakistan. However, the Constitution of 1965 was made in the lights principles given in Objective Resolution.

Ahmad (1990) Hussein (1994) and Khalid (2013) stated that all the constitutions made since independence were federal in character, but they lacked provincial autonomy in true sense which became cause of conflict between center-provinces relation on one hand and powerful and weak units on the other. The study further highlights that difference between East and West Pakistan over the issue of representation and language not

only caused delay in constitution making but also sowed the seed of hatred and mistrust between two wings. The study also explored that the feeling of domination in small units against bigger one in federal politics remained common phenomena, which weakened federal system in Pakistan. Although Pakistan is federal state; but it has been administered like unitary state. This tendency has weakened the capacity of government to accommodate the interest of small ethnic groups which is main cause of disunity in Pakistan

The work of Rizvi (2006) Raja (2012) Hussein (2015) Khan (2011) and Bhatti (2016) explained that all the previous government failed to address the issues between center and provinces. The study also highlights that though federalism is useful for pluralistic country like Pakistan but without sound democratic system, autonomy will not productive for the small provinces and vulnerable groups in the country. Pakistan is federal state but it is still facing same problems and crisis such as ethnic and linguistic conflicts which were at the time of independence. The work further explained that true democratic system could not be developed in Pakistan which is vital to strengthen the position of ethnic and religious minorities in the country.

The study of the work also revealed that for making federalism strong, Pakistan need to create 12 provinces on ethnic and regional basis in all existing provinces. The responsible factors which spurred the demand of new provinces in Pakistan are increasing population, demand for more decentralization, equitable economic development, balance political structure and promotion and development of the culture and separate identity of minority ethnic groups. The Constitution of 56 and 1962 were federal in theory but practically all the powers and authority have been centralized that also widen the gulf between two wings.

Feldman (1972) Pasha (2015) and Waseem (2010) work explained that One Unit was abolished by military regime headed by Yehya Khan and as a result of this development the

former position of all the provinces of West Pakistan once again restored. One Unit scheme was introduced in 1955 under which whole West Pakistan was declared as single province and the scheme of one unit remained continue under both the constitutions. The study further added that after the election of 1970 and separation of East Pakistan, PPP lead by Zulfqar Ali Bhutto came to power who formed the Constitution of 1973 with the consensus of all political parties having representations in legislature in which more autonomy was given to provinces. The work also explored that though federal system remained continue under the Constitution of 1973, but there is also tendency of the centralization of powers and authority and constitutional powers given to the provinces has not been utilized in its true perspective, which is main cause of tension and ethno-lingual conflicts in different backward regions of the country.

The analysis of Dawn editorial (2008) and PCCR Report (2010) revealed that the federal structure of the Constitution of 1973 was massively changed by all military dictators. In 2006, the political leaderships of key political parties signed, "Charter of Democracy" and they expressed their desire to strengthen federalism by further decentralization of powers and authority. The study also explained that after the end of military regime of Musharraf in 2008, Pakistan People Party came to powers that formed parliamentary committee to recommend suitable measures to strengthen democracy and federalism. The committee prepared a detail draft bill of 18th Constitutional Amendment, which was passed by both the house of parliament in 2010.

Burki (2015) Akhtar (2015) Iftikhar (2007) and Khawaja (2013) stated that through 18th Constitutional Amendment, about 97 articles of the Constitution of 1973 were amended and more autonomy was given to provinces by abolishing concurrent list. They also explained that 18th Constitutional Amendment was positive step to strengthen federalism in Pakistan, but it also failed to address the demand of weak and suppressed groups in different

regions of the country. The work further explained that under 6th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award, the share of center was 53 percent while share of province was 47 percent while under 7th NFC Award, the share of units have been increased from 47 to 57.3 percent which further strengthen the financial position of provinces.

Zulfiqar (2012) Rasool (2018) Khan (1990) and Siddiqua (2007) work explored that though apparently the major distrust between center and provinces has been corrected under 18th Constitutional Amendment and 7th NFC Award, but it is also fact that this amendment brought negative impacts on minority ethnic groups lives in different existing provinces. The study further revealed that in Pakistani politics different types of exploitation is going on i.e. big province is exploiting small provinces and ethnic majorities is exploiting ethnic minorities within different provinces. It also explained that population of Pakistan is more than 200 million and more than half of the population is living in the province of Punjab.

The study also revealed that due to limited center of power majority of the population of remote and backward regions are facing many social, economic, political and administrative problems and now they are demanding new provinces for the protection of their separate identity and development on the basis of equality. The work further highlights that since independence efforts have been going on to strengthen federalism by giving more autonomy to its units. Under Objective Resolution (1949) federalism was recommended which remained continue under all constitutions; but due to ethno-lingual differences it failed to promote unity and harmony among the provinces

Rizwan (2015) Zafar (2018) Siddiqua (2009) and Rehman (1999) explained that various differences between center and provinces have been removed through 18th Constitutional Amendment; but it brought negative impacts on sub-nationalities and minority ethnic groups within different backward regions such as Sarakis in Punjab, Mohajirs in

Sindh, Pakhtuns in Baluchistan and in people of Hazara region in KP and now the people of these region again revived their movements for new provinces. It is believed that new provinces would end the monopoly of big province, promote harmony, better management of resources, strengthen federalism and ultimately to improve governance in the country.

The study of the work also revealed that since independence, Pakistan has been ruled both by civilian and military regimes; but they failed to addresses the grievances of the people of backward regions and all of them neglected these regions. It further stated that one such region is South Punjab whose population is facing discrimination and many analysts predicted that next battle ground for the promotion of extremism might be South Punjab because due to backwardness, extremism and militancy is gaining ground there. The study also explored that South Punjab has three divisions and fifteen districts and Saraiki is their common language and it was recognized as official language in 1981. It further explained that movement for creating South Punjab province began after the abolition of One Unit in 1970 by military regime of Yahya Khan.

Javid (2011) Chandio (2009) Wasim (2019) and Lungah (2012) work revealed that after the end of One Unit, different political parties of South Punjab started movement for the establishment of Saraiki province and Bahawalpur province. The movement got momentum in 1970s; but later on due to imposition of martial law by Zia-ul-Haq, it could not make any headway, but after Zia death movement once again revived. PILDAT (2011) survey revealed that sense of alienation began to develop among the people of South Punjab during British rule when people from outside the region began to settle down there. The study also revealed that South Punjab is producing more income; but very less is being spent on its development and it also has fewer shares in federal and provincial services.

The analysis of the work also explored that there is growing disparity between South and Central Punjab and like other provinces; the residents of Saraiki belt have their own separate language. PPP government also expressed its desire to establish new province in the region. The work further explained that PML (N) central leaderships announced in joint press conference that it has submitted constitutional amendment bill in lower house of the parliament for the establishment of South Punjab, Bahawalpur and Hazara provinces. The study also highlights that the demand of SPM revolve around the separate ethno-linguistic identity of its people which was ignored by both British rulers and Pakistani leaderships in past. It also explained that despite in majority, Saraiki people have been deprived from their due share and place in the politics of the country both at central and provincial level.

Hussein (2015) Tahir (2010) and Rehman (1995) stated in his work that at the time of independence, State of Bahawalpur joined Pakistan under agreement in 1951 as province. Later on it was merged in One Unit as part of West Pakistan on the condition that when One Unit ends than its previous position will be restored. But when military regime of Yehya Khan abolished One Unit in 1969, the Bahawalpur region was merged in the province of Punjab as division, the movement for the establishment of Bahawalpur province began. The work also explained that till the enforcement of the Constitution of 1973, Muhajirs constitute 8 percent of the population of Pakistan; but they enjoy dominant position in Sindh administration. The Muhajirs were well educated and like Punjabi, they were influential as compare to other small ethnic groups. The study also explored that majority of Muhajirs community were settled in urban Sindh after division of India in 1973 and due to their high literacy rate and important role in Pakistan Movement, they also enjoyed dominant position in state politics and business.

Syed (1949) Waseem (1997) and Wright (1991) explained that due to their important role in Pakistan Movement, Muhajir community was also highly respectful to Muhammad

Ali Jinnah which further strengthens their influence and position. The declaration of Karachi as federal capital and Urdu as national language also enhanced their power and position. He further stated that this development was not liked by Sindhi Nationalist and their leaderships declared openly at many occasions that Sindh has become victim of Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism.

The study of the work also highlights that position of Muhajirs began to decrease since 1970s when PPP came to powers who introduced many changes in state administration both at center and provincial level that were perceived by Muhajirs as ethnically motivated. Under this new plan Sindh was divided on urban and rural basis and quota system in services was also announced. The study further stated that after the passage of Sindh language bill, Muhajirs began to demand more representation and also demanded that Karachi should be given the status of province and existing share of the Muhajirs should not be reversed. PILDAT (2010) report revealed that though 18th Constitutional Amendment provincial autonomy has been given provinces, but it also created inter-ethnic conflicts and problems of minorities within minorities developed and minority ethnic groups again revived separate province movement in different regions of the country.

The analysis of Siddiqa (2012) Ahmad (1989 and Dawn (1972) work highlights that Baluchistan is big province in respect of area and Balochi, Brohvi and Pakhtune are major ethnic groups in the province, who speak three different languages and relation among these three groups is also not much cordial. Due to these differences voice for establishing separate Pakhtune province rose many times. The study also revealed that Achakzi, a Pakhtuns leader demanded in 1970s that either Governor or Chief Minister should be taken from Pakhtune and their share in other services should also be increased. It also explained that Baluchis have never claimed that Pakhtune populated areas is integral part of Baluchistan and they are also not against the establishment of Pakhtune province.

Hussain (2015) and Abbasi (2010) work revealed that during the military regime of Musharraf (1999-2008), Marza Jawad Baig floated the proposal of 22 provinces to strengthen federal system in Pakistan. It further explained that after the demand of Bahawalpur province, the people living in North-West Punjab and South of KP also demanded the creation of Neelab province comprising Dera Ismial Khan, Tank, Karak and Lakki Marwat from KP and Mainwali, Bakhar and Khusab from Punjab. The review of the work also revealed that till 1848 Multan region was also province and some local circle from this region demanded on many occasions the restoration of its former position as province. The work also stated that Hazara division is rich in natural resources; but it is economically backward. Due to this reason, the demand of Hazara province was articulated on many occasions; but present movement for the establishment of Hazara province was revived after the renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010.

Panni (2016) stated that people of Hazara division were aware about their separate identity and for the protection of it; they articulated the demand Hazara province on many occasions. The study further revealed that negative and biased attitude of Pakhtune nationalists forced the people of Hazara region to revive HPM again especially after passage of 18th Constitutional Amendment. It also revealed that Hazara division is hilly terrain and its boundaries are attached with Northern Areas, Kashmir, Punjab and federal capital Islamabad. They also stated that before British, Hazara region was ruled by many rulers such as Alexander, Mauria dynasty, Ghaznvi and Ghor dynasty. They also stated that, word “Hazara” was first used in Haripur during the rule of Turk and later on it was adopted by the people of other districts. Hazara division is territorial region comprising many ethnic groups such as Jadoon, Abbasi, Karlal, Gujjar, Pakhtunes, Kohastini, Tanoli, Qureshi and Awan etc and Hindko is major language of the region.

Akmal (1997) explained that British captured Hazara region in 1848 and Captain James Abbott was appointed as the first Deputy Commissioner of Hazara district and it was included in the province of Punjab. He also stated that NWFP was given the status province in 1901 by the British govt and Hazara was detached from Punjab and made part of NWFP without the consultation of the leadership of Hazara region.

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The analysis of Ghazi (2008) Khan (2012) and Kundi (2014) work highlights that in 2005 committee was constituted by provincial government of MMA, to propose suitable name of the province of NWFP; but consensus could not be develop. Under 18th Constitutional Amendment (2010), NWFP was renamed as KP; however, it was criticised in Hazara division. The study further explained that the leaderships of Hazara region revived HPM after renaming of the province after 18th Constitutional Amendment and it was supported by all political parties, groups, political activists and association and Sardar Haider Zaman (Baba) was nominated as its Chairman. It further highlights that this time HPM also gives impetuous and momentum to other provinces movements particularly in the province of Sindh and Punjab. The scrutiny of the documents also explored that the incident of 12 April, 2010 occurred as a result of cross firing between police and protesters and declared that police, local leaderships of HPM and civil administration were responsible for it.

Analysis of The Express Tribune (2014) editorial and research report prepared by OADF explored that Hazara region is rich in various types of resources and it is generating more income then what is being spent presently for the development of the areas. The region has potential to become separate province and could survive on its own resources. The study further revealed that during the financial years (2017-18) Hazara division got fewer shares from annual development program as per Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) formula and this practice has been continuing since long.

The study of report (2015-17) and Khattak (ND) explored that Hazara division is producing more revenues and income and has potential to double its income within shortest possible time due to its peaceful environment and presence of middle class population. The findings of the study revealed that Hazara division has a potential to generate about 20000 MW hydel power but in term of the development of social and economic infrastructure, Hazara division is very backward. The study of the work also explored that the regions near to capital city Peshawar are more developed and these are hub of socio-economic activities, while people living in far flung areas are facing many difficulties due to lack of opportunities for socio-economic development. Moreover, people are also migrating toward the capital city Peshawar for better opportunities that is also causing enormous pressure on the socio-economic infrastructure of the capital city Peshawar. In order to check this tendency there is need to establish new centers of power in all existing provinces.

The scrutiny of Sattar (2019) and Rehman (1996) work explored that due to construction of Tarbala Dam 120 villages submerged and about 96000 populations was dislocated, mostly from district Haripur. But affected population is still facing many problems and Royalty of dam is not being spent on the development of socio-economic infrastructure of the affected regions. The study also highlights that Hazara region has been ignored by all provincial governments that created the feeling of alienation among the people of Hazara division and they demanded Hazara province.

The analysis of Ahmad (2011) Sadaqat (2012) and Zia-ur-Rehman (2012) work revealed that population in and around capital city Peshawar has been increased due to migration of people from backward regions for better economic opportunities which is increasing the pressure on its existing infrastructure. By creation of new province, pressure of work over administration of the capital city may be decrease which ultimately brings about improvement in administration of capital city Peshawar. The study further explained that

HQM was established in 1987 for the protection of the rights and separate identity of the people of Hazara division. Later on HQM included in its objective the demanded of Hazara province due to ethnic politics of ANP leaderships and it turned into a resistant movement after passing of resolution by NWFP assembly to rename the province as Pakhtunkhwa in 1997. The work also explored that HPM revived after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 and in this time it got impetus not only in entire Hazara division but also in other provinces of the country. However, the decision to register TSH in election commission 2011 by Sardar Haider Zaman as political party without the consultation of the leaderships of other parties caused division in HPM.

Ghazalli (2008) Awan (2010) and Asim (2010) work explained that Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) has strong base in Hazara division and after the election of 1997, it formed coalition government in NWFP with the support of ANP and during this period resolution to rename NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa was passed by provincial assembly. But due to severe demonstration in Hazara division against this development, the objective could not be materialized and as result ANP quit both central and provincial govt. The study also revealed that after the election of 2008, ANP and PPP formed government in NWFP and in 2010, 18th Constitutional Amendment was passed in which NWFP was renamed as KP which was not opposed by PML (N) which affected the popularity of PML-(N) in Hazara division. The study further added that like other national political parties, PPP is also not against Hazara province; however, its central leaderships is more interested to create South Punjab province so as to weaken the hold of PML (N) in the region. Secondly PPP is not in favor of Muhajirs province in urban Sindh and its open support for Hazara province will strengthen the demand of Muhajir Province Movement in urban Sindh.

The study of the editorial Paktribune (2011) Express Tribune (2013) and Dawn (2014) revealed that though MQM has followings in all the provinces, but its strong support base is

urban Sindh. MQM leadership fully supported HPM and also proposed referendum for the establishment of Hazara province. The work also explored that due to division in HPM, the popularity of the movement has been reduced mostly in upper part of Hazara division. The study also explained that like other political parties, PTI also supported the demand of Hazara province. After 18th Constitutional Amendment, PTI Chairman Imran Khan visited different part of Hazara division and promised to establish Hazara province, if come to power. The review of the work also highlights that after the election of 2013, PTI came to power in KP and some independent MPAs from Hazara division joined PTI in the hope to establish Hazara province. The analysis of the work also explored that the resolution was moved by elected members of KP assembly belonging to Hazara division and it was passed but not with two third majority.

The analysis of Ali (2010), Yaqoob (2007) and Abro (2012) work explored that Jamait-e-Islami also supported HPM and its leaderships openly expressed their view that 18th Constitutional Amendment created many new problems including renaming of NWFP as KP and they proposed to bring about 19th amendment to establish Hazara province. It also revealed that JI is in favor of creating new provinces in all the existing provinces including Hazara province in KP. It is stance of JI leaderships that good governance and economic development on the basis of equality may not be possible without creating new small and easily manageable units.

The study of the work clarified that demand of Hazara province is not new, but all previous governments paid no attention toward this issue. The movement for the establishment of Hazara province again revived after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 and it got further momentum when provincial government tried to obstruct peaceful demonstration which took the lives of ten people. The work also explained that without amending article 239 of the Constitution of 1973; HPM

cannot achieve its objective. Moreover, creation of new provinces is challenge to federalism which may be address through national commission consisting of experts or issue should be resolved through referendum.

Waqar (2012) Rizwan (2018) and Sadaqat (2014) stated that after the incident of 12, April 2010, the anniversary of the martyrs is observed every year; but due to division in the leaderships of HPM, its different groups observed it separately, which further weaken the momentum of the movement. The study of the work also explored that elected members of KP assembly belonging to Hazara division are not in majority therefore, constitutional procedure given in article 239 of the Constitution of 1973 cannot be follow. The study further added that though all political parties supported HPM after renaming of the province, but it is also fact that they used the slogan of Hazara province as stunt, just to attract voters to won election and when they came to power they failed to materialize the demand.

Ahmad (2011) Khan (2012) Munir (2017) and Ahmad (2019) explained that ANP leadership proposed the establishment of Abaseen division comprising all three district of upper Hazara to weaken HPM momentum by dividing the population of Hazara division on ethno-lingual basis. Review of works also revealed that satisfactory distribution of economic resources and to develop consensus among them for creating new units, is challenging task but it is also fact that administrative division of the country into small units is pre-requisite to strengthen federal system.

The study further explained that promotion and development of culture, language and separate identity of the minority ethnic groups is not possible without the establishment of new provinces in Pakistan. Though HPM got momentum after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Amendment but, the leaderships of different political parties supported the demand of Hazara province for political point scoring to win the election of 2013 and they

were not sincere to the cause. The work also explored that the leaderships of ANP stated on many occasion that demand of Hazara province is the right of its people, but for the achievement of this objective HPM leaderships should adopt constitutional means as did by ANP for renaming of the province.

The study and examination of literature collected from both primary and secondary sources revealed that Pakistan is multi-ethnic and multi-lingual country and country is facing ethno-lingual crisis since independence and one important factor of the separation of East Pakistan was issue of ethnicity and language. Similarly the environment of mistrust and conflict still exist in different backward regions of the country. The metropolitan cities of each province and its adjoining areas have received more resources while far flung areas are ignored. Hazara division is rich in natural resources and is largely contributing the economy of the KP, but this region is socially and economically backward and its people are facing economic, political and administrative problems due to long distance from capital city Peshawar. These inequalities and injustices forced the people of Hazara division to articulate the demand of Hazara province many time in the past

However, after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment, the movement to establish Hazara province again revived and in this time HPM give momentum to new provinces movements in other parts of the country. However, the constitutional procedure is main impediment in the way to create new federating units as approval from concerned provincial assemblies is also required for the creation of new province. but it is also fact that establishment of new small and easily manageable units is necessary to bring about national unity, socio-economic development on the basis of equality and also to strengthen federalism in the country.

1.9.1. Gape in Literature

Though sufficient literature is commonly available on federalism in Pakistan and its related problems and challenges, but enough literature in respect of new provinces including Hazara province is deficient and not commonly available. Therefore, present research work would add the existing literature and knowledge regarding new provinces in general and Hazara province in particular.

1.10. Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to the systematic and scientific approach employed to collect, analyze and interpret the data for the purpose of answering research questions. Research design, data collection methods, sampling and analysis and interpretation of data are important components of the research methodology of present study.

1.10.1. Research Design

The research design is qualitative and descriptive in nature which has explored and digs out all important factors which became cause of demand of new provinces in general and Hazara province in particular. It also highlighted that how new federating units in all the existing provinces including Hazara province in KP, is vital to strengthen federalism, promotion of national unity, economic development on the basis equality and to bring about efficiency in the administration of state.

1.10.2. Data Collection

For the collection of data both primary and secondary sources has been used. Primary data has been collected directly through survey technique. Interview has been conducted from politicians, intellectuals and political activists associated with HPM to explore the ground realities of the demand of Hazara province in the light of the main objectives of the study.

Secondary data has been collected from different libraries such as Library of International Islamic University Islamabad and National Library Islamabad. The researcher has also utilized the comments and analysis published in different English and Urdu newspapers and magazines regarding the demand of the creation of new provinces particularly Hazara province. The facilities of inter-net have also been utilized for the collection of data and few official reports such as Census Report 2017 and official documents of different departments of KP government have also been reviewed.

1.10.3 Sampling

It is difficult to study the whole population for collection of relevant information, therefore; Purposive Sampling technique has been used and information has been collected from target group. As experts and relevant person can give more reliable and accurate information about the problem therefore, semi structure interviews has been conducted from politicians, belonging to different political parties, intellectuals and political activist associated with Hazara Province Movement. The lists of interviewees and questions asked from them are attached in annexures at the end.

1.10.4. Analysis and Interpretation of Data

For analysis and interpretation of data, thematic analysis technique has been used that is commonly used by political scientists and researchers in qualitative, case study and descriptive research. This technique is usually applied to set of text such as transcripts of interview written in coded form. The data has been interpreted in the light of research questions and objectives of the study. In the process of familiarization (reading and re-reading), it is revealed that all the writers, analysts and respondents were agreed that for the better management of state resources and to bring about efficiency in the administration of

state, new federating units must be created in all the existing provinces of Pakistan as happened in other countries around the world.

Analysis and interpretation of data also explored the fact that federal system in India was introduced by British which continue even after independence. Though federalism is suitable for diverse country like Pakistan, but all the previous governments failed to bring about harmony and unity among federating units and minority ethnic groups within all existing provinces. The study also revealed that though 18th Constitutional Amendment was positive steps toward giving more autonomy to provinces, but it is also fact this amendment also failed to address the grievances of sub-nationalities and minority ethnic groups in different existing provinces and as result deprived communities again revived new province movement in their respective regions.

The leaderships of Hazara division also revived Hazara Province Movement after 18th Constitutional Amendment which was supported by all the segments of the society, but it is also fact that political leaderships of major political parties used the slogan of Hazara province for getting vote at the time of election and when they came to power they did not take sincere efforts and delayed the matter on one pretext or the other. The examination of data further revealed that the demand of Hazara province has also been articulated on administrative basis and not on ethnic lines as conceived by some element. Hazara division is territorial region where people belonging to different ethnic background are living but Hindko is common language of majority of its residents. It is rich in all types of resources, but provincial government from capital city Peshawar is lacking ability to properly develop them which is one important cause of its backwardness.

The examination and analysis of data also explored that although, for bringing about efficiency in state administration, new provinces are essential for better management of

resources, but there is also need to bring about comprehensive reforms and reorganization of all the institutions of the state.

1.11. Organization of Study

The thesis has been organized into eight chapters. The brief descriptions of the organization of different chapters are as follow:

1. Introduction: Introduction is brief summary of the thesis which starts with the definition of the concept of federalism and its evolution. Pakistan is federal state, but due to over centralization; it has been facing different problems and challenges and one such problem is demand of new provinces in different provinces. Demand of new provinces including Hazara province again revived after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. Statement of the problem, objective of the study, research questions, and significance of study, theoretical framework, literature review, research methodology and analysis and interpretation of data also included in it

2. Theoretical Framework: Chapter two deals with the concept of federalism which is based on theory of decentralization of power and authority. For multi-ethnic society federal system is suitable because it has ability to promote national unity through the adjustment and accommodation of diversity. More federating units are necessary to strengthen federalism because in the existence of more federating units, no single units may be able to establish its hegemony over weak units. Theory of comparative politics, pluralism, conflict resolution, and politics of ethnicity has also been discussed.

3. Evolution of Federalism in Pakistan: Chapter three deals with evolution of federalism in Pakistan and federalism in subcontinent was established by British. After gaining independence federal system was retained but due to over centralization, the

environment of mistrust still exists in small units and minority ethnic groups within different provinces. Though under 18th Constitutional Amendment more autonomy was given to provinces, but it created mistrust in ethnic minorities in different provinces and now they revived their movement for the establishment new provinces. Hazara Province Movement also revived in Hazara division after renaming NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment.

4. New Province Movements in Pakistan: Chapter four deals with evolution and development of new provinces movement in different part of the country. Social, political, economic, administrative, ethnic and linguistic problems and identity crisis are underlying causes for the rise of demand of new provinces in different backward regions including Hazara division.

5. Hazara Province Movement: Chapter five includes important factors that led to the demand of Hazara province. It also includes the history of separate identity of the people of Hazara division.

6. Role of Political Parties in HPM: Chapter six deals with the role and behavior of different national and regional political parties in of Hazara Province Movement.

7. Problems and Challenges to HPM: Chapter seven deals with the problems and challenges to Hazara Province Movement.

8. Prospects of HPM: In chapter eight prospects of the demand of Hazara Province Movement has been explained.

Conclusion and Recommendations: At the end conclusion has been given and suggestions and recommendations has been proposed for the viable solution of the research problems.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Countless powerful racial and linguistics groups captured other people and their regions in past and established its domination over them, but this tendency in modern democratic period have undergone tremendous change. It is mainly due to rise of nationalism among the people of different regions which became important restraining factor to all invaders and foreign aggression. In modern era we have seen nationalism in many regions of the world. It was the spirit of nationalism among the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which forced the colonial power to leave the colonies and give independence to them (Khan M. S., 2015).

We live in the age of diversity, contradiction and change and conflicts exist both within and between nation-states on the basis of ethnic identity and desire for regional autonomy. Political and bureaucratic centralism and increasing domination of some powerful elements in the society has caused resurgence and evolution of regional ethnicity in many states particularly in third world countries. The tendency towards centralization is counter balance by trend towards fragmentation and decentralization of power and authority. Social and political thinkers examine this trend in the light of three major theoretical perspectives: the consensus perspective, conflicts perspective and on the basis of social constructionism (Kolker, 1987).

Consensus theorist holds the view that people in West have broad consensus over principles i.e. adult franchise, protection of the rights of minorities and use of constitutional guarantee. They also hold the view that disputes and grievances should not be settled by violence or other conventional tactics. Conflict theorists hold the view that whatever consensus exists are illusory, masking significant differences in power, influence and in the

objective interest of different groups. They also believed that these differences set the tone and cultural behavior of the political system of the country. While the social constructionist theorist holds the view that in every society conflicts and consensus co-exist side by side and the existences of both of them is true basis of state and society (Kolker, 1987).

Democracy in modern time is considered as best political system because it has a capacity to accommodate and adjust the conflicting interest of different segments of the society. Origin and evolution of democracy can be traced back to ancient Greek city-states where the citizen could directly participate in the affairs of state and in decision making process. These states were small in size and population and direct participation in the affairs of these states was possible. (Robertson, 1985).

But in modern time states are too large in respect of size and population and it may not be efficiently administered by one central government. Therefore, the division and sub-division of states and powers and authority into various administrative units i.e. states, provinces, cantons, department and counties has become inevitable. There are basically two concept of power and authority i.e. centralization and decentralization. On the basis of the concept of centralization and decentralization, modern states may be classified into unitary and federal state (Khan, 2016).

Unitary system of government is one in which supreme governmental authority is constitutionally exercised by one central government. For administrative conveniences, the country is divided and sub-divided into landers, counties, cantons and departments; but they exercise only delegated power and enjoy no real autonomy. United Kingdom, France, Japan, Iran, Turkey and Sweden are few examples of unitary system of government. However, unitary system is not suitable for multi-ethnic and large states and it is suitable for those states which are small in size and population and having homogeneity in culture. For multi-

ethnic and diverse societies/states, federal system is more suitable because it has capacity to manage unity through diversity by distribution of powers between central and provincial governments (Anderson, 2008).

2.1. Evolution of Federalism

Generally evolution of federation is the result of two activities that are integration and decentralization. In case of integration numbers of sovereign states voluntarily decide to unite together into a single federal state in view of common defense or of some economic benefits. The USA, Switzerland and Australia became federation in this way. The second method to form federal state is that usually some states are too large to be administered conveniently by one central govt. It has also a great diversity of language; culture and local interest which may be satisfactorily look after by autonomous provincial government. Federation of India and Pakistan came into being in this way (Waseen, 2012).

Today there are about 195 member states and out of these about 28 adopted federal system of government. Each federal country has its own history regarding its origin and evolution, which may involve warfare, revolution and peaceful democratic process. In some cases, previously independent states or colonies join together in federal arrangement because they had enough common and shared identities and they thought that only federalism can permit each federating units to preserve its autonomy and separate identity (Anderson, 2008).

In other cases, the country was originally a unitary, highly centralized, authoritarian and undemocratic, but due to democratic political pressure for decentralization and regional autonomy, the diversity of language, religion, ethnicities and economic disparity, forced them to adopt federalism. In Latin America about four federations emerged in 19 and early 20 century such as Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela after peninsular war. After Second World War, India, Pakistan, Malaysia and Nigeria decided to establish federal system and

after the collapse of communism in 1991, Czechoslovakia emerged as a federal state. Factors such as creation of new units, urbanization, demographic and economic changes, new technologies, domestic and global political developments and democratic process played a key role in shaping of federal structures in different countries of the world (Anderson, 2008)

For analysis and evaluation the development of federal system in Pakistan we need to study the colonial legacy. Many decolonizing state including Pakistan adopted federal system as an attempt to manage the affairs of its diverse population or to maintain institutional continuity with colonial past. Therefore we may identify several motivations behind the creation of federation such as to achieve administrative efficiency, to reconcile diversity within the structure of single country and desire to increase democratic functioning (Adeney, 2007).

2.1.1. Concept of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a distinct group having same culture, language, religion, history, kinship and other things. Ethnic group having common sense of identity exists as sub-group in a diverse society and members of such ethnic minority groups differ with regard to certain cultural characteristics from other members of society. To promote national unity and manage ethnic diversity is a major problem and challenge to federal system in majority of cases mostly in developing countries (Robertson, 1985).

In modern time dominant and majority ethnic groups consist of millions of people and larger in size while minority ethnic groups may comprise few thousands. Larger ethnic groups may be further sub-divided into groups variously known as tribes or clan which becomes separate ethnic group with the passage of time due to sense of alienation and deprivation from the parent group. This fact is historically proved that people expressed their prejudice, hatred and feeling of alienation toward the other group on the basis of ethnicity and

history of federalism is filled with such trends especially in developing countries (Yang, 2000).

Constructionist school of thought believes that ethnic affiliation is determined by its social environment as there is hardly any state in the world which is ethnically not plural and ethnic identities come into conflict when they face injustice and imbalance in the society. It is therefore, essential and imperative that political system should initiate political, social, and economic measures to check and resolve such ethnic conflicts and minimize injustice, discrimination and disputes in the country (Zandan, 1988).

Laski in his book, "Grammar of Politics" explained that federalism is a device to harmonies the desires for local autonomy with the necessity to preserve the unity of the state. Federal system is a complex political system and it cannot be strengthen without peculiar social and political environment. Firstly geographic connectivity is essential for the success of federation. Physical distance may hinder communication among various regions of the state which leads to difficulties in bringing about efficiency in the administration. Secondly similarity of culture, language, religion, customs and traditions, are also essential for promoting harmony in society. Thirdly equality among units is also essential to strengthen federalism. It does not means equality of wealth and resources, but political equality in various core political and administrative institutions of the states. Political equality may create harmony and stability in the state on one hand and also prevent jealousy and sense of deprivation in weak units and backward regions on the other (Laski, 1925).

Fourthly advancement in the field of education and political awareness is important for the success of federal system, because in educationally advanced states selfish politicians may not be able to play with the sentiments of people for their selfish motives. Fifthly political and constitutional equality among all units is essential for the success of federal

system. The position of component units depend upon its relative strength, size and resources, if units is small in size and weak economically than other, it may weaken the federal system, because strong unit always try to dominate the weaker units and may also exploit them. Sixthly, there must be clear boundary between federal and states sphere of action and authority. There must be an independent and impartial tribunal to decide constitutional issues and boundary disputes between center and provinces (Bhandari, 1963).

It is important to note that there is no perfect type of federation in the world and the success and perfectibility of federal system depends upon suitability of its people and the environment in which it evolves. In developing countries like Pakistan, there are many ethnic and linguistic groups and sub-groups but few are dominant and the rest have less or no influence in the administration and decision making process. An attitude of ethnocentrism has been developed in Pakistan, under which the culture of major dominant groups is promoted while the cultural identities of minority ethnic groups, has not been given due attention which is main cause of tension, disharmony, sense of deprivation, political instability and many other social, economic and political problems in Pakistan. The supporters of new provinces movements believed that without the creation of new provinces, the protection of separate identity and development of culture and economic development of all groups on the basis of equality is not possible (Rahim, 2019).

2.1.2. Theory of Pluralism

Pluralism means the existence of many ethno-lingual groups in the society or state as there is hardly any state in the world which is homogeneous in nature. In political thoughts, pluralism stands for modern individualism which is group of individuals or association rather than single individual. Pluralism in modern time is inspired by the notion that liberty is to be

found in decentralization of political, economic and administrative powers and authority and also division of power between center and other groups and associations (Bhandari, 1963).

The pluralistic trends in politics represent a reaction against state absolutism and centralization of powers, which was supported by Jon Bodin, Grotius, Thomas Hobbes and John Austin and they are in favor of giving more power, authority and position of importance to state. On the other hand, pluralistic political thinkers such as O.V. Gierks, F.W. Maitland and Dr Figgis, hold the view differently from monist point of view and criticized state absolutism. They advocated the recognition of associations and groups as an autonomous political entity. They also hold the view that the group is a real person with its own group mind, will and culture, and it should have a right to act freely within its own orbit. They also believe that man's personality has different aspects and each aspect find its regulation and expression along different channels in different associations/groups with different ends and none can claim moral excellence over other associations/groups (Bhandari, 1963).

Federalism is suitable for modern diverse society because it has ability to accommodate regional autonomy with that of national unity. Firstly, it gives strength and unity to weak state as sharing of power provide opportunities to minority ethnic groups to participate in decision making process in state administration which promotes harmony and unity among different groups in the state. Secondly, federal system can also promote innovation by allocating resources and powers to sub-units to formulate plans, policies and projects at local level (Rahim, 2019).

Thirdly federalism reduces the pressure of work from the shoulders of central government and enables it to focus on national issues and units perform domestic and local functions which bring about efficiency in the administration both at center and local level. Fourthly, federal system may also prevent despotic tendencies and monopoly of any

particular group in a state by division and decentralization of power and authority. Fifthly this system is also suitable for large states having large territory and diverse population and proved to be suitable blending of unity and diversity (Faiz, 2015).

No doubt federalism has proved to be best system for multi-ethnic and plural society like Pakistan, but its acceptance for social and political pluralism will be helpful to integrate different ethnic groups to nationhood. There is pressing need to protect unity through diversity and any policy to create forced assimilation of sub-nationalities/ethnic groups could be disastrous and concerned for diversity must be reflected in all core federal institutions. The case of regional autonomy in Pakistan after 18th Constitutional Amendment created new debate about the formation of new provinces. The issue of separate Hazara province is considered the most visible issue along with new administrative units in other regions. Segmental autonomy involves the protection of group representation and it is often advocated for managing conflicts in deeply divided society like Pakistan.

According to Arend Lijphart the segmental differences in diverse society could be accommodated by harmonizing them in constitutional way. The segmental portion in developing democracies has been examined in term of consociationalism which tends to create political competition and co-operation. In ethnically diverse society some explicit conditions such as constitutional arrangement, communal distribution of resources and accommodation of self-government rights to sub nationalities is protected so that they may not indulge in anti-states activities (Kamran, 2013).

The segmental autonomy is valid where considerable minorities is living along with major ethnic group and religion and language has been considered two fundamental features in these societies. Pakistan has experienced the same situation and constitutional arrangement to protect the interest and separate identity of different ethno-lingual groups is still under

process. In Hazara region, 87 percent are Hindko speaking and remaining 13 percent belongs to other ethnic communities. Like movement of Saraiki speaking people in Punjab, people living in Hazara region also raised the voice for separate Hazara province as they believed that their political and economic rights have been exploited in the past.

2.1.3. Theory of Decentralization

Generally, there are two main concepts of allocation of power and authority i.e. centralization and decentralization. In centralization all powers and authority is exercised by one central government and very less power is given to regions, localities and provinces. On the other hand, decentralization means to transfer political, economic and administrative power and authority from center to provinces which are important principle of modern democracy (Crook, 1998).

Theoretically, state represents and serves the interest of all, but practically it serves and protects the interest of its dominant section that is economically and politically powerful segment of the society and their command, order and direction is followed and obeyed by all. This tendency leads to tyranny and exploitation of weak segments of the society by dominant and majority ethnic group in pluralistic society. The only way out to address these challenges and issues are decentralization of powers and authority at local level in accordance with the desires and consent of its people.

Such division and decentralization of powers and authority is also indicated by the fact that society consists of many associations and groups and ethno-linguistic regions and state is just one of them. As man lives in multi-verse and not in a universe and there are different and sometimes even conflicting pulls on their loyalties. Therefore, state must compete with other associations and groups living there for promoting harmony and national unity. So there should be decentralization of power and authority, division of power on territorial and

functional basis, because centralized authority either of the state or the dominant groups becomes despotic and over formal in character, which may lead to crisis, instability and inefficiency in state (Laski, 1925).

2.1.4. Theory of Conflict Management

Federalism and all types of regional autonomy are generally seen as useful and effective mechanism to organize political system in order to prevent conflict, violence and disparity among different ethnic groups and sub-nationalities within state. Federalism is an agreement among several states to establish a single state in which units do not lose their individuality, diversity and autonomy. Thus, it combines in itself the qualities of strength, progress and prosperity and it is also suitable blending of unity and diversity.

This system decreases the possibility of war, conflict and crisis and also enhances the stature of state in the community of nation states. Modern state is becoming complex with great diversity of economic, political, cultural, and religious and these diversities can be properly managed and adjusted, when state is federally organized. Therefore, pluralist political thinkers advocated that modern state should be federally organized to avoid conflicts, crisis and diversity (Laski, 1925).

2.1.5. Relative Deprivation Theory

The Relative Deprivation Theory, presented by Garry Runciman and Ted Gurr is based on the notion that people living in backward regions often feel that they have less resources and other socio-economic opportunities than some comparative standard of life and it is experience of being deprived of something to which one feels to be entitled. This theory explains that social movements arise due to people's perception of being neglected that is related to the lack of resources necessary to maintain the quality of life considered typical within a

given socio-economic conditions. It also refers to the discontentment that people feel when they compare their position to those around them.

Social and political scientists have explained that relative deprivation as a possible cause of social and political movement and deviance. In extreme situation it may lead to political violence, terrorism and civil war. The feeling of being deprived may lead to social change and social movement for public mobilization for the achievement of common objective. This theory has found correlation between people facing relative deprivation and gathering for achieving their common objective.

2.1.6. Conceptual Framework

The demand of the creation of new provinces in different backward regions of Pakistan is rooted back in the past for various reasons, but they got new stimulus since people of Pakistan saw a new democratic era after being sacked by a decade long autocratic rule of Musharraf in 2008. Firstly, it was first time in the history of Pakistan that a country witnessed a peaceful and democratic transition to a civilian rule from a military dictatorship because of the pressure and mass movement for restoration of democracy. These developments strengthen people confidence on democratic traditions and their own capability to get their rights through peaceful means.

Secondly fiscal decentralization as a consequence of 7th NFC award under which share of the provinces has been increased from 47.5 percent to 57.5 percent with constitutional guarantee that this share would not be reduced in future. Third important development was passage of 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. The amendment abolished the concurrent list and transferred many subjects to provinces and also met the demand of more provincial autonomy as propounded by nationalist political parties in smaller provinces such as Sindh, KP and Balochistan (Sultan Mubariz, 2019).

But there are also another dimension of these developments. The political and economic empowerment of provinces sent negative message to ethnic minorities living in different existing provinces. These developments construed that 7th NFC award and 18th Constitutional Amendment further strengthens the power and position of already powerful and dominant group/community. It also aggravated the “sense of deprivation” and perception of exploitation in the hands of dominant section/community among minority ethnic groups living in all existing provinces more so in Punjab, KP and Sindh. Thus the measures taken by the government to give more provincial autonomy and fiscal decentralization triggered the demand of the creation of new provinces (Sultan Mubariz, 2019).

Though, 18th Amendment in the Constitution of 1973 and 7th NFC award was positive step toward decentralization of powers and authority at provincial level, but this amendment failed to redress the grievances of minority ethnic groups in different backward regions of the country and one such area is Hazara division. The provincial capital Peshawar and its adjoining regions are more developed and has become hub all all types of socio-economic opportunities require for progress. Hazara division is relatively backward and its residents are facing many socio-economic and political problems due to long distance from capital city Peshawar.

It is general perception among the leaderships and the people of Hazara division that 18th Constitutional Amendment and 7th NFC award has increased the power and position of Pakhtunes who hold dominant position in the politics of the the province due to their numerical dominance. Hazara division is rich in all types of resources require for economic development of the region, but it is still backward and not getting its due share from the resources of the KP province because of discriminatory treatment by Pakhtune nationalists who hold dominant position in the politics of the province. They believed that main cause of

the backwardness of Hazara division is all previous provincial governments, fully controlled by Pakhtunes due to their numerical superiority.

The Hazara Province Movement revived again with the hope that the creation of Hazara province would provide social, political and economic opportunities to the residents of Hazara region near to their home town that is vital for the protection of separate identity, economic prosperity and removal of the backwardness of Hazara division. Moreover, the establishment of Hazara provinces will decrease ethnic division and promote political homogeneity between Pakhtune and the people living in Hazara division (Mustifa, 2020).

The demand of the creation of new provinces in different backwad regions including Hazara province have not been given serious consideration by ruling elites and political leaderships of the different main stream political parties and they attempted to use the issue for their political interest. Both PML-N and PTI promise to support the demand of Hazara province but their members in provincial assembly of KP did not provide enough support to pass resolution with 2/3 majority as required in the constitution to pave the way for the creation of new Hazara province. Both parties express their apparent support to the cause of Hazara province to appease their voters in the region, but when they came to power, not step has been taken to realize the goal. This ambivalence and indecisiveness on the part of the leadership's different political parties and ruling elites created distrust among the people of Hazara division (Sultan Mubariz, 2019).

The leaderships of new provinces movement believed that far flung regions in all existing provinces including Hazara region in KP province are relatively backward despite rich in resources and its residents are still facing many socio-economic challenges. They also believed that due to 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 Hazara province has been started for the protection of separate identity, improving governance and removal of relative socio-economic deprivation of the residents of the regions.

2.2. Number of Units in Federation

The number of federating units and the distribution of power among different ethnic groups within federation is most important for the unity, prosperity and stability of federal state. Homogenous units may bring about stability, unity and strength to federal system while heterogeneous units cause conflicts and political instability in the state. India and Pakistan have different types of federal system i.e. India presently has 28 units and Pakistan has only four units. Comparative analysis of different federations around the world revealed that the state having lowest number of units caused political instability, disintegration and tendency of secession in most of the cases especially in developing countries (Adeney, 2007).

Generally federation, having more federating units, there is less potential and possibility for any one unit to be separated from the federation. The reason is that, no single or two dominant units may be able to establish its monopoly and domination in the decision making process of state. This fact has been established by comparative analysis and study of all federation since 1900. According to that study, 75 percent of federations with less than three provinces have failed and created many problems in these states. Both Pakistan and Nigeria disintegrated because of conflicts and disharmony among federating units (Adeney, 2007).

Federalism in Pakistan confronted many challenges since independence. The One Unit scheme of 1955 accentuated the conflict and tension between East and West Pakistan and later on became the cause of secession of eastern wing from federation. Since 1971, Pakistan has survived as federation with four provinces, but lower number of provinces and

perception of the domination of Punjab has contributed tensions within federation (Ahmad S. J., 1990). Conflicts within federation may arise, when dominant group exist or perceived to exist. One device to safeguard and remove this perception of dominant group is to sub-divide the dominant group, because this strategy may lessens the potential tyranny of majority group (Anderson, 2008).

Although federal system faces many challenges and problems in Pakistan, but one important issue is perception of Punjab dominance that constitutes 56 percent of the total population of country and it also enjoys considerable control over all core political and administrative institutions and financial resources. Moreover, population disparity between units greatly affects the ratio of representation in lower house, where representation to different units is given on the basis of population, while in upper house representation is given on the basis of equality irrespective of size and population. Sikkim is the smallest state in India with a population of about six million which is about .05 percent of the total population of India.

Uttar Pradesh (UP) in India still possesses a population of about 160 million which is about 17 percent of the total population of India. Federalism as a mechanism of ethnic conflict regulation can only provide autonomy if all major groups have due representation in decision making institutions in the administration of state. Therefore, maximum numbers of units are essential to promote harmony, homogeneity and unity within federation. But unfortunately, minority ethnic groups still have many reservations about the preservation of their separate identity and culture even after the secession of East Pakistan in 1971 (Adeney, 2007).

2.3. Problems and Challenges to Federalism

Federalism means the method of division of powers between center and provinces in such a way that both remain co-ordinate and independent within its respective sphere of power. But federal system is very difficult political system because it may confront with several problems, issues and challenges and they are variously solved in different federal states. The most common problems/challenges to federalism may be as follow:

- The problems of harmonious relations between central and provincial government is being faced by most of the federal state in modern time and it is most important cause of political and economic instability and social unrest within state especially in developing countries.
- Protection of smaller units against the monopoly and domination of bigger units is another common problem faced by federations. As the size and population of federating units is not equal, therefore, smaller units are in danger of being dominated by larger one in legislature and financial matters (Laski, 1925).
- Effective and satisfactory distribution of powers between center and provinces for all time to come may also affect the efficiency of state administration and also cause unrest.
- Procedure of amendment in the constitution may also become a source of problem and challenge to federal unity and stability particularly in those state where both central and states government have power to bring about amendment in the constitution.
- Tendency of secession and separatism is most common and important problem and challenge to majority of federal states. It has been a cause of civil war in USA during 1861-65 and in Switzerland 1847. Even today it is a cause of tension in different federations i.e. Sikhs and Kashmiri are struggling for independence from India.

Similarly, Bangladesh became independent in 1971, after war between India and Pakistan.

- Some other challenges and issues to federal system are monopoly of dominant group, selfish leadership and re-demarcation of the boundaries of states and creation of new federating units (Rizwan, 2016).

2.4. Types of Units in Federation

Federalism is shaped by its social, economic and political environment and it could have two or three federating units or over eighty units. Similarly, the population of states also varies and it may be over billion as in India or comprised few thousand inhabitants as in St-Kits and Nevis (Country in the Caribbean). Moreover, largest unit in certain federations is larger than many small sovereign states of the world. For example, UP in India have 160 million populations while California in USA has 34 million populations. On the other hand, there could have small constituent units comprising few thousands population. The size and population of unit greatly affect the capacity of government and also its social, political and economic conditions. USA and Russia have largest number of federating units and the largest unit in these countries constitutes a small portion of the total population of these two countries i.e. Moscow 7 percent and California 12 percent populations respectively of Russia and USA (Anderson, 2008).

In the presence of more units, no single unit would be able to dominate the politics of country. On the other hand, federation having two or three units typically have one dominate unit, the politics of that country may be quite instable and they often has to face secessionist tendency in a smaller units and backward regions. Modern Pakistan has four provinces with 56 percent of population is concentrated in single province of Punjab. Earlier Pakistan had

only two units i.e. East and West Pakistan from which Bangladesh seceded after 1971 war with India (Nawaz, 2014).

In all these cases, the small numbers of units having one or two dominant units have caused tension, disharmony and political instability in most of the federal states. Dominant unit have more influence in the politics of country that may cause tension, unrest and alienation in weak and backward regions. Federation is naturally made up of similar category of units often called states or provinces. However, some federations have special territorial units as in India, with less constitutional status and these are legally subject to the control of central government (Adeney, 2007). These regions might be national capital districts, remote areas, special tribal areas and overseas territories. Majority of the federal states in modern period are largely populated by diverse population and they created new units out of existing one, which promoted harmony and national integration in the country. The number of federating units in USA increased from 13 to 50 states, mainly through inclusion of new states into the union (Anderson, 2008).

Some federations like Australia, Brazil, Germany, Argentina, Mexico and USA, have low level of religious and ethnic diversity. These states have regional differences, but these differences have not been organized on ethnic, religious or linguistic lines. On the other hand, in largely diverse states, citizens may have separate identities strongly organized around regionally focused political issues and these affinities are normally central features of the politics of these countries (Adeney, 2007). India, in the beginning was not in favors of creating new units on the basis of ethnicity and languages; but later on during the period from 1956 to 1966, boundaries of the many states/provinces were redrawn on ethno-lingual basis. Similarly, in Ethiopia, Spain, Belgium, Nigeria and Russia, boundaries of the different provinces have been changed on ethno-lingual basis (Anderson, 2008).

For the protection of rights of ethnic minority groups within provinces, demand for creating new province out of existing one may arise on ethnic and regional basis. It is generally difficult to reduce the area of existing provinces and it is normally more difficult and cumbersome during the time when democratic government is in power. Often the constituent units must be agreed on some special procedure for creating new units, for which referendum is most appropriate device to address similar problems (Mustafa, 2020).

In Indian constitution, federating units have no role and new provinces were created by national commission while in Nigeria, military government have massively re-demarcated the boundaries of many provinces and created new units for bringing about efficiency in state administration and better utilization of local resources. Most of the federations have special amending procedure for creating new units after getting approval from existing federating units. Indian parliament decided in mid 1950s to redefine states boundaries on ethnic and linguistic basis and they created new units and increased the number of units from 14 to 28. Similarly, number of units in Nigeria increased from 3 to 36 (Anderson, 2008).

2.5. Important Consideration to Form New Provinces

As stated previously that federalism evolved differently in different states due to their peculiar social and political environment. Moreover, with the passage of time change may occur in federal structure to adjust and accommodate new demands and reallocation of resources. One such demand may be the protection of separate identity of small groups, which due to discrimination and exploitation may also demand new units. But when such demand arises, following factors must be considered:

- Economic factor should be an important consideration for creating new units such as its natural and financial position for its viability, because it would help avoid making small and economically poor units.

- Socio-cultural factors including ethnicity, language and religion should also be considered for re-drawing the boundaries of existing units (Khan S. H, 2014).
- For maintaining political balance and breaking up the domination of some units, new federating units may also be created.
- New provinces may also be created on the basis of some historic boundaries which represent the identity of particular ethno-regional group.
- For creating new units, it is important to know about public opinion and referendum or to constitute National Commission may be suitable mechanism to seek the opinion of people (IDEA, 2015).

2.6. Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan

Regional and ethnic based political groups and organizations mobilized the people on ethnic and linguistic basis in different parts of the country. Ethnic-based political conflicts and diversity in Pakistani politics is not new, but after 18th Constitution Amendment in the Constitution of 1973, its severity has been increased that captured the attention of political parties and its leaderships both at national and local level. This amendment has intensified the ethnic division between majority and minority ethnic groups within existing provinces. The issue of sub-nationalities in the politics of Pakistan is deeply linked with certain historical issues even before the enforcement of the Constitution of 1973 (Khan M. S., 2015).

Pakistan is ethnically heterogeneous and plural country comprising of four units and like many other countries, federal system in Pakistan has been facing ethnic conflicts in different provinces since independence. All modern societies particularly in developing countries are driven by the political and economic interests of different social classes living within their geographical boundaries. Since modern societies are not homogeneous and

complex in nature, therefore, it needs many institutions to represent the interests of different segments of society (Razia, 2011).

The Constitution of 1973 promised federal and parliamentary system providing provincial autonomy, but unfortunately, its provisions relating to federal structure were not implemented in its true letter and spirit. The imbalance and disharmony between center and provinces has been removed to some extent under 18th Constitutional Amendment by giving more powers and autonomy to provinces to make policies for the management of resources in a better way. Though, 18th amendment was a positive step toward decentralization of power and authority to provinces, but it is also a fact that the amendment brought about negative impacts on ethnic minority groups within different provinces i.e. Sarakis in the Punjab, Mohjahars in Sindh, Pakhtunes in Baluchistan, and people of Hazara division in KP, where renaming of NWFP as KP increased ethnic division (Asif, 2019).

The environment of mistrust and sense of deprivation still exists in different backward regions in all existing provinces because in these provinces larger ethnic groups are still striving to maintain their hegemony and domination which is resisted by minority ethnic groups. The leadership of new provinces holds the view that 18th amendment has strengthened the power and position of already dominant groups and effective measures have not been taken to protect the interest and separate identity of ethnic minorities in different existing provinces. Moreover, some regions in Pakistan are rich in natural resources and they are largely contributing to the economy of the state, but they are still backward (Shah, 2002).

For the promotion of good governance, efficiency in state administration and developing harmony within state, minority ethnic groups are demanding new provinces for the protection of their separate identity. In KP province, Pakhtunes are in majority, whereas Hindko speaking population and other communities of Hazara division are in minority.

Hazara division is rich in natural resources, but has poor socio-economic infrastructure and other facilities. It is second largest revenue generating division after Peshawar division and is also blessed with precious mineral, hydel and forest resources. The consciousness about their rights and separate identity in Hazara region began to evolve immediately after independence. In 1980s, Hazara Student Federation (HSF) was set up first in Karachi and later on in different educational institutions in Hazara division (Azhar, 2017).

Due to discriminatory treatment with Hazara division, in developmental funds, industries and ethnic politics of Pakhtune nationalists, Hazara Quomi Mahaz (HQM) was established in 1987 for the protection of the interests and separate identity of region. But presently, Hazara Province Movement revived and got momentum after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. The leaderships of HPM believed that renaming of the province has removed the identity of the people of Hazara in the same way as One Unit removed the identity of Sindhis, Balochis and Pakhtunes. Moreover, the Constitution of 1973 also provides safeguard and protection to language and culture to its citizens (Azhar, 2017).

After renaming of NWFP as KP, Hazara Province Movement again revived under the leadership of Sardar Haider Zaman Baba. After the tragic incident of April 12, 2010 at Abbottabad where ten people sacrificed their lives which give further impetus to the movement. This development also motivated the leaderships of new provinces movement in other provinces. New province movements have become new challenge to existing federal structure in Pakistan. Therefore, it is imperative to address these issues to avoid ethnic conflicts, improve governance and to ensure harmony, unity and equitable development in all regions on the basis of equality.

CHAPTER THREE

EVOLUTION OF FEDERALISM IN PAKISTAN

Federation is union of diverse elements and identities that see benefit in uniting together in larger interest for achieving some common ideals but also having strong aspiration and desire to preserve their separate identity. In other words, federal state is one in which supreme powers of the state are distributed by the constitution between central government and governments of the federating units. Diverse and pluralistic tend in politics represent reaction against absolutism and centralization of powers and authority (Bhandari, 1963).

Development and evolution of federalism in British India was an attempt to reconcile the diverse regional and ethnic aspiration across Indian Sub-Continent through provincial autonomy. India was diverse society, therefore, British government introduced federal system through decentralization and giving autonomy to its provinces, but all the policies and administrative reforms introduced by British rulers from time to time were directed to the financial and trade benefit of East India Company. Peasants and lowers classes were the most hard-pressed communities during the rule of the company, because ultimate burden of all these taxation and financial cost of administration fell on them. This development resulted dissatisfaction and discontent in oppressed classes throughtout India (Sharma, 1992).

The revolt of 1857 was the result of the large scale discontent that had been gathered against the unjust policies of the administration of company. The last hundred years records of company before the war of 1857 was that of expansion of political power and exploitation of the economic resources of India. This trend created sense of deprivation, discontentment and distrust among both elite's class and common people, which resulted several local

uprising even prior to the war of 1857. These uprising were evidence of gradually increasing mistrust among Indian people against the British rule and its unjust policies (Mehta, 2007).

By 1857 some other factors also forced Indian army soldiers as well, which sparked the revolt. Thus the revolt of 1857 was the result of some deep-rooted factors and causes i.e. political, economic, social, religious, administrative, judicial and educational etc. Though British succeeded in suppressing the revolt largely due to its better strategy, diplomacy and advanced arms and ammunition, but they failed to remove the feeling of hatred and mistrust from the heart of Indian against them. Historians have given different pictures to the revolts as some called it mutiny, other described it religious war against Christians. Few others maintained that it was war between Western and Eastern Civilizations, while many others called it a conspiracy of Hindus and Muslims against the British rule (Sharma, 1992).

3.1. Administrative Changes after 1857

The revolt of 1857 closed an era of the administration of East India Company and beginning of the new era of direct British rule through Viceroy and his executive council and Secretary of State for India. After the war many administrative and structural changes were brought about in the policy of British administration in India and their attitude toward Indian was also changed. By the British Queen's declaration of 1st of November 1858, the administration of India was transferred from East India Company to British Crown. The board of directors of company was replaced by Indian Council, headed by Secretary of State for India who was member of British cabinet (Sayeed, 2007).

The pattern of colonialism broadly remained the same and permanent occupation of India and exploitation of economic resources continued to be the chief objectives of British even after the revolt and all the economic, political and administrative changes after the war of 1857 were simply meant to change the means and methods to achieve the same ends. At

the center, the Governor General and in provinces Provincial Governors remained the de-facto and de-jure rulers in their respective sphere. But it is also fact that 1857 uprising compelled British to realize the necessity to seek the co-operation of Indians in the working of state administration (Sayeed, 2007).

Nationalist feelings among Indians started in the late 19th century which further strengthened in the beginning of 20th century. Therefore, Act of 1861 was passed under which legislative council was established both at center and provinces and thus the policy of association and benevolent despotism began. The Act of 1892 further enhanced the powers and authority of the legislative council. The act of 1909 marked the beginning of new era, under which separate electorate was introduced which strengthened Muslim separatism in India. The Act of 1919 established system of Diarchy at provincial level under which first time Indian got opportunity to directly associate with the working of the administration of transferred subjects.

The Act of 1935 transferred the system of Diarchy from provinces to center and full provincial autonomy was given to units by decentralization of powers and authority, however, under this act extensive special powers were given to Governor General. Thus responsible governments were formed at provincial level under the Act of 1935 before passing the Indian Independent Act 1947. British never left the policy to rule by force which they had adopted after the revolt of 1857. It was because of the pressure of Indian nationalist movements and some other factors which forced the British rulers to introduce gradually the responsible government in India (Metha, 2007).

3.2. Origin of Indian Nationalism

The evolution of Indian renaissance and nationalism was remarkable features in 19th century. The Indian cultural values were completely demoralized by the western culture. The

educated Indian lost the confidence in their own culture and they made western culture as ideal of their life. But at the same time new thinking began to emerge among Indian that inspire all aspects of Indian society i.e. religion, economy, literature and politics (Sharma, 1992).

It was like a European renaissance of 16th century which gave new vision and ideal to life and purpose to its culture. It was like western concept of reasoning, liberty and equality, which enabled Indian to remove the defects of their culture and give them new life and energy to face the challenges of western culture. Some of the important factors which contributed to the evolution of renaissance and nationalism are reaction against propaganda of Christian's missionaries, foreign contacts, contribution of foreign scholars, Indian press, and western culture (Metha, 2007).

Some of the revivalist movements started by Indians both Hindu and Muslim reformers were Brama Samag (1928), Young Bengal Movement, Arya Samaj (1875) and Rama Krishna Mission (1909). Similarly, Muslims of India were also inspired from these developments and some of the most important reformist movement of Muslim was Aligarh Movement started by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Deoband Movement started by religious scholars. These movements affected all aspects of the life of both Hindu and Muslim and enabled them to make rigorous efforts to remove the evils of the Indian society i.e. caste system, child marriage, sati and untouchability. It also created national consciousness in Indian, which later on resulted to nationalist movement for the complete independence of India from British imperialism (Sharma, 1992).

3.3. Constitutional and Political Development (1857-1947)

As discussed earlier that after the war of 1857, administration of India was shifted from company to direct British rule but Indian nationalism also increased and asserted

gradually. Therefore, now onward problem before the British government was not only how to govern India; but also to meet the growing challenges and dynamics of Indian nationalism which gradually changed itself into demand of independence of India (Sayeed, 2007). The British meet this challenge by using two means i.e. firstly, they endeavored to weaken Indian nationalist sentiments by using force and secondly they gave certain concessions to Indian by granting gradual decentralization of power and authority to them. This development paved the way for the establishment of self-government in India through peaceful, constitutional and democratic means. The Indians also learnt the working federalism and parliamentary system, which remained continue after Independence (Ahmad, 2018).

3.3.1. Policy of Association or Benevolent Despotism

The Act of 1861 was passed on account of facing new challenges to Indian society. It certainly marked the beginning of that policy of British, which has been called, the policy of association or benevolent despotism. Under these arrangements, first time efforts were made to include Indian in running the administration of country. Though this act failed to address the political issues for which it was created but it certainly laid the foundation of that administrative system which lasted till the end of British rule in India (Ahmad, 2018).

Prior to the establishment of All India National Congress (AINC) in 1885, Indian formed several associations to put pressure on British government that Indian legislative council should be made effective bodies for making the laws and to control executive council. AINC also demanded further constitutional and administrative reforms and all these factors pointed out the necessity of fresh reforms and as a result, Indian Council Act, 1892 was introduced by government. Under these reforms number of Indians in legislative council was increased and their power was also increased. Though this new act was improved form of previous one, but it also failed to address the grievances of Indian as method of indirect

election provided under these reforms, served no purpose and space was there for new administrative reforms (Sayeed, 2007).

3.3.2. Revival of Muslim Separatism

Since the establishment of British rule in India, relations between Muslims and British remained tense and the revolt of 1857 further deteriorated these relations. The British attempted to create strong groups of Hindu against Muslim before and during the period of revolt because they thought that Muslims were trying to throw them out of India under the leadership of emperor Bahader Shah. But this situation began to change gradually after 1857 war and relations between two communities began to improve.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan did a brilliant work to bring about harmony and intimacy between Muslims and British. He started Aligarh Movement for achieving two objectives i.e. one was to convince Muslim to acquire western education and another to change their extremist attitude toward British and improve relations with them. He also tried to convince the British that Muslim of India is not against British rule and would prove loyal if British change its hostile attitude towards them. He also told them that during the war of 1857, many Muslim rulers and common people supported British and saved their lives. British took advantage of this opportunity and they started the policy of divide and rule and Muslim communalism was also brought effectively in the politics of India (Sharma, 1992).

3.3.3. Establishment of All India Muslim Leagues (1906)

In the beginning of 20th century, certain events took place which forced the Indian Muslims to established All India Muslim League in 1906 to protect their interests and separate identity. The establishment of AIML gives opportunity to British government to use it to counter Indian nationalism promoted by All India National Congress. Later on the

demand of separate electorate of AIML was accepted by government under Act of 1909, but after the annulment of the partition of Bengal by government in 1911, relations between British and Muslims once again disturbed (Qureshi, 1967).

3.3.4. Minto-Morley Reforms (1909)

In the beginning of 20th century, political conditions of India were disturbing due to Hindu-Muslim communal tension over the issue of partition of Bengal. This issue had upset Hindu-Muslim relation on one hand and Hindu and British on the other. In 1906, All India Muslim League was established which gave opportunity to government to use Muslim to counter Indian nationalism strengthened by AINC. In this way Act of 1909 was passed by British parliament which is also known as Minto-Morley reforms and it was certainly marked the beginning of the policy of association followed by government (Ahmad, 2018).

Enhancement of the powers and membership of legislative council and separate electorate for Muslim were important steps toward establishment of federal and parliamentary system in India. In addition to it, Indian were given representation in executive council of viceroy and local bodies, trade unions and universities administration were also allowed to send their representatives in legislative council; although the architects of this act had no sincere intentions for it. Under this act the powers of Indian legislative council were limited and it had no power to discuss finance bill and also had no control over executive and provincial governors were authorized to veto the laws passed by legislative council. Moreover, AINC demand of self-rule was also not accommodated in these reforms, so this act also failed to address the genuine demands and issues of Indian diverse politics.

3.3.5. Lucknow Pact (1916)

Quaid-e-Azam joined All India Muslim League in 1913 who was believer of Hindu-Muslim unity and in the same year, AIML included two new demands in its objectives i.e. establishment of self-rule and to co-operate with all political organizations, whose objectives would be similar to that of AIML. These developments paved the way for Lucknow Pact, (1916) between All India Muslim League and All Indian National Congress. Under this agreement AINC accepted right of separate electorate of Indian Muslims which strengthened two nation theory and Muslim separatism in India. But this truce also proved short-lived and once again Hindu-Muslim communal riots broke-out in India especially after the failure of Khalafit Movement (Sayeed, 1968).

3.3.6. Montego-Chelmsford Reforms (1919)

After the First World War (1914-18), British government passed Act of 1919, which is also known as Montego-Chelmsford reforms. Under this act, for the first time some concrete measures were taken by the British government toward decentralization of power and authority which was a step to establish responsible government at provincial level. Through these reforms, first time Indians got oppoutunity to come in direct contact with the administration of transferred subjects, which provided them some useful administrative experience and political consciousness about their important positions. But this act again could not satisfy Indian public opinion in the changed political environment after the First World War and Khalafat Movement (Mahajan, 1985).

3.3.7. The Simon Commission (1927)

At the time of introducing Act of 1919, British government also announced that after ten years, new reforms would be introduced. In 1927, British government sent Simon

Commission to evaluate the working of administrative system in India and to prepare recommendations for new reforms; but commission was boycotted by Indian political parties because no Indian was part of it. However, despite non-cooperation by main political parties of India, commission continued its work and submitted its reports in 1930. The commission recommended that if governments sincerely want to bring about efficiency and improvement in administration of India, it has to decentralize powers and authority at provincial level by introducing federal system (Rafiullah, 1992).

3.3.8. Nehru Report (1928)

As stated above that Simon Commission was comprised of all white men and Indian political parties started protest against it. Lord Birkenhead, secretary of state of India, was annoyed over prevailing political conditions of India. He stated in British parliament that Indian are divided, opposed and fed-up with each other's and they are unable to produce unanimously acceptable constitution. This statement was a challenge to political leaderships of India. To meet this challenge, AINC called all party conference in 1928 to prepare recommendations for constitutional reforms in India. The leadership of all parties' conference constituted a committee headed by Moti Lal Nehru and its report is known as Nehru, Report which contained the following recommendations:

- Federal system with strong central government.
- Election should be held on the basis of joint electorate.
- Muslim representation in legislative councils should be 1/4.
- Hindi should be adopted as official language.
- Sindh should be made province, if it is capable to meet its expenditure.
- Reforms should be introduced in Baluchistan and NWFP.

3.3.9. Jinnah's Fourteen Points (1929)

AIML rejected the recommendations of Nehru Report because it reflected Hindu biased mentality towards Indian Muslims, which further widened the gulf between Hindu and Muslim. In response to Nehru Report, Quaid-e-Azam presented his famous 14 points formula in 1929 as a minimum demand for any political settlement in future. Some important recommendations of the formula are as follow:

- Introduction of federal system with full provincial autonomy.
- Separate electorate should remain continue.
- Uniform measure of autonomy to all provinces.
- 1/3 representation for Muslim in legislative and executive councils.
- Sindh should be separated from Bombay.
- Reforms should be introduced in NWFP and Baluchistan (Khan, 2017).

3.3.10. Allama Iqbal Allahabad Address

Annual session of AIML was held in Allahabad in 1930, which was presided over by Allama Muhammad Iqbal. In his presidential address, he explained the political conditions of India and pointed out the concept of nationalism in Islam and Christianity. He also identified the causes of tension between Hindu and Muslim and proposed the structure of future Indian federation. The essence of his address was of course, the political destination of the Muslims of India (Munawar, 1986).

3.3.11. Government of India Act (1935)

British government arranged three roundtable conferences (1930-32) in London and all political parties of India were invited, but no consensus could be reached. But after these conferences, British government issued a white paper in 1933 which contained

recommendations of proposed constitutional and administrative reforms. After getting assent from British parliament, it was implemented in India in 1935 (Bukhari, 1964). The new act had the following important features:

- Federal system was introduced in India and regarding distribution of power between center and provinces, there were three lists of power i.e. federal, concurrent and provincial list.
- Federal legislature was bicameral i.e. federal assembly and council of state. Federal assembly was lower house in which representation to units was given on the basis of population, while council of state was upper house in which equal representation was given to all units.
- Establishment of Federal Court to decide and adjudicate constitutional issues and to interpret the constitution.
- Sindh and Orissa were created as new provinces while NWFP was given the status of governor province.
- Provincial autonomy was given to provinces.
- Emergency powers were given to the Governor General (Khan, 2017).

The analysis and detail examination of the Act of 1935 revealed that it was departure from the British policy of association and benevolent despotism started after 1857. Under these administrative reforms, power and authority was decentralized and first time provincial autonomy was given to them. But this act was also not devoid of some defects i.e. special powers given to Governor General and introduction of system of diarchy at central level.

Due to these weaknesses and reactions from Indian political parties, federal part the Act of 1935 never came to operation and only provincial part of the act was implemented in India in 1937, when it was assured by viceory that there would be no interference in administration

of the provinces. The Indians continued their struggle for independence during Second World War and after the war the British announced their decision to give independence to India in 1947 (Rabbani, 2007).

3.3.12. Provincial Election (1937)

Provincial election was held in 1937, but the result of the election was shocking for All India Muslim League and after the election, All Indian National Congress formed government in different provinces. During two and half year' congress rule, Muslims were subjected to most inhuman treatment and anti-Muslim policies adopted by Congress government also worried them. No doubt Congress enjoyed power for quite some time; but it lost the support of some prominent Muslims such as Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan from Punjab, Maulvi Fazal- Haq from Bengal and Sir Sadullah Khan from Assam. Position of AIML was weak in the provinces of Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Bengal and they wanted to gain the support of Muslim nationalists in these provinces (Waseem, 2010).

Muslim remained very active during the oppressive rule of Congress (1937-39) and they continued their struggles to draw the attention of Muslim community toward anti-Muslim policies of Congress government. In order to inform the Muslim about the anti-Muslim policies of Congress govt, mass contact campaign was started by AIML. During this period Muslim League succeeded in making its organizational structure in two Muslim majority provinces i.e. Punjab and Bengal which further strengthened Muslim Nationalism and two nation theory. When Congress resigned in 1939, AIML celebrated "Day of Deliverance" on December 22, 1939 (Sayeed, 1969).

3.3.13. Lahore Resolution (1940)

What occurred during two and half years congress rule (1937-39) was eye-opener for the Muslim of India and the anti-Muslim policies adopted by Congress government in various provinces, convinced them that they had to struggle for separate homeland. One of the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha, Lala Rajpat Rai suggested the partition of India between Hindu and Muslim as early as 1924. Allama Iqbal had placed the idea of proposed Muslim state in, 1930. Similarly, Ch Rehmat Ali coined the name of 'Pakistan' in his pamphlet, 'Now or Never' in 1933 and started struggle for it (Ali, 1988)

It is in this background that AIML held its annual session in Lahore on 22, 23 and 24 March 1940, in which the historic Lahore Resolution was adopted. Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his presidential address gave clear expression to the basic concept underlying the resolution. This was the famous two-nation theory which aroused much controversy, but ultimately, formed the basis of Pakistan Resolution. In this resolution AIML firmly put forward its demand of separate homeland for Indian Muslims on the basis of separate identity, character and nationalism (Ayesha, 1985).

It is important to note that Pakistan resolution passed by AIML demanded independent and autonomous states in Muslim majority areas. However this resolution was suspended by another resolution passed by Muslim legislators' in conference held in Delhi after election of 1945-46, which sought to consolidate the areas covered by previous resolution into one integrated entity. The Lahore resolution has been celebrated because it publically rationalized the separatist agenda of AIML. It also under-lined the confederationist ambitions of Bengali, Sindhi, Baluchi and Pakhtuns nationalists who interpreted it as a foundation of new social contract among the provinces to become part of new state (Waseem, 2010).

3.3.14. General Election (1945–46)

After the Second World War (1945) general election were held in India both at central and provincial level. Both AINC and AIML participated in the election and started election campaign with full vigor and strength because the political futures of India were largely depending upon the result of these elections. The result of the election showed the decisive victory for the Idea of Pakistan as Muslim won all 30 seats reserved for them in central assembly while it also won 445 seats out of 495 in different provinces. The result of the election proved decisively that All India Muslim League is sole representative body of Indian Muslim (Hussein, 1964).

3.3.15. Cabinet Mission Plan (1946)

On February 9, 1946, the British government sent Cabinet Mission consisting of three cabinet ministers to find out a mutually acceptable solution of Indian political problems. After the war, attitude of America and other Western European states too was sympathetic toward India and they were in favor of independence. During course of negotiation differences arose between AINC and AIML, but these were resolved immediately (Kalam, 1959).

3.3.16. Indian Independent Act (1947)

In February 1947, British government announced its decision to leave India by June, 1948 and Lord Mountbatten was sent to India as a last viceroy to finalize the solution of all problems and A V Menon, secretary of viceroy, drafted the plan of partition of India. British government gave consent to it and finally Lord Mountbatten placed it before the leadership of both Muslim League and Congress. After making all these arrangement, British parliament passed Indian Independence Act, 1947 to give effect to 3rd June Plan. The act provided for

the partition of India and the establishment of two independent states i.e. India and Pakistan. The Constituent Assembly of both the states was made fully sovereign and was also given the power to make the constitution for their respective state. Thus, about 90 years direct British rule came to an end on August 15, 1947 (Rabbani, 2007).

3.4. Evolution of Federalism since 1947

Four days before the creation of Pakistan the first Constituent Assembly was set-up on 10, August 1947. It consisted of those Muslims representatives who were elected on AIML ticket in the election of 1945-46. Among the original members of the Constituent Assembly, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the most eminent, who was not only chosen as the Governor General of Pakistan but also as the President of the assembly. Under his dynamic leadership Muslim of the India were united and his great achievement was organization of AIML on strong footing especially after the election of 1937 (Munir, 1980).

After being elected as the president of constituent assembly, he delivered his impressive and historic address in 1947. It is indeed one of the most important address in which he outlined the political ideals and concept of Pakistan, its constitutional structure and the hope and aspiration of its people. He also clearly explained two important functions of the constituent assembly i.e. making of constitution and functioning as federal legislature of Pakistan (Munir, 1980).

3.4.1. Objective Resolution (1949)

The Act of 1935 after making some necessary amendments and modification was adopted as interim constitution of Pakistan, which remained enforced till 22 March 1956. The first important step toward constitution making was taken by constituent assembly on March 10, 1949, when it passed Objective Resolution which includes the following provisions:

- Sovereignty of God and political authority shall be exercised in accordance with the teaching of Quran and Sunnah through their elected representatives.
- Principles of democracy, tolerance, equity and social justice shall be observed.
- State shall take efforts to enable the Muslim to pass their individual and collective lives according to the teaching of Quran and Suunah.
- Pakistan shall be federal state where autonomy shall be given to provinces.
- Protection of the rights and interests of minorities.
- Development and progress of backward regions.

Objective Resolution is one of the most important and historic document in the constitutional and political history of Pakistan, because it was an attractive combination of both Islamic principles and features of western democracy. But it is also a fact that the resolution was not passed with the consensus of all segments of society as there was differences among majority and minority community members in this resolution on ethno-communal lines because all the amendments proposed by minorities were not accepted by the house. Hence this fact cannot be ignored that the resolution might have sown the seeds of suspicion, alienation and distrust among minorities against the majority (Debates, 1949).

Similarly ethno-nationalist elements claimed that autonomous and independent provinces entered into covenant to establish a new federation having weak center and pushed the ruling elites toward centralization. Thus Pakistan was born into an anomalous political situation that led to two disputing approaches i) making federalism the only option for a viable form of government and ii) making it as weak as possible (Adeney, 2012).

3.4.2. Basic Principle Committee

The constituent assembly formed different committees and sub-committees to carry out the task of framing the constitution of Pakistan. Among all these committee, the Basic

Principle Committee (BPC) was the most important one. It was constituted on 10 March, 1949, when Objective Resolution was passed by Constituent Assembly and was assigned the task to prepare recommendations for the constitution of Pakistan in accordance with the spirit of Objective Resolution. The first draft constitution prepared by BPC was submitted before constituent assembly by the then Prime Minister Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan in 1950. Important recommendations of the first report of the BPC are as follow:

- Objective Resolution was incorporated in the Directive Principle of state policy of the constitution.
- Head of state shall be elected by both houses for the period of five years.
- Federal legislature would be bicameral; in lower house representation will be given on the basis of population, while in upper house on the basis of equality.
- Federal and parliamentary system would be introduced in the country.
- Urdu shall be the national language.

When the recommendations of the committee were published, the reaction to the draft constitution was most severe in East Pakistan, because draft did not provide any protection for the province with large population that might be converted into minority in joint session of parliament. The decision to make Urdu language as national language was also criticized in East Pakistan. Religious political parties and minorities also criticized the first report prepared by BPC. The opposition from different sections forced the assembly to postpone the debate and discussion and demanded fresh reports in accordance with the wishes of people (Mahmud, 1990).

In the meantime, PM Liaqat Ali Khan was assassinated on 16 October, 1951 in Rawalpindi and he was replaced by Khawaja Nazimuddin, who presented second report on 22 December, 1952 in which the reservations raised by critics over first report was

accommodated. The most important contribution of second draft of constitution was principle of parity between East and West Pakistan in federal legislature. According to the recommendations of the second report, equal representation shall be given to both East and West Pakistan in federal legislature. Seats reserved for West Pakistan in both the houses would to be subsequently divided among its provinces and states.

But this report also met the same fate like the first one, because this time the recommendations of the report were criticized in West Pakistan. The political leadership of West Pakistan declared the report as against the well-established principle of federal system that is in one house representation should be given on the basis of population while in upper house; it should be on the basis of equality. The controversy over the quantum of representation in federal legislature resulted deadlock in constitution making process, which also created many other problems in coming period (Choudhry, 1969).

3.4.3. Muhammad Ali Bogra Formula

Muhammad Ali Bogra became Prime Minister after the removal of Khwaja Nazimuddin, who within six months after assuming charge as PM, prepared third draft constitution which, is known as Muhammad Ali Bogra formula. He evolved a formula to remove the constitutional deadlock over the question of representation in the proposed federal legislature. According to the formula, federal legislature would consist of two houses i.e. the house of people and house of units. House of people would consist of 300 members to be divided among the provinces and states on the basis of population. Similarly, house of units would consist of 50 members to be divided among units on the basis of equality.

The consensus between East and West Pakistan over Muhammad Ali formula was really a great achievement and positive step toward constitution making, but in Oct, 1954, Governor General Ghulam Muhammad, dissolved the first constituent assembly in dictatorial

and arbitrary manner. The dissolution of first constituent assembly once again entangled the country in many legal and political crises and caused further delay in constitution making and widened the gulf between East and West Pakistan (Ahmad, 1990).

The analysis of the problems of representation faced by constitution makers, revealed the feeling of distrust, suspicion and fear among the people of both the wings of Pakistan, because due to these developments regionalism and provincialism began to evolve which restrained the promotion of national unity in coming period. East Pakistani felt that they do not have adequate share in the key state institutions.

It is strange that demand of provincial autonomy came first from the largest unit, namely East Pakistan. The national convention held in Dhaka in 1950, demanded that only three subjects i.e. defense, foreign affairs and currency should be exercised by federal government and all other subjects should be given to provinces. The demand for more autonomy in East Pakistan gained further momentum by victory of United Front in the provincial election held in March, 1954 (Choudhry, 1969).

3.4.4. One Unit Scheme in West Pakistan (1955)

Pakistan faced unbalanced federal structure from the beginning because of demographic superiority of the province of East Pakistan with 55 percent of population. But ruling elites based in West Pakistan who enjoyed economic, political and administrative powers pushed the agenda for inter-wing parity in term of equal representation in parliament (Adeney, 2012). After the dissolution of first assembly, second constituent assembly was established and first significant achievement of the new assembly was the passage of unification of West Pakistan Act, 1955, under which all the provinces and princely states in West Pakistan were merged. This act abolished the old sub-division of West Pakistan and amalgamated it into One Unit. This act was initially hailed as a positive measure of

administrative rationalization and was claimed that it would greatly simplify the federal structure of the proposed constitution (Khan, 2017).

Having more federating units in a diverse society like Pakistan is essential to strengthen federalism and promote unity and harmony. But under One Unit scheme, all the provinces and states were merged and was made single province. The merger of all provinces and territories of West Pakistan into One Unit to achieve parity with East Pakistan also served as basis of the federation under both 1956 and 1962 Constitutions. Punjab in general and military establishment led by Ayub Khan and Iskander Mirza in particular fully supported the scheme of One Unit and suppressed the opposition of Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan. However, this decision was not rational because merely abolishing the long standing boundaries through act of assembly could not automatically change long established ethnic identity. It can only be changed, if attitude and policies of certain selfish politicians also change, who created regionalism and prejudice in provinces to promote their narrow political interest (Rahim, 2019).

These federal arrangements were widely perceived to be sign of Punjabistan of Pakistan. Promotion of national integration had ostensibly been the rationale behind adoption of One Unit, but it led to fierce backlash in the form of ethnic-nationalist movement in Sindh, Baluchistan and NWFP. Provinces in Pakistan, unlike India were not established on the basis of language. Apart from core communities, in all the existing provinces contained large ethnic groups which retained provincial desire of their own i.e. Mohagirs in Sindh, Siraiki in South Punjab, Pakhtunes in Baluchistan and Hindko speaking population in Hazara division in NWFP (Adeney, 2012).

Ruling elites in West Pakistan believed that language is unacceptable as legitimate source of identity. In India, provinces were reorganized on the basis of language and religion

was out as constitutional category, while in Pakistan religion was in and language was out because of its perceived potential for political destabilization and unrest which discounted the agenda for creating new provinces on the basis of language (Rahman, 1996). Over the issue of One Unit, three provincial ministries i.e. Noon govt in Punjab, Rashid govt in NWFP and Pirzada govt in Sindh were removed by central government. Similarly, the ministry governing the states of Baluchistan was also dismissed in Nov, 1954. Though One Unit scheme was supported in West Pakistan, but the environment of distrust among different segments of the society continue (Khan, 2017).

3.5. Federalism under the Constitution of 1956

The second Constituent Assembly took the benefit from the work and deliberation of the first assembly and utilized the work done by it. But old issues and conflicts such as relations between state and religion, center and provinces and joint or separate electorates were revived again and different groups used pressure tactics to get their demands included in the Constitution of 1973. As a result, the constitution which was finally adopted was a poor draft judged by any criteria and was based on compromise and expedition rather than on sound democratic principles.

The federal system provided under the Constitution of 1956 was quite similar to that which was provided under the Act of 1935. The constitution provided maximum space for decentralization of power and authority to provinces due to some powerful factors such as political, economic, psychological and regional autonomy. Regarding distribution of power, there were three lists of power i.e. federal, concurrent and provincial. In federal list there were thirty-one subjects, in provincial list ninety-four subjects while concurrent list includes nineteen subjects and all undefined powers were given to provinces. Mechanism of the distribution of powers between federal and provinces under the Constitution of 1956, showed

a trend toward decentralization of power and authority and more provincial autonomy was ensured as compare to the Act of 1935 (Khan, 2017).

Federal legislature under the Constitution of 1956 was unicameral in nature, which consisted of 300 members, equally distributed between two wings, East and West Pakistan. After long controversy between the national and regional governments, the issues of representation were resolved by accepting the principle of parity, but this principle too, could not prove effective and it sowed the seeds of hatred and mistrust between two wings. From the very beginning the central government was made so much powerful that it did not let the provinces to exercise even their constitutionally given powers and authority. These circumstances gave birth the trend of centralization of powers and also promoted regionalism in the absence of any effective system of check and balance which later on proved dangerous for growth and development of sound federal system in Pakistan.

Thus, it may be stated that both the trends i.e. centralization and decentralization existed in Pakistani politics from the very beginning and effective and vibrant system of check and balance could not be developed to control these trends. The feeling of domination in small provinces and weak segment of society against the domination of big units is common phenomenon in pluralistic society. The domination of one province became more dangerous only, when it is also advance in economic field because its domination was not seen by other units as beneficial for federal union, which resulted tensions, disharmony and ethno-regional conflicts in the country (Hussein, 1994).

The main defect of the Constitution of 1956 was defective method of distribution of power which was not devised in accordance with the true spirit of federalism. Economic development did not take place on the basis of equality, smaller provinces and groups have not been given their due share in key state institutions and democratic political system were

not allowed to flourish in the country. From 1947 to 1958, all governments did not bother to conduct fresh elections and they preferred to organize groups to protect their own position and privileges and they delegated all powers and authority to the control of bureaucracy.

Civil administration with the collusion of military establishment took full advantage of situations and government failed to control socio-economic crisis confronted the country during the period. The country lacked popular leadership of high caliber who could check and control this situation. Due to these reasons democratic system failed in Pakistan and martial law was declared 1958 and Constitution of 1956 was also abrogated (Changappa, 1999).

3.6. Federalism under the Constitution of 1962

The Constitution of 1962 was made by the military government of Ayub Khan and it was enforced in March, 1962. Though the Constitution Commission made by military government recommended strong federal system, but the constitution was much different from the recommendations given by commission and the emphasis of the constitution of 1962 was strong central government expressed through the office of the President. The new constitution provided very simple method of distribution of power and authority between central and provincial government.

Regarding distribution of power, there was only one list of power i.e. federal list comprising 49 important subjects and all undefined powers were given to provinces. Federal legislature under the constitution was unicameral like the previous constitution in which equal representation was given to both East and West Pakistan. Method of the distribution of financial resources between center and provinces was changed and National Finance Commission and National Economic Council were established in which provinces were also given due representation (Bhatti, 2016).

The Constitution of 1962 was one-man constitution and during its drafting process, provinces, political parties and other segments of the society were not taken into confidence and all powers and authority was concentrated in the office of the President. The opponents of the govt reacted and criticized the concentration of power in the hands of head of the state. It is due to this reason that all opposition leaderships organized themselves against the military government and formed Pakistan Democratic Movement and submitted the following demands before the government:

- Restoration of democracy and to end state of emergency
- Restoration of federal and parliamentary system
- Provincial autonomy
- Election on the basis adult franchise (Khan, 2017).

For the achievement of these objectives, opposition formed Democratic Action Committee to launched movement against military government. Ayub Khan tried to resolve the issues by calling all parties conference, but it failed to produce desired results (Feldman, 1972).

3.6.1. Mujeeb-ur-Rehman Six Points

The Constitution of 1962 had provided one federal list included 49 subjects and all powers and authority was concentrated in the hands of one central government. The provincial government, headed by Governor, nominee of central government, had to function under the direction of federal government. Lack of provincial autonomy developed resentment, disharmony and severe reaction in East Pakistan. Opposition parties were organizing PDM and they started protest campaign against Ayub dictatorial regime. The opposition saw Tashkent Declaration (1966) as good opportunity to embarrass and pressurize

the military government and for the achievement of objective, they called all parties conference in Lahore and Mujeeb-ur-Rehman was also invited to attend it.

Mujeeb came to Lahore with the intention to cooperate with opposition, but he also raised the question of East Pakistan grievances and produced draft of his demands commonly known as six-point formula of provincial autonomy. But the participants of the conference did not allow him on the ground that only purpose of the conference was to discuss Tashkent Declaration and Mujeeb proposals may be discussed on some other appropriate occasion (Hussein, 1964).

In sensing this repetition of indifference attitude toward East Pakistan by West Pakistani leaderships, he went back and published his six point's formula as minimum demands of the people of East Pakistan for any future political settlement. The details of six points are as follow:

- Federal system for Pakistan.
- All powers except defense and foreign affairs should be given to provinces.
- Separate currencies or alternatively, restrictions on the movement of capitals from one province to other.
- All taxes should be utilized in the province of its collection.
- All foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan to be at its disposal.
- East Pakistan should have separate militia.

He also stated that these points are not only essential for the prosperity of East Pakistan, but also inevitable for national unity and solidarity of the entire country. It is important to note that the demands of six point's formula submitted by Mujeeb were quite similar to the election manifesto of United Front (Jujto front) in 1954 which also demanded to reorganize the federation on the basis of Lahore resolution. Apart from the factors

mentioned above, there were some other causes that further added political turmoil and widen the gulf between two wings were accumulation of wealth in the hands 22 families, all belonging to West Pakistan, and domination of bureaucracy. It was projected by Mujeeb and his followers in East Pakistan as deliberate plan of West Pakistani leadership to control the entire wealth of the country (Hussein, 1964).

This unjust distribution of wealth also helped the politicians to play with the sentiments of common man, who felt ignored and alienated from the prevailing system, began to start leftist politics and socialist program. It was in these circumstances that Z A. Bhutto, with semi-socialist program, formed Pakistan People Party (1967) and called for change in the major industrial units which caught the attention of people in West Pakistan. In these circumstances military government found itself powerless to cope with the situation and on 26, March 1969, Ayub Khan announced its decision to step down and hand over power to Yahya Khan the than Chief of Army Staff, who proclaimed second martial law in the country and also abrogated the Constitution of 1962 (Hussein, 1964).

3.6.2. Dissolution of One Unit

Protest and demonstration against Ayub regime increased during 1966 to 1968 and opposition political parties were demanding ending of emergency, restoration of parliamentary system, election on the basis of adult franchise and release of political prisoners etc. In the beginning military regime led by Ayub Khan tried to suppress the demonstration by force but failed, then government decided to hold discussion with opposition and also accepted their demands. But despite government offer to hold discussion with opposition, law and order situations could not be stabilized and as result, Ayub Khan has to resign on 26 March, 1969 and handed over government to Muhammad Yahya Khan.

Yahya Khan announced Legal Framework Order (LFO) on 28, March 1970, promising restoration of federal and parliamentary system; he also decided to abolish One Unit and restored the old status of Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan. These provinces become fully operative by July, 1970. One Unit scheme was introduced in 1954 after comprehensive debate and it remained part of both 1956 and 1962 Constitutions. It was an agreement between the democratic leadership of two wings which should not have been abolished by a military dictator (Gauhar, 1993).

3.6.3. Legal Framework Order (1970)

On 28, March 1970, Yahya Khan introduced Legal Framework Order, which laid down the basic principles and provided foundation for the future constitution of Pakistan. Some important provisions of LFO were as follow:

- Federal and parliamentary system.
- Provincial autonomy.
- Bicameral Legislature.
- Election on the basis of adult franchise.

3.6.4. Separation of East Pakistan

The story of 24 years union between East and West Pakistan is fraught with great misunderstandings, distrust and suspicions and single common religion was not enough to keep the union intact. Geographical factor, ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity and negative role of politicians, generals and bureaucrats, state had become hub of vested interest which caused alienation among the people of East Pakistan (Mehmud S. 1984). After the election of 1971, due to disagreement on the quantum of provincial autonomy between two

wings and refusal of Yehya Khan and Z. A. Bhutto to allow Awami League to form govt, the federation violently collapsed and east wing become independent state (Waseem, 2010).

3.7. Federalism under the Constitution of 1973

Secession of East Pakistan led to new thinking about federal system as now Punjab become dominant having 56 percent population. Smaller provinces were now committed to contain the domination of Punjab in parliament. The elites of Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan pushed for some kind of majority constraining federalism. Prime Minister Z. A. Bhutto, himself from Sindh, was able to accommodate the demands of small provinces for bicameral legislature. Provincial languages were recognized, however, practically only Sindh adopted Sindhi as official language in 1972, which caused language riots and conflict between Mohajirs and Sindhi (Adeney, 2012).

The Constitution of 1973, like the previous two constitutions were lengthy document containing 280 articles. Some important features of the Constitution of 1973 relating to federal system are as follow:

3.7.1. Distribution of Powers

Under the Constitution of 1973, powers were distributed between central and provincial governments and principle of decentralization of power and authority was accepted. For the distribution of power, there were two lists i.e. federal and concurrent list. Part one of federal list had 59 subjects and parts two had 8 subjects. While concurrent list contained 47 subjects and this was justified on the ground that there were certain matters which could not be exclusively given to either central or provincial governments and both of them were empowered to legislate about these matters. But in case of conflict, supremacy of

the federal government was accepted. The Constitution of 1973 did not provide separate provincial list, however, all residuary power were assigned to provinces (Article 141-52).

3.7.2. Bicameral Legislature

Unlike the previous two constitutions, the Constitution of 1973 provided for bicameral legislature. The new constitution was different from the earlier constitutions partially in two respects: federation of Pakistan had now four provinces rather than the earlier two and principle of parity has also been abolished. Under the new constitution, federal legislature consisted of two houses i.e. National Assembly and Senate. National Assembly is lower house in which all the federating units have been given representation on the basis of population, while Senate is upper house in which all federating units have been given representations on the basis of equality. Equal representation in upper house is effective safeguard against the domination of larger province in lower house of Parliament. Administrative relation between center and provinces were mostly same, as was provided under the previous two constitutions.

The federal system in Pakistan has a tendency toward centralized control and authority since independence. It is, therefore, responsibility of the central government to protect each unit against internal and external disturbance and to ensure that each unit should carried out its business with the spirit and provisions of constitution. Under the constitution of 1973, the central government with the consent of provincial government may assign its authority to provincial officer. Similarly, provincial government is empowered to delegate some of its executive authority to federal government. The Constitution of 1973 also made some material changes regarding distribution of financial resources between center and provinces. The center is authorized to impose custom duties, export duties, corporation tax,

tax on oil, gas and minerals etc. Similarly, provincial government is vested with power to impose land revenue tax, agriculture tax and excise duties etc. (Khan, 2017).

3.7.3. Federal Judiciary

Under the Constitution of 1973 provisions have also been included for the establishment of federal judiciary which is essential for the settlement of disputes between center and provinces and also among provinces. The Supreme Court is the apex court in the country and all executive and judicial authority throughout the country would co-operate with Supreme Court and strictly follow its directions. Supreme Court of Pakistan is authorized to interpret the constitution if there is ambiguity in any provision of the constitution (Articles 175-202).

3.7.4. Emergency Powers

Under article 232, during state of emergency, federal government could issue or proclaim emergency throughout the provinces or any part thereof. However, during emergency, authority of the federal government to give directions to provinces enhanced even regarding those matters, which are otherwise in the domain of provincial government. Moreover during state of emergency, federal legislature can also make laws with regard to provincial matters (Articles 232-37).

3.7.5. Procedure of Amendment

The Constitution of 1973 also provides the method of amendment in the constitution, which could not be brought about without the approval of both the house of parliament. However, under article, 239 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, no amendment in the constitution could be made which effects the boundaries of any province

unless such amendment has been passed by the resolution of concerned provincial assembly by not less than 2/3 majority (Articles 238,39).

3.7.6. Council of Common Interests

The Constitution of 1973, deals with the establishment of Council of Common Interests (CCI) which consists of Prime Minister, who is also Chairman of the council and Chief Ministers of all the provinces. It is the responsibility of the CCI to formulate and regulate the policies with regards to subjects included in the part second of the federal legislative list and shall also supervise and control over related institutions. It is also the responsibility of the CCI to submit annual reports to both the houses of parliament.

3.7.7. National Economic Council

Under article 156 of the Constitution of 1973, President constitute National Economic Council (NEC) comprising, Prime Minister, Chief Ministers of the all provinces and four other members (one each from every province) nominated by Prime Minister. It is the responsibility of NEC to review the overall economic condition of the country and give advice to both federal and provincial governments about the formulation of financial, commercial, social and economic policies and plan (Khan Z., 2015).

3.7.8. National Finance Commission

Article 160 of the Constitution of 1973 deals with the establishment of National Finance Commission (NFC) comprising of federal minister of finance, provincial finance ministers, and other members appointed by President with the consultation of provincial government. It is the responsibility of the commission to distribute revenues between federal and provincial governments (Pasha, 2015).

3.7.9. 18th Constitutional Amendment

18th Constitutional Amendment passed in 2010 was most comprehensive reforms package after the adoption of 1973 Constitution. Ever since the return of civilian rule in 2008, there was a popular demand of the political leadership to repeal 17th Amendment brought about the military regime of General Musharraf and reform the Constitution of 1973 in the light of the Charter of Democracy (COD) (Waseem, 2010). The COD provided the work plan for the Special Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Reforms (SPCCR). The two main stream political parties PML-N and PPP along with other parties signed COD in London in 2006, which was hailed as declaration of independence (Adeney, 2012).

27 members SPCCR under Senator Raza Rabbani represented all parties. Only nine members belong to three main stream political parties-PPP, PML-N and PML-Q, while eighteen members belonging to ethnic and regional political parties from smaller provinces as well as religious parties. The SPCCR spent 385 hours on its deliberation and received about 982 proposals. It even expended its agenda beyond the COD and discussed various other controversial matters. For example ANP demanded election of President of Pakistan on national basis from all federating units.

The PKMAP, the Pakhtuns nationalist party in Baluchistan wanted separate Chief Commissioner Province to be called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Southern and renaming of FATA as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Central. Two critical perspectives surfaced even before the approval of 18th Amendment. PML-N leader Nawaz Sharif objected the renaming of NWFP and composition of Judicial Commission. Though SPCCR accommodated him on both count but both these issues later on sparked a wave of protest in the country (SPCCR Report, 2010).

Though the Constitution of 1973 is federal in character; but the face of it was badly changed by military regimes of Zia-ul-Haq, (1977-1988) and Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008)

through 8th and 17th Constitutional Amendments (2003) respectively (Dawn, 2008). The draft of 18th Constitutional Amendment bill prepared by parliamentary committee was passed by both the houses of Parliament on 19 April, 2010 and after the approval of the President, it became the Act of Parliament, 2010 (Committee, 2010). 18th Constitutional Amendment was brought about in the Constitution of 1973 by the government of PPP in 2010 with the cooperation of all the political parties in parliament. It was a positive step toward decentralization of powers and authority at provincial level (Burki, 2015). Some important changes brought about by this amendment in the constitution are as follow:

- NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- Article 58 was amended and once again restored the powers of Prime Minister and his cabinet.
- 4 seats for minorities were reserved in Senate.
- Power to remove the membership of house has been given to party head by amending article 63.
- President withholds the assent for ten days if bill is passed by both the houses.
- Attorney General was barred from doing private practice.
- Concurrent list was abolished.
- CCI was authorized to distribute between federal and provincial government in respect of generation of electricity or construction of hydroelectric power stations.
- New High Court for federal capital Islamabad was established.
- Method of the appointment of the judges of superior courts was changed.
- Method of the appointment of Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) was also changed.
- Share of provinces in NFC award would not less than the share of provinces in previous awards.

- Both central and provincial government would monitor the implementation of the award.
- Provinces have been authorized to get donation and internal loan within the limit specified by NEC (Burki, 2015).

The 18th Constitutional Amendment brought about far-reaching impacts on the politics of the country. One of the great impacts of this amendment was that, it gave more financial, political and administrative autonomy to provinces by abolishing concurrent list. It is provided that the share of the provinces will not be changed below the share given in previous awards. Besides, provincial governments were also authorized to get loans from both internal and external sources. On the other hand, the critics of the amendment declared it as insufficient because it failed to address the issues of minority ethnic groups within different provinces. It has been alleged that the most important subjects have been given to central government and provinces have control over less important subjects (Hamid, 2015).

The critics also pointed out that 18th Constitutional Amendment failed to answer the demand of smaller provinces and oppressed communities within different provinces. Similarly, it did not assign any power to Senate of Pakistan, which is true representative house of all federating units of the country (Akhter, 2015). After the passage of 18th Amendment, several political parties demanded to re-organized federal structure by creating new provinces such as four in Punjab, two each in KP province and Sindh and three in Baluchistan (Adeney, 2012).

3.7.10. 7th National Finance Commission Award

As stated above, under the Constitution of 1973, mechanism has been provided for the establishment of NFC for the distribution of revenues between federal and provincial governments. Since the execution of the Constitution of 1973, 7th NFC awards have been

announced. The details showing the share of federal and provincial governments under different awards is given below.

Table 3.1

S No	Years of NFC Award	Share of Federal Government	Share of Provinces
1st	NFC Award 1974	80 Percent	20 Percent
2nd	NFC Award 1979	80 Percent	20 Percent
3rd	NFC Award 1985	80 Percent	20 Percent
4th	NFC Award 1990	80 Percent	20 Percent
5 th	NFC Award 1996	80 Percent	20 Percent
6 th	NFC Award 2005	52 Percent	46 percent
7th	NFC Award 2010	42.5 Percent	57.5 Percent

In the month of July, 2005 military government of Pervez Musharraf constituted new National Finance Commission, and under the award of 2005, the share of provinces from divisible pool was decided to increase up to 5 percent in coming five years (46 percent in first fiscal year and then one percent increase in each year). According to details of annual budget of the years 2007-8 an amount of Rs. 497 billion was allocated for the units and this increase further strengthened the economic position of the units (Iftikhar, 2007).

In December, 2009, in few month before the SPCCR made its recommendations, the 7th NFC award increased the amount of resources available to province. The new award provided that 2011 onward 57.5 percent would be allocated for provinces and 42.5 percent for center. Since the promulgation of the Constitution of 1973 the resources has been distributed on the basis of population that only benefited Punjab which is already developed and urbanized as compare to other provinces. Other provinces have long argued that

allocation of resources only on the basis of population is grossly unfair. Sindh has argued that allocation of resources should be made on the basis of contribution of province to natural resources while both KP and Baluchistan have demanded that backwardness and inverse population density in Baluchistan should be made part of criteria for distribution of resources (Adeney, 2012).

All these above stated demands for change were previously resisted by NFC; however, in 7th NFC award went a long way to addressing these concerns. The revised formula provided that that 82 percent of revenue resources allocated to the provinces was to be distributed according to population, 10.3 percent for backwardness, 5 percent for revenues generation and 2.7 percent on the basis of inverse population density. The revised formula resulted in a 5.6 percent reduction in the share of Punjab from the last award of 1996. There was 1.1 percent increase in KP share, 1.3 percent in Sindh share and 3.8 percent in the share of Baluchistan (Adeney, 2012).

The 7th NFC award further reinforced the political and financial position of the provinces and it was believed that this award would also be helpful to further narrow down the gap between federation and its units. The award was also considered to be important measure and milestone towards economic integration and provincial autonomy in Pakistan (Khwaja, 2013). Although the imbalance between central and provincial governments was corrected through 18th Constitutional Amendment and adoption of 7th NFC award by giving more economic, administrative and financial powers to provinces. But it is also fact that all these developments brought negative impacts on sub-nationalities and minority ethnic groups in all existing provinces. In Pakistani federalism, different types of exploitation is going on such as center exploit units, big units exploit small units and within provinces ethnic majorities exploit ethnic minorities (Zulifqar, 2012).

This trend is alarming and dangerous for federal unity and stability of state because exploited and oppressed groups always trying to evade and get rid from exploitation. Moreover, some regions in Pakistan are rich in natural resources and are largely contributing to the economy of the state, but these regions are socially and economically backward and people living there, are facing many problems. At the same time some regions especially those near to capital city receive more share from state resources and also from development funds due to imbalance federal structure. Moreover, dominant identities/groups always try to impose their own culture and imposed dominate over weaker and smaller identities, because they enjoys more powers and influence in the decision making process of country due to their numerical majority (Mustifa, 2020).

Hence the environment of exploitation, injustice and sense of deprivation cultivated the seeds of hatred in the minds of the people of deprived and backward regions of the country. They consider it as internal imperialism where all the resources and powers are concentrated in the hands of dominant segment of society. The exploitation and sense of deprivation by dominant groups of the society is believed to be an important and main cause of all major movements, revolt and revolutions in the past in different countries of the world. The interaction also revealed that main cause of all revolts and revolutions is exploitation of weak segments of the society by dominant and strong groups (Mustifa, 2020).

Smaller identity groups in different provinces in Pakistan are facing similar problems and these minority ethnic groups are now demanding new provinces. For the achievement of their objectives, new provinces movement again revived in different regions, such as Movement for Saraiki and Bahawalpur provinces in Punjab, Mohajar Province Movement in the Sindh and Hazara Province Movement in KP, which has now become new challenge to federalism in Pakista

CHAPTER FOUR

DEMAND OF NEW PROVINCES IN PAKISTAN

According to the latest estimate, Pakistan has about 212 million populations that spread over four provinces, capital territory, and two autonomous regions. The greater portion of the population is concentrated in the province of Punjab that is about over half of the total population of the country. This is the major cause of administrative inconvenience and backwardness of the remote regions of the country i.e. Lahore that is about 300 km from Multan, while Kashmore in Sindh is about 600 km from Karachi. Similarly, Gawadr is about 1000 km from Quetta, and Kohistan in Hazara division is about 400 km from Peshawar.

This remoteness discovers one fact that if you are a citizen of any one of these districts, you will have to travel for at least a day to reach the capital city of your respective province for any official or personal business. Due to the existence of a small number of units and limited center of powers, all the existing provincial governments are lacking ability to ensure the access of the majority of populations to the administration of the province. It also restricts the citizen to get their voice heard in the affairs of provincial administration; which is against the spirit of democracy (Rasool, 2018).

One way to address these problems is to create new provinces; because having more provinces would bring closer the seat of government to a large number of populations by creating new centers of power near to their home stations. More provinces also mean the transfer of funds to more areas or a new center of power, this will enable them to make the decision themselves and to use the funds as they desire. Localization of funds through the creation of new units will not only improve public accessibility to funds and services to large number of people; but at the same time it will strengthen democracy and the federal system as well (Anwar, 2020).

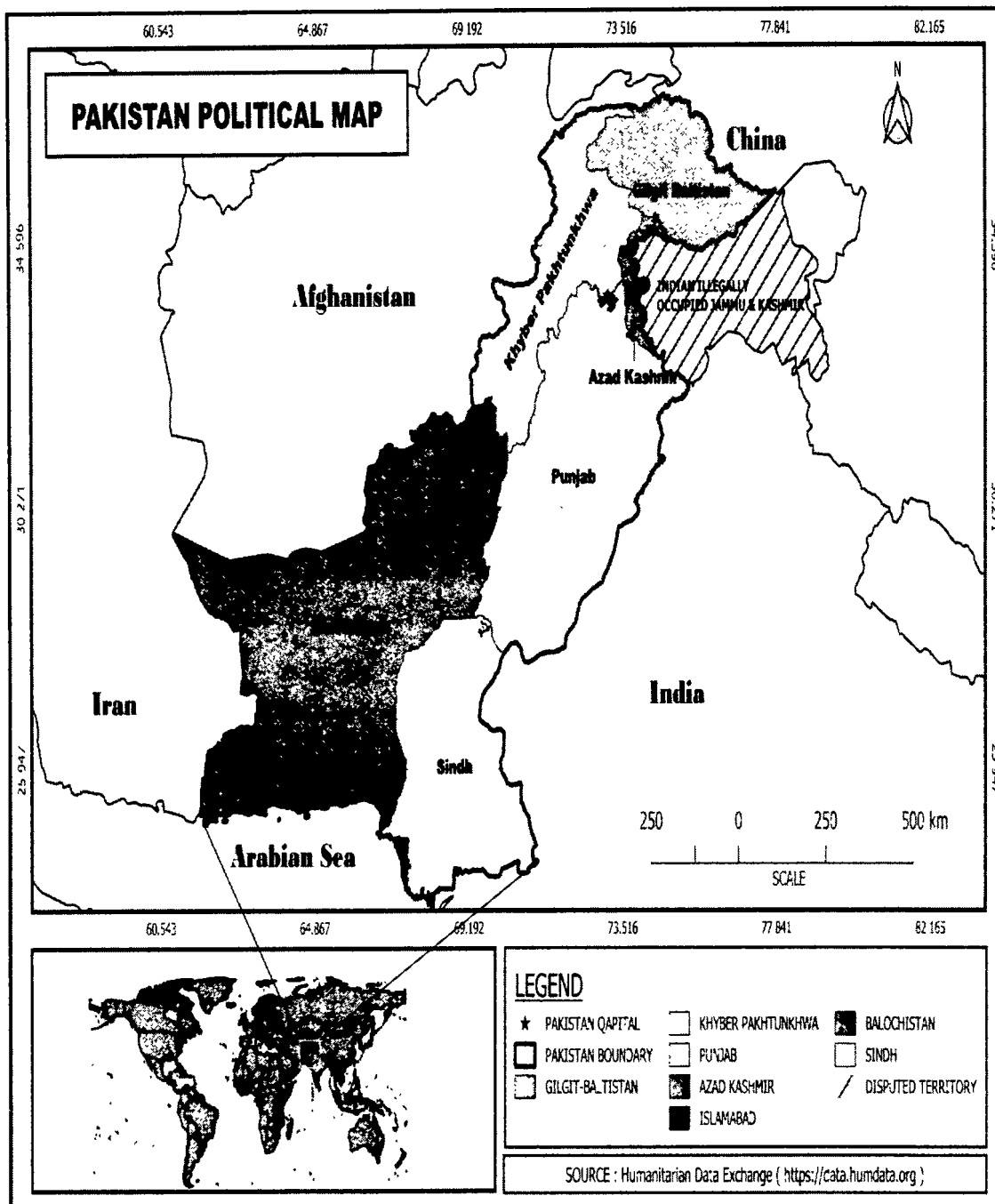
Though the creation of new province would not be a solution to all the tension and challenges facing federal structure today, but it could be a step in the right direction. In addition to it, for strengthening federation, the issue of economic development, ending corruption and promoting good governance cannot be ignored. As stated previously that federalism is suitable for diverse societies; because it combines in itself the features of both unity and diversity. Federalism evolves and shaped by its social and political environment. The number of units in the federal system and satisfactory distribution of power among different ethnic groups is inevitable for the stability of federalism; because it greatly affects the politics of the country (Adeney, 2007).

The population of federations all over the world varies, for example the population of India is over a billion people, while St Kitts and Davis have a few thousand populations. Similarly, in the certain federation, the largest federating units are bigger than many countries i.e. Uttar Pradesh in India has about 160 million population and California in the USA has about 34 million population. Similarly, the numbers of units in different federal states also vary as there can have as few as two units or it may be over 80. These questions of size and population of province greatly affect the capacity of government and the social and political dynamics of the country. Homogenous units may contribute to federal stability and also bring about efficiency in state administration, while heterogeneous units cause conflicts and tensions among different ethnic and linguistic groups (Anderson, 2008).

Russia and the USA have 83 and 50 units each while India has 36 units (28 provinces and 8 union territories). The largest unit in these three federations constitutes less than 18 percent of the total population as Moscow is 7 percent of the population of Russia; California is 12 percent of the population of the USA and UP is 17 percent of the population of India. In the presence of more provinces, single unit cannot dominate the politics of the country. The analysis of the working of federalism in different countries reveals that federations having a

large number of provinces, contributed to political stability in the states in most of the cases, while, federation having few units lead to political instability, identity crisis as happened East Pakistan which led to its separation after the war of 1971 with India (Adeney, 2007).

Pakistan is the federation of four provinces, Capital Territory, Federally Administered Tribal Area Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan. The map in next page showing Pakistan boundaries with neighbouring countries, provincial borders, capital territory and largest cities. Punjab is largest province in term of population and second largest in term of area while Balochistan is largest in term of size. Pakistan is fifth most populous country with population of 241.5 million.



The existence of one dominant group within the state greatly affects the politics of the country and also causes resentment and a sense of deprivation among small provinces and weak ethnic groups. One way to safeguard the weaker from the domination of a powerful group is to sub-divide the dominant group; because this sub-division will diminish and reduce the danger of the potential oppression of the majority group. Most of the problems and challenges faced by the existing federal structure in Pakistan are also owing to the fact that one Punjab province has about 54 percent of the total population of Pakistan and thus it has more influence in the politics of the country; because it has more share and representation in the federal legislature as well as in civil and military establishment (Fakhar-ul-Islam, 2020).

Punjab is the biggest province in terms of population and thus enjoys much influence over the politics of the country and this is an important cause of disharmony and distrust between Punjab and other provinces. According to one perspective, the division of Punjab would ensure a durable solution concerning resource allocation and representation on one hand and also minimization of the perception of the domination of Punjab in state politics on the other. But this is not an easy task as it is not in the interest of the dominant section whose political and economic interest is associated with the unity of Punjab and not in its division.

In 1988, the military government of General Zia-ul-Haq considered reshaping the federation of Pakistan into eight provinces; but before materializing his dream, he was killed in a plane crash near Bahawalpur in the same year. Under this scheme, Punjab was to be divided into Punjabi speaking and Saraki speaking provinces, Sindh was to be divided into Muhajar and rural Sindh provinces, one Baluch and Pakhtun province from Baluchistan, and minor territorial readjustment in the province of NWFP was also proposed (Adeney, 2007).

Therefore; the existence of a large number of federating units is important for the promotion of national unity and to bring about harmony among the different federating units.

Protection of regional identity and security of sub-culture has been lacking in Pakistan since independence. The ethnic domination of few has reduced the identity of all sub-groups and small identities, which is an important cause of alienation in backward and neglected regions in Pakistan. As stated previously the size and population of federating units affect the politics of the state and in all these cases, the federation having a small number of provinces and one unit having more than half of the total population of the country, have caused tension, crisis of identity, and political instability in the state. Federations having fewer units are often confronted with the demands by minority ethnic groups for equality in decision-making, which is normally resisted by a larger unit in the majority of cases (Mustifa, 2020).

4.1. Ethnicity in the Politics of Pakistan

Although the federal structure of Pakistan has been subject to ethno-linguistic crisis since independence. Federalism in Pakistan suffers from numerous tension and challenges which include the vertical distribution of powers, number of provinces, their representation in federal institutions and inequitable distribution of resources. The Constitution of 1973 was adopted after secession of East Pakistan and many of the demands of oppositions were accommodated and it was design to be inclusive.

Like many other federations, National Assembly is elected on the basis of population giving Punjab majority of seats in lower house. The distributions of seats in lower house of parliament institutionalize the dominance of core region at the heart of federation. The province of Punjab is about 56 percent of the population of the country that is over 20 percent larger than next largest Sindh province. Punjab is also economically stable and according to Asian Development Bank report Punjab produced 57 percent of Pakistan GDP (Adeney, 2012).

Punjab is the core region having majority of seats in National Assembly has benefited from the lion's share of financial resources. Any political party seeking to come to power has to be mindful of Punjab vote bank. The need to appease this vote bank has historically prevented political parties such as PPP for pressing for change in the federal structure that would benefit small provinces. Although this conflicts and tension have not caused serious threat to national unity since separation of East Pakistan in 1971, but they have resulted numerous conflicts in different existing provinces in the country (Hale, 2004).

The concern to reduce the domination of Punjab is often linked to the wider debate concerning the number of units within federal system. The existence of single core ethnic group strengthening the bargaining position of the core group and if this core group is divided into multiple regions, the antagonism and conflicts between larger and smaller units may be reduce. The existence of small number of provinces compounded the tensions caused by the existence of core ethnic region/group and the under representation of certain sub-groups/nationalities in the core institutions of the state such as there is long standing demand of the division of Punjab along ethnic lines. The sub-nationalities may not have their interest protected in a federal system even though may be in majority in unit. The inclusion of major groups at center in a federal system is a mechanism that can enhance their security which promotes harmonious relation between different groups (Adeney, 2012).

Regional and ethnic-based political groups in Pakistan politics have mobilized themselves largely on an ethnic and linguistic basis. Ethnic-based political conflicts in Pakistani politics are not new but their intensity has increased in national politics epically after the 18th Amendment in the Constitution of 1973 and now it has captured the attention of political parties and their leadership both at the national and local level. The amendment intensified the ethnic conflicts between majority and minority ethnic groups within provinces.

The issue of small ethnic identity within provinces is deeply linked with certain historical issues even before the adoption of the 1973 Constitution (Khan M. S., 2015).

Pakistani federalism has been facing the challenges of nationalist tendencies based on ethnic identities in Baluchistan, Sindh, Punjab, and KP. Issues of governance, political instability, provincial autonomy, resource allocation, uneven social and economic development, and a sense of deprivation in less developed areas have posed serious threats to the internal security and stability of the country. Pakistan is an ethnically heterogeneous and pluralist country comprising four federating units and it has been facing ethnic conflicts since independence. The politics in developing countries is driven by the political and economic interests of different social classes living within the geographical boundaries of the state. Since modern societies are not homogeneous and are complex, therefore, it needs many institutions to represent the interests of different segments of society (Razia, 2011).

Therefore, in most of the modern countries including Pakistan, there exist diverse networks of social and political groups, each of them struggling to protect its ethnic identity and economic and political interests. A social and political group that is well organized can easily protect its interests as compared to those that are not well organized. For the success of democracy, national unity, solidarity, and social harmony, the people at the bottom must be organized and having a share in the decision making process because, without it, the interests and separate identity of the weaker segments of the society may not be protected in an effective manner (Hussain A. 2019).

Population of Pakistan is a diverse in nature, where dozens of ethno-lingual groups reside. Therefore, after getting independence in 1947, constitution-makers introduced federal system to adjust and accommodate the interest of different groups living in Pakistan, (Zulfiqar, 2012). But the state managers persistently refused to accept the demand for

regional autonomy made by different ethno-lingual groups and they also deprived them of their due share. The 18th Amendment in the Constitution of 1973 was a positive step to strengthen federalism, but it too was not free from certain defects and it created many administrative problems and ethnic diversity as the renaming of NWFP as KP was not liked in Hazara division (Asif M. A. 2019).

The Constitution of 1956 was federal in character but centralized in spirit and it remained operational for just two and half years. The Constitution of 1962 given by the dictator violated the democratic principles of decentralization of power and authority and a faulty federal structure was adopted under it. Under this federal system, there was over-centralization and discriminatory treatment toward East Pakistan that caused its separation after the 1971 war with India (Abbasi, 2016).

Since 1971 Pakistan has survived as federation but still there exist serious challenges and important among these are the resentment concerning allocation of revenues from the exploitation of natural resources, challenges to construction of hydro-electric dams and revenues generated from their operation are key demand of KP. Sindh is aggrieved that Punjab gets the lion share of water from Indus system of irrigation. Similarly Baluchistan has resented that the province has not benefited from its oil and gas resources (Tahir, 2009).

Secondly, these issues are linked with lack of representation at the center particularly Balochis and Sindhis in the core institutions of the state. Ruling elites pursued integrationist strategy of national integration and only religion was prioritized as unifying identity and ethno-language differences were ignored. Representation in military and civil bureaucracy which is two core institutions of state is ethnically tilted in favor of Punjab. Third and equally important is south of Punjab which is less developed than rest of the province which contributed to the demand for the creation of South Punjab Province (Adeney, 2012).

Similarly other provinces are also not ethnically homogenous. There is tension within and between rural and urban areas in Sindh province, in Baluchistan between Balochis, Brahivs and Pakhtuns and in KP province between Pakhtunes and Hindko speakers of Hazara division (Azhar, 2017).

The Constitution of 1973 promised a federal and parliamentary system providing provincial autonomy, but unfortunately, it too was not implemented in its true letter and spirit. There was over-centralization because under the original document of the Constitution of 1973, there were two lists of powers i.e. federal and concurrent, while all undefined powers belonged to provinces. However, due to grievances of units, the concurrent list was abolished under the 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 during the period of the PPP government (Bukhari, 2013).

The imbalance and disharmony between federal and provincial authorities have been removed to some extent under the 18th Constitutional Amendment by giving more powers and authority to provinces and enabling them to exploit their local resources in a better way. But the critics of this amendment stated that this amendment has enhanced the powers and position of the ethnic majorities within provinces and brought about negative impacts on ethnic minorities within different provinces such as Saraki speaking population in Punjab, Mohjahars in urban Sindh, Pakhtune in Baluchistan and People of Hazara division in KP (Azhar, 2017).

The environment of mistrust and sense of deprivation still exists in different backward regions of all existing provinces because in these provinces larger ethnic groups are striving to impose their hegemony and domination which is resisted by small ethnic groups. Further, in Pakistan, all regions have not been developed on the basis of equality. Some regions are

rich in natural resources and they are largely contributing to the economy of the state but despite all these facts, they are still socially and economically backward (Shah, 2002)

For the promotion of good governance, efficiency in the administration of the state, and developing harmony within the state, minority ethnic groups in different provinces are demanding new units. In KP, Pakhtunes are in majority, whereas Hindko speaking population and other communities of Hazara division are in minority. Hazara division is rich in natural resources but has poor infrastructure and other social and economic facilities. It is the second-largest revenue-generating division after Peshawar and the region is also blessed with hydel, and forest resources. The consciousness about their rights and separate identity began to evolve in Hazara immediately after independence. In the 1980s, Hazara Student Federation was set up first in Karachi and later on in different educational institutions in Hazara division (Azhar, 2017).

Later on, due to discriminatory treatment of Hazara division, in development funds, industries, and development of infrastructure, HQM was established in 1987 by Malik Asif Advocate for the protection of the interests and separate identity of the region. HPM was again revived and got momentum after renaming NWFP as KP under the 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. The new ethnic name was not accepted in Hazara division as the decision was taken without the consent of the people and its leadership (Zaman, 2017).

After this development, the leadership again revived the movement for creating Hazara province under the leadership of Sardar Haider Zaman Baba. After the tragic incident of April 12, 2010, in Abbottabad which took the lives of ten people, the movements further got momentum and it also motivated the leadership of the new provinces movement in other provinces. These movements now have become a new challenge to an existing federal structure in Pakistan Therefore, federalism must address these issues to avoid ethnic conflicts,

improve governance, and ensure harmony, unity, and equitable development in the entire country.

4.2. Issue of Provincial Autonomy in Pakistan

Since the establishment of Pakistan, a persistent debate has been going on to grant maximum provincial autonomy to the provinces to address the grievances of the units and also of the weaker segment of the society and to promote national unity and social harmony. At the time of independence, there were three provinces in West Pakistan and one in East Pakistan. The first constituent assembly, in its long discussion and debate spread over seven years, proposed various solutions to give provincial autonomy to the provinces. Under the Constitution of 1956, the unicameral legislature was provided in which both the wings were given equal representation on the basis of the parity formula (Siddiqi, 2007).

In the Constitution of 1962, given by the military government, the principle of parity between two wings was retained; but that constitution too was federal only in name and real powers were practically exercised by the central government. As a result of over-centralization, the gulf between two wings further widened and after the war of 1971 between India and Pakistan, Bangladesh was separated from Pakistan and became a sovereign state. After the separation of East Pakistan, a new Constituent assembly was formed, which ultimately succeeded in framing the Constitution of 1973, with the cooperation of all political parties (Khan, 2017).

Unlike the previous two constitutions, the federal legislature under the Constitution of 1973 is bicameral which consists of two houses i.e. National Assembly and Senate. National Assembly is a lower house; in which provinces have been given representation on the basis of the population while the Senate is the upper house in which equal representation has been given to all provinces. The second aspect of provincial autonomy is sharing of powers

between the center and provinces. Generally, federalism is a voluntary association of different units, who under agreement surrender some of their powers to central government i.e. defense, foreign affairs, currency, and security. Under this arrangement, federating units are the real and ultimate source of all powers and authority which is local in nature (Anderson, 2007).

But suitable and conducive political environment to strengthen federal system could not be developed in Pakistan since its establishment. It is a fact, that all the provinces and states of undivided India united themselves to make the federation. Some of them have existed even before the division of India and others joined the federal union as a result of the partition of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal at the time of independence. But later on, similar unity and harmony could not be developed on a strong footing due to ethno-lingual differences among different regions. Under the Constitution of 1956, there were three lists of power like federal, concurrent, and provincial. The provinces were authorized to legislate on subjects included in the provincial list, while regarding the concurrent list, both central and provincial could exercise powers and residuary powers were given to provinces.

But despite all these arrangements, the central government was more powerful and has full control over the administrative machinery of the government. The Constitution of 1962 also provided a federal system, but it too was fully controlled by the federal government headed by Ayub Khan while executive authority in provinces was vested with Governors of the provinces, who were appointees of the central government. The Constitution of 1973 also provided a federal system. Regarding the distribution of power, there were two lists of power i.e. federal and concurrent list. This constitution was formulated after the movement for provincial autonomy, launched by Sheikh Mujeeb and his followers on the basis of six points, which resulted in the breakup of Pakistan in 1971. Moreover, some other regional political

parties such as National Awami Party (NAP) and Jameit-Ulmea-Islam (JUI) also wanted provincial autonomy and decentralization of powers and authority (Khan, 1990).

The highly centralized regime of General Musharraf again revived the issue of provincial autonomy in the limelight. During the Musharraf rule (1999-2008), smaller provinces felt the weight of a highly centralized military government; where all important decisions were practically taken by the central government, and provinces were just required to carry out the decisions. Regardless of the debate on provincial autonomy since the establishment of Pakistan, there has been a continuing inclination towards centralization of powers and authority rather than decentralization. The central government under all the constitutions controlled all important subjects, departments, and revenues heads and this trend has certainly increased the feeling of alienation and distrust among the people of backward and remote areas (Siddiqi, 2007).

The power and authority given to federating units under all the constitutions have not been exercised in its proper perspective and all institutional mechanism provided in different constitutions to strengthen federalism has not been fully implemented. Due to this reason, supremacy and domination of federal government are still intact in the entire state machinery, which is the main cause of resentment and alienation between center and provinces on one hand and between ethnic majority and minority ethnic groups on the other (Waseem, 2010).

4.3. Proposal to Establish 22 Units

The proposal to create 22 federating units was given by Mirza Jewad Baig, political thinker during the military government of General Pervaiz Musharraf (1999-2008). He stated that the creation of new federating units is essential for strengthening democracy, federalism and bringing about efficiency in the administration of the country. He gives the following arguments to create of new units in Pakistan:

- The establishment of new units would strengthen democracy, federal system and bring about efficiency in the administration of the state by creating new centers of power.
- It may also ensure efficient management of scarce resources of the state, which due to pressure of work, could not get the proper attention by various provincial governments in the past.
- New federating units would also be helpful to end the perception of the monopoly of dominant ethnic groups within existing provinces, which may promote harmony and unity in the country.
- It will also ensure across the board economic development and development of the backward areas in the country, which will raise the standard of living of its people.
- The creation of new units may also be helpful to check the growing tendency of extremism, terrorism, and fundamentalism in the backward regions.
- The establishment of new units will also create employment opportunities for people near their home.

Marza Jawad Baig also proposed that there is a need to create five provinces in Baluchistan i.e. Makran, Lassbala, Kalat, Sabbi, and Quetta. In Sindh, there is a need to establish four provinces i.e. Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana, and Sakkar. While in Punjab seven new provinces may be carved out such as D G Khan, Lahore, Multan, Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Sargodha, and Rawalpindi. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, four new units should be formed i.e. D I Khan, Peshawar, Malakand, and Hazara. He also proposed that Gilgit-Baltistan should also be given the status full province (Hussein, 2015).

4.4. 18th Constitutional Amendment (2010)

Though the feeling of alienation and mistrust between center and provinces have been removed to some extent under the 18th Constitutional Amendment by giving more financial and administrative powers to provincial governments; but it is also a fact that this amendment also brought about negative impacts on ethnic minorities living in different existing provinces. This new amendment also failed to meet the demands the oppressed sub-nationalities in different provinces of the country (Rizwan, 2015).

The Gallup Poll results in 2011 revealed that in Sindh and Baluchistan, 43 percent respondents favored the support for the creation of more provinces followed by KP province 33 percent and Punjab 28 percent. It would be possible to create more linguistically homogenous provinces to reorganize the existing federal structure. These areas/regions include creation of Seraiki province in South Punjab, merger of Pashto speaking population in north of Baluchistan to KP or separate Pashto speaking province as demanded by Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) on many occasion and Hindko speaking province from the area of north-east of KP (Adeney, 2012).

The critics say that 18th Constitutional Amendment and 7th NFC award have strengthen the powers and position of already dominant political groups in the provinces and it further increased the sense of deprivation and alienation among minority ethnic groups. The environment of mistrust, dissatisfaction, and disharmony still exists in minority ethnic groups within provinces against the monopoly of dominant groups (Mustafa, 2020). Besides, some regions in the country are rich in natural resources and are also largely contributing to the economy of the state but having weak and poor socio-economic infrastructure and no effective role in the decision-making process. Now for the promotion of good governance, to

address the problems of the local population on the basis of equality; minority ethnic groups within all existing provinces are demanding new federating units (Razia, 2011).

4.5. Importance of New Provinces

For the promotion of good governance, equitable socio-economic development across the country and to promote national integration, new centers of power are needed in the country. The establishment of new provinces is the most effective way to address the grievances of the people of deprived regions and backward areas. The creation of new provinces is essential due to the following reasons:

- The establishment of new units is the most effective device to remove the perception among smaller provinces about the domination of larger provinces.
- Secondly, the establishment of new provinces along ethnic, linguistic, and geographic lines may promote harmony among different ethnic groups living in different existing provinces in Pakistan.
- Thirdly, new provinces may be accepted as essential means for better management of state resources and it may also ensure the progress and prosperity of all regions on the basis of equality (Anwar, 2020).
- Fourthly, creation of new provinces may also be helpful to strengthen federalism in Pakistan as happened in India and the USA; where the number of federating units was increased when demanded by people.
- Fifthly, the creation of new provinces would reduce pressure on the central government and thus enable it to give more attention to national issues.
- Lastly, the creation of new provinces may also ensure efficient utilization of state resources, which under the existing federal structure is not possible (Siddiqi, 2014).

The demand of the creation of new provinces in different backward regions of Pakistan is rooted back in the past for various reasons, but they got new stimulus since people of Pakistan saw a new democratic era after being sacked by a decade long autocratic rule of Musharraf in 2008. It was first time in the history of Pakistan that a country witnessed a peaceful and democratic transition to a civilian rule from a military dictatorship because of the pressure and mass movement for restoration of democracy. Secondly fiscal decentralization as a consequence of 7th NFC award under which share of the provinces has been increased from 47.5 percent to 57.5 percent with constitutional guarantee that this share would not be reduced in future. Third important development was passage of 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. These developments strengthen people confidence on democratic traditions and their own capability to get their rights through peaceful means (Sultan Mubariz, 2019).

But there are also another dimension of these developments. The political and economic empowerment of provinces sent negative message to ethnic minorities living in different existing provinces. These developments construed that 7th NFC award and 18th Constitutional Amendment further strengthens the power and position of already powerful and dominant community that further aggravated the “sense of deprivation” and perception of exploitation in the hands of dominant community among minority ethnic groups living in all existing provinces (Sultan Mubariz, 2019).

As stated previously that minority ethnic groups in different provinces in Pakistan are demanding new provinces in different regions i.e. Saraki Provinces Movement, Bahawalpur Provinces Movement in Punjab, Mohajar Province Movement in Sindh, and Hazara Province Movement in KP (Shafique, 2020).

4.6. Saraiki Province Movement

Since independence, Pakistan has been passed through various phases of political and constitutional development. Power has changed hands between the civilian and military governments and all previous governments failed to provide basic necessities of life to its citizens, especially those living in remote and backward regions of the country. The southern region of the present Punjab province is one such example. This region has been ignored by both military and civilian governments in the past and exploitation of the people of this region is still continuing and the people of Saraiki belt failed to get their due share from state resources.

Discrimination in the allocation of developmental funds and backwardness of the region have already created fear that the next battleground for extremism and terrorism after FATA might be South Punjab as militancy and extremism was gaining ground there due to poverty in the area. Socio-economic infrastructure in North and Central Punjab is more developed than South Punjab. Moreover, a major part of the military and civil bureaucracy belongs to North and Central Punjab and the study of these facts revealed that it is a perfect condition of alienation and hopelessness, which forced the people of South Punjab to take desperate action. The result of all these development caused slow and gradual rise of social and political mobilization, which later on changed into a conflict situation (Saddiqa, 2009).

4.6.1. Geography of South Punjab

South Punjab has three divisions i.e. Dera Ghazi Khan, Bahawalpur, and Multan, which are further sub-divided into fifteen districts. Historically, Saraiki as a regional language/dialect has existed for a long time and since 1960, it has been used for writing and it was recognized as a separate language in 1981 during the government of General Zia-ul-Haq. The acceptance of Saraiki as a language meant, that people of South Punjab could identify

them with one identity. The Saraiki is also spoken in some parts of Sindh, Baluchistan, and KP, bordering South Punjab. According to the latest estimates, more than 14 million people speak the Saraiki language across the country.

4.6.2. Origin of Saraiki Province Movement

The origin of the separate Saraiki Province Movement can be traced back to the 1970s, when One Unit was abolished by the military regime of Yehya Khan and Bahawalpur was merged into the province of Punjab as a division. It was viewed by many as a violation of the agreement signed by the ruler of the princely state of Bahawalpur with the federal government when the One Unit scheme was announced. In the beginning, it was a cultural and linguistic movement, but it turned into a political movement after the beginning of Bahawalpur Province Movement (Rehman, 1999).

Though, during the oppressive military regime of Gen Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88), SPM could not make any progress; however, after his death, the movement once again revived. There are about six political parties and other groups struggling to establish separate Saraiki province, the details of which are as follow:

1. Pakistan Saraiki Party
2. Saraiki Quomi Party
3. Saraiki National Party
4. Saraiki Quomi Ithad
5. Saraikistan Quomi Movement
6. Saraiki Sooba Movement (Javaid, 2011).

4.6.3. Causes of Saraiki Province Movement

There are several grievances of the people of South Punjab, pointed out by various political parties and other regional groups. Some of the important causes/factors which forced the people of South Punjab to articulate the demand of Saraiki province are as follow:

- The settlement of the people from other parts of the country was not liked by the people of Saraiki region in the past. The processes of settlement of the non-natives in the region began during the British period; when in 1886 construction on canals work started and residential colonies of the canal were open for settlers from other regions. After the beginning of the Sutlej Valley Project, new settlers began to enter the region. This development was criticized by the local people and their leadership.
- Another notable complaint of Saraiki people is that South Punjab produces more income than what is being spent on it. It is believed, that Bahawalpur is a major producer of cotton, but income earned from this source is not being spent on it. There is also a growing feelings and perception among the local population that Saraki belt is being exploited economically. According to some available estimates on poverty, more than 43 percent of the population of South Punjab lives below the poverty line as compared to that of 27.7 percent of the population of the rest of Punjab. Therefore, the major demand of Saraiki political activists and leadership is that the quota of services for Saraiki people should be increased (Chaduhry, 2009).
- Saraiki intellectuals observe that all provinces should be based on ethno-lingual lines. They also claim that the growing disparity between Central and South Punjab has made the issue inevitable. They claimed, that nobody could object to this demand as Sindhi live in Sindh, Punjabi live in Punjab, Baluchi live in Baluchistan and Pakhtune live in KP and this right should also be given to the people of Saraiki region.

- But major factors that contributed to the revival of SPM are related to the economic imbalance between South Punjab and the rest of the Punjab province. The new province would have a separate budget, which shall be more than presently allocated for it. It is believed that it will create employment opportunities, improve the efficiency of government, and also be a step toward alleviating poverty in the region. According to the report of the International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) the cotton and agriculture industry will get a boost and people of Saraiki region will benefit from their own resources rather than from the support given by upper Punjab (Chaudhry, 2009).

The 18th Constitutional Amendment in the Constitution of 1973 and the renaming of NWFP as KP have given momentum to the politics of new provinces. Renaming of the province was not liked by people of Hazara division, due to which Hazara Province Movement revived, which also changed the political dynamics of new provinces movements in other provinces including SPM. It is a fact that this amendment gives more autonomy to provinces, but it is also a reality that it created an identity crisis in Pakistan. The ruling Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) at that time expressed its desire to make new province in Punjab. To reshape federal structure through maximum provincial autonomy and the rationalization of the size and population of the existing provinces in Pakistan is also vital for political stability and promotion of national unity (Siddiqi, 2015).

South Punjab is most backward, underdeveloped, and comprising rural areas. It has no separate quota in services and therefore, fewer shares in civil and military bureaucracy. This region is also known for its lower standard of education and development. Comparative conditions of various districts of the province of Punjab on the basis of social and economic indicators such as child mortality rate, immunization, education, school enrolment, and the ratio of employment revealed that certain districts of South Punjab such as Rahim Yar Khan

and Rajanpur are ranking at the lowest as compared to the districts of Central and North Punjab.

The percentage of children who never enrolled in schools was 30 percent in South Punjab, 27 percent in West Punjab, 20 percent in Central Punjab, and 6 percent in North Punjab. Similarly, in case of girls, the figure was 44 percent in South Punjab, 43 percent in West Punjab, 33 percent in Central Punjab, and 15 percent in North Punjab. The evolution and development of separate Saraiki identity and consciousness are slowly and gradually developing, especially, due to developmental disparity between Saraiki and other regions of Punjab. The local population is increasingly aware of the fact that civil servants and military officials have acquired assets in the region and they have easy access to resources of the land, which is beyond the reach of the local population of Saraiki belt (Siddiq, 2015).

PPP and PTI openly announced the support for the creation of Saraiki Province during the election campaign of 2018. PTI even included the demand of the establishment of South Punjab province in its 100 days plans. President of PML-N Shahbaz Sharif and PPP Chairman Bilawal Bhutto also assured their support to Saraiki province. Similarly, leadership of other political parties expressed their support to SPM. Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi, who also belongs to Saraiki belt, stressed the need for setting up a Parliamentary Committee consisting of members of all parties to decide the issue of Saraiki province (Hussein, 2019). PML-N leaders have also submitted a constitutional amendment bill in National Assembly, seeking the creation of South Punjab and Bahawalpur province. This was announced by Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, Ahsan Iqbal, and Marryum Aurangzeb during a press conference. PML-N leaders also stated that the bill is in accordance with its manifesto of PML-N and also in the light of the already passed resolution of the Punjab assembly in May, 2012 (Wasim, 2019).

The current Saraiki Province Movement got momentum not only by steps taken by the PPP government, but also other parties i.e. MQM, that would be indirectly benefited from such restructuring of federalism in Pakistan. Taj Muhammad Lunga and other Saraiki nationalist leaders also gave impulsiveness to SPM. Their claim revolves around the separate ethno-linguistic identity of the Saraiki people, which were ignored previously by both the British and Pakistani governments. They believed that Saraiki people have suffered suppression since, 1818 when Sikh captured it. It is also claimed that Saraiki is an important ethno-linguistic identity that was merged in Punjab without the assent of its people and leadership. They claimed that Saraiki people have not been given their due and rightful place in Pakistani politics, despite the fact that they constitute a majority (Langah, 2012).

4.6.4. Prospects and Challenges SPM

The examination and analysis of SPM revealed that the movement appear quite successful in getting some of its core objectives which include development of collective and distinct identity among the Saraiki masses in South Punjab, recognition of Saraiki as official language in 1981, recognition of Saraiki identity by other ethnic groups in the region and resolution passed by National assembly and Punjab assembly for creation of separate South Punjab province. Although the demand of Saraiki province has recently gained momentum but there are certain potential challenges that may hamper the journey of SPM to its ultimate destination.

First challenge to SPM is heterogeneous nature of the region. Although Saraiki constitute clear majority in most part of the region, Punjabis may outnumber them in the district of Vehari, Khanawal and Bahawalpur. Moreover, in districts of Lodran, Bahawalpur, Layyah, Rahim Yar Khan and Multan host almost one third non-Saraiki residents. It has been

argued that without the active support of all ethnic groups, the demand of Saraiki province cannot be materialized (Shaheen, 2017).

Secondly the revival of Bahawalpur Province Movement is another challenge to SPM, which surfaced after the termination of One Unit in 1970. After 18th Constitutional Amendment, BPM once again revived like other new provinces movement in different parts of the country. Provincial assembly of Punjab province has passed resolution for the restoration of Bahawalpur as province. Apparently it does not seem possible to constitute two provinces in South Punjab. It is argued by Saraiki nationalist that revival of BPM is political stunt to weaken SPM.

Thirdly, absence of sufficient electoral support to Saraiki parties is another factor that deteriorates the legitimacy of the demand of Saraiki province. Although Saraiki political parties and organization have successfully constructed the Saraiki identity but they could not appeal the Saraiki electorates.

Fourth challenge to SPM is factionalism and internal division among nationalists which hinder the movement from becoming a viable and cohesive political campaign. Almost eleven factions are operating in different parts of south Punjab region. This division of Saraiki nationalists' leadership posed serious challenge to the success of the movement. Even differences exist over the name of the province for which they are struggling. Some are stuck with "Saraikistan" while other agrees to name it as "South Punjab" (Kahut, 2009).

Fifthly, politicization of the issue is another challenge to the demand of movement. Muttahida Quomi Movement (MQM) support the movement in the hope that establishment of Saraiki province will pave the way for creation of Muhajir province, PTI is also in favor of new province including Saraiki and Hazara province. Similarly PML-N also supports the demand of Saraiki province and they have submitted resolution in Punjab assembly for the

same, but it is open secret that the resolution was merely moved for point scoring both inside and outside parliament.

Sixthly the demand for Sarikistan seem difficult to be materialized as it also include the regions/areas beyond the Punjab province such as Tank and D I Khan of KP province as it was shown in proposed map of the province (Langah, 2005).

Last but not the least, constitutional procedure given in the constitution for the creation of new province is also impediment in the way of Saraiki province.

4.7. Bahawalpur Province Movement

Bahawalpur division consists of three districts: Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur and RahaimYar Khan. Its total population according to the Census Report of 2017 is about 11.5 million and its area is about 45 thousand square miles. At the time of independence, the state of Bahawalpur joined Pakistan and in 1951 agreement was signed between rulers of the state of Bahawalpur with the government of Pakistan and consequently, Bahawalpur was declared as a unit. The first legislative assembly of the state came into being in 1952 and Mukhdom Zada Sayad Hussein Mahmood was elected as its first Chief Minister.

In order to resolve the issue of the quantum of representation between East and West Pakistan, the entire West Pakistan was declared as One Unit in 1955. The head of the state of Bahawalpur, Ameer Sardar Muhammad Khan Abbassi signed the agreement of One Unit. According to the provision of that document, in case of the dissolution of One Unit, the previous status of the Bahawalpur would be automatically restored. But when military regime of General Yehya Khan, announced the dissolution of One Unit in 1970, he merged Bahawalpur in the province of Punjab as division and government did not restore the

previous status of Bahawalpur, which was a clear violation of the agreement between government and rulers of the Bahawalpur state (Hussein, 2015).

Since the establishment of Bahawalpur State, about 250 years ago, it retained its internal autonomy, and even during Sikh rule in Punjab, the Bahawalpur state remained out of its control. After the creation of Pakistan till the establishment of One Unit in 1955, it retained its internal autonomy. Separate identity, sense of deprivation, and under-development led to the emergence of BPM in the 1970s and its leadership demanded that it should be made separate units of Pakistan (Javaid, 2016).

The supporters of the BPM argue that Lahore is about 460 km from Bahawalpur and the people of the region have to face hardship when they have to go to Lahore for some work. Another grievance of the people of the Bahawalpur division is the settlement of the people of other regions in it which has been continuing since the British period. The people of the region are also unhappy with the poor condition of the social and economic infrastructures in the region. It is believed that the Bahawalpur division is producing more income than what is being spent on it. This division is a major producer of cotton, but that income is not being spent on it. According to NFC award, budget allocation for the financial year 2009-10, 334 billion was allocated for the province of Punjab and Bahawalpur with 13 percent of the provincial population and should have been given 43.4 billion, but only 1.2 billion was allocated for it.

BPM got momentum after the dissolution of One Unit in 1970, when its previous status was not restored as per the requirement of the agreement with the federal government. After the inclusion of Bahawalpur in the province of Punjab as division, Bahawalpur Mutahada Mahaz (BMM) was set up and struggle was started to restore the previous status of Bahawalpur as province. In 1970 election, 85 percent of votes were cast in favor of BMM

candidates and it was due to this reason that the two prominent leaders of BMM i.e. Nasim-ud-Din Haider and Makhdum Noor Muhammad Hashmi, as a protest, did not sign the constitutional document of 1973 Constitution.

Bahawalpur produces about 40 percent cotton, 22 percent of wheat, 25 percent of animals, 45 percent mango, and 19 percent sugarcane, and 20 percent rice, of the total production of the province of Punjab. Unfortunately, it produces 44 percent cotton of the province, but it has no textile factories. Under the NFC award, 2012-13, the share of Punjab province was 712 billion and according to the ratio of population, the share of Bahawalpur was to be around 102 billion but only 19 billion was allocated for it. Similarly, the report of Asian Development Bank revealed that 51 percent of the people of the region lives below the poverty line, which is far higher than the average 26 to 29 percent of the whole country (Hussein, 2015).

BPM was revived again in 2008 and during this time former Information Minister Muhammad Ali Durani demanded the restoration of Bahawalpur province. In this connection, a draft amendment bill was also submitted in Senate for the creation of provinces in South Punjab. In May 2012, Punjab assembly also passed resolution with regard to the establishment of Bahawalpur province, comprising Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalnagar and Bahawalpur. On 3 May, 2018, Nawab Salahudin Abbasi gave a deadline to the government for the restoration of Bahawalpur province in a press conference in Bahawalpur Press Club. The leaderships of other political parties i.e. PML-Q, Jamiat-e-Islami, and PTI also supported the demand (Abbasi, 2018).

4.8. Separate Muhajir Identity

The ethnicity-based aversion between Sindhi and Muhajir can be traced back to early 1970s, especially after the enforcement of the Constitution of 1973. Sindhi-Muhajir conflict

developed in such a way that created minorities within minority's problems, which not only affect the politics of Sindh province; but it also put deep impacts on the national politics of the country. The Constitution of 1973 was also federal in character but unlike the previous two constitutions, more autonomy was given to four provinces which enhanced their legal, political and economic position. As a result of the new federal structure provided in the Constitution of 1973, the visibility and identity of Sindhi increased and it relatively decreased the position of Muhajirs.

The only effective route left to the Muhajirs was to mobilize the people of urban areas of the province of Sindh based on their ethno-linguistic identity and visibility both at the provincial and national levels. Thus mobilization for separate Muhajirs province began in the early 1970s and the motive behind this mobilization was the loss of their previous political and economic domination, which they enjoyed before the enforcement of the Constitution of 1973. During this period the demand was raised for accepting Muhajirs as the fifth nationality. But it is important to note, that the demand for a separate province in urban Sindh was not made due to socio-economic backwardness as Muhajirs were still well represented in the government and private sector (Khan, 2015).

For instance, before the enforcement of the Constitution of 1973, Muhajir constituted 8 percent of the total population of Pakistan; but held 33.5 percent important positions in civil administration and also have a good share in the business. By 1974, almost one-half of the senior positions in Pakistan's public and private sector were occupied by Muhajirs. On the other hand at the same period, Sindhi held only 2.7 percent of jobs, 4.3 percent positions in Secretariat, and only 3.6 percent executive positions in public enterprises. The reason was that Muhajirs were well educated and traditionally held important positions in colonial civil administration. Like Punjabi, they were financially and socially more influential as compared to other ethnic groups in Pakistan (Tahir, 2010).

4.8.1. Division of Punjab and Arrival of Refugees

According to the Census Report of 1951, the majority of refugees were settled in Karachi and different parts of the province of Punjab. The majority of immigrants who came to Pakistani Punjab (West Punjab) came from East Punjab and they share a common culture, language, and ethnicity. But on the other hand, immigrants who settled in urban Sindh found themselves alien in a new environment with no common culture, language, ethnicity with that of the local Sindhi population. Muhajirs were politically, economically, and socially dominant class along with Punjabis. All this became possible due to their high literacy rate, experience in business and trade, cultural and political superiority, and most importantly, due to their struggle and sacrifices for the establishment of Pakistan (Rehman, 1995).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan was highly obliged to the role of Muhajirs in Pakistan Movement and his centralized style of governance during the initial years after independence further reinforced their position. The Declaration of Urdu as a national language also strengthened their dominant position. The position of Muhajirs was further improved by declaring Karachi as a federal capital in 1948. Sindh Chief Minister, Ayub Khuro opposed this development and was subsequently removed. G M, Sayed, a Sindhi nationalists leader, publicly stated that Sindhi has become victim of Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism (Syed, 1949).

The One Unit scheme and parity formula in West Pakistan was designed to counter balance the numerically superior position of East Pakistan. Though it was primarily aimed at limiting the influence of Bengalis; but it is also a fact that this arrangement undermined the autonomy and distinctive identity of all other ethnic groups in West Pakistan. The Sindhi Awami Mahaz (SAM) headed by G M Syad was the leading opponent of one unit scheme and it formed an anti-one unit front with the cooperation of all other nationalists and regional

political parties and groups of Sindh, NWFP, Baluchistan, and Bahawalpur and started protest movement and raised voice against further reduction of provincial autonomy (Afzal, 1979).

In 1970, when General Yahya Khan dissolved the One Unit scheme, it developed conflicts between Muhajirs and Sindhi, because Muhajirs found themselves politically vulnerable to secure majority in provincial assembly of Sindh. The result of 1970 election clearly reflected this ethno-nationalist division which badly affected not only the politics of Sindh province; but also national politics of the country. After the separation of East Pakistan, PPP came to power and all the socio-economic plans made by new government at national and provincial level was perceived by urban population of Sindh as ethnically driven and only meant to demote Muhajirs from their previous position. Under new scheme, ethnic quota system in civil service was introduced along urban and rural line and under this arrangement urban Sindh got 40 percent share while rural Sindh got 60 percent (Waseem, 1997).

At the same time, PPP government also announced a policy of nationalization of key industrial units, which badly affected the big industrialists that were mostly owned and managed by Karachi-based Muhajirs tycoons. The quota system in educational institutions greatly increased the opportunities for the rural Sindhi population at the expense of the urban population. Administrative reforms introduced by the PPP government also contributed to decrease Muhajir influence in civil service. The new government sacked about 1300 civil servants and about 500 among them were from the Muhajirs community. In 1974, Mumtaz Bhutto, Chief Minister of Sindh, openly stated that all appointments in different departments of the province of Sindh, particularly Railways, Telecommunication, and National Shipping Corporation should be made from among the Sindhi so that the provincial quota up till now ignored was fully met.

Most of the policies and reforms were gradually implemented; but the most immediate and visible ethnic contestation between Sindhi and Muhajirs revolved around the question of language. In 1972 Sindh assembly passed a language bill and declared Sindhi as provincial language. But language bill was severely criticized by Muhajirs within and outside the provincial assembly of Sindh. During the process of passage of the bill, the house was divided on ethno-lingual lines and even Urdu-speaking members of PPP also withdrew their support to the bill. Urdu-speaking members of the Sindh assembly staged a protest walkout and Sindhi-Muhajir riots broke out in urban Sindh and violence were so large scale that curfew were to be imposed in Karachi and Hyderabad (Tahir, 2010).

After the passage of the language bill, Muhajirs demanded more representation in provincial administration and they also demanded that Karachi should be given the status of a province. They also demanded that the offices of the Governor of the Sindh should be given to Muhajirs and the existing share of Muhajirs in federal and provincial services should not be reversed (Wright, 1991). 18th Constitutional Amendment has massively changed the federal structure of the Constitution of 1973 and decentralized more political, economic, and legislative powers to provincial government. This amendment though assigned more powers and authority to federating units, but it also created intra-ethnic conflicts and the problem of minorities within minorities again evolved and sub-nationalities revived their separate province movements in the Punjab, KP, and Sindh (PILDAT, 2010).

Keeping in view the above mentioned political development, it may be concluded that the present hostile relationship between PPP and MQM forced the leadership of Muhajirs community to articulate the demand separate Muhajir provinces for the protection of their rights, interests and separate identity.

4.9. Pakhtuns Grievances in Baluchistan

Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan in terms of landmass, covering about 44 percent of Pakistan territory, but economically, it is very backward as compared to other provinces. Baluch, Brohis, and Pashto are the three major languages of the provinces. Brohis and Pakhtunes are the two main ethnic minorities in the province. Pakhtune resides in the north-western part of Baluchistan that is attached to the border of KP province and Afghanistan and they live in the districts of Pishen, Quetta, and Loralai. The Baluch-Pakhtune relations did not remain cordial in the past. The friction between the two communities caused much harm to the provincial government of National Awami Party (NAP) in 1970s, for not representing the interest of Pakhtune in the province of Baluchistan. The most important development in the Pakhtune speaking areas was the formation of Pakhtunes Brotherhood (Warore Pashtun) in 1954 by Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai. The chief aim of this organization was to form a Pakhtune province comprising all Pakhtunes populated regions of the Baluchistan province (Saddiqi, 2012).

In the 1970s, the Achakzai group decided to leave NAP and formed Pakhtunkhwa National Awami Party (PNAP). The NAP at that time was headed by Khan Abdul Wali Khan. It is interesting to note that the NAP-JUI coalition government was primarily a Pakhtun-Baluch alliance and most of the JUI representatives were from Pakhtune populated areas. However, Achakzi did not feel comfortable with the government and demanded equal share in services and also one of the top two positions of the provinces i.e. Governor and Chief Minister for Pakhtune. The Baluchi leaders within NAP government also sensed growing disharmony and reluctantly decided to introduce Urdu as official language of the province and did not declare Baluchi as official language as this move might not be liked by Pakhtune (Ahmad, 1989).

On the other hand, on the question of Pakhtune demand, the Baluch leaders neither claimed Pakhtune populated regions as an integral part of Baluchistan and nor opposed the creation of Pakhtune province. At the time of the establishment of Baluchistan State Union, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan had called for that Pashto-speaking area should be merged with NWFP (Dawn, 1972). In 2012, PNAP, held a meeting in Quetta in which the head of PNAP Mehmud Khan Achekzai, warned that if Pakhtune equal status with Baluchs was not accepted then Pakhtune would be compelled to articulate the demand for a separate Pakhtune province. The current president of PNAP is also head of Pakistan Oppressed Nation Movement (PONM) which is created to bring about improvement in the position of oppressed and backward communities in Pakistan.

Mehmud Khan Achekzai is a very experienced national leader and having a respectable place in the politics of Baluchistan; but it was the first occasion when he had to declare that position of Pakhtune in the province is not satisfactory. To give legal status to historical boundaries would be useful development for both Baluch and Pakhtune. It is believed that during British rule Pakhtune populated area was Chief Commissioner Province and therefore, they are now demanding that its previous status should be restored. In the province of Baluchistan, an organization Pakistan National Movement (PNM) demanded Pakhtunes province comprising districts of Zhob and Sibbi. Besides Pakhtunes, some Baluch tribes are also in favor of the restoration of Chief Commissioner Province (Hussein, 2015)

4.10. Demand of Neelab Province

After the emergence of the demand of Bahawalpur province in South Punjab, the people living in North-West Punjab and the South of KP province also demanded the establishment of Neelab province comprising Dera Ismail Khan, Tank, Karak, and Lakki Marwat from KP province and Mainwalli, Bakhar, and Khushab from the province of Punjab.

People living in these areas are backward and the existing socio-economic infrastructure in the region is very poor and in shabby conditions.

4.11. The Demand of Multan Province

Multan is one of the oldest cities of Pakistan and has also occupied an important position since ancient times. When Muslims captured this area during the period of Umayyad, it was the richest city in the region. During Sikh and British rule, Multan was a separate province and till 1848, its separate identity/status remained intact. Some local circles in the Multan region also demanded on many occasions that its previous separate status should be restored (Hussein, 2015).

4.12. Demand of new Provinces in Other Regions

After the 18th Constitutional Amendment demand for the establishment of the Malakand province was also articulated by politicians. The revival of new province movements in Hazara, Saraiki, and Bahawalpur, also encourage the leadership of Malakand division to articulate the demand of Malakand province. Abdu Raheem president of Swat federation of traders and leader of PML-Q declared that inhabitants of the Malakand region are demanding a new province consists of, Chitral, Dir, Swat, Buner, Shangla, and Malakand districts. He also stated that the region is rich in a lot of natural resources i.e. marble, forests, water, and a variety of fruits and agricultural products, which are in control of other people, and to secure these resources establishment of Malakand province is essential (Khaliq, 2011).

Similarly, the demand of Pothwar province has also been made comprising Rawalpindi, Chakwal, Jehlum, Khushab, Mianwali, and Sargodha districts. In 2011, all parties' conference was organized by leaderships of Hazara Province Movement, which was attended by all political parties and leaderships of all new provinces movement. At the end of

the conferences, a joint statement was issued in which all participants showed their willingness to establish Hazara, Pothwar, FATA, and Saraiki province on administrative basis and they also resolved to continue joint struggle for the establishment of new provinces in the country (Dawn, 2011).

Khyber Union and Qabail Qaumi Tehreek chairman and former federal minister Hameedullah Afridi said that govt had not taken tribesmen into confidence before merging FATA into KP. The people from all tribal districts and frontier regions also attended the gathering in Bara and they unanimously articulated the demand of FATA province and named it Qabailistan, which is the only solution to different problems, faced by more the ten million inhabitants of FATA (Afridi, 2019).

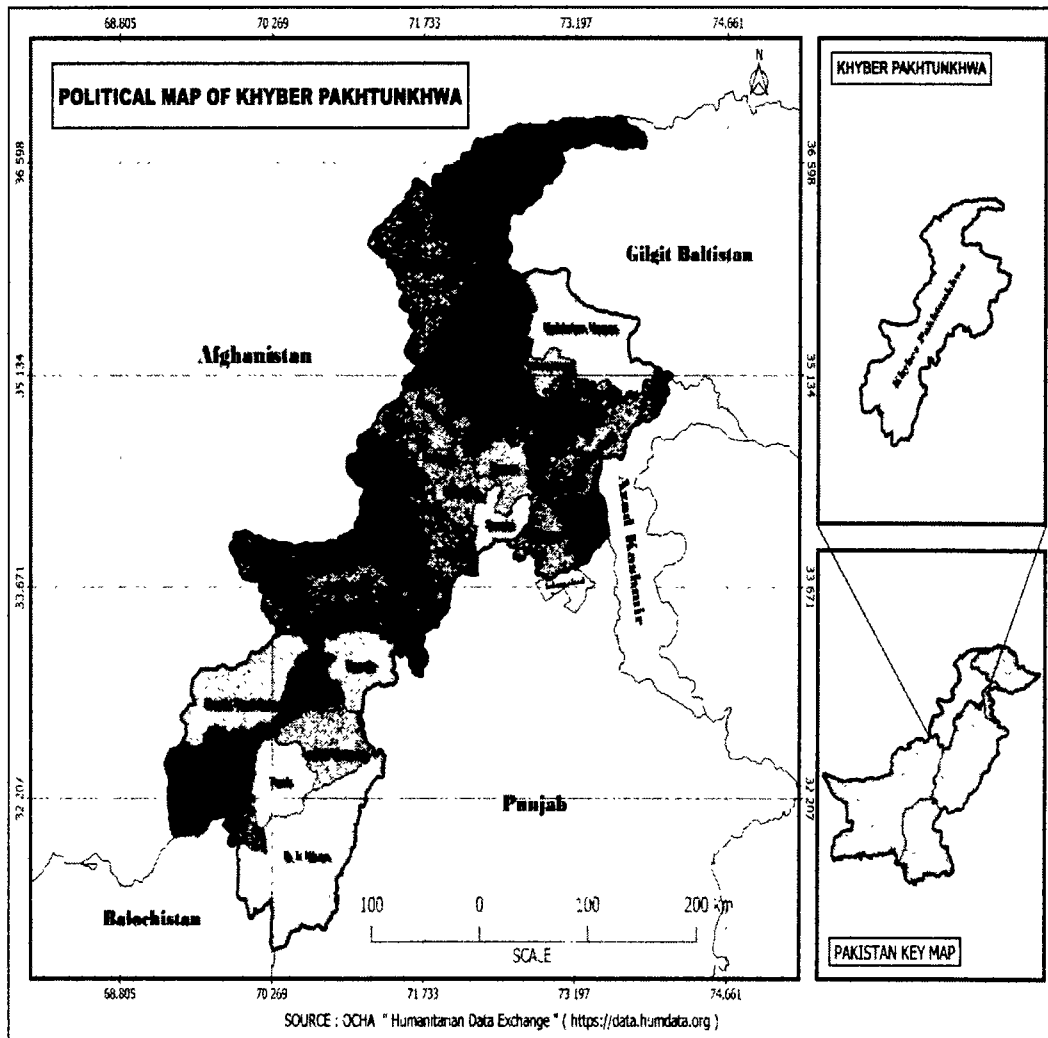
CHAPTER FIVE

HAZARA PROVINCE MOVEMENT

Hazara division is located in the north-east of KP and the area is rich in natural resources, but it is socially and economically backward. Therefore, demand of Hazara province was articulated many times in the past for the protection of economic and political interests and separate identity of the region. Hazara Province Movement again revived after the 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 under which NWFP was renamed as KP (Saboor, 2020). Hazara is surrounded GB and Azad Kashmir from the north-east and on south-east its boundaries are attached with federal capital Islamabad and Punjab province and rest of KP province is located on its west (Panni, 2016). The explanation has been shown in KP province map on next page.

5.1. History of Hazara Division

Hazara is the territorial region and located in north-eastern part of the KP province. It comprises eight districts and located east of River Indus. As far as the origin of word, "Hazara" is concerned, it is not clear. It has been identified by few as Abisera. Abisares was chief of Poonch area (Kashmir), who received this area from Alexander the great as gift. Alexander the great, after the conquest of north Punjab, established his rule over large part of Hazara region. In 327 BC, he handed over the area Abisares to the Raja of Poonch State (Panni, 2016).



Hazara remained part of Taxila administration during the rule of Maurya dynasty and prince Ashoka was the governor of the area. Hindu Shahi kingdoms also ruled over Hazara one after another for many years. Mahmud of Ghazni defeated Hindu Shahi dynasty and in the 11th century and captured the area. Then Kashmiris took control of the area under the leadership of Kalashan. In 1339, great Muslim commander Timur, on his return to Kabul, placed 1000 Turk soldiers near present Haripur district to protect important route between Kabul and Kashmir (Panni, 2016).

The word Hazara was began to use in Haripur during this period. Local people used to call the Turk soldiers as Hazaree, when they interact with each other and with the passage of time the word Hazaree became Hazara. So first the word Hazara was used in Haripur and later on it was adopted by the people of Abbottabad, Mansehra, Battagram and Kohistan. Hazara is territorial region and Hindko is common language of majority of tribes living in the region. By 1272, Shahab-ud-Din captured Hazara and established his rule over the region. During Mughal rule, local Turkish chiefs reorganized authority of the region (Panni, 2016).

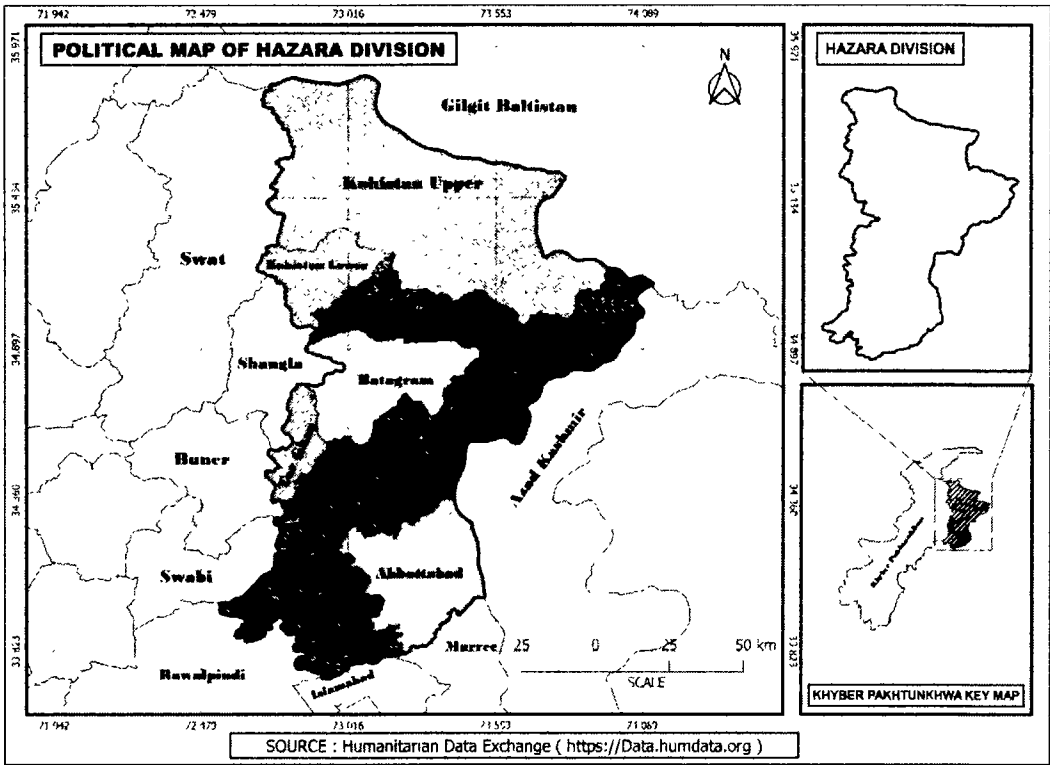
Hazara remained part of Afghan Durrani Empire from middle of 18th to early 19th centuries. During this period, however, Hazara was separate administrative unit attached to northern Punjab, while upper part of Hazara was attached with Durrani province of Kashmir, with exception of Tanawal region because, Tanawal was part of princely state of Amb. After the first Sikhs war between British and Sikhs in 1848, under the treaty of Lahore, Hazara region came under British control and Major James Abbott was appointed as its first administrator. British divided district hazara into three tehsils i.e. Abbottabad, Haripur and Manshera and annexed it with the province of Punjab. In 1901, NWFP was made a province and Hazara was detached from Punjab and made part of it (Sooz, 2019).

5.2. Hazara Muslim League

From early 1930s onward, people of Hazara gradually became active in Pakistan Movement under the leadership of Abdul Majid Khan Tarin from Haripur, who at that time was member of NWFP legislative assembly. In 1936, meeting of AIML was held at the residence of Nur-ud-Din Qureshi in Abbottabad which was attended by Nawab Bahadur yar Jung and Maulana Shaukat Ali, two prominent leaders of AIML, who came from India to attend the meeting. In the same meeting, Hazara Muslim League was established. During the

final phase of Pakistan Movement, Capt Sardar Zain Muhammad Khan and Jalal-ud-Din (Jalal Baba) defeated their congress opponents in the election of 1945-46 (Akmal, 1997).

After the election of 1945-46, convention of elected representatives of Muslim League was held in Delh that was presided over by Quaid-e-Azam, which voted in favour of the division of India and creation of Pakistan, Capt. Sardar Zain Muhammad Khan represented Hazara. These Muslim League leaders of Hazara later on mobilized the people of the Hazara region in favour of Pakistan in the referendum held in NWFP in 1947. At the time of independence, Hazara was district of Peshawar division, while the area of the North



of this region was part

of Hazara Tribal agency consisted of two princely states i.e. Amb and Phulra. These two states were merged into the Hazara in 1950. From 1955 to 1970, NWFP remained part of

West Pakistan under One Unit scheme and Hazara remained part of Peshawar division. In 1976, Hazara got the status of division (Akmal, 1997).

5.3. KP Province is Pluralistic Society

There are more than 20 million Pashto speaking people in Pakistan who are known as Pakhtunes or Pashtunes and vast majority of Pakhtunes lives in KP province. Pakhtunes constitute 3/4 of the total population of the province while Hazarawal is major minority ethnic group that is about one fourth of the population of the province. The principal language of the province is Pashto which is spoken by about 79 perecent population of the province. Other languages with significant numbers of speakers include Hindko (11.48%) that is spoken in Hazara division and Saraiki (3.72%) and its speakers are mostly found in Dera Ismail Khan in south of the KP province. Some other languages are Khowar spoken in Chitral, and Kohistani spoken in the Kohistan region (Wikipedia).

5.4. Awami National Party and its Ethnic Politics

There is historical ethno-lingual and political diversity between Pakhtunes nationalists and the people living in Hazara region. Pakhtune language, culture, temperament, habits and all other traditions are quite different from the people of Hazara division. Moreover, before the partition of India, Pakhtune nationalists led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan supported the politics of Congress while people of Hazara region fully supported Pakistan Movement. The diversity between two communities could not be reduce even after the partition of India due to ethnic politics of Pakhtunes particularly the leadership of ANP who claim to be a representative of all Pakhtunes (Akmal, 1997).

National Awmi Party was founded in 1957 and it was major leftist political party in both East and West Pakistan. In 1967, the NAP was split into two factions, one in East

Pakistan and other in West Pakistan. After the separation of East Pakistan, the Pakistani faction of NAP became the principal opposition to Zulfqar Ali Bhutto. NAP was banned from politics and all its leaders were arrested. The leaders of NAP, including Khan Abdul Wali Khan, released during the regime of Zia-ul-Haq (Mustafa, 2020).

National Awami Party re-emerged as Awami National Party in 1986 by the merger of several left-leaning parties under Khan Abdul Wali Khan. Although NAP comprised of Sindhis, Balochis and Pakhtuns nationalists; but eventually it boiled down to group representing the Pakhtunes. After the formation of ANP, Abdul Wali Khan proposed the change of name of the province of NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa. This ethnic name first time heard during this period, when leaderships of ANP were trying to move the resolution in the provincial assembly of NWFP. The demand of renaming of NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa created separate identity consciousness among the people of Hazara division (Dawn, 2013)

In KP, Pakhtunes are in Majority who has dominance over the politics of province. They have more representation in federal parliament and KP assembly and they also have more share in federal and provincial jobs. Due to centralization of powers, all decision about socio-economic development in the province are taken by provincial government from capital city Peshawar, but provincial govt from Peshawar is not able to understand the needs and requirement of the far-flung areas and these are always ignored (Kamran, 2019).

In the multi-stakeholders approach, all important players who are involved in conflict situation should be on board to prevent the conflict from its escalation. The demand for the establishment of Hazara province is source of conflict in the region and it may intensify into civil war, if Hazara province is not created (Ahmar, 2013).

5.5. Causes of Diversity between Pakhtune and Hazarawal.

After the independence of Pakistan, Pakhtunes got upper hand in politics of the province and they always adopted biased and discriminatory attitude toward Hazara division in developmental funds and jobs. Centralization of powers in the hand of provincial government created the perception of Pakhtune domination and 18th Constitutional Amendment and 7th NFC award further strengthened the power and position of Pakhtunes. However the immediate cause of the diversity and conflict between two communities is ethnic politics of ANP who forced the people of Hazara to start the movement for the protection of separate identity and interest of its people that is not possible without separate Hazara province.

5.6. Origin of Separate Identity Consciousness in Hazara Region

In KP province, Pakhtunes are in majority, whereas Hindko speaking population and other communities of Hazara division are in minority. Hazara division is rich in natural resources, but having poor socio-economic infrastructure and other facilities. The region is second largest revenue generating division after Peshawar division and it is also blessed with hydel, mineral and forest resources. The realization about their rights and separate identity began to evolve in Hazara division immediately after independence. In 1980s, Hazara Student Federation was set up first in Karachi and later on in different educational institutions in Hazara division due to ethnic disputes between Pakhtunes and Hazarawal students studying in University of Karachi (Azhar, 2017).

Later on, due to unfair treatment with Hazara division, HQM was established in 1987 by Malik Asif for the protection of the interests and separate identity of the region. HPM again revived and got momentum after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional

Amendment in 2010 and new ethnic name was not accepted in Hazara division as decision was taken without the consent of people and its leadership (Zaman, 2017).

5.7. Major Nations/Tribes of Hazara Division

Hazara division is home of diverse nations and tribes, which have different culture, language and history of their origin. Hindko is major language which is spoken in district Abbottabad, Mansehra and Haripur, while Pashto is spoken in district Battagram and Torghar and Kohistani is spoken in Kohistan. Detail of some important nations and tribes residing in Hazara regions are as follow:

Awan: The Awan nation constitutes 1/6 of the population of Hazara division and they are found in every districts of Hazara except district Torgarh. Awan claim their decent from Qutab Shah, and they arrived in the region with Mehmud of Ghazni in 10th century. Awan are hindko speaking and connected with awans of pothwar region of neighboring Punjab province.

Gujjar: The Gujjar are the oldest inhabitants of Hazara region and constitutes second largest nation of the region. Majority of Gujjar population lives in districts Haripur and Manshera. Gujjar lives in Mansehra are largely speaking Gujri language while those in Haripur are Hindko speaking. Former federal minister Sardar Muhammad Yousif belongs to this nation.

Mishwani: Mishwani tribe inhabits in the villages Sarikot, Kundi and Amakhana in district Haripur and speaking both Pashto and Hindko. This tribe has much in common with other two Pathan tribes of Hazara division i.e. Jadoon and Tareen. Former CM of KP Sabir Shah, former CJP Sayyad Ghulam Saffadar and current Chief Justice of Islamabad High Court belong to this tribe.

Tareen: Tareen tribe is one of the important and influential tribe of Pathan because former President of Pakistan Ayub Khan belongs to this tribe. They came from Afghanistan city Qandar and like other Afghan tribes they came to India and settled in Haripur Hazara and Hindko is common language of this tribe.

Jadoon: Jadoon, sometime called Gadun, lives in Dhamtor, Nawanshar, Qalandarabad and Rajoya in district Abbottabad. Their origin is also Pakhtune and they settled mostly in Swabi and Abbottabad. Former CM KP Iqbal Khan former federal minister Amanullah Khan, are prominent leaders of this tribe. Jadoon poulation is also hindko speaking (Panni, 2016).

Tanoli are Arab origin tribe and resides mostly in Tanawal valley of Hazara division. Most of the inhabitants of Tanoli tribe live in former princely state of Amb in district Mansehra. They are also settled in Abbottabad and Haripur. Hindko language is their common language.

Swaties: Swaties are also claim to be Pathan and connected with Yousifzai. When Swat valley was invaded by Yousifzai, Swaties fled eastward and settled in northern part Hazara and populated in Balakot, Garhi Habibullah, Shinkari, Bhogermong and Konish Valley in district Mansehra and they also speakes Hindko language.

Abbasi (Dhunds): Abbasi is also called Dhunds, resides in Bakot circle between Dunga Galli rang up to Jhelum river. They also extend across border round Muree and also lives in Poonch region of AJK. Abbasi and Karlal speak their own version of Hindko language called Dhundi-Karlai. Sardar Mehtab Ahmad Khan, former CM of KP and former deputy speaker NA Murtaza Javid Abbasi belong to this tribe.

Karlal or Karal: Karal are also pronounced as Karlal, resides mainly in Nara Tract between Rajoia plain and Dunga Gali range and Boi in district Abbottabad. They claim to be Mughal who came from Kian in Iran. Their ancestor Kallar Shah was in service of Mughal Empire. He went to Kashmir and on his return journey; he took Nara Hills and Bakot tract from Gakhars and settled their. They are closely connected to Dhunds and speak the Dhundi-Karlal dialect of Hindko language. Sardar Haider Zaman Baba chairman Tehreek-i-Sooba Hazra, former judge of Supreme Court Sardar Raza and former Deputy Speaker Sardar Yauqob belong to this tribe.

Sayyads: All Sayyad claims their decent from the Prophet (PBUH) and they belong to Bukhari, Tarimzi, Mashadi and Gilani cults. They are settled all over Hazara region, but majority of them lives in Kaghan valley in district Mansehra and they also speak Hindko language. Former federal minister Qasim Shah is prominent figure of Sayyads community.

Qureshi: Qureshi are closely related to Sayyads and they claim decent from Quresh tribe of Makkah and are largely urban community and majority of them lives in district Abbottabd and Mansehra and speaks Hindko language.

Pakhtune: Pakhtun tribe's inhabits in distircts of Battgram and Torghar and Pashto is commonly spoken language of the regions.

Kohistani: Kohistani nation lives in three distircts of Kohistan region and they speak Kohistani language. In some part of Kohistan bordering Gilgit Baltistan, Shena language is also spoken (Panni, 2016).

5.8. Origin of the Demand of Hazara Province

There are historical differences between Pakhtune nationalists and inhabitants of Hazara division in KP province. During Pakistan Movement Pakhtune nationalists headed by

Khan Abdual Ghafar Khan supported All India National Congress (AINC) and was against partition of India. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Hazara regions and their leadership fully supported Pakistan Movement. In 1945-46 elections, AIML contested election on the name of Pakistan and was defeated badly in Pakhtune majority districts in NWFP. However, the people of Hazara were in favor of independence and AIML won all seats reserved for Muslims in Hazara (Mustifa, 2020).

During referendum of 1947, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers articulated the demand of independence Pakhtunistan state; however, this demand was rejected by British government. As a protest they boycotted the referendum and launched anti-referendum campaign in the entire NWFP; however, despite their opposition and call for boycott, referendum was held in the province and majority of the population cast their vote in favor of division of India and to join Pakistan. 295000 voters used their verdict and out of these, 289244 votes were cast in favor of Pakistan and the percentage of the cast votes in favor of joining Pakistan was highest in Hazara region (Haroon, 2020). The result of the referendum is shown in the table below:

Table 5.2

Constituency	Total votes	Vote cast	Vote for Pakistan	Vote against Pakistan
Hazara	109792	83656	83269	387
Mardan	86777	36062	34852	1210
Peshawar	97886	40770	39902	508
Kohat	52020	32323	32207	116
Bannu	51080	33282	33137	145
D I Khan	45642	29441	29320	188

Electoral History of NWFP, 2012

Demand for separate Hazara province emerged due to negative attitude of Pakhtune nationalists, who did not accommodate and care the interest of the people of Hazara when they came to power. The demand of separate Hazara province was first emerged in 1948, when some intellectuals and writers started movement for the creation of Hazara province. Prominent among them was Muhammad Iqbal who was writer and political activist. They started movement in Abbottabad and demanded establishment of the Hazara province. Then in 1957-58 Mufti Idress, senior lawyer of Supreme Court of Pakistan and Dawood Shah started movement for the establishment of Kohistan province which included not only Hazara, but also some part of Murree and its adjoining mountainous areas (Kamran, 2019).

5.8.1. Hindko Batool Jirga

In mid seventy, some prominent lawyers and poets belonging to Abbottabad and Mansehra district formed an association naming, Hindko Batool Jirga (Council) for the preservation of Hindko language and its literature. Later on, they demanded that Hindko should be given same status which is given to other regional languages in the Constitution of 1973.

5.8.2. Hazara Quomi Mahaz

During the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, three important developments took place which included establishment of Hazara Student Federation (HSF), Awami National Party (ANP) and Hazara Quomi Mahaz. HSF was established by Qazi Muhammad Azhar and his other colleagues in 1982 in Karachi. It was set-up as reaction against the disputes that took place between students of Hazara and North Waziristan in Karachi University on the issue of ethnic identity. Later on HSF was also established in all the colleges of Hazara division (Azhar, 2017).

After establishing ANP, Abdul Wali Khan proposed the change of name of the province of NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa. This name was first time heard during this period, when leadership of ANP was trying to move the resolution in provincial assembly of NWFP. The formation of ANP and their demand to rename NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa increased ethnic division in the in KP province. Therefore, Malik Muhammad Asif Advocate established Hazara Qoumi Mahaz for the protection of the rights and interests of the people of Hazara division. In 1986, Malik Asif Advocate requested Qzai Azhar to make joint struggle for the protection of the rights and interests of the inhabitants of Hazara division. In 1987, HQM was formally established and Malik Asif was elected as its Chairman.

In the same year, the leadership of HQM met with the leadership of the association Hindko Batool Girga and they decided to merge it in HQM. In 1992, the central executive committee of HQM decided to include in its objective the establishment of Hazara province. On 7th January, 1992, this news was published in all nationals and locals newspapers and movement spread in all the districts of Hazara division. After this development, the leadership of Saraikis belt also revived the movement for the establishment of Saraiki province in South Punjab. On 22 January, 1992 a resolution for the establishment of Hazara province was moved in provincial assembly of NWFP by Faiz Muhammad Khan, Sabir Shah, Yousif Trand and Qasim Shah (Azhar, 2017).

5.8.3. Resolution to Rename NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa (1997)

After the general election of 1997, coalition government led by Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) and Awami National Party (ANP) came to power both at center and provincial level. In November, 1997, a resolution to rename NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa was moved in provincial assembly and passed with majority. All the members of provincial assembly belonging to Hazara division boycotted the voting process as protest. Even Saleem

Saifullah Khan and Humayan Saifullah Khan both from Pakhtune majority area, also opposed the resolution. After the adoption of the resolution, the top provincial leaderships of ANP such as Bashir Balour, Farid Tufan and others decided to celebrate the victory of the resolution of Pakhtunkhwa in Abbottabad.

This decision was a deliberate attempt on the part of leaderships of Pakhtun nationalists to play with the emotions of the people of Hazara division and was just like to fan the flames. In response to it, the leaderships of HQM decided to launch a protest movement against the prejudice and politically immature behavior and attitude of the leadership of ANP and they resolved not to allow this program on the soil of Hazara division. A meeting was arranged between leaderships of HQM and Deputy Commissioner Abbottabad and it was decided in the meeting that ANP leaderships would not be allowed to arrange rally on main roads and allowed only to organize program in district council hall Abbottabad (Azhar, 2017).

But later on to celebrate the victory, ANP arranged a rally in main bazar Abbottabad, which was contrary to the agreement reached between the leadership of HQM and district administration Abbottabad. Therefore, the leadership of HQM led by Malik Muhammad Asif decided to counter the rally and as a result, clashes started between two rival groups; however, rally dispersed due to firing. Meanwhile, news spread across Hazara division that ANP activists opened fire at leaders of HQM, resultantly, thousands of people moved towards Abbottabad. Therefore, in order to avoid further clashes, the district administration helped the leadership of ANP for safe flee from Abbottabad in private vehicles and was not allowed even to arranged program in district council hall (Nalotha, 2020).

5.8.4. 18th Amendment and Renaming of the Province (2010)

Provincial government of KP in 2005 constituted an eight members parliamentary committee headed by Zafar Azam (Provincial Law Minister) to recommend suitable name for NWFP. The committee submitted some alternative names such as Abaseen, Afghanistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Pakhtunistan, but till 2008 the demand for the renaming of the province remained dormant. General elections were held in 2008 in which the renaming of NWFP as 'Pakhtunkhwa' was important point in the election manifesto of ANP (Ghazi, 2008).

After the elections, at center and in NWFP, Pakistan People Party and Awami National Party formed coalition governments. Newly established federal government constituted a Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) headed by Senator Raza Rabbani. After a long deliberations spreading over about one year, 18th Constitutional Amendment was passed by parliament in 2010. Under this amendment many changes were made in different articles of the constitution including renaming of NWFP as KP (18th Amendment Act, 2010).

The renaming of NWFP as KP was bitterly criticized in Hazara division and as reaction Hazara Province Movement revived again. The political leaderships of Hazara division started movement for Hazara province (Tehrik-e- Sooba Hazara) and Sardar Haider Zaman Baba was nominated as its Chairman. The movement held rallies and demonstration under various titles such as Hazara Awami Ittihad and Tehreek-e-Sooba Hazara throughout Hazara division from Haripur to Kohistan. After April 12, 2010 incident in Abbottabad in which ten people sacrificed their lives for the cause of Hazara province, the movement spread to other provinces where people also revived their demands for new provinces (Khan D. M, 2012).

After the incident of 12 April, 2010, the provincial government of KP constituted a Judicial Commission headed by Peshawar High Court Judge Abdul Aziz Kundi to conduct inquiry about Abbottabad incident. The commission began inquiry on 20 April, 2010 and published its report on 10, May 2010 and termed the incident as “cross firing between police and protesters” It was pointed out in the report that police, local leaderships HPM and district administration are equally responsible for the incident (Kundi, 2010).

However, the leadership of Hazara Province Movement rejected the report and termed it biased and ambiguous. They stated that report was prepared to protect those who opened indiscriminate firing on peaceful protestors and they vowed to continue their democratic struggle till the establishment of Hazara province. In July, 2010, Baba Haider Zaman registered Tehrik-e-Sooba Hazara (TSH) as a political party and invited all leaderships associated with the movement, to join TSH. Many leaders opposed the decision to register the movement as political party. Consequently, the movement divided into different group such as Sooba Hazara Tehrik (SHT) led by Sardar Muhamma Yousif and Tehrik-e-Sooba Hazara (TSH) led by Baba Haider Zaman and Hazara Quomi Jirga (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

Due to this reason, leaderships of Hazara Province Movement failed to contest the election of 2013 from single platform; however, all groups and parties contested the election on the slogan of Hazara province.

5.8.5. Resolution to Create Hazra Province in KP Assembly (2014)

In March 2014 Sardar Muhammad Idrees of PTI tabled a resolution in KP assembly for the creation of Hazara province which was subsequently adopted by the house with majority votes. In the resolution it is stated that KP assembly should request federal government to add the word Hazara after Sindh in article 1(2) (a) of the Constitution of 1973 and create new provinces including Hazara province for improving governance in the

country. However, opposition belonging to PPP, ANP and QWP opposed the resolution and called it conspiracy to divide the province. Criticizing the resolution, ANP parliamentary leader Sardar Hussain Babak said that KP province is like a bouquet and his party opposes any attempt to divide the province and it is time to talk about unity instead of disintegration.

Similarly, PPP leader Nighat Orakzai also criticized the resolution and stated that currently due to war on terror, KP province is passing through critical situation and it is not appropriate time to divide the province. During the debate, the treasury benches which was supporting the resolution about Hazara province became divided and provincial ministers including Siraj-ul-Haq of Jamiat-e-Islami and Shoukat Yousif Zai of PTI brought another resolution regarding renaming of the province as Hazara Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and this resolution was also passed (Dawn, 2014).

Qoumi Watan Party (QWP) Spokesman Tariq Khan declared the resolution as political stunt and said that it is illogical to create separate province for few districts. Jamiat-e-Islami spokesman Israrullah Khan stated that JI want a national commission to make plan for the establishment of new provinces in the country on administrative basis and not on linguistic basis. The resolution also confused the members of ruling party from district Peshawar where PTI won all seats in the election of 2013. One of the MPA from Peshawar said that the resolution would have serious repercussion for the party in Pakhtun dominated areas. He also stated that if ruling party support the resolution then people from Malakand and southern district may also articulate the similar demand.

Many other MPAs from both treasury and opposition benches believed that resolution had been submitted to create problems for PM Nawaz Sharif in the province of Punjab where different groups have been demanding Bahawalpur, South Punjab and Sariki province. ANP parliamentary leader Sardar Hussain Babak said the motive behind resolution is point scoring

and to create trouble for PM Nawaz Sharif. Mr Zareen Gul MPA of JUI said that PML-N which had won 10 provincial assembly seats from Hazara division in last election is in trouble. If it support Hazara province, than supporter of Serakai province can demand of South Punjab province and if it oppose than its popularity may be affected in Hazara division (Ali, 2014).

Another resolution for the establishment of Hazara province was moved in KP assembly by Sardar Muhammad Yousif in 2022, which was passed by majority in 2022. But this resolution too was opposed by Pakhtunes leaderships belonging to different political parties. This resolution was reminder of the previous resolution and signed by both treasury and opposition members from Hazara division. It is stated in the resolution that the constitution of Pakistan does not prohibit the establishment of new province on administrative ground. That is way this house recommends to the federal government to ensure implementation of resolution by bringing a bill in national assembly for amending the constitution to allow for the creation of new provinces in the country. The bill should be passed with consensus and a commission be constituted to paved the way for the establishment of Hazara province (Tribune, 2022).

5.9. Factors behind Hazara Province Movement

As stated earlier that Hazara Province Movement emerged as a result of negative attitude of dominant group in the province, who failed to accommodate and adjust the grievances of the people of Hazara division. It is stance of the leadership of HPM that the region is rich in various types of natural resources and provincial government from capital city Peshawar is lacking ability to develop them. They consider that the leadership of the other parts of KP, particularly Pakhtune nationalists is responsible for the backwardness of the Hazara division.

The demand of the Hazara province is not new and it began to evolve immediately after independence and it is wrongly assumed that demand of Hazara province emerged after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 (Razia, 2011). Some important factors which forced the leadership of Hazara division to articulate the demand of Hazara province are the following:

5.9.1. Socio-Economic Deprivation

The movement for the creation of Hazara province has been justified on socio-economic ground. Hazara division is rich and fertile with forest, precious minerals and variety of natural resources and the region has large contribution in the economy of KP province. Moreover, its unexplored resources may also be used for establishment of hydro-electric projects for the production of cheap electricity, development of infrastructure and promotion and development of tourism in the region. But Hazara division has been overlooked by the all successive provincial governments in the past. Despite generating billion of revenues, the people of the Hazara division are denied from their due share in education, health care and development activities (Qamar, 2019). The contribution of Hazara division can be observed through the ratio of revenue collected by Excise and Taxation Department of the KP government during 2013-2017 shown below in table 5.2.

Table 5.2

Revenue heads in Million	Property Tax	Excise duty	Professional Tax	Hotel Tax
Peshawar	1935.722	16.683	393.412	82.053
Hazara	315.212	26.583	183.481	45.5
Malakand	0.000	17.441	19.591	0.000
Mardan	161.165	34.713	120.525	0.226

South	180.16	6.13	69.457	1.641
G Total	2592.225	101.35	786.466	129.42
Hazara Share	12.15%	26.22%	23.32%	35.15%

Comparative Statement: Directorate of Excise & Taxation, KP Government (2013-17)

In the above table, contribution of Hazara division has been shown regarding recovery of property tax, provincial excise duty, professional tax and taxes on hotels. The table showed that during the period from 2013-2017, the share of Hazara division in the provincial receipts was highest than other regions except Peshawar division. The highest percentage of hotels tax indicates the importance of tourism. The amount of hotels tax is presently contributed by only three districts of the KP province namely Abbottabad, Haripur and Mansehra. The contribution of hotel tax may be further increased by promotion of tourism in other districts of Hazara division (Report, 2013-18).

5.9.2. Less Share in Annual Development Program

Despite plenty of different types of natural resources and large contribution in revenue generation of the KP, Hazara division has also been ignored in the development of socio-economic infrastructure. According to Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) 2017-18, formula, the allocation of amount of ADP schemes among the different districts of the provinces, was to be made on the basis of formula given below in table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Population	Backwardness	Lag in infrastructure
60%	20%	20%

According to agreed PFC formula, the share of Hazara division was 19.4 percent, but presently it got less than 7 percent share from provincial ADP and this practice has been continuing for last so many years. Economic backwardness is important cause of the demand of Hazara province (Qamar, 2019). For example; financial report of the budget prepared by Omar Asghar Khan Development Foundation (OAKDF) showed that during 2016-17, 5.1 billion was allocated for only district Nowshera which was home district of then CM Pervaz Khattak and for all the districts of Hazara, only 5.6 billion was allocated (Report, 2018).

It is important to note that total outlay of provincial ADP during the said period was 206 billion and out of it, 2.6 percent was allocated for district Nowsehra. Comparative analysis of expenditures shown in budget book revealed that allocation for the eight districts of Hazara division was 5.6 billion, which should have been around 38 billion as per PFC formula for the financial years 2017-18. The report also revealed that this practice has been continuing since long. It is due to this unequal distribution of developmental funds, the provincial capital and its adjacent regions are more developed than far-flung areas of the province (Report, 2018).

Presently, Hazara division is generating more revenues than what is being spent on its development. There is much potential to increase the revenue generating capacity of the region by utilization its hydel and other resources. During Aftab Sharpao government in 1992, a survey was conducted in Swat and Hazara to explore the hydel power potential of these regions. The report revealed that there is about 20000 MW potential of hydel power generating capacity in Hazara division excluding Tarbala Dam. But all previous provincial governments of the province paid no attention toward this area, which is main cause of the backwardness of the region and also important cause of growing alienation and deprivation among its people (Khan A. A., 2019).

The share of Hazara Division in the ADP of the KP is also not according to the ratio of its population which is against the criteria given by PFC for the distribution of provincial revenues among all the districts of the province. The share of Hazara division in the Annual Development Program (ADP) for the financial years 2008 to 2013 have been shown in the table 5.4.

Table 5.4

BudgetYear	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	2012-2013
ADP in Million	7281.161	10801.165	148553.167	21521.561	12135.692
Peshawar	1665.4.23%	2390.78.22%	4494.87.30%	4698.70.22%	3831.71.32%
Mardan	1082.62.15%	1526.0. 14%	854.29 6%	4186.88.19%	2064.87.17%
Kohat	510.20. 7%	1055.39.10%	1297.12. 9%	1327.11. 6%	472.31. 4%
Hazara	912.62. 13%	1994.63.18%	2433.52.16%	3024.90.14%	694.23 6%
D.I.K	680.60 9%	822.58 8%	1167.31 8%	588.36 3%	622.08 5%
Bannu	622.81 9%	822.58 5%	662.54 5%	705.07 3%	622.08. 5%
Malakand	1266.58 17%	1995.28.18%	3115.68.21%	5771.25.27%	3369.59.28%

Source: Constituency wise statement of ADP from 2008-2013: P&D Deptt, Govt of KP

5.9.3. Neglect in industrial Sector

Industrialization plays an important role in the development of any region. Hazara division is very important region due it geo-strategic location and especially after the beginning of construction work on China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), its importance has further increased. Its peaceful environment as compared to other regions of the KP province is very favorable for industrial development; but due to negligence by various provincial governments, the number of running industrial units has been decreased

instead of increasing. The ratio of closed and running industrial units in different region of KP province have been shown in table 5.5.

Table: 5.5

Division	TotalUnits	Running Units	Closed Units	Percentage of Closed Units
Peshawar	799	706	93	27.84 Percent
Mardan	445	331	114	26.61 Percent
Hazara	356	278	78	23.35 Percent
Bannu	76	71	5	1.49 Percent
D.I.Khan	52	33	19	5.68 Percent
Kohat	34	28	06	1.79 percent
Malakand	460	441	19	5.68 Percent

Source: Bureau of Statistics P&D Department Govt of KP Report 2016-17

5.9.4. Backward in Education

Education plays a key role in the socio-economic development of the country, but in Hazara division education sector too, has been ignored by all successive governments of KP. The deplorable conditions of different categories of colleges and schools both male and female, particularly in districts Battagram, Torghah and Kohistan are shown in table 5.6 and 5.7.

Table 5.6

Category of Colleges	Degree Colleges		Postgraduate Colleges		Technical Colleges		Colleges of Management Sciences	
Division/District	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female

Hazara Division	3	5	2	1	1	1	1	1
Abbottabad								
Haripur	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	0
Mansehra	4	3	1	0	1	1	0	1
Battagram	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Torghar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kohistan(lower)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kohistan (upper)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kohistan (Pallis)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peshawar	8	7	0	0	2	1	3	2
Nowshera	3	3	1	0	1	0	2	0
Charsadda	5	3	1	0	1	0	1	0
Bannu	7	3	1	1	1	1	2	0
Lakki Marwat	4	2	1	0	1	0	1	0
D.I. Khan	8	3	0	0	1	1	1	0
Tank	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kohat	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
Hangu	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
Karak	5	2	1	0	1	0	1	0
Mardan	9	5	1	1	2	0	2	1
Swabi	7	6	1	0	1	0	1	0
Malakand	6	4	0	0	1	0	1	0
Swat	3	4	2	1	1	0	1	0
Buner	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0

Shangla	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lower Dir	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	1
Upper Dir	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Chitral	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0

Source: Bureau of Statistics P&D Department Govt of KP 2017-18

Table: 5.7

Number of Schools	High Schools		Higher Secondary Schools		Literacy Rate	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Male	Female
Abbottabad	73	48	15	12	74%	40%
Mansehra	86	50	26	14	63%	37%
Haripur	66	55	17	10	64%	38%
Battagram	36	8	3	1	30%	7%
Kohistan (Lower)	12	0	3	0	18%	3%
Kohistan (Upper)	6	1	2	0	-	-
Pallis (Kohistan)	5	1	3	0	-	-
Torgarh	8	1	3	0	17%	5%

Source: Annual Statistical Report E & SED Govt of KP 2017-18

The statistics given in the table 5.6 indicate the negligence on part of the provincial governments to the remote districts of the province in general and five districts in upper Hazara division in particular i.e. Battagram, Torghar, Upper Kohistan, Lower Kohistan and Palles Kohistan are very backward in the field of education where literacy rate is normally below ten percent. The performance of available educational institutions in these districts is very poor because controlling administrative departments may not effectively check and

properly manage the field institutions. Moreover, in most of the areas in upper part of Hazara division, many ghost schools are also present (Nasir, 2019).

In most of these institutions staffs do not perform their duties regularly and parent department, due to long distance from capital city Peshawar, cannot ensure regularity of the staff. Due to lack of educational institutions and poor performance of the existing educational institutions, these districts has very low literacy rate and as result they have very low share in the federal and provincial services and hence facing administrative, social and economic problems. The establishment of Hazara province will increase new center of powers near to home town and resultantly parent departments would be in better position to check field offices located in upper part of Hazara division (Khan, 2020).

5.9.5. Lack of Health Facilities

Health facilities and services are also very poor particularly in upper part of Hazara division. New created districts such as Torghar (2011), Upper Kohistan (2016) and Palles Kohistan (2017) are still deprieved of Districts Headquarter Hospital (DHQ). Ayub Medical Institute (AMI) is a single hospital in Abbottabad presently providing health services to entire Hazara division. Due to poor conditions of health services in the remote regions, the serious patients are refered to AMI Abbottabad for better medical treatment. But due to poor condition of roads and other traffic problems, most of the patients lost their lives on the way to Abbottabad (Nasir, 2019). The detail of various types of health institutions in Hazara division have been given in table 5.7.

Table 5.7

Institutions	Abbottabad	Haripur	Mansehra	Battagram	Torghar	Kohistan
Basic Health Unit	55	42	49	28	09	35

Dispensaries	47	10	59	09	0	02
Hospitals	09	07	12	02	0	0
Maternal and Child Health	02	02	03	01	0	0
Reproductive and Child Health	04	06	08	02	0	03

Source: www.healthkp.gov.pk

The discriminatory treatment in different sectors forced the people of Hazara division to articulate the demand of separate Hazara province to protect and safeguard their basic socio-economic rights and separate identity. Hazara division is rich in natural resources and key contributor of provincial economy, but its people has been facing discrimination for the last 70 years (Zaman, 2017).

5.9.6. Administrative Problems

The capital city of the province and its nearby regions are considered as center of all power and remained the hub of all administrative, political, economic and social activities. The socio-economic infrastructures of these regions are more developed as compare to far-flung regions/areas. It is due to this reason that people living in remote areas like upper part of Hazara division, are facing administrative inconvenience as compare to nearby regions. The long distance from capital city Peshawar, the parent department cannot properly check field departments/sub-offices located in remote districts of Hazara division which is important cause of administrative inefficiency in the region (Khattak, ND)

Socio-economic backwardness and administrative inconveniences particularly in upper part of Hazara division is an important cause of alienation and unhappiness among the people of the region. They consider that the region is producing more revenues and also rich in all type of natural resources; but its social and economic infrastructure is still backward.

Administrative problems leads to the demand of Hazara province with the hope that new center of power more closer to the people would enable them to have an easy access to different types of socio-economic opportunities (Khan U. A., 2020).

Hazara division consists mostly of hilly terrain and the inhabitants of the upper parts of Hazara such as Battagram, Torghar and Kohistan face multiple problems to reach Peshawar, the capital of the province in connection with some official work. It takes about six to eight hours to reach capital city Peshawar, which makes it irrational and difficult to run the administration of remote regions that is far away from provincial capital (Sattar, 2019).

Hazara Province Movement is also justified on administrative ground as new Hazara province will improve governance and will enable the provincial government to ensure efficient delivery of services at door step. So, main beneficiary of Hazara province will be the people living in the remote districts of Hazara division such as Kohistan, Battagram and Torghar as they will not have to go to Peshawar for some official work, but to Abbottabad (currently divisional headquarter) that is near to them. It is wrongly propagated in other parts of KP that demand of Hazara province is based on ethno-linguistic ground. In Hazara division people belonging to different tribes and racial groups lives and some prominent racial groups are Jadoon, Tanoli, Abbasi, Sardars, Gujar, Swati, Pathan, Awan and Kohistani and they also speak different languages. The demand of Hazara province is articulated purely on administrative basis and not on ethnic base (Qamar, 2019).

5.9.7. Issue of Resettlement and Royalty

Hazara division is also rich in water resources and is largely contributing in power generation of the country. The report published by Pakhtunkhwa Hydrel Development Organization (PHYDO) revealed that, Hazara division has a potential to generate more than 20000 MW of Hydrel power. In order to meet the power generation of the country, Tarbala

Dam was constructed which has the power generating capacity of about 3600 MW. However, the construction of the dam submerged 120 villages and also displaced about 96000 people mostly belonging to district Haripur. It is the complaint of the effected people that they sacrificed their native land to lighten Pakistan, but they are still backward. The 2/3 of directly affected population qualified for replacement, but the displaced population had very little involvement in the resettlement process and they are still extremely unhappy with the outcome of the project (Brad, 2008).

The construction of dam deprived the people of the area from the basic source of income. Due to construction of dam the distance from Tanawal to Haripur prolonged from 15 km to 90 km, resultantly, the movement of local population from one place to other became difficult. The people of the area are also deprived from the basic facilities of life such as clean drinking water, education, and basic health facilities. The royalty is not being spent on the development and provision of basic facilities. Tarbela Dam is located in district Haripur and issue of royalty has not been fully resolved by various provincial governments of KP. Article, 161 (2) of the Constitution of 1973 says that Net Hydel Profit (NHP) earned by federal government shall be paid to the province in which it is located. It is expected that with the formation of Hazara province, the royalty of dam will be directly shifted to the treasury of the new province and enabled the govt to spend it for the removal of the grievances of the people of affected areas (Azhar, 2017).

5.9.8. Issue of Deforestation

Nature has blessed Hazara division with green gold and its 43 percent land mass is covered by forest, which constitute about 19 percent of whole forests, area of the KP. The experts of environment say that for the sustainability of environment, 25 percent area should

be covered by forest (Qamar, 2019). The percentage of the area covered by forest of the each district of Hazara division is reflected in table 5.8.

Table.5.8

Districts	Area in Sq/km	Forest Covered Area	% of Each District
Haripur	1752 Sq/km	677 Sq/km	39 percent
Abbottabad	1967 Sq/km	602 Sq/km	31 percent
Mansehra & Torghar	4579 Sq/km	3459 Sq/km	76 Percent
Battagram	1301 Sq/km	540 Sq/km	41 percent
Kohistan	7492 Sq/km	2144 Sq/km	29 Percent
G Total	17064 Sq/km	7422 Sq/km	43 percent

Source: Bureau of statistics P & D Department of KP Province 2016-17

But due to negligence by the various governments of KP, forests in the region are being cut by timber mafia and the process of deforestation is very high. Gangs, police and forest officials are involved in the illegal cutting of trees and timber smuggling which is great threat to the beauty and climate of the Hazara division. Forest department of KP is not able to pay much attention toward the issue because of long distance. The establishment of Hazara province will empower the local representatives to devise legislation and policies to stop the illegal cutting of trees and will enable them to preserve the natural beauty of the Hazara region (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

5.9.9. Search of Identity

Since the establishment of Pakistan, majority ethnic group within the provinces ignored the minority ethnic groups. Therefore, the minority ethnic groups always made efforts for the protection of their socio-economic rights and recognition of their separate

identity. Hazara division is located in the east of River Indus and has separate identity quite different from the rest of KP province. The establishment of Hazara Student Federation (HSF) in 1982 and later on Hazara Quoumi Mahaz (HQM) by Malik Asif in 1987 was the consequence of the separate identity consciousness of the people of Hazara division (Azhar, 2017).

The leaderships and followers of HQM believed that Hindko language has been ignored by all the provincial governments in the past and deprived from their due share in services. Similarly, Hindko is neither the language of schooling nor of competitive examination like Pashto language. In the beginning, HQM was struggling for the promotion and development of Hindko language and recognition of separate identity of the people living in Hazara region (Rehman, 1996).

It is also the stance of the leadership HPM that in Pakhtune dominated areas, the people of Hazara region are considered as “Punjabi” (Punjabiyan) and in Punjab province, they are considered as Pakhtune (Pathan). Therefore, now they want to get out from the environment of identity crisis. It is a fact that name NWFP was indicating only geographical location and was free from ethnicity. However, its renaming as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010 was clear reflection of ethnicity and language of majority ethnic group. At the time of renaming of the province, the suggestion to rename NWFP as Hazara Pakhtukhwa was not considered seriously that could have address the problem to some extent. The new name KP has wiped out the identity of the people of Hazara division in similar way as One Unit scheme of 1955 removed the identity of Pakhtune and many other ethnic minority groups in West Pakistan (Shafique, 2020).

5.9.10. Increase in Population

The rapid increase in the population of the country is also important factor for the demand of the creation of new provinces/units in the country. In 1901, when, NWFP became province, it consisted of six districts, but now it has increased to 29. Moreover, according to Census Report of 1931, the population of NWFP was 2.5 million which has increased to 35 million, according to the Census Report of 2017. Due to massive increase in population, there is need to establish new provinces in all existing provinces in Pakistan as happened in India where number of provinces has been increased with the increase in the population (Azhar, 2017).

On the other hand, Pakistan at the time of independence was consisted of four provinces, some princely states and Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). With the passage of time, the princely states and FATA, has been merged in the existing provinces and new provinces have not been created which is main cause of disharmony, disunity, identity crisis, political instability, backwardness of remote areas and bad governance in the country (Mehmud. M. A., 2020).

It is due to this reason that central districts of KP are more developed than remote areas of the province like Hazara division. Therefore, there is need to create new centers of powers and socio-economic opportunities near to home station. Hence, it is essential that new provinces must be created including Hazara provinces for socio-economic development on the basis of equality so as to remove the deprivation of the people of these regions and to promote national unity (Ihsan-ur-Rahim, 2019).

There is also another dimension of the above stated problem that the population of provincial capitals has been increased due to migration of population from remote, backward and unprivileged regions in search of better socio-economic opportunities. This trend has

increased immense pressure on the existing infrastructure of the capital city Peshawar that is badly affecting the efficiency of different services delivery institutions. Due to above stated development, the administration of capital city is unable to provide better civic services to the increasing population efficiently. The creation of Hazara province will reduce the burden on administration of capital city Peshawar as new center of power will be created for local people in the capital city of new provinces. The establishment of Hazara province will also localize center of powers, which will provide better social and economic opportunities to its people (Amad F., 2011).

5.9.11. Renaming of NWFP as KP

The most important and immediate cause of the revival of HPM was the 18th Constitutional Amendment, under which NWFP was renamed as KP. Though under this amendment more provincial autonomy was given to provinces, however, this amendment could not address the problems of ethnic minorities' living in different provinces. One solution to address these problems is to create new provinces and to localize centers of power so as to improve governance, public accessibility to resources, strengthen democracy, federalism and national unity (Asif M. A., 2020)

To sum up the discussion, it may be concluded that that there has been a historical diversity between Pakhtune nationalists and the people in Hazara division. There are many factors which developed sense of deprivation among the people of Hazara division, but one important factor which compelled the people to make the demand of separate Hazara provinces is ethnic politics of Awami National Party. HQM was established in 1980s due to ethnic politics Pakhtune nationalist and now after renaming of NWFP as KP, Hazara Province Movement once again revived which was supported by all political parties and its leadership.

CHAPTER SIX

ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN HPM

Hazara Province Movement is not new and people of Hazara division were aware about its separate identity even prior to the independence of the country and their demand of Hazara province has been supported by all the segments of society. There are different national and regional political parties and groups in Hazara division and all of them are in favor of the creation of Hazara province. It is interesting to note that the issue of new province has been dragged in electoral politics of the country by political parties (Klasra, 2015).

In the election campaign of 2013 election, all political parties and independent candidates contested election on the slogan of Hazara province. Moreover, the top leaderships of all major political parties such as Nawaz Sharif and Imran Khan made promise to the people to transform the dream of HPM into reality after coming into power, but unluckily, after the election, demand of Hazara province could not be materialized. However, after the election of 2018, when federal government started work on South Punjab province, HPM revived again and its leaderships urged to federal government to include the demand of Hazara province in it. Though, demand of Hazara province has not yet been materialized, but the prospect of Hazara province is still very bright as there is no sentiment against it and all political parties and groups are supporting the cause of HPM (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

6.1. Role of National Political Parties in HPM

Hazara division is base of many national and regional political parties and all of them are in favors of HPM. Their leaderships have not only participated in all meeting and rallies organized in support of Hazara province, but they also raised their voices on the floor of parliament both at federal and provincial level. After renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th

Constitutional Amendment, all parties conference was held in Abbottabad and participants unanimously decided to launch HPM and their leaderships resolved to give every sacrifice for the cause.

Before the election of 2013, when Tehreek-e-Sooba Hazara was on peak, all major political parties like PML-N, PTI, JUI-F, JI, MQM, PML-Q and all other regional political parties and groups publically announced their support for the establishment of Hazara province, however TSH suffered a setback when political leaders from Hazara started parting ways from Baba Haider Zaman on the pretext that he had taken wrong decision to register TSH as political party in Election Commission. However, despite their differences all political parties and its leadership are committed to create Hazara province (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019). The role, behavior and interest of some important national political parties and its leadership in HPM are as follow:

6.1.1. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) has strong base in Hazara division, particularly in its three main districts i.e. Abbottabad, Mansehra and Haripur. Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif twice contested elections (1993 and 1996) from constituency of NA-18 (formerly NA-12) and won the elections. But it is unfortunate that leadership of PML-N have paid no attention to protect the socio-economic rights of the people of Hazara division in past. After the general elections of 1997, PML-N and ANP formed coalition government at federal and provincial level. On 13th November, 1997 provincial assembly passed a resolution to rename NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa by majority of vote. It is very surprising that PML-N leadership lead by Chief Minister Sardar Mehtab Ahmad Khan, instead of opposing the resolution decided to abstain itself from the voting process (Ghazali, 2008).

Later on, Sardar Mehtab Ahmad Khan proposed referendum to know the aspirations of the people over the issue of renaming of the province, but leadership of ANP threatened to quit the coalition government of NWFP and rejected the proposal given by CM. On 20th February 1998, then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif called the meeting of PML-N members of national and provincial assemblies belonging to Hazara division in Islamabad. The participants of the meeting include Sardar Mehtab, Sardar Muhammad Yousif, Gohar Ayub Khan and others they unanimously rejected the demand of ANP to rename the province on ethnic basis. To resolve the issue, meeting was arranged between PML-N and ANP leadership, but meeting also failed to resolve the issue and later on ANP decided to quit the government both at central and provincial level (Ghazali, 2008).

After the general election of 2008, PPP and ANP formed coalition government at center and provincial level. After the formation of government, Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) headed by Meain Raza Rabbani was formed. After long discussions, which spread over several months, the draft bill of 18th Constitutional Amendment was passed by parliament in 2010 and under this amendment, NWFP was renamed as KP. PML-N had initially decided to oppose the bill, but later on withdrew its opposition due to pressure from Pakhtune leadership of PML-N. Later on PML-N proposed different names such as Abaseen, Khyber etc. (Awan, 2010).

The word “Khyber” was added with Pakhtunkhwa on the proposal of PML-N. However, the leadership of Hazara Province Movement and general public believed that renaming of the province was the result of the secret deal made by PML-N top leadership with the government to make Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister for the third time. During protest movement after renaming of the province, pressure increased on the leadership of PML-N as its leadership was bitterly criticised and effigies of Nawaz Sharif were burned during protest. Soon local leadership of the PML-N realised the situation and public sentiment

and Sardar Mehtab Ahmad Khan offered resignation from the membership of National Assembly (Awan, 2010).

During the general election of 2013, some leaders of Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) from Hazara division joined PML-N on the condition to include the demand of Hazara province in the manifesto of the party. So the demand of Hazara province was included in the electoral manifesto of PML-N. It has been stated in the party manifesto that PML-N leadership is fully committed to Hazara, Bahawalpur and South Punjab provinces and for this purpose National Commission should be set up to propose the criteria of the establishment of new provinces in the country. Although, PML-N remained in power till 2018 and creation of Hazara province was part of its electoral manifesto, but no serious efforts were made for the establishment of new provinces including Hazara province (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

PML-N leader and close associate of Baba Haidr Zaman, Sardar Muhammad Yousaf formed his own faction Sooba Hazara Tehreek and kept the issue alive during his tenure as federal minister in PML-N government (2013-18), but he failed to persuade leaderships of his party to table the resolution of Hazara province in National Assembly (Sadaqat, 2018). PML-N leader and member KP assembly Sardar Aurangzeb Nalotha said that Hazara division is rich in all types of resources that is sufficient for its existence as a separate province. He further communicated that the establishment of new units in all the provinces of Pakistan is essential for promoting national unity and enhancing efficiency of govt, but creation of new provinces including Hazara province should be made with the consensus and support of all political parties and other stakeholders. He also made it clear that demand of Hazara province is purely administrative and not ethnic as propagated by its opponents (Nalotha A., 2020).

However, after the election of 2018, elected leadership of PML-N submitted a resolution to establish Hazara province in National Assembly and Provincial Assembly of KP. Now all local leadership of PML-N is in favor of Hazara Province Movement like other national and local parties. Former federal minister Sardar Muhammad Yousaf stated that Nawaz Sharief has made commitment with the political leaderships of PML-N from Hazara division that when new provinces would be established in other regions, Hazara province will also be established. So top leadership of the party is not against the creation of Hazara province, but due to political expediency, it cannot openly support HPM because this move might lose public support of PML-N in Pakhtun majority areas of KP (Yousif, 2019).

In January, 2019, Sooba Hazara Convention was organized in Karachi which was attended by leaderships of all political parties. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz delegation comprising former federal minister Sardar Muhammad Yousif, former Deputy Speaker Murtaza Javed Abbasi, MNA Muhammad Sajjad Awan and many other politician and political activists of PML-N attended the convention.

Sardar Muhammad Yousaf who is also chairman Sooba Hazara Tahreek spoke on the occasion and stated that that movement of Hazara province has been re-launched from Karachi and its next power show will be held in Islamabad on 12 April, 2020 on the occasion of 10th anniversary of the martyrs Abbottabad incident in which about ten people were killed and many other injured during protest against renaming of NWFP as KP. The participants of the convention stated that HPM need media attention that is why Karachi is chosen to re-start the movement as it is hub of media organization (Zia-ur-Rehman, 2020).

6.1.2. Pakistan People Party

Pakistan People Party is also not against the demand of Hazara province and its leadership also fully participated in Hazara Province Movement like other political parties.

Former federal minister Syed Qasim Shah, former provincial minister Shamroz Khan Jadoon and his followers fully supported HPM and participated in all meetings and demonstration organized by leaderships of HPM within or outside Hazara division (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

However, central leaderships of PPP did not openly supported Hazara province and it is more interested to establish South Punjab province, because it is through this way that the hold of PML-N in Punjab province may be reduced. Moreover, PPP top leadership remained silent about the demand of HPM, because this amendment was made by them with support of all political parties.

Another reason which restrained PPP top leaderships not to openly support HPM is that it will strengthen the demand of MQM for separate province in urban Sindh comprising Karachi and Hyderabad and it does not want to lose urban Sindh which is hub of trade and commercial activities generally in the entire country. However, in order to further weaken the position of PML-N in South Punjab, PPP led coalition government constituted a parliamentary commission, headed by Senator Farhat Ullah Babur to establish South Punjab province (Awan, 2010).

Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam delegation headed by Chaudhary Shujahat Hussain comprising political leaderships from Hazara division met then Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Galani in Islamabad in 2011. Delegation includes Sardar Shahjehan Yousaf, Gohar Ayub Khan, Amanullah Khan Jadoon, Sardar Yoqoob, Qasim Shah, Pir Fazal-e-Haq Kohastani and others. PM Yousaf Raza Galani gives assurance that PPP would give full support to the cause of Hazara province and he also promised to take up the matter in the meeting of the executive committee of PPP (Dawn, 2011).

The above stated development show the dual nature of PPP leaderships as on one hand she extended full support to the demand of South Punjab province, but it ignored the

demand of Hazara province and new province in existing Sindh. Another reason that might forced its top leadership not to support the demand of Hazara province openly is that, PPP has no vote bank in the region and enough mass support as PML-N enjoy in the region. However, its local party leadership fully supported the cause of HPM and they also fully participated in all protests, demonstrations and rallies like other political parties, organized by HPM after renaming of the province (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

6.1.3. Muthada Qaumi Movement

Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) is urban Sindh based regional political party. Although, MQM has organization in all the provinces including Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas; but its strong support base is Karachi and Hyderabad. MQM played an important role in HPM and like others political parties, its leadership and workers also participated in all protest and rallies organized by the leaderships of HPM. MQM chief and founder, Altaf Hussain supported the demand of Hazara province and openly announced on media that there is need to establish of new provinces including Hazara province. He further added that establishment of new province would strengthen federation and would be helpful to promote national integration and harmony in the country as happened in other federal states. He also proposed that for creating new provinces referendum should be held to know the opinion of the people (Moonis, 2013).

After renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment, MQM moved a resolution in National Assembly regarding constitutional amendment for establishment of new provinces in Pakistan including Hazara province in January, 2012. However, ANP and its other likeminded political parties criticized the resolution and declared it as the violation of the article 239 of the Constitution of 1973 (Zia-ur-Rehman, 2012). The delegation of MQM visited Abbottabad after tragic incident of 12 April, 2010 and announced full support

to the cause of new Hazara province. After renaming of the province leaderships of HPM also visited Karachi and arranged huge power show there that was also attended by top leaderships of MQM (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

But question arises why MQM is supporting HPM, when it has no vote bank in Hazara division. There are certain hidden motives and interest of MQM behind its support to HPM. Firstly, MQM is demanding separate Muhajir province in urban Sindh; therefore, to justify its demand of Muhajir province in urban Sindh, it supported HPM in KP. Secondly, MQM and ANP are two rival political parties in urban Sindh (Karachi and Hyderabad). Therefore, to support Hazara Province Movement, MQM could further increase its vote bank in Karachi, where large numbers of people belonging to different parts of Hazara region are living. Thirdly, MQM also want to get popularity in Hazara division, where large number of muhajir community lives like province of Punjab (Zia-ur-Rehman, 2012).

6.1.4. Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam

Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) was established in 2002 under the leadership of Chaudhary Shujaat Hussain. It was strong supporter of military rule of General Musharraf and wanted to weaken the public support of Nawaz Sharif. It remained in power from 2003 to 2008. After renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment, position of PML-N in Hazara division undermined greatly, therefore, PML-Q decided to support Hazara Province Movement and Saraiki Province Movement in order to get the support of the masses and to cash the opportunity. However, before the election of 2013 prominent leadership of PML-Q from Hazara division including Sardar Muhammad Yousaf, Gohar Ayub Khan and many others joined PML-N (News, 2013).

6.1.5. Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf

Pakistan Tareek-e-Insaf (PTI) also fully supported demand of Hazara province and criticized the tragic incident of April, 2010, which took the life of ten people. During public meeting in district Haripur in 2011, PTI chairman Imran Khan supported the demand of Hazara province and promised that after coming into power, creation of new provinces including Hazara province will be materialized. In that public meeting some political leaders from Haripur joined PTI, including Raja Faisal Zaman, Yousaf Ayub Khan and Raja Shadab Khan (Paktribune, 2011).

During the election campaign of 2013 general election, chairman PTI, Imran Khan again promised to establish Hazara province after coming into power. After the election of 2013, PTI came to power in KP and two independent members of provincial assembly from Hazara division i.e. Qalander Khan Lodhi and Mushtaq Ahmad Ghani joined PTI with the hope to establish Hazara province (Tribune, 2013). Later on, to materialize it election slogan, the members of PTI from Hazara division like Sardar Muhammad Idrees, Mushtaq Ahmad Ghani, Qalandar Khan Lodhi and Waji-uz-Zaman moved a resolution in KP assembly for the establishment of Hazara province, that was passed but not with two third majority.

According to that resolution, Pakistan current population is more than 180 million, but number of provinces still remain the same which was at the time of independence while in neighbouring India and Afghanistan number of provinces is 28 and 34 respectively. These two countries increased the number of provinces keeping in view the administrative requirement and problems of people. It was also stated in the resolution that people of Hazara division is facing different types of administrative problems, hence the KP assembly request the federal government to establish Hazara province by adopting constitutional

procedure because the demand of separate Hazara province is democratic right of the people of Hazara division (Dawn, 2014).

However, the resolution was opposed by different opposition parties in KP assembly like PPP, ANP, QWP and even most of PTI MPAs particularly from Peshawar region also criticised the resolution. During the debate over the resolution few member of ruling PTI and its coalition partner such as Shaukat Yousafzai and Sirajul-ul-Haq of Jamaat-e-Islami brought an alternative resolution to rename KP as Hazara Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Dawn, 2014). Divisional president of PTI Ali Asghar Khan urged PTI central and provincial government to take step for the establishment of separate secretariat of Hazara province on the pattern of South Punjab province secretariat which is essential for the solution of many administrative problems face by the people of the region. He told media reporters that position of Additional Chief Secretary, Inspector General of Police and sub offices of all other administrative departments should be establish at divisional headquarter so as to address the problems of people at their door step.

He also insisted that elected members of KP assembly to pass resolution with two third majority as creation of new provinces including Hazara province is part of election manifesto of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. He also stated that elected representatives of PTI from Hazara division is committed to the establishment of Hazara province and with the support of their workers and people, we will be able to achieve our destination very soon and will resolve the issue with consensus as happened in the case of South Punjab province (Naqvi, 2020).

6.1.6. Awami National Party

Awami National Party was established in 1986 and change of the name of NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa was one of its important objectives. 18th Constitutional Amendment converted

the dream of ANP into reality by renaming of NWFP as KP. In reaction, violent protest and demonstration started in all the districts of Hazara division and HPM again revived and ANP government was badly criticized by political leaderships and all other groups in Hazara division (Sadaqat, 2011).

During the talk with delegation comprising political and social activists belonging to Hazara division, then CM Haider Khan Hoti publically stated that demand of Hazara province is right of the people of Hazara region, but constitutional and peaceful means should be adopted to achieve the objective as did by ANP for changing the name of the province from NWFP to KP. However, the statement given by CM Haider Khan Hoti was declared joke by HPM leadership because ANP leadership knew that through existing constitutional procedure provided in the Constitution of 1973 for the creation of new provinces and to redemarcate the boundary of existing provinces, the establishment of Hazara province is not possible (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

The renaming of the province brought different political parties and civil society organizations together and all of them jointly organized protest and rallies and criticized the renaming of the province as ethnic move on the part of provincial government of ANP. However, in order to weaken the drive of HPM and to get popularity in Hazara division, the leaderships of ANP decided to establish Abasen division in upper part of Hazara region comprising districts Battagram, Torghar and Kohistan. The leadership of ANP arranged meeting with the leadership of Tehreek-e-Abasen Division and made promise to notify the order of new division as early as possible. The proposed division was consisted of Pakhtune majority areas of upper part of Hazara division. It was an attempt to divide the people of Hazara division on ethno-linguistic basis which was opposed by the leaderships of Hazara Province Movement (Azhar, 2017).

Former provincial minister Shahzada Gustasap Khan from Mansehra also criticized the proposal of Abasen division and stated that the creation of new new provinces including Hazara province is essential for improving the efficiency of govt and would be helpful to promote harmony in the country. He explained further that establishment of new province will further expand power base which will create new socio-economic opportunities for progress and development of people living in backward regions (Zia-ur-Rehman, 2012).

He also expressed the view that if ANP leaderships was seriously interested to divide Hazara division into two division for administrative conveniences then why it is reluctant to divide KP into two province which is the main cause of backwardness of Hazara division. Former MPA from Kohistan Abdul Sattar Kha also opposed the secret move of ANP govt to establish Abasen division without the consultation the people of Kohistan. He further explained that through these moves ANP want to divert the attention of people from the demand of Hazara province (Zia-ur-Rehman, 2012).

Leader of ANP, Meain Iftikhar stated that people of Hazara division are our brother and part of KP province and the demand Hazara province is their constitutional right, but it is not demand of majority of its people. He also stated that we believe in democracy and people of Hazara division want separate province, then they should adopt constitutional means to achieve their objective. Generally the leadership of ANP is not interested to support HPM because they do not want to lose the economically rich region of KP because such move would badly affect the economy of the province (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

6.1.7. Jamait-e-Islami

After renaming of the province, religious parties also supported the demand of Hazara province and they fully participated in all the rallies and demonstrations organized by leadership of Hazara Province Movement. In May, 2010 the religious parties i.e. Jamat-e-

Islami (JI) and Jamiat-ulema-e-Islam (JUI) arranged rallies in different part of Hazara division. Addressing a public rally in 2010, Liaqat Baloch, senior leader of Jamat-e-Islami expressed his view about 18th Constitutional Amendment and stated that this amendment has created many problems including renaming of the NWFP as KP. He also proposed to submit 19th Constitutional Amendment bill in the parliament to establish Hazara province and he also asserted that his party will support the cause of HPM at all forum (Ali, 2010).

Local leaderships of Jamat-e-Islami also participated in HPM. District Ameer of JI Abdul Razzaq Abbasi said that Hazara province is voice of all the people, political parties and other social groups and organizations. He further stated that backwardness in the remote regions of Pakistan including Hazara division can only be removed by further devolving the centers of power. It is possible only by creating new federating units in all the provinces including KP province.

He further explained that establishment of new administrative units is part of electoral manifesto of Jamiat-e-Islami because under existing federal structure national unity, harmony and good governance cannot be achieved. He also proposed that new provinces must be establish with the consensus of all political parties and its leaderships and all other stakeholders because such move will bring about harmony among different groups and political parties on one hand and enhance administrative efficiency on the other. He also explained that creation of new provinces under existing constitutional mechanism is difficult; therefore referendum is best option (Abbasi A R, 2019).

6.1.8. Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI)

Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam like other political parties is also in favor of the establishment of new provinces including Hazara province. Its political leaderships and activists fully participated in meetings and demonstrations of Hazara Province Movement after renaming

of the province. Jamal Abdul Nasir former Nazim of district Battagram and political leader of JUI stated that Pakistan needs new provinces for the better management of resources and improvement of governance in the country. He also stated that there is a need to carve out three provinces in Punjab and two in KP. He also urged that Hazara region should be declared as separate province because it is blessed with resources that are sufficient to meet all its administrative expenditure. He also explained that despite rich in resources, the region has been ignored by all provincial government and due attention has not been given for the exploitation of these resources. The region has great potential of the development of tourism industry, but due to lack of communication facilities, the region is cut-off from the main cities (Nasir, 2019).

The communication further explored that 18th Constitutional Amendment has given more autonomy to provinces, but far-flung areas of KP province like Kohistan, Battagram and Toghbar, is still backward. In these regions, basic facilities required for human development are missing. He also explained that main obstacles in the way of Hazara province is lack of resources, difficult procedure given by the constitution and negative role of the leaderships of major political parties. He also expressed the hope that when new provinces will be established in other regions, the cause of the Hazara province will also be strengthened. He also proposed that for the creation of new provinces, constitution should be amended and power to redemarcate the boundaries of provinces or creation of new provinces should be given in the hand of central government (Nasir, 2019).

6.1.9. Criticism over Hazara Province Resolution in KP Assembly

In March 2014, a resolution to create Hazara province was submitted in KP provincial assembly which was criticized by all Pakhtun leaderships belonging to different political parties. Awami National Party parliamentary leader Sardar Hussain Babak said that KP

province is like a bouquet and his party opposes any attempt to divide the province and it is time to talk about unity instead of disintegration. Similarly, PPP leader Nighat Orakzai also criticized the resolution and stated that currently due to war on terror, KP province is passing through critical situation and it is not appropriate time to divide the province. During the debate, the treasury benches which was supporting the resolution about Hazara province became divided and provincial ministers including Siraj-ul-Haq of Jamiat-e-Islami and Shoukat Yousif Zai of PTI brought another resolution regarding renaming of the province as Hazara Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and this resolution was also passed (Dawn, 2014).

Qoumi Watan Party (QWP) Spokesman Tariq Khan declared the resolution a political stunt and said that it is illogical to create separate province for few districts. Jamiat-e-Islami spokesman Israrullah Khan stated that JI want a national commission to make plan for the establishment of new provinces in the country on administrative basis and not on linguistic basis. The resolution also confused the members of ruling party from district Peshawar where PTI won all seats in the election of 2013.

One of the MPA from Peshawar said that the resolution would have serious repercussion for the party in Pakhtun dominated areas. He also stated that if ruling party support the resolution then people from Malakand and southern district may also make the same demand. Mr Zareen Gul MPA of JUI said that PML-N which had won 10 provincial assembly seats from Hazara division in last election is in trouble. If it support Hazara province, then supporters of Serakai province can demand of South Punjab province and if it oppose then its popularity may be affected in Hazara division (Ali, 2014).

Another resolution for the establishment of Hazara province was moved in KP assembly by Sardar Muhammad Yousif in 2022. This resolution was reminder of the previous resolution and signed by both treasury and opposition members from Hazara division. But this

resolution too was opposed by Pakhtunes leaderships belonging to different political parties in the KP provincial assembly (Express Tribune, 2022).

6.2. Regional Political Parties and Groups in HPM

From early 1930s onward, people of Hazara region gradually became active in Pakistan Movement under the leadership of Abdul Majid Khan Tarin from Haripur, who at that time was member of NWFP assembly. In 1936, meeting of All India Muslim League was held at the residence of Nur-ud-Din Qureshi in Abbottabad which was also attended by Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and Maulana Shaukat Ali, two prominent leaders of All India Muslim League, who came from India to attend the meeting. In the same meeting, Hazara Muslim League was established.

During the final phase of Pakistan Movement, Capt Sardar Zain Muhammad Khan and Jalal-ud-Din (Jalal Baba) defeated their congress rivals in the election of 1945-46. After the election, convention of elected representatives of All India Muslim League was held in Delhi under the chairmanship of Quaid-e-Azam, in which all participants voted for division of India and creation of Pakistan. Capt. Sardar Zain Muhammad Khan represented Hazara in that meeting. Muslim League leaderships of Hazara later on mobilized the people of the Hazara region in favor of Pakistan in the referendum held in NWFP in 1947. There are dozens of regional political parties and groups in Hazara division who have been active since independence for the cause of Hazara province and protection of the separate identity of the people of the region (Akmal, 1997).

Immediately after independence in 1947, Muhammad Iqbal and his associates started struggle for the formation of Hazara province. Later on in 1957-58, former minister and prominent lawyer of Supreme Court of Pakistan, Mufti Muhammad Idrees started Kohistan Province Movement and demanded separate province comprising all the area included in

present Hazara division. In 1970s, groups of poets and intellectuals of Hindko language formed Hindko Batool Jurga (association) for the promotion and protection of literature of Hindko language (Kamran, 2019).

In 1980s Hazara Qoumi Mahaz was establish by Malik Muhammad Asif for the protection of the separate identity and other interest of the people of Hazara and later on in 1992, HQM included in its objective the establishment of Hazara province. After renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment, Tehreak-e-Sooba Hazara, Hazara Sooba Tehreak, Hazara Movement Pakistan and some other groups emerged (Azhar, 2017). The detail and role of different regional political parties in Hazara Province Movement are as follow:-

1. Hazara Qaumi Mahaz
2. Hazara Awami Ithad
3. Tehrik-e-Sooba Hazara
4. Sooba Hazara Tehrik
5. Tehrik-e-Haqooq Hazara
6. Hazara Movement Pakistan.

6.2.1. Hazara Qaumi Mahaz (HQM)

Hazara Qaumi Mahaz was established by Malik Muhammad Asif Advocate in 1987 and its main objective was to protect the rights, interests and separate identity of the people of Hazara division. Although, in the beginning, main objective of HQM was to protect the interest of the people of Hazara division, but later on in the beginning of 1990s, it included in its objectives to establish Hazara province. It played a key role to mobilize the public and soon turned into resistance movement after passing of resolution by NWFP provincial assembly in which name of NWFP was proposed as Pakhtunkhwa (Sadaqat, 2012).

HQM played a key role in the establishment of Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education in Abbottabad, Hazara University, Abbottabad Radio Station and it was also due to the effort HQM, Pakistan Railway started Hazara Express. It is contention of the people of HQM that if name given by British is not acceptable to Awami National Party (ANP), then the decision of British government to merge Hazara region in NWFP is not acceptable to the people of Hazara division and its leaderships. HQM has no concern with the change of name of NWFP as KP province, but the establishment of Hazara province is vital for removal of backwardness, administrative convenience and proper utilization of the resources of the region (Azhar, 2017).

6.2.2. Hazara Awami Ithad Pakistan

Hazara Awami Ithad was established by Wali Muhammad Khan in 2007 and its main objectives was to protect the separate identity and interest of the all the communities of Hazara division. HAIP is registered political party with Election Commission and its current chairman is Ahmad Nawaz Khan. After renaming of the province in 2010, initially HAIP started protest and demonstration movement in district Mansehra and Abbottabad. It also called all parties conference in Abbottabad and it was in the same meeting Tehrik-e-Sooba Hazara was organized and Baba Haider Zaman was nominated as its chairman to lead the movement (Khan A. J., 2021).

6.2.3. Tehreek-e-Sooba Hazara (TSH)

After renaming of the province under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010, all parties' conference was held in Abbottabad, in which all political parties and its leadership fully participated. Sardar Haider Zaman Baba was unanimously nominated as Chief Coordinator to lead HPM. Large number of rallies and protests were held in all important cities of Hazara division and outside under the leadership of Baba Haider Zaman. After the

incident of April, 2010 in which ten people sacrificed their lives for Hazara province and many more injured, Hazara Province Movement got further momentum. Resultantly, wheel jam and shutter down strike was observed in entire Hazara division and due to severe protest, main roads and markets in entire Hazara division remained closed for three days (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

In 2011, Haider Zaman Baba registered TSH as a political party in Election Commission of Pakistan without the consultation of other political parties and their leaderships. He also invited politicians affiliated with the HPM to join newly established party. However, registration of TSH as party caused split in HPM and it divided into many groups. Had Baba Haider Zaman not registered TSH as party, the movement would have been stronger with the passage of time (Zia-ur-Rehman, 2012).

Tareek-e-Sooba Hazara contested the election of 2013 and included in its manifesto the establishment of Hazara Province, but failed to attract large number of people and gain victory. But TSH is still active and has close contact with the leaderships of new province movements in different provinces of the country especially with the leadership of South Punjab Province Movement, Mohajir Province Movement in Sindh and Pothawar Province Movement in Pinjab (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

6.2.4. Sooba Hazara Tahreek (SHT)

After the registration of TSH, division occurred in the leaderships of Hazara Province Movement. The dissenting leaderships headed by former federal minister Sardar Muhammad Yousif organized themselves under new organization and named it Sooba Hazara Tahreek (SHT). Sooba Hazara Tahreek has executive council consisting of the following members:

Table 6.1

S No	Members of Executive Council SHT	Disignation
1	Sardar Muhammad Yousif	Chairman
2	Hafiz Sajjad Qamar	Coordinator (SHT)
3	Prince Haq Nawaz	Coordinator Kohistan
4	Khanzada Khan	Coordinator Batgram
5	Tariq Khan Swati	Coordinator Mansehra
6	Abdul Razaq Abbasi	Coordinator Abbottabad
7	Yousif Ayub Khan	Coordinator Haripur
8	Malik Rafique Awan	Coordinator Islamabad
9	Qari Mehboob-ur-Rehman	Coordinator Rawalpindi
10	Sardar Muhammad Nazir	Coordinator Karachi

SHT held its meetings regularly and takes important decisions. Every year it observed annual anniversary of the martyrs of April 12, 2010 (Qamar, 2019). The detail of the members of supreme council of SHT is given below in table 6.2.

Table 6.2

S No	Members of Supreme Council	Position
1	Gohar Ayub Khan	Ex Federal Minister (1997-1999)
2	Sardar Muhammad Yousif	Ex Federal Minister (2013-2018)
3	Amanullah Khan Jadoon	Ex Federal Minister (2003-2008)
4	Captain Safdar Awan	Ex MNA (2013-2018)
5	Murtaza Javid Abbasi	MNA (2008 onward)

6	Syed Qasim Shah	Ex Federal Minister (1992-1995)
7	Umar Ayub Khan	Federal Minister (2018 onward)
8	Dr Azhar Jadoon	Ex MNA (2013-2018)
9	Shahzada Gushtasib Khan	Ex Provincial Minister (2003-2008)
10	Riaz Ali Shah	Political Activist
11	Ayaz Ali Khan Durrani	Political Activist

In 2019, TSH again revived its struggle to create Hazara province, when government began work to establish South Punjab Province. All parties conference was held in Abbottabad in which it was demanded that a bill to establish Hazara province be tabled in parliament along with South Punjab province bill. It was also decided to revive HPM and in this connection schedule was also given for conventions, meetings, protest and demonstration in different cities of Hazara division and also in other parts of the country, however, Covid-19 hindered the activities of TSH. Though presently, TSH is not much active, but presently to continue the HPM is not justified because new provinces movements is also going on in other provinces particularly South Punjab Movement. When new province will be established in other parts, then HPM will also revive its struggle and continue it till the achievement of Hazara province (Yousif, 2019).

6.2.5. Tehreek-e-Haqooq Hazara.

Tehreek-e-Haqooq Hazara was started after renaming of the NWFP as KP. It was started by Ali Asghar Khan (son of Air Marshal (R) Asghar Khan) from the platform of Omar Asghar Khan Foundation (OAKF). This movement conducted enormous research work on the resources of Hazara division and proved that Hazara division is rich in different types of resources which are more than its requirements and necessities. The activists of THH fully

participated in all rallies and demonstrations organized by the leadership of HPM. In order to create awareness among the people, the THH has also arranged seminars on the issue in Islamabad and other major cities of Pakistan (Khan A, 2012).

6.2.6. Hazara Movement Pakistan

Hazara Movement Pakistan was established in 2018 by young political activists headed by Asad javid Khan. The movement was started to create political awareness among the people of Hazara division about the importance of Hazara province. Hazara division is rich in natural resources but the region is still facing many social, economic, political and administrative problems. Hazara Movement Pakistan has 25 members supreme council and majlis-e-shoora in which representation has been given to all districts of Hazara division and hazarawale community living in all other part of the country. Asad Javid Khan is its chairman and Ijaz Ahmad is its central president. HMP has also organized itself in Middle East where large number people of Hazara division is living and Middle East chapter of HMP was headed by Zulfqar Awan living in Dubai (Khan A J, 2021). The main objectives of HMP are as follow:

1. To create political awareness among the people of hazara region about the benefit which they may get after the establishment of Hazara province.
2. To protect the rights and interest of all the communities of Hazara division and to get power and authority on our resources to use them for the welfare of its people.
3. To get the co-operation of all national and regional political parties and groups for the cause of Hazara province.
4. To involve intellectuals and poets in the movement so as to protect its separate culture and identity.
5. To organize HMP in educational institutions at all level.
6. To celebrate Hazara culture day every year.

Hazara Movement Pakistan chairman Asad Javid Khan also stated that all the activists of this movement is mostly young educated person who is active to mobilize the people for the cause on print, electronic and social media. He further stated that very soon we will call all parties conference to again revive our activities in all part of the country where people of Hazara division are living (Khan A.J., 2021).

Although demand of Hazara province is not new and people of the region have been demanding Hazara province since Independence, but present struggle for the establishment of Hazara province revived and got impetus after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. This time the movement was supported by all segments of society such as political parties, civil society, bar councils, trade unions, journalists and general masses in all the districts of Hazara division and all of them actively participated in all rallies and processions arranged by the top leadership of Hazara Province Movement (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

During the general election of 2013 and 2018, all political parties and even independent candidates used the slogan of Hazara province and it was expected that their dream would turn into reality after the election, but it did not happen. Though, the elected representatives of Hazara division remained in cabinet both at national and provincial level and are enjoying all privileges, but HPM failed to achieve its objective as yet. As far as ground realities are concerned, all political parties and other social and political groups are in favor of the establishment of Hazara province and there is no voice against HPM in the entire region (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019). But top leaderships of different political parties may not openly support HPM because of political expediency as this move might lose their support in Pakhtun majority regions of KP (Yousaf, 2019).

Recently, meeting was held in Mansehra which was attended by leading political personalities belonging to different political parties of Hazara division. All the participants agreed to make joint struggle for the establishment of Hazara province. They also announced the formation committee having representation of all political parties which would seek the co-operation of members of legislature and leaderships of other province movements in different provinces, for the creation of new provinces including Hazara province. Former MPA from district Torgarh, Mr Zargul Khan said that politicians, lawyers and political activists from all the districts of Hazara division have been given task for the cause of HPM. He also stated that organization will hold national and regional convention and debate on the need of new provinces and would invite the leaderships from both ruling and opposition. He also urged political leaderships of Hazara division to remove their differences and sit together for the cause of Hazara province (Dawn, 2021).

Though presently HPM has lost its impetus, but when new provinces will be established in other parts of the country particularly in Punjab, then Hazara Province Movement will again revive its momentum in a similar way as happened after 18th Constitutional Amendment. The leaders of HPM are in a position to put pressure on federal government due to location of Hazara division in important geographic area especially after the commencement of work on China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and its economic resource.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES TO HPM

Demand to create new provinces for the protection of divergent interest, separate identity and its culture is democratic right of the people because this system is based on the principle of decentralization of power and authority and to localize the center of powers much near to home station. In most of the cases around the world, new provinces/units were created to improve governance and to address the problems of the people living in remote and backward regions of the country. On other hand in some cases new provinces were created to decrease ethnic tensions among different ethnic groups living in the country (Rasool A. K.).

In Nigeria and India, new provinces have been created by considering both the above stated factors. In Nigeria the number of provinces has been increased from 3 to 36 and maximum size of each province is not more than seven percent of the total population of the country. In these countries, new provinces have been established to eliminate the domination of single ethnic group (George, 2008). In India since 2000, six new provinces have been created and this move has helped to reduce and ultimately to end the risk of ethnic insurrections in the state (Adnan, 2011). Pakistan is an ethnically plural society comprising four provinces and it has been facing ethnic and linguistic conflicts since independence. The tendency of over centralization and discriminatory treatment with East Pakistan caused its separation in 1971 (Abbasi, 2010).

Though the Constitution of 1973 is federal in character and units are enjoying considerable autonomy; but environment of distrust still exists between small and large provinces on one hand and between dominant ethnic groups and sub-nationalities within provinces on the other. The people living in capital city and its nearby regions enjoy more facilities than the people living in remote and far-flung areas. Besides, in different provinces

in Pakistan, dominant regional and ethnic groups exploit small and weak ethnic groups. This tendency also forced the people of backward and underdeveloped regions to make the demand for the creation of new provinces, which includes the demand of Saraiki province in Punjab, Muhajir province in urban Sindh and Hazara province in KP province (Zulifiqar, 2017).

The demand to create new provinces in Pakistan including Hazara province is not new, but these demands were ignored by all previous governments for many years. The demand for the establishment of Hazara province was first made by some intellectuals and lawyers led by Muhammad Iqbal in Abbottabad 1948 and for the achievement of this objective, they started movement. In 1957-58 Kohistan Province Movement was started by Mufti Muhammad Idress Advocate and his associates and it became popular in the entire country; but due to one unit scheme and declaration of marshal law by Ayub Khan, it could not make any progress (Kamran, 2019).

The demand of Hazara province was again articulated by Malik Asif, chairman HQM in 1992. However, the present movement for the creation of Hazara province revived and got impetus after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. The people of Hazara division used their democratic and constitutional right by starting peaceful demonstration which became violent, when provincial government of ANP tried to curb it down by use of brute force; resultantly ten people sacrificed their lives for the cause of Hazara province. However, after this incident certain political parties and their leaders supported the movement for political point scoring and personal interest (Yaqoob, 2017).

But the establishment of new provinces is not an easy task and new provinces movements in all the regions including HPM has to face many challenges and issues and without removing these difficulties, the demand for new provinces including Hazara province

will remain a dream. Some important challenges and issues which reduced the momentum of HPM presently and may also be in future are as follows:

7.1. Constitutional Hurdles/Impediments

Under the Constitution of 1973, the procedure for demarcation of the boundaries of the provinces and creation of new province has been given in article 239 (A) of the constitution. It is stated in the said article that that draft bill to bring about change in the boundaries of the existing provinces, shall not be submitted to the approval of central government, unless it has been passed by concerned provincial assembly with two third majorities of its total members (Article 239).

The above stated article of the constitution is biggest hurdle in the way of establishing new provinces in Pakistan including Hazara province. After renaming of NWFP as KP, movement for establishment of Hazara province again revived and got momentum within short time. However, the ANP leadership took the stand and said that demand of Hazara province is the democratic right of the people of Hazara division; but instead of protest, lockup and strikes, they should adopt constitutional mechanism as did by ANP to rename the NWFP as KP (Azhar, 2017).

But the reality was that members belonging to Hazara division have no majority in KP assembly and through constitutional procedure given in the constitution, creation of Hazara province is not possible. Therefore, for leadership and supporters of Hazara Province Movement have left only one option and that was to start demonstration and put pressure on government for achieving Hazara province (Azhar, 2017). Umar Ayub Khan (Federal Minister) stated that either National Commission or referendum might be the best option for the creation of new provinces including Hazara province (Khan, 2020).

Thus constitutional mechanism given in the constitution is hurdle in the way of the formation of new provinces including Hazara province. The creation of Hazara province is not possible without amending article 239 (A) of the Constitution of 1973 and for creating new provinces including Hazara province, either referendum should be held or National Commission should be set up as happened in India and many other countries of the world (Abro, 2012).

7.2. Controversial Map of Proposed Hazara Province

Though the origin of the demand Hazara province is not new; but Hazara Qoumi Mahaz as a political organization was the pioneer to raise the voice of separate identity of Hazara division and articulated the demand for the establishment of Hazara province in the beginning of 1992. The map of proposed Hazara province prepared by HQM comprising seven districts of Hazara division and some area of Punjab province such as Tehsils Murree, Hassan Abdal, Hazaro and Attock. However, Tehreek-e-Sooba Hazara headed by Baba Haider Zaman and other groups proposed that Hazaa province will consist of only eight districts of Hazara division. So there is lack of consensus between HQM and TSH regarding the map of proposed Hazara province (Azhar, 2017).

7.3. Division Among the Supporters of HPM

Since the tragic incident of 12 April, 2010, which took the lives of ten people, the anniversary of the martyrs of HPM is celebrated every year in the entire Hazara division. Though the practice of annual anniversary further popularizes Hazara Province Movement (HPM), but different parties and groups involved in the movement celebrated the anniversary of the martyrs separately. For example, TSH organized program under the supervision of Baba Haider Zaman and now after his death, the anniversary was observed under the

supervision of Sultan-ul-Arfeen, Chairman TSH and Gohar Zaman, younger brother of Haider Zaman Baba (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

Similarly, other parties and groups such as SHT led by Sardar Muhammad Yousaf, THH led by Ali Asghar Khan, Hazara Awami Ittehad (HAI) led Ahmad Nawaz Khan and Tehreek-e-Shuhda Hazara led by Zia-ur-Rehman arranged separate programmes on the annual anniversary of martyrs of Hazara Province Movement which has also weakened the impetus of the movement (Waqar, 2012). Due to this division and breaking up among the leadership of Hazara division, the movement could not be organized vigorously and forcefully in rural areas and upper part of Hazara division i.e. districts Battagram, Kohistan and Torghar etc. Due to disunity, vote bank of Hazara Province Movement has divided. Thus, Hazara Quomi Mahaz (HQM) claim to be champion of the rights and Interest of the people of Hazara division have not enough vote bank (Ahmar, 2013).

Baba Haider Zaman, chairman TSH got national popularity after launching HPM in 2010, however, registration of TSH as party, damaged the cause. The performance of HQM and TSH in the electoral process revealed that disunity, fragmentation and lack of awareness are a big hurdle in the way to establish Hazara province. Hence, without achieving unity among the leadership, political parties and other groups of HPM, the creation of separate Hazara province would not be possible.

7.4. Lack of Majority in KP Assembly

According to the article 239 of the Constitution of 1973, two third majorities are required to pass a resolution in provincial assembly to redemarcate the boundaries of existing provinces. But members belonging to all the eight districts of Hazara division have no majority in KP assembly to pass such resolution. The total strength of KP assembly was 124

(before the merger of FATA) and share of Hazara division is just 25 (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

Hence, it is difficult for the representatives of the Hazara division to move and support any resolution related to Hazara province in KP assembly, because the members of provincial assembly from the other part of KP province will never support any such resolution relating to the formation of Hazara province. In 2014 when resolution for the establishment of Hazara province was submitted, it was opposed by all Pakhtunes representatives of KP assembly belonging to different political parties. Due to this reason, the demand of Hazara province will remain a dream under existing constitutional procedure provided in the article 239 of the Constitution of 1973. So without bring about amendment in constitution, the establishment of new provinces including Hazara province would not be possible (Rizwan, 2018).

7.5. Personal interest of Political Parties and its Leadership

Renaming NWFP as KP was an ethnic move adopted by ANP led provincial government in 2010 and this move was not accepted in Hazara division. As a reaction the leaderships of Hazara division decided to revive HPM again and in this time the movement become popular not only in Hazara division; but also in the entire country in very short time. The slogan of separate Hazara province was used by the candidates of different political parties and its leaderships in the election of 2013 and 2018. The slogans of Hazara province have also been used by those who contested the election as an independent candidate. But most of them were not sincere to the cause of HPM and they used the card of Hazara province just to attract the voters for winning election. Hence, selfishness of political parties and its leadership, lack of proper strategy and fragmentation within HPM leadership damaged the cause of Hazara province (Sadaqat, 2014).

Though HPM was supported by all political parties and its leaderships; but all of them remained loyal to their own parties and they contested the elections of 2013 and 2018, from the platform of their own parties. Both PTI and PML-N have also included in their election manifesto the establishment of new provinces including Hazara province. But the reality was quite different and central leaderships of both parties were not sincere to the cause of Hazara province. Both parties are in strong position in legislature both at central and provincial level; but they remained silent about the issue of Hazara province.

But it is also fact that the creation of new provinces including Hazara province is not possible without the support of national political parties and top leadership of the country. But reality is that these parties and their leaderships used the slogan of Hazara province to win elections as no concrete and positive steps have been taken for the achievement of objective when they came to power. Their non cooperative behaviour can be seen from their half-hearted attempt, when two separate resolutions were submitted for creating Hazara province, one by PML-N leaderships and the second was by PTI leaderships before national assembly and provincial assembly of KP, after the election of 2018 (Haroon, 2020).

Renaming of NWFP as KP was the demand of ANP and this development was also appreciated and welcomed by all Pakhtun leadership. Although, the demand of separate Hazara province is not new; but after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment, HPM again revived and got momentum. This time movement was supported by all political parties and its leadership belongs to Hazara division. But all Pakhtun political parties and their leadership are not in favour of creating Hazara province.

The reason is that the region is fertile and rich in different types of natural resources and it is also contributing largely to the economy and revenues of KP province. Tarbala Dam which is the main source of electric power generation of KP is located in Hazara division.

The establishment of Hazara province may create economic problems for KP because amount of royalty which provincial government has been receiving uptill now, will be shifted to the treasury of new Hazara province (Ahmad F., 2011).

Similarly many new power generating projects such as Basha Dam, Dassu Dam and many other small projects are also located in Hazara division which will further increase the revenues of KP. Hence, division of KP province is not acceptable to ANP and other Pakhtune leadership. Moreover, Hazara province may also cause separation of Dera Ismail Khan from KP province as there is also feeling of its inclusion in Seraiki province (Saboor, 2020). After the election of 2013, resolution for creating new Hazara province was moved by PTI members from Hazara division; but that was severely criticized by all opposition parties particularly ANP. Moreover, during the debate over the resolution, PTI and JI supporters of Hazara province resolution got divided (Dawn, 2014).

After the adoption of the resolution by provincial assembly to establish Hazara province, a seminar was organized by Pakhtun Awaransess Movement (PAM) to oppose the resolution of the proposed Hazara rovince. The seminar was attended by all the prominent leadership of ANP and they declared the resolution as a conspiracy to divide Pakhtune nation. The participants expressed their views and they unanimously decided that division of KP will not be acceptable to them and they will oppose such move at all forums both at central and provincial level (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

7.6. Multi-ethnic Population of Hazara Division

Hazara division includes eight districts and the population of these districts is multi-ethnic and also speaks different languages. Majority of the people are Hindko speaking who lives in three lower districts such as Abbottabad, Haripur and Mansehra that constitutes about more than 60 percent population of Hazara division. Pashto speaking districts are Battagram

and Torgar while populations living in three districts of Kohistan region speak Kohistani and Shina language (Sadaqat, 2014). The detail of population, nationalities and languages spoken in different districts of Hazara division are shown in table given in next page:

Table: 7.1

S No	Districts	Population	Nationalities	Languages
1	Abbottabad	1332912	Jadoon,Karlal,Abbassi,Tanoli,Awan	Hindko
2	Haripur	1003031	Tareen, Mishwani, Gujjar	Hindko, Pashto
3	Mansehra	1556460	Gujjar, Swati, Syed	Hindko,Gujjree
4	Battgram	476612	Pakhtune	Pashto, Hindko
5	Lower Kohistan	202913	Kohistani	Kohistani
6	Upper Kohistan	306774	Kohistani	Kohistani, Shena
7	Palis Kohistan	275761	Kohistani	Kohistani, Shena
8	Torgar	171395	Pakhtune	Pashto,Hindko

Hazara Gazetteer, 2000.

While, the leadership of Hazara Province Movement (HPM) defined that Hazarawal are those people/groups/nations that reside and belong to the land of Hazara division irrespective of their ethnicity, language and culture. All races and tribes of Hazara division are like a bunch of flowers and all of them live peacefully and there is no discrimination among them on the basis of ethnicity and language. Moreover, the demand of Hazara province is made purely on administrative basis and it was supported by all groups and tribes living in Hazara division (Qamar, 2019).

On the other hand, the opponents of Hazara province are trying to give ethnic colour to the movement and in other parts of KP, it is being propagated that demand of Hazara province is ethnic in nature. Hence, after renaming NWFP as KP, ANP leaders proposed the

establishment of “Abaseen division” comprising three districts of upper Hazara division such as Battagram, Torghar and Kohistan. It was a deliberate attempt on the part of pakhtune nationalists to divide the population of Hazara division on ethno-lingual basis and to weaken the momentum of HPM. It can be easily observed that in Pakistani society such feelings are very much strong and even after more than seventy years of our independence; we still call ourselves as Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Pakhtuns and Mohajir etc.

It is due to diverse population of Hazara division, movement to establish Hazara province got momentum in three big districts of Hazara division i.e. Abbottabad, Haripur and Mansehra while in upper part of Hazara division i.e. Battagram and Torghar that is Pakhtune populated, HPM has weak and loose organization and there is less enthusiasm and vigor among the general masses about the establishment of Hazara province (Ahmad N., 2015).

7.7. Financial Problems

Financ plays a significant role in the success and failure of any movement. Direct and regular communication with the masses, political activists, and regular meetings of its leadership, seminars and also to remain touch with media is essential for organizing the people for the achievement of some cause. All these activities cannot be carried out without having sufficient money and financial resources. Unfortunately, Hazara Province Movement could not be organized on sound footing in remote and backward regions of Hazara division such as its upper part mainly due to lack of financial resources (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

7.8. No Awareness about the Importance of New Units

For the successful functioning of federal system, there must be harmony between central and provincial governments, and among different provinces. But this harmony cannot be created without eliminating the domination of larger ethnic group/unit. Common people

have no knowledge and understanding about the importance of more provinces and creating new centers of powers. Normally it is the responsibility of political parties, media, NGOs and civil society organizations to launch awareness campaign among the public about the importance of small units and new centers of power; but at present all these institutions and associations are not doing so.

Main political parties such as PPP and PML-N are hesitant to openly support Hazara Province Movement, because if it is establish, than similar demands may also arise in Baluchistan, Punjab, Sindh and FATA. This development is not in the interests of big political parties as PPP has no interest in creating new province in Sindh because it will effect it political domination over entire Sindh province and similarly new province in Punjab may also affect PML-N dominance in such a big province which is about 56 percent of the total population of Pakistan. Similarly, Pakhtun nationalists are opposed to create Hazara province because it may affect the economy of the KP provinces because Hazara division is rich in various resources and main source of revenues of the province after Peshawar division (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

7.9. Conflicts over the Distribution of Resources

Satisfactory distribution of powers and resources is most important issue and challenge to the politics of federalism in Pakistan. The resources among the province are distributed by constitutional body known as National Finance Commission. Federal government had to face difficulty to develop consensus among four provinces regarding distribution of financial resources for many years. The creation of new provinces may create similar inter-provincial problems i.e. distribution of resources and income among the provinces collected by central government. It may also create problems regarding the role of

Council of Common Interest, National Economic Council and National Finance Commission (Ahmad F., 2011).

7.10. Issue of Development

There are different causes of the demand of new provinces in the country; but most important cause behind the demand of new provinces including Hazara province are socio-economic backwardness, exploitation of small units by the larger and administrative inconvenience. Therefore; new Hazara province may also face and confront similar economic problems due to less development particularly in upper part of Hazara division such as Battagram, Kohistan and Torghar. The available resources claimed by the leadership of HPM would be sufficient for non-development activities and government may not be able to start new developmental projects and economic activities. Consequently the establishment of Hazara province may not produce desire results immediately and has to wait for long period of time. In addition to it, creation of Hazara province may also create financial problems for KP province due to division of economic resources (Ihsan-ur-Raheem, 2019).

The inhabitants of Hazara region were aware about their separate identity even before the establishment of Pakistan. In 1980s movement was again strated from the platform of HQM by Malik Asif. After renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010, HPM again revived their struggles to establish Hazara province. But establishment of new province including Hazara province is not an easy task. There are many political, economic and social problems and challenges and without removing these, creation of Hazara province would be a dream. It is fact that HPM has lost its momentum, but it does not means that it has ceased to exist and cannot revive again. The prospect of Hazara province is very bright because of administrative convenience and efficiency, Pakistan has to create new units including Hazara province sooner or later.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PROSPECTS OF HAZARA PROVINCE MOVEMENT

It is fact that Hazara Province Movement has to face many challenges and problems and the movement has lost its momentum due to different problems and challenges explained in preceding chapter. However; it does not mean that movement has ceased to exist and has no potential of its revival again. The reality is that when movement is started for some cause, it has to face many challenges/problems during the course to achieve its objective. The prospect of the revival of HPM is very optimistic because for administrative convenience and efficiency, Pakistan has to create new federating units, particularly in the province of Punjab on urgent basis. So when new province will be established in other parts of the country, HPM has potential to revive its struggle again in quite similar pace as happen after renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment (Qamar, 2019).

The administrative division of the country into smaller units/provinces is important pre-requisite for the efficient working of federal system. The sub-division of the country into provinces should be based on needs and requirements of its people and its productivity for the state and in this regard the consideration of its geography, history, language, ethnicity and religion are helpful. Re-organization of the boundaries of the existing provinces from time to time is common phenomena in all the countries of the world. Most of the countries of the world have created new provinces in order to meet the growing demand of the population and to bring about efficiency in the administrative structure of the country.

Presently, Pakistan is sixth most populous country of the world, however; it is painful reality that the demand of the new provinces has never been welcomed and appreciated by larger ethnic group in the fear of losing its dominant position. The four provinces of the country were created by British government on administrative basis, but general impression

in the country is that Punjab belongs to Punjabi, Sindh to Sindhi, and Balochistan to Baluchi and KP to Pakhtune.

The people speaking other language in these provinces are being dubbed as minorities on their own land. Their sense of inferiority may be removed by creating new small provinces on administrative basis. Due to this reason, separate Hazara Province Movement was started by young advocate Mufti Idrees in 1957-58, however; due to working of One Unit in the country and imposition of martial law by Ayub Khan in 1958, it could not make any progress. Later on, HQM was established in 1987 by Malik Muhammad Asif; but it got set back due to his untimely death. After renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010, HPM revived again under the leadership of Baba Haider Zaman which was supported by all political parties and its leaderships and all segments of the society (Munir, 2017).

People living in Hazara division articulated the demand to establish Hazara province because the region is economically backward despite rich in different kind of natural resources. Though presently HPM has lost its momentum; but there are positive prospects of its revival again with full intensity as happened after renaming of NWFP as KP in 2010. When new units will be established in other existing provinces particularly in Punjab, which constitute 56 percent of the total population of Pakistan, HPM has potential to revive again with full strength. The revival of HPM and creation of Hazara province has bright prospect due to following reasons:

8.1. Administrative Efficiency

Though theoretically Pakistan is federal state, but in practice it is centralized in which central government is more powerful than the government of provinces that is important cause bad governance, disunity and backwardness especially in remote areas. In order to remove these issues and challenges, Pakistan has to create new provinces and expand the

centers of power to bring about harmony; unity and efficiency in the administration of state; without which relative backwardness and the grievances of the people of remote regions cannot be remove (Yousif, 2019).

8.2. Pakistan is Multi-Ethnic State

Population of Pakistan is heterogeneous and multi-ethnic in character, therefore; federal system was introduced when it became independent state in 1947. This system is suitable for diverse society because it has capability to adjust diversity and promote unity and harmony among different ethnic and regional groups living there. But unluckily, in Pakistani politics, socio-political harmony and unity among different ethno-lingual groups is missing due to domination of four big ethnic groups. This trend has weakened federalism in Pakistan and created identity crisis and regionalism which is main cause of political instability in the country.

In order to strengthen federal system and to bring about national unity, federal government has to establish new provinces including Hazara province sooner or later. The preservation of its culture, language and script is democratic right of the every citizen of Pakistan that has been incorporated in the the Constitution of 1973. But promotion of culture and languages of minority ethnic groups is not possible without creating new provinces and to expansion of new centers of powers and authority (Ahmad, 2019).

8.3. Establishment of New Units in Other Provinces

Presently, establishment of Hazara province is not possible and, because new province has not yet been created in other parts of the country. But it is certain that whenever, new provinces will be established in other part of the country particularly in Punjab, than HPM has prospect to revive its struggle again with full momentum and enthusiasm as

happened in 2010 after renaming of NWFP as KP. The revival of HPM had also given momentum to Saraiki Province Movement (SPM) in Punjab and Muhajir Province Movement (MPM) in urban Sindh and Baba Haider Zaman remained Chief Coordinator of all new provinces movement from 2011 to 2018 till his death (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

8.4. Geographic Location of Hazara Division

Hazara division is located in very important geographic region and its location has further enhanced the potentials of the establishment of Hazara province. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is passing through eight districts of Hazara division i.e. Kohistan (upper and lower), Battagram, Mansehra, Abbottabad and Haripur. In case of the failure of constitutional and peaceful means to establish Hazara province, than protest movement may also be started to put pressure on federal government and as a last resort option is also open even to block China Pakistan Economic Corridor (Abbasi A. R., 2019).

8.5. No Sentiments against Hazara Province Movement

Movement to establish Hazara province has been launched in all the districts of Hazara division and it was supported by all the segments of society like political parties and its leaderships, lawyers, journalists, trade and business community, teachers and other social and cultural groups. These groups not only supported HPM; but also fully participated in all the demonstration, protest and rallies organized by the leaderships of HPM. Even the top leaderships of ANP admitted that demand of Hazara province is right of the people of Hazara division; but for achieving this objective constitutional and peaceful means should be adopted. There is no party or group in Hazara division who is opposed to the demand of Hazara province (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

8.6. Middle Class Population of Hazara Division

Existence of middle class is very important factor for the success of any movement because it may be easily mobilize and motivated. Literacy rate in Hazara division is high particularly in its three mains districts like Abbottabad, Haripur and Mansehra. The region is mostly belonging to middle and lower middle class. The people of this region are also very much aware about their separate identity. The existence of middle class in the region is positive indicator that is easy to mobilize to restart struggle for the establishment of Hazara province (Ahmad, 2019).

After detail analysis of the prospects of HPM, it may be stated that though the movement has lost its impetus and energy due to conflicting interest of political parties and its leadership; but it does not means that HPM has no future prospects and it cannot revive again. With the announcement of new provinces in the country particularly in the province of Punjab; HPM would be again revive with full force as happened after renaming of NWFP as KP in 2010. Moreover, for strengthen federalism, promotion of national unity, improving governance and to bring about political and economic development on the basis of equality, Pakistan has to establish new provinces including Hazara province. Re-organization of the boundaries of the existing provinces and creation of new provinces from time to time is common phenomena in all the countries of world. It is also a fact that smaller the units stronger will be the federation. By creating new provinces including Hazara province on administrative basis, the country will made progress and prosperity.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The comprehensive analysis of the different aspects of the research problem revealed that majority of the nation states are diverse and multi-ethnic in nature and these have to face crisis of identity and many other socio-economic challenges mainly in developing countries. Modern experience has shown that large states with great diversity of culture, languages and traditions may not be efficiently governed and properly administered by one central government. Therefore, for ensuring efficiency in the administrative structure of the state, political thinkers and researchers have proposed that democracy under federal system is suitable for such states. Under this arrangement matter of common importance is exercised by one central government while matters of regional and local importance may be given to the governments of the units who have more capability and understanding to exercise these powers.

After capturing India, British government gradually decentralized power and this process remained continued till the establishment of India and Pakistan as sovereign states in 1947. The Act of 1935 was positive step toward decentralization of power and authority under which federal system was introduced and first time provincial autonomy was given to Indian provinces. In order to accommodate and adjust the interest of different communities' and sub-groups lives in India. The Act of 1935 was declared as provisional constitution for both India and Pakistan under Indian Independence Act, 1947. Pakistani society is heterogeneous and diverse in nature therefore, federal system remained continued even after the establishment of Pakistan.

Though all the constitutions were federal in character, but due to domination of central govt and some powerful segments of the society, it failed to promote national unity and harmony among different ethnic groups living in Pakistan which was important cause of

the separation of East Pakistan in 1971. The Constitution of 1973 was made by elected government of Pakistan People's Party with the consultation of all political parties and its federal structure was much better than all the previous constitutions, but unfortunately, its provisions concerning provincial autonomy were not implemented in its true litter and spirit, therefore, desired results could not be achieved. Though, under 18th Constitutional Amendment more provincial autonomy was given to the provinces by abolishing concurrent list from the constitution.

Similarly, the share of provinces in National Finance Commission award has also been increased, but it is also fact that, this amendment has also created new conflicts and ethnic problems between politically dominant ethnic group and minority ethnic groups in different existing provinces of the country. Before the 18th Constitutional Amendment main cause of disharmony, disunity and conflict among provinces was dominance of bigger province over the politics and economy of the state; but after the amendment conflict revived between majority and minority ethnic groups within provinces.

It is general perception among the minority ethnic groups in different provinces in Pakistan that this amendment has increased the powers and position of already dominant ethnic and regional groups and state managers have made no concrete and positive steps for the promotion and development of the culture and separate identity of the people living in backward and remote regions of the country. Under this amendment, NWFP was renamed as KP, which was severely criticized in all the districts in Hazara division and as result Hazara Province Movement again revived and this time, HPM was supported by all political parties and all other groups belonging to different segments of society. Such demand was articulated with the hope that new Hazara province would not only improve governance; but also change the destiny of its people.

The demand of Hazara province also gives impetus to the movements of new provinces in other regions of the country i.e. Saraiki province in Punjab province and Mohajir province in urban Sindh etc. The existing boundaries of the provinces were demarcated by British government during his rule over India and like other countries of the world they also created new provinces, when it was demanded by local people of different regions i.e. NWFP was established in 1901 and province of Sindh in 1935. But unfortunately; after the establishment of Pakistan, all succeeding governments failed to establish new units and number of units has been decreased instead of increasing that is main cause of political instability, crisis of identity, and development of the tendency of alienation among the people living in remote and backward regions of the country.

Due to limited centers of powers, now people living in these regions including Hazara division are demanding new provinces and they have started movement to achieve the objective and resolved to continue the struggle till the achievement of the objective. As stated above that federalism is suitable for those societies which are heterogeneous in nature and comprising diverse ethnic, cultural and linguistic population. In these societies dominant group are trying to promote its own culture, traditions and identity and steps have not been taken to protect the weak groups/segment of the society from the domination of powerful groups. If there is no harmony among these diverse ethnic groups then the survival and integrity of the country might be in danger.

Federalism seems to be an appropriate device to unite such diverse society under one national government. In order to preserve and maintain its separate identity; they are allowed to form their own provincial government, which is responsible to look after the local affairs and also enable them to promote their own culture, language and other local values and traditions. Hence, federalism is outcome of the desire of the people of such plural and diverse

societies to be united under one national government for the protection of common interest, while retaining their distinctive identities at the same time.

KP province is consisted of seven divisions and has diverse population with Pakhtune constitute majority. Hazara division is situated on the east of river Indus which has given this region a separate identity that is quite different from the rest of province. The people and the leadership of Hazara division believed that they are major minority in the province. Besides, the region is also fertile in different kinds of natural resources and it is main contributor to the economy of KP province; but the region is backward as compare to other regions located adjacent to capital city Peshawar.

The leaderships of Hazara Province Movement hold the view that Hazara division was not part of KP province in the past and it was merged in NWFP in 1901 without the consultation of its leadership. The people of Hazara division retained their separate identity even after becoming part of NWFP and its relation with Pakhtune nationalists remained tense. During the election of 1937, Pakhtune nationalists wins the election and Dr Khan Sahb formed provincial government in NWFP with the support All India National Congress (AINS), but majority of the people of Hazara region exercised their vote in favor of All India Muslim League (AIML). Similarly, in the referendum of 1947, people of Hazara division voted in favor of merging of NWFP in Pakistan.

After the establishment of Pakistan, it was expected that Pakhtune nationalist leaderships will adopt positive measures and will redress the grievances of the people of the Hazara region, but unluckily, their attitude remained the same as they adopted before the independence of the country which further widen the gulf between two communities. It is stand of the leaderships of Hazara Province Movement that the region is treated

indiscriminately due largely to its separate identity which forced the leaderships of Hazara region to articulate the demand for the establishment of Hazara province many time.

Later on, in 1957-58 Mufi Idrees Advocate and his associates started Kohistan Province Movement comprising present Hazara division and some hilly areas of Tehsil Murree adjacent to Hazara region and the movement becomes very popular among the people but due to declaration of martial law by Ayub Khan, it could not make any progress. In 1987 Hazara Qoumi Mahaz was establish by Malik Asif Advocate and he also demanded Hazara province with the hope to get-rid from the exploitation and discrimination of majority ethnic group and to protect its separate identity. After renaming of NWFP as KP under 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010, Hazara Province Movement once again revived and in this time it was supported by the leaderships of all political parties, media, lawyers' community, trade unions and other civil society organizations. The movement got sudden momentum when in a protest ten people lost their lives for the cause of Hazara province on 12, April 2010.

The demand of Hazara province has been justified by its supporters on the basis of social and economic backwardness, administrative inconvenience, issue related to Tarbala Dam royalty, issue of identity, low share in Annual Development Program, issue of bad governance and increase in population. It is believed that establishment of Hazara province will create new centers of powers and opportunities for the residents of Hazara division near to their home town. Moreover, it may be a positive step toward promoting national unity, good governance, transparency, accountability and efficient management of the resources. Hazara Province Movement has also given impetus to the new province movements in other provinces which give new direction to the politics of federalism in the country.

After 18th Amendment in the Constitution of 1973, new provinces movements revived again in South Punjab, urban Sindh and Hazara division. The leaderships of the new provinces movement resolved to make joint efforts for the establishment of new provinces and Baba Hadir Zaman was nominated as Chairman of new provinces movements and he remained on this position till his death in 2018. But unfortunately, some political parties and their leaders supported Hazara Province Movement only for political point scoring and to win election. During the election of 2013, all political parties used the card of Hazara province and got success except Tahreek-Sooba-Hazara (THS) headed by Baba Haider Zaman, who also contested the election but failed to attract large number of voters. Due to defeat of Tahreek-Sooba-Hazara headed by Baba Haider Zaman, it was propagated in other parts of KP province that people of Hazara division has rejected the demand of Hazara province.

Thought, democratic system is based on the principle of majority rule; but it is also supposed to protect the rights, interests and separate identity of minority ethnic groups. For the protection of rights and separate identity, the demand of the Hazara province was articulated which is democratic right of its people. The region meets the basic qualification to become separate units and it would be strong and viable province because the region is rich in natural resources i.e. precious minerals, water resources, huge forest, agriculture, industries and tourism and is able to meet all expenditures through developing these resources.

The royalty of Tarbala Dam received by KP from center may contribute to the development and prosperity of the Hazara province and the Hattar Industrial Estate Haripur (HIEH) can also provide strong base to its economy. Its precious water resources may be utilized for the development of agriculture and for further generation of cheap electricity. Similarly, its high mountains and green forest may provide strong foundation to the development of tourism industry. Hazara division is strategically located in very important region, because of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CEPC), which passes through all

the districts of Hazara division except Torghar. All these facts are showing that Hazara province has capacity and potential to survive on its own resources instead of becoming a liability on the central government. But after many years of renaming of NWFP as KP, the demand of Hazara province still at crossroads and HPM has also lost its momentum because of various reasons.

Firstly the political forces are not serious about the issue of Hazara Province Movement and politicians have used the card of Hazara province just to win the election and they played with the emotions of the people. This negative attitude and behavior adopted by different leaders damaged the cause of HPM. Secondly, due to disunity among different groups belonging to Hazara region, now the movement is represented by different splinter groups with different name and title. Moreover, the electoral performance of Hazara Quomi Mahaz and Tahreek-e-Sooba Hazara was not satisfactory. Thirdly, the constitutional procedure provided in the Constitution of 1973 for changing the boundaries of existing provinces is also a big hurdle in the way of creating new provinces including Hazara province because, it is difficult to get the support of two third majorities in KP assembly.

The opponents of HPM believed that though the demand of Hazara province is genuine, but Pakistan has to face many internal and external challenges such as problem of ethnicity, religious extremism, regionalism, linguistic and economic problems and establishment of new provinces may further increase ethnic division in the country. Therefore, following recommendations are needed to strengthen federal system, bring about efficiency in state administration and to promote national unity in Pakistan.

Firstly, in order to improve governance in the country, there is dire need to create of new centers of power in all the existing provinces, which may not be possible without creating new federating units in the country. But it is also a fact that at present Pakistan is

facing many internal and external challenges and in such a critical situation new provinces may not be possible in near future. The creation of new provinces, economic resources are required which present economic condition of the country cannot afford, however; at first there is need to establish separate administrative secretariat in those regions, where people are demanding new provinces.

Secondly, without bringing about political and economic stability creation of new provinces including Hazara province may not be possible. Therefore; for economic prosperity and development, there is also dire need to improve the performance of government by further decentralization of economic and political authority and decision making at grass root level. Local government institutions at grass-root level need to be organized on a strong footing by giving more financial and administrative powers and authority so as to remove the grievances of the people residing in remote and backward regions of the country.

Thirdly, in Pakistan due to centralization of power, the general welfare of the masses have been ignored by all the previous governments, which created a sense of deprivation among the people of those regions/areas including Hazara division and resultantly demand of new province emerged in these regions. In order to remove the grievances of the people, the government should bring about comprehensive reforms in existing administrative structure and it should be replaced by public welfare oriented institutions.

In addition to it, the income generated through the resources of Hazara division should be utilized for the social and economic development of the backward districts of the region. Similarly, for preservation and protection of Hindko language and its literature, government should take steps for the promotion of Hindko language and its literature.

There is also an alternative administrative model proposed by some experts and some organizations. As people residing in upper part of Hazara division have to cover long distance

to reach provincial capital Peshawar for some official work, which is causes unnecessary delay and administrative inconvenience. This issue may be resolved for the time being by establishing separate administrative secretariat for Hazara division at Abbottabad so that the common man problems may be resolved locally without much delay. This step may bring about positive change in the life of the people of upper part of Hazara division i.e. Battgram, Kohistan and Torghar.

The different splinter groups of HPM should be united again and revived HPM with the support of other likeminded political leaders to achieve the objective. They may also seek the support of the lawyers, traders, transporters, civil society associations and people from all the segment of the society. The supporters of HPM may also device the comprehensive strategy and announced the schedule of holding public meeting, rallies and demonstration throughout Hazara division. It is through collective efforts that the leaderships of HPM may force the central government to accept the demand of Hazara province.

Under present constitutional procedure creation of Hazara province is not possible because member belonging to Hazara division are in minority and they are unable to pass the resolution from KP assembly to create Hazara province. Therefore; the organizers of HPM may also use pressure groups and lobbies both at national and provincial level and also seek the cooperation of the leadership of new province movements in other part of the country to amend the constitutional procedure given in article 239 of the Constitution of 1973 to alter the boundaries of the existing provinces.

The demand of Hazara province is democratic right of the people of Hazara division. Hence, federal government should constitute commission of experts to examine the demand of new provinces in different backward regions including Hazara division and strategy should be device to establish new provinces on the basis of the recommendations given by

commission. The commission should also propose constitutional mechanism to create new provinces including Hazara province.

In order to avert the threat of ethnic violence and protection of minority ethnic groups from the exploitation of majority group and for the promotion of national unity, Pakistan has to create new provinces. But the motive behind the establishment of new provinces including Hazara province should be to improve governance. It is general perception in other parts of KP that the demand of Hazara province is politically motivated and majority of the people are not in favor of it. But reality is that after renaming of NWFP as KP, HPM again revived and it was supported by all segment of the society. Best strategy to create new provinces including Hazara province is either referendum or setting up national commission and on the recommendations of it new provinces may be from.

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Appendix-1

List of Interviewees (Politicians, Intellectuals and Political Activists)

S No	Name of Interviewess	Position/Designation	Date and place of Interview	
1	Sardar Haider Zaman	Chairman TSH	3-11-2017	Abbottabad
2	Sardar Muhammad Yousif	Chairman SHT	28-11-2019	Islamabad
3	Umar Ayub Khan	Federal Minister	02-02-2020	Haripur
4	Aurengzab Nalotha	MPA (2008 todate)	10-02-20	Abbottabad
5	Wali Muhammad Khan	MPA (2013-18)	7-02-2020	Battagram
6	Abdul Sattar Khan	MPA (2013-18)	23-08-2019	Kohistan
7	Prof Dr Zahid Anwar	Director China Study Center UOP	06-02-2020	Peshawar
8	Prof Dr Fakhar-ul- Islam	Director Pak Studied Center UOP	06-02-2020	Peshawar
9	Dr Mustifa Khan	KP Higher Education Deptt	04-02-2020	Mansehra
10	Prof Ihsan-ur-Rahim	KP Higher Education Deptt	05-03-19	Abbottabad
11	Hafiz Sajjad Qamar	Activist HPM	13-11-2019	Rawalpindi
12	Prof Bashir Ahmad Sooz	Hindko poet and writer	27-05-2019	Abbottabad
13	Sultan-ul- Arfeen	General Secretary TSH	09-03-2019	Abbottabad
14	Qazi Muhammad Azhar	Chairman HQM/Advocate	3-12-2017	Abbottabad
15	Malik Kamran	Activist HPM/ Advocate	11-03-2019	Abbottabad
16	Abdul Razaqu Abbasi	Leader of Jamaiat-e-Islami	03-09-2020	Abbottabad
17	Muhammad Shafique	Journalist and activist HPM	16-01-2020	Abbottabad
18	Raja Muhammad Haroon	Journalist and Activist HPM	18-01-2020	Abbottabad
19	Jamal Abdul Nasir	Activist and JUI leader	29-04-2019	Battagram
20	Abdul Saboor Qureshi	Activist HPM	22-01-2020	Haripur
21	Mufti Zahid Advocate	Activist HPM	23-08-2019	Abbottabad
22	Muhammad Arshid Mehmud	KP Higher Education Deptt	15-04-2020	Abbottabad.
23	Asad Javid Khan	Activist HPM/Youth leader	14-03-2021	Abbottabad

Appendex-II

Questionnaire for PhD Study (*It is an open ended questionnaire*) on the topic: **Politics of Creation of New Provinces in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Movement of Hazara Province.** The Questions below are designed to collect expert opinion/view/understanding of the issue.

Interviewer: **Muhammad Asif PhD Scholar.**

Interviewee:.....

Department: Politics and International Relation

Institution: International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan

Email: profasifps@gmail.com

Questions asked from Politicians and Activists

- What are the basics problems faced by people in yours locality/Distt?
- Which measures can be taken to solve these problems?
- When and why Movement for Hazara Province was stated?
- For which purpose Hazara Quomi Mahaz was established in 1992?
- What are the major's grievances of the people of Hazara which created sense of deprivation?
- What is the stand of the leadership of different political parties for the HPM?
- Do you have contact with the leadership of other provinces who are also demanding provinces?
- What is the main obstacle in the way creating Hazara Province?
- Could Hazara Province stand on its own resources?
- What should be future strategy about the cause?
- What is the weakness of HPM?

Appendex-III

Questionnaire for PhD Study (*It is an open ended questionnaire*) on the topic: **Politics of Creation of New Provinces in Pakistan: A Case Study of the Movement of Hazara Province**. The Questions below are designed to collect expert opinion/view/understanding of the issue.

Interviewer: **Muhammad Asif PhD Scholar.**

Interviewee:.....

Department: Politics and International Relation

Institution: International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan

Email: profasifps@gmail.com

Questions asked from Intellectuals

- Do you think Pakistan need new provinces? If yes why?
- What is role of ethnicity in the politics of Federalism?
- Why Federalism is more centralized in Pakistan?
- Is there any link b/w the issue of bad governance with the creation of new units
- How size and population of particular unit affects the politics of country?
- Is it fact that 18th Constitutional Amendment created momentum in the demand of new units' especially Hazara Province?
- What is your opinion about demand of Hazara Province
- Which strategy should be adopted for the creation of new provinces?
- Why major political parties and its leadership in Pakistan are reluctant to create new provinces?
- Whether new provinces should be created on ethnic or administrative basis?

