

Demand of New Provinces in Pakistan: Causes and A Way Forward

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Abstract:

Pakistan presently comprises of four provinces. Every province has a different culture, language, traditions and level of economic development it is widely accepted phenomenon that uneven socio-economic development and identity crisis cause alienation among the backward relatively provinces and regions. This is exactly the case in Pakistan. Furthermore, the level of economic growth and prosperity is not equal within provinces as areas near provincial capitals are more developed than the remote regions. Due to this disharmony and trust deficit has been developed among different ethnic groups within provinces. One solution to overcome such problems is equitable and fair distribution of resources and the promotion and development of the different cultures and languages on equal footing. However, it doesn't deem possible without creating new provincial units. For the protection of separate identity and economic development various movements for the creation of new provinces have been going on in all the four provinces. The primary focus of this paper is to examine the rationale behind new provinces movements in Pakistan generally and Hazara province movement particularly.

INTRODUCTION

According to the latest population census held in 2017, Pakistan is a home of more than two hundred million people. The greater portion of the population is concentrated in the province of Punjab which is about half of the total population of the country. As mentioned earlier that Punjab's population is about one hundred and ten million while the general seats of Punjab provincial assembly are 148. It indicates that more than seven hundred thousand masses are being represented by single MPA. How a single person can be a true representative of such huge number of inhabitants? Due to limited centers of power, provincial governments cannot ensure the public accessibility 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 democratic practices. One solution to address these problems is to create new provinces; because having more provinces, due to which the size of provinces would be smaller and it will bring closer the seat of government to large number of population by establishing new centers of power which would be near to their home station. Localization of funds through the creation of new provinces will not only improve public accessibility to funds and services; but also strengthen democratic norms and federal spirit as well (Rasool, 2018).

Federalism is suitable for heterogeneous societies; because it combines in the features of both unity and diversity. This system evolved and shaped by its peculiar social and political environment. The number of units and satisfactory distribution of powers among different ethnic groups is inevitable for the stability of federalism; because it greatly affects the politics of the country. The size and

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population of units also affects the social and political dynamics of country. Homogenous units contribute to federal stability while heterogeneous units caused conflicts and tension among different ethnic and language groups in majority of cases and subsequently caused separatism and disintegration of the country (Adeney, 2007).

The existence of one dominant group within state greatly affects the politics of the country and causes resentment and sense of deprivation among smaller provinces and weak ethnic groups. One way to counter the domination of powerful group is to divide the existing provinces into smaller one and empower the weaker groups that will alleviate and reduce the danger of the potential oppression by majority group. Most of the problems and challenges faced by Pakistani federation are related to the fact that only one province of Punjab has 54 percent of the total population of Pakistan and thus has significant influence over other provinces; because it has more share and representation in federal legislature as well as in civil and military administration (Anderson, 2008).

Punjab is the biggest province in terms of population and thus enjoys greater influence over the politics of the country that is a major cause of disharmony and distrust between Punjab and other provinces. The division of Punjab would ensure a durable solution with regard to the resources allocation and political representation. Therefore; the existence of large number of federating units is important for the promotion of national unity on one hand and for the socio-cultural harmony and equal development on the other hand. Protection of regional identity and security of sub-cultures have been lacking in Pakistan since independence. The ethnic domination of few groups has reduced the identity of all sub-groups and smaller identities that is an important cause of alienation in backward and neglected regions in Pakistan (Adeney, 2007).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Adeney, (2007) study revealed that satisfactory distribution of powers and resources among different ethnic groups is essential for the stability of federalism. Anderson, (2008) highlighted that population and size of the units greatly affects the politics of the state. Siddiqua, (2014) explained that Pakistan is a diverse society therefore; federalism was introduced in the country after independence. Khan, (2017) stated in his work that under the constitution of 1956 and 1962 federal system remained continued and autonomy was given to provincial units, but harmony among the units may not be developed. Ahmad, (1990) argued that under the 1973 constitution more autonomy was given to provinces, but suitable political environment might not be promoted among different ethno-lingual groups. Siddiqua, (2009) revealed that regardless of endless debate on provincial autonomy since independence, there is continuing inclination towards centralization. Waseem, (2010) claimed that powers and autonomy given to provinces under all the previous constitutions was not implemented in its proper perspective which is the main cause of resentment among provinces.

Rizwan, (2015) observed that though under 18th Constitutional Amendment more provincial autonomy was given to provinces; but this amendment also brought negative impacts on ethnic minorities of different provinces. Musarat, (2011) found revealed that critics of the amendment viewed this amendment as a move to strengthen the power and position of already dominant group

within provinces. Zafar (2018) argued that for the better management of state resources and improving the quality of governance creation of new units was essential. Siddiqa (2007) claimed that southern region of Punjab had been neglected by both civilian and military governments in the past which created sense of deprivation among its people. Rehman, (1999) highlighted that Saraiki province movement began after abolition of one unit when Bahawalpur was merged in the province of Punjab. Javaid, (2011) explained that Siraiki province movement could not make progress during Zia regime, but after his death, movement was revived by different political parties. PILDAT, (2011) report revealed the fact that South Punjab was producing more income than what was being spent on its development. Chandio, (2009) stated in his work that Saraiki intellectuals are demanding a separate province on ethno-lingual basis. Chaudhry, (2009) revealed that economic imbalance between south and rest of the Punjab caused alienation among the people of South Punjab.

Siddiqa, (2015) argued that the renaming of NWFP as KP under the 18th Constitutional Amendment revived Hazara Province Movement which also changed the political dynamic of the politics of South Punjab. Hussein, (2019) observed that demand of Saraiki Province was included in the 100 days' plan of Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI) government but no practical measures were taken. Langah, (2012) highlighted that Saraiki belt has been neglected by both British and Pakistani leaderships and they have not been given their due right and place in politics. Hussein (2015) explained Bahawalpur was declared as province in 1951 under agreement with Nawab. Javaid, (2016) explained that separate identity, deprivation and under development led to the emergence of Bahawalpur Province Movement. Khan, (2015) stated in his work that ethnicity based politics started in 1970s. Tahir, (2010) study revealed that till 1970s Muhajirs hold important position in state politics.

Rehman, (1995) highlighted that after the subcontinent's partition majority of Muhajirs were settled in Karachi, but they found themselves alien in new environment as there was no cultural commonality between local Sindhis and Muhajirs. Afzal, (1979) explained in his work that One Unit scheme was aimed at limiting the influence of Bengalis, but it is also a fact that this arrangement undermined the autonomy and separate identity of all other groups of West Pakistan. Waseem, (1997) stated argued that Sindhi-Muhajirs conflict began in 1970s when Sindh was divided on rural-urban basis which reduced the previous position of Muhajirs. Siddiqi, (2012) found that in the province of Balochistan, Pakhtun and Brohuis are the two main ethnic minorities. The relation between Baloch and Pakhtun has not been cordial in the past.

ISSUE OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY IN PAKISTAN

Since the establishment of Pakistan, persistent debate has been in progress to grant maximum provincial autonomy to the provinces so as to address the grievances of the units and to promote national unity and social harmony. The first constituent assembly, in its long held discussion of seven years, proposed various solutions to give provincial autonomy to the provinces. Under the Constitution of 1956, bicameral legislature was provided in which both; Eastern and Western wings were given equal representation on parity basis (Siddiqa, 2014). The principle of parity between two wings remained continued under the 1962 constitution; but federal structure under that constitution was only in name and all powers and authorities were practically exercised by the central government. This centralization of powers created a wide gulf between the two wings and

after debacle of 1971, Bangladesh became sovereign state. After the separation of East Pakistan, a new constituent assembly was formed, which ultimately succeeded in framing the 1973 constitution, with the cooperation of all political parties in parliament (Khan H. , 2017).

Unlike the previous two constitutions, federal legislature under the 1973 constitution is bicameral, i.e. consists of two houses; national assembly and senate. Lower chamber is based on popular representation, whereas in upper house, all provinces have equal representation. Second aspect of provincial autonomy is about power sharing mechanism between center and provinces. Theoretically, federalism is a voluntary association of different units, who under agreement surrender some of its powers to federal government i.e. defense, foreign affairs and currency. Under this arrangement, federating units are the real and ultimate source of all powers and authority (Anderson, 2007).

But, unity and harmony could not be developed on strong footing in Pakistan due to ethno-lingual differences. The constitution of 1973 also provided provisions regarding some special institutions to give more voice and weightage to provinces and to ensure provincial autonomy. Council of Common Interest (CCI), National Economic Council (NEC) and National Finance Commission (NFC), are some special institutions in which provinces have been given share in the decision making process at federal level (Ahmad, 1990).

The highly centralized regime of General Musharraf revived the issue of provincial autonomy in the lime light. During Musharraf rule (1999-2008), smaller provinces felt the weight of highly centralized military government; where all decisions were practically taken by 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 rather than decentralization. The central government under all the constitutions controlled all important subjects, departments and revenue heads. This situation certainly increased the feelings of alienation among the people of oppressed regions (Siddiqi, 2009).

The power and authority given to the provinces in all the constitutions has not been exercised in its proper perspective and institutional mechanism provided in different constitutions for strengthening federalism has not been fully implemented. That is the reason that supremacy and domination of federal government still remained in state administration, which is main cause of resentment and alienation between center and provinces on one hand and between ethnic majority and sub-nationalities on the other (Waseem, 2010).

18th Constitutional Amendment

Though the feelings of alienation and distrust between centre and provinces have been removed to some extent under 18th constitutional amendment by decentralizing financial and administrative powers to provincial governments; but it is also a fact that this amendment brought a negative impact on ethnic minorities living in different provinces i.e. Siraiki in Punjab, Mohajirs in Sindh, Pakhtun in Balochistan and Hazarawals (people of Hazara division) in KP. This way 18th amendment remained fail to meet the demands of smaller provinces and the oppressed sub-nationalities (Rizwan, 2015). The critics says that 18th constitutional amendment and 7th NFC award

strengthened position of already dominant political groups in the provinces and has further increased the sense of deprivation and alienation among smaller ethnic groups within different provinces. This environment of mistrust, dissatisfaction and disharmony still present among minority ethnic groups within provinces, where dominant groups still try to impose their hegemony over them (Musarat, 2011).

Furthermore, some regions in the country are rich in natural resources and are largely contributing towards the economy of the state; but having weak and poor socio-economic infrastructure. Therefore, for the promotion of good governance and addressing the problems of the local population on the basis of equality, ethnic groups and sub-nationalities of the backward regions in different provinces are demanding new federating units (Musarat, 2011).

IMPORTANCE AND DEMAND OF CREATION OF NEW PROVINCES

For the promotion of good governance, rule of law, equitable socio-economic development across the country, national integration and for strengthening federalism, Pakistan needs new provinces. The establishment of smaller provinces is the most effective way to address the grievances of the people of deprived regions and backward areas. Secondly, establishment of new provinces along ethnic, linguistic and geographic lines may promote harmony among minority ethnic groups living in different provinces of Pakistan. Thirdly, new provinces have also been accepted as essential means for better management of state resources and it may also ensure the progress and prosperity of all the regions equally (Zafar, 2018).

Fourthly, creation of new provinces may also be helpful for strengthening federalism in Pakistan as happened in India and USA, where the new units have been increased when demanded by the people. Fifthly, creation of new provinces would solve many problems at local level and thus reduce the burden of central government and consequently would enable it to give due attention towards other national issues. Lastly creation of new provinces may also ensure efficient utilization of state resources, which under existing federal structure is not possible (Siddiq, 2009).

Siraiki Province Movement

Since independence, State of Pakistan has been passed through various phases of political and constitutional development. Power has changed hands between civilian and military governments and all these governments failed to provide basic necessities of life to its citizens, especially to those living in the remote and backward regions of the country. The southern region of Punjab province is one such example. The region has been neglected by both military and civilian governments in the past and this tendency is still continued (Siddiq, 2009; Mushtaq & Shaheen, 2017).

It is due to this reason that backward and remote regions of the country failed to get its due share from state resources. Such kind of discrimination in the allocation of developmental resources and backwardness of the area may serve as a battle ground for extremism and terrorism after FATA. Since poverty and ignorance may give birth to militancy and extremism in the region. Socio-economic infrastructure in north and central Punjab is more developed than South Punjab. Major part of military and civil bureaucracy belong to North and Central Punjab. All these trends revealed that it is a perfect condition to develop the sense alienation and hopelessness, which may force the

people of South Punjab to take desperate actions. The result of all these development was slow and gradual rise of social and political mobilization, which later on changed into conflict situation (Khan, Shaheen & Ahmad, 2019)).

The origin of SPM can be traced back in 1970, when one unit was abolished and princely state of Bahawalpur was merged in Punjab province as its division. It has been viewed by many as a violation of the agreement signed by the Nawab of Bahawalpur with federal government in 1955 (Rehman, 1999). However, during the military government of Gen Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88), the SPM could not make significant progress; but after his death the movement once again revived (Javaid, 2011).

There are several grievances of the people of South Punjab, which compelled the political leadership and general masses to start a movement for separate province Some important causes of the movement are as follow:

- Settlement of the people from other parts of the country was not liked by the people of Saraiki region in the past. The process of settlement of the aliens began during British period; when in 1886 construction on Sutlej Valley Project was started and the residential colonies of canal were open for the settlers from other regions. This development was criticized by the local people and their leadership (Mushtaq & Shaheen, 2017).
- Another notable complaint of Saraiki people is that South Punjab produces more income than what is being spent on its development. Bahawalpur is major producer of cotton and income earned from this source, is not being spent on it. There is a feeling and perception that Saraiki belt is being exploited economically. According to some available estimates on poverty, more than 43 per cent of the population of South Punjab is living below poverty line as compared to 27.7 per cent in rest of Punjab. Therefore, major demand of Saraiki political activist and leadership is that, the quota of jobs and services for Saraiki people should be increased (PILDAT, 2011).
- Saraiki intellectuals observe that all provinces are named on ethno-lingual lines. They claim that growing disparity between Central and South Punjab has made the issue inescapable and believed that nobody could object to this demand as Sindhi are living in Sindh, Punjabi in Punjab, Balochi in Balochistan and Pakhtun are living in KP (Chandio, 2009).
- But major factor that contributed to the revival of SPM, is economic imbalance between South and rest of province. The new province would have separate budget, which shall be larger than presently allocated for South Punjab. It is also believed that it will create employment opportunities, improve the efficiency of government and reduce poverty in the region. According to report of International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) that cotton and agriculture industry would get boost and enable people of Saraiki belt to benefit from their own resources (Chaudhry, 2009).

After renaming NWFP as KP under 18th constitutional amendment, Hazara Province Movement was revived which has also given momentum to new provinces movements in other parts of the country. It is fact that this amendment gives more autonomy to provinces; but it is also reality that

it generated identity crisis in the politics of federalism in Pakistan. South Punjab is most backward, underdeveloped and predominately, comprising rural area. It has no separate quota in services and therefore, receives fewer shares in civil and military bureaucracy. This region is also known for lower standard of education and development. The percentage of children who never enrolled in schools is 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 (Siddiqua, 2015).

The Pakistan People Party (PPP) and Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI) have openly announced the support for the creation of Saraiki Province during the election campaign of 2018. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz has also submitted a constitutional amendment bill in national assembly, seeking creation of South Punjab province and Bahawalpur province. This was announced by PML (N) leaders, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, Ahsan Iqbal and Marryum Aurangzeb during a press conference. The Muslim League leaders also stated, that the bill is in accordance with their party manifesto and also in the light of the already passed resolution of Punjab assembly in May, 2012 (Wasim, 2019).

Taj Muhammad Langah and other Saraiki Nationalists leaders have also given impulsive to SPM. Their claim revolves around the separate ethno-linguistic identity of Saraiki people, which was ignored previously by both British and Pakistani government. They believed that Saraiki people have suffered suppression since 1818 when Sikh rulers captured it. It is also claimed that Saraiki is important ethno-linguistic identity that was forcedly merged with Punjab (Langah, 2012).

Bahawalpur Province Movement

Bahawalpur division is consisted of three districts: Bahawalnagar, Bahawalpur and Rahaim Yar Khan. Its total population according to 2017 census is about 11.5 million and its area is 45 thousand square miles. At the time of independence, state of Bahawalpur joined Pakistan. In 1951 agreement was signed between the ruler of the State of Bahawalpur with Government of Pakistan. The first legislative assembly of the state came into being in 1952 and Mukhdom Zada Sayad Hussain Mehmoud was elected as its first Chief Minister (Hussein, 2015).

In order to resolve the issue of the quantum of representation between East and West Pakistan, entire West Pakistan was declared as One Unit. The head of the State of Bahawalpur, Ameer Sardar Muhammad Khan Abbasi signed the document of One Unit. According to that, in case of the dissolution of One Unit, the previous status of the Bahawalpur would be automatically restored. But when military regime of General Yahya Khan, announced the dissolution of One Unit in 1970, Bahawalpur State was merged in the province of Punjab as a division though, it was a clear violation of 1951 agreement (Hussein, 2015).

Since the establishment of Bahawalpur princely state, for 250 years, it retained its internal sovereignty. Even during Sikhs rule in Punjab, Bahawalpur state remained out of their control. After the creation of Pakistan till the establishment of One Unit in 1955, it retained its internal sovereignty. Quest for separate identity, deprivation and under-development led to the emergence

of Bahawalpur province movement in 1970s and its leadership demanded that it should be made sixth federating unit of Pakistan (Javaid , 2016).

The supporters of the BPM argue that Lahore is about 460 km away from Bahawalpur and the people of the region has to face a lot of hardships, when they have to visit Lahore for any reason. Another grievance of the people of Bahawalpur division is about the settlement of the people of other regions in it. The process of settlement has been continuing since the British period. The people of the region are also dissatisfied from the poor condition of the social and economic infrastructures of the division. It is believed that 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 (Hussein, 2015).

Bahawalpur is producing, 40 percent cotton, 22 percent wheat, 25 percent animals, 45 per cent mango, and 19 percent sugarcane and 20 percent rice, of the total production of Punjab province but it has no textile factory. Under the NFC, award, 2012-13 share of Punjab province was 712 billion, but in the budget, only 19 billion was allocated for Bahawalpur. According to ratio of population, the share of Bahawalpur was to be 102 billion (Hussein, 2015; Khan, Shaheen & Ahmad, 2019).

According to the report of Asian Development Bank, 51 percent of the people of the region are below poverty line, but this share is between 26 to 29 percent in the whole country. BPM was again revived in 2008 and during this time former Information Minister Muhammad Ali Durani demanded the restoration of Bahawalpur province. In this connection, an amendment bill was also submitted in Senate for the creation of two provinces in South Punjab. In May 2012, Punjab provincial assembly also passed resolution with regard to the establishment of Bahawalpur province, comprising Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalnagar and Bahawalpur (Hussein, 2015).

Demand of Muhajir Province in Urban Sindh

The ethnicity based antagonism between Sindhi and Muhajir may be traced back to early 1970s decade, especially after the implementation of the Constitution of 1973. Sindhi-Muhajir conflict combined in such a way that generated minorities within minority's problems, which not only affect the politics of Sindh province; but also put deep impacts on the national politics of the country. Under the Constitution of 1973, autonomy was given to four main units and enhanced the legal and political position of units (Khan, 2015).

As a result of new federal structure provided in constitution, the identity recognition of Sindhi increased and it relatively decreased the position of Muhajirs. Only effective route left to the Muhajirs, was to mobilize the people of urban areas for their ethno-linguistic identity and share y both at provincial and central level. Thus mobilization for separate Muhajir province began in early 70s and the real motive behind this mobilization was the loss of their political and economic domination, which they enjoyed before the enforcement of the Constitution of 1973. During this period the demand was raised for the recognition of Muhajirs as fifth nationality. But it is important to note, that the demand of separate province was not made due to socio-economic backwardness as Muhajirs were still well represented in government and private sector (Khan, 2015). In 1973,

Muhajir community constitutes eight percent of the total population of Pakistan; but held 33.5 percent of important positions in civil administration and also having good share in business. By 1974, almost 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 jobs, 4.3 percent position in Secretariat and only 3.6 percent of executive positions in public enterprises (Khan, Shaheen & Alvi, 2020). The Muhajirs were well educated and traditionally held important positions in colonial civil administration. Like Punjabi, they were financially and socially influential as compared to other ethnic group in Pakistan (Amin, 2010).

According to census report 1951, majority of refugees were settled in Karachi and in different parts of Punjab. Immigrants came from East Punjab shared common culture, language and ethnicity with Pakistani Punjab. But on the other hand immigrants who settled in urban Sindh found themselves alien in new environment with no common culture, language, ethnicity with local Sindhi people. (Rehman, 1995).

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan was highly cognized of the role of Muhajirs in Pakistan movement and his centralized style of governance during initial years after independence further strengthened their position. Declaration of Urdu as national language and Karachi as federal capital strengthened their position. Sindh Chief Minister, Ayub Khuro opposed this development and was subsequently removed. The father of Sindh, G M Sayed, publically stated that Sindhi became victim of Muhajir-Punjabi imperialism (Syed, 1949).

The One Unit scheme was designed to counter the balance numerically superiority of East Pakistan. Thought it was primarily aimed at limiting the influence of Bengalis; but this arrangement undermined the autonomy and distinctive identity of all other ethnic groups in West Pakistan. The Sindhi Awami Mahaz headed by G. M. Sayad was the leading opponent front of one-unit scheme which formed anti-one-unit front with the co-operation of all other nationalist political parties and groups of Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan and Bahawalpur and started protest movement (Afzal, 1979).

The result of 1970 election clearly reflected this ethno-nationalist division which badly affected not only the politics of Sindh; but also national politics. After the separation of East Pakistan, Pakistan Peoples' Party came to power and all the socio-economic plans made by new government at national and provincial level were perceived by urban population of Sindh as ethnically driven and meant only to demote them from their previous position. Under new scheme, ethnic quota system in services was introduced along urban and rural line and in this arrangement urban Sindh got 40 percent share while rural Sindh got 60 percent (Waseem,, 1997).

At the same time PPP government also announced nationalization policy which badly affected the big industrialists. Majority of such factories were owned and managed by Karachi based Muhajirs tycoons. Quota system in educational institutions greatly increased the opportunities for rural Sindhi population at the expense of urban population. Most of the policies and reforms were gradually implemented; but most immediate and visible ethnic contestation between Sindhi and Muhajirs revolved around on the question of language. In 1972 Sindh provincial assembly passed a language bill and declared Sindhi as provincial language. But language bill was severely criticized by Muhajirs within and outside Sindh assembly (Amin, 2010). Resultantly, Muhajirs demanded

more representation in provincial administration and demanded that Karachi should be given the status of a province. They also demanded that the office of Governor should be given to Muhajirs and existing share of Muhajirs in federal and provincial services must not be reduced (Right, 1991).

18th constitutional amendment massively changed the federal structure of Pakistan and decentralized political, economic and legislative power to provincial governments. This amendment though assigned more power and authority to federating units, but it also created ethnic conflicts and problem of minorities within minorities evolved and sub-nationalities revived their separate province movements in Punjab, KP and Sindh provinces (PILDAT, 2010).

Pakhtun Grievances in Balochistan

Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan in term of territory covering about 44 per cent of Pakistan landmass, but economically, it is backward as compared to other provinces. Baluchi, Brohui and Pashto are three major languages of the provinces. Brohui and Pakhtun are two main ethnic minorities in the province. Pakhtun population inhabit in North-Western part of Balochistan which is attached with the boarder of KP province. The Baloch-Pakhtun relations have not been remained cordial in the past (Siddiqi, 2012). In 1970s, Achakzai group decided to leave National Awami Party and formed Pakhtunkhwa National Awami Party (PNAP). National Awami Party at that time was headed by Abdul Wali Khan. It is interesting to note that NAP-JUI coalition government was primarily a Pakhtun-Baloch alliance and most of the JUI representatives were from Pakhtun populated areas (Ahmad, 1989).

On the other hand, on the question of Pakhtun demand, the Balochi have never claimed Pakhtuns dominated regions as an integral part of Balochistan and they are not against the creation of Pakhtun province. At the time of the, establishment of Balochistan State Union, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan called for that Pashto-speaking areas should be merged with NWFP (Dawn, 1972). In 2012 PNAP, held a meeting in Quetta in which the head of PNAP Mahmud Khan Achakzai, warned that if Pakhtuns' equal status with Balochs was not accepted then Pakhtun would be compelled to articulate the demand for separate Pakhtun province. In the province of Balochistan, an organization Pakistan National Movement (PNM) demanded Pakhtun province comprising of districts of Zhob and Sibbi. Besides Pakhtuns, some Balochi tribes are also in favor of the restoration of Chief Commissioner Province. The Chief Commissioner Province was established by British in 1879; however, it was abolished in 1970 (Husseini, 2015).

Hazara Province Movement

The people of Hazara division were consciousness about their separate identity and socio-economic rights even before the establishment of Pakistan and due to this reason soon after the creation of Pakistan, some intellectuals, analysts and lawyers demanded separate Hazara province. Hazara division consist of eight districts and according to the latest census, its population is about seven million. Hazara is located at the East of river Indus which separate it from Pakhtun majority areas (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

Hazara was made part of Punjab in 1849 and remained so till 1901, when it became part of newly created North West Frontier Province (NWFP, now renamed as KP. During Pakistan movement,

leadership of Hazara supported the cause of Muslim League and they bitterly opposed the ideology of Khudahi Khidmatgar Tehreek (KKT0 founded and led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Mustafa, 2020).

Political differences existed between Pakhtun nationalists and leadership of Hazara region. During the independence movement people of Hazara fully supported Pakistan Movement led by All India Muslim League (AIML) while KKT supported supported the idea of a united Inida as supported and demanded by All India National Congress (AINC). In the elections of 1945-46, AIML contested the election in the name of Pakistan, but it was defeated in Pakhtun majority areas but won all the seats reserved for Muslims in Hazara. Again during 1947 refrendum in NWFP, people of Hazara region cast their vote in favour of Pakistan (Haroon, 2020).

After independence it was expected that Pakhtun leadership would change its attitude, but it did not happen which gradually strengthened separate identity consciousness among the people of Hazara division. The demand of separate Hazara province first emerged in 1948, when lawyers, intellectuals and political activists under the leaderships of Muhammad Iqbal, started a movement to establish Hazara province. Later, Mufti Idrees and his followers started Kohistan province movement which included not only entire Hazara region, but some parts of mountainous regions of tehsil Muree as well (Kamran, 2019).

The establishment of Awami National Party (ANP) by Abdul Wali Khan in 1980s and its demand of renaming of NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa developed negative reaction in Hazara division and strengthened the separate identity consciousness among the people of Hazara division. Therefore, Malik Muhammad Asif Advocate and Qazi Muhammad Azhar established Hazara Qoumi Mahaz (HQM) in 1987 for the protection of separate identity and culture of the people of Hazara division. Later, in 1992, HQM included in its objectives the establishment of Hazar Province. On 22 January, 1992 resolution for the establishment of Hazara Province was moved in NWFP provincial Assembly by elected representatives of Hazara division (Azhar, 2017).

In 1997 coalition govt of PML-N and ANP came in to power in NWFP and in November 1997, a resolution for renaming of NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa was passed by Provincial Assembly. However, all the members of assembly belonging to Hazara division bycotted the voting process. Later, ANP leaderships decided to celebrate the victory of the resolution in Abbottabad. In response to it HQM started protests against it, and resolved to counter the movement on the soil of Hazara division (Azhar, 2017).

Later, a meeting was arranged between District administration and leaderships of HQM and it was decided that ANP would be allowed only indoor programe in Town Hall and would not allow rally on the main road. But later, ANP arranged rally on main road which was violation of the agreement reached between HQM leaderships and district administration. Therefore, leaderships of HQM headed by Malik Asif decided to counter the rally and as a result clashes started between ANP and HQM and many activists form both side got injuries. However, rally was dispursed due to firng and ANP leaderships had to quit the city (Azhar, 2017).

Renaming of NWFP as KP under the 18th constitutional amendment was criticized and against this development protest and demonstration started in which all segments of the society fully participated. The and movement for the establishment of Hazara province was again revived and Baba Haider Zaman was nominated as the chairman to lead the movement. The leaderships of Hazara province movement held rallies and demonstrations in all the cities of Hazara division. The movement got further intensification after the tragic incident in Abbottabad on 10th April, 2010, in which ten people lost their lives for the cause of Hazara province (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

As explained earlier that separate identity consciousness emerged in Hazara division as a result of prejudice and ethnic politics of the Pakhtun leaderships. It is stance of the leadership of HPM that region is rich in various types of natural resources essential for economic prosperity, but it is less developed, and there is a general perception that all successive Pakhtun dominated governments are responsible for it (Musarat , 2011). Some important factors behind HPM are as follow:

1. The movement is justified on socio-economic grounds as Hazara division is fertile with all kinds of natural resources and these unexplored resources may be utilized for the development of socio-economic infrastructure and development of tourism, but the region has been deprived by all successive provincial governments of KP from their due share in jobs, education, health and development in other field (Qamar, 2019).
2. Industrialization paly a key role in the development of the any area. Peaceful environment is vital for investment in industrial sector. Moreover, the region is also important due its geo-strategic position, espically after the beganning of CEPC which is passing through its five districts. But due to carelessness by past governments, the number of running industrial units have been decreased.
3. People of Hazara division particularly those living in upper part of Hazara like Battgram, Kohistan and Torghar face administrative inconvenience. Long distance from capital city Peshawar cause carelessness on the part of provincial administration and it became difficult to attain development on the basis of equality in all parts of the Province. Socio-economic problems and administrative inconvenience are important causes of alienation among the people of Hazara division (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).
4. Since independence, identity, culture and language of the people of Hazara division has been neglected by all governments in the province. Hazara Division is located on the east of River Indus and having separate identity and culture from the rest of the province. It is the stance of leaderships of HPM that Hazara has no identity as in Pakhtun regions they are called as Punjabi while in Punjab they are called Pathan. Therefore, they want to get rid from this environment of identity crisis and want Hazara province for the preservation of their separate identity (Zaman, 2017).

Though HPM has lost its momentum, but it does not mean that it cannot be revived again. Sardar Muhammad Yousif (Ex-Federal Minister) is currently leading HPM and in January, 2020, all parties' conference (APC) was held in Abbottabad in which it was decided to hold public meetings in different districts of Hazara division and also in other parts of the country. But COVID-19 pandemic

hampered the process. When new provinces will be established in other province, HPM has a potential to re-surge with same pace as happened after renaming of the province.

CONCLUSION

The demand of new provinces in different regions is a new challenge to the Pakistani federation. Since independence, theoretically there is federal system in the country; but practically powers have been concentrated in the hands of central government. Although under the 1973 Constitution, more administrative and financial autonomy was given to provinces, but unluckily it failed to promote harmony and unity in the country. In order to remove the grievances of smaller units, 18th constitutional amendment was brought in 2010 and more autonomy was given to units. But it is also a fact that this amendment brought negative impact on ethnic-minorities in different provinces and it was criticized and not liked in different regions i.e. Siraiki in Punjab, Muhajirs in Sindh, Pakhtun in Balochistan and Hazara division in KP.

Political leaderships of these regions now demand that new provinces may be created in order to remove the backwardness and economic disparity of the regions. The establishment of new provinces is essential to promote unity and to bring efficiency in governance, but decision should not be taken in haste. There is a need to form national commission to develop consensus of all stakeholders and also to consider the aspiration of people of the areas through referendum but the ultimate objective should be to strengthen federalism and not point scoring.

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