

## IDENTITY CRISIS AND POLITICS OF ETHNICITY IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF HAZARA PROVINCE MOVEMENT

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*There is hardly any state in the world, having cultural and lingual homogeneity. Pakistan is a culturally diverse country having multiple identity groups; therefore, after independence federalism was introduced as a mechanism to get unity in diversity, but ethno-lingual diversity among provinces and sub-nationalities within provinces hampered the process of national integration in the country. Generally, ethno-lingual groups come into conflict with each other when they receive economic disparities and political inequalities. Pakistan has been facing the consequences of ethnocentrism and crisis of identity since its independence. Despite adopting a sound federal structure after 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment, the emergence of ethnic conflicts and identity crisis could not be minimized. All existing political parties are popular in their specific region and are represented by their respective nationalist groups and they always articulate economic and political powers around ethno-lingual basis. The main focus of present study is to examine the challenge of ethnicity and identity crisis in different regions of country and its impacts on state politics.*

### INTRODUCTION

We live in the age of diversity. Differences exist among nation states and within a state on multiple basis; ethno-linguistic identity is one among them. Centralization of powers and increasing domination of certain identity groups caused a serious resistance among small ethnic groups in many countries (Kolker, 1987). Federalism is a modern device to harmonize and accommodate local autonomy demands with the necessity of preserving the unity of the state. This system is suitable for diverse and heterogeneous societies because under this system matters of common interest such as defense, foreign affairs, internal security and currency are given to central government, while matters of regional and local importance are entrusted to regional governments (Anderson, 2008).

As Indian society was comprised of many nations and ethnic groups, therefore, British rulers decided to introduce a federal system in India which remains continue in post-independence period too. Pakistan owes a heterogeneous society, therefore, after independence, federal system remained continued (Abbasi, 2012). Pakistan has

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experimented three constitutions since its establishment and all of them were of federal nature, but they lacked provincial autonomy in their true spirit that produced resentment and a sense of deprivation among the people of small and backward provinces (Ahmad, 1990). It happened due to pressing the demands of provincial autonomy raised by various political parties and smaller provinces. In 2010, through 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment more autonomy was given to provinces. Though it was a positive step towards provincial autonomy, but it is also a fact that this amendment brought about negative impacts on ethnic minorities and sun-nationalities within provinces (Musarat, 2011).

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Abbasi (2010) argued that most of modern states are heterogeneous in nature and having diverse population which may be efficiently managed under federal system because this system is based on the principle of division of powers between center and provinces. Kolker (1987) found that conflicts, contradiction and diversity exist within and among states on the basis of ethnicity, culture and language and one main cause of this diversity in most of the cases is the domination of larger ethnic group over political mosaic of the country. Anderson (2008) in his work explained that federalism is an effective mechanism to harmonize and adjust local autonomy with the necessity of preserving the unity of state, because under this system matters of common and national importance are administered by the central government while matters of local and regional importance are exercised by the regional governments.

Zulfiqar (2012) highlighted that federalism was introduced by British Government before the partition, which remained continue even after independence. The study further revealed that Pakistan is ethnically diverse society and comprising of many ethnic and diverse groups, but administratively divided into four provinces. Ahmad (1990) stated that since independence Pakistan had made three constitutions and all of them are federal in nature, but all of these lack provincial autonomy in true sense which caused to create resentment and sense of deprivation among smaller provinces and weak segments of the society especially among the people of backward regions. Musarat (2011) highlighted that due to the pressing demands from smaller provinces 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment was made in 2010 and more provincial autonomy was given to the provinces, but this amendment produced a negative impact on ethnic minorities in existing provinces such as Saraikis in Punjab, Muhajars in Sindh and people of Hazara division in KP province. Here study further highlighted that especially, renaming process of NWFP as KP was not accepted by Hazarawals and their leadership called it an ethnic move on the part of ANP. Therefore for the protection of their separate identity they have started a movement for the creation of separate Hazara province.

Khan (2015) revealed that all major Pakhtun tribes are not in favor of Baloch nationalist movement; rather they are more interested in the promotion and development of their

own distinct and separate identity. Akmal (1993) explained that people of Hazara division were consciousness about their separate identity even before the establishment of Pakistan. His study explored that in 1980s Awami National Party demanded renaming of NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa and as a reaction against the ethnic politics of ANP, Malik Asif established Hazara Qoumi Mahaz (HQM) to protect the separate identity of Hazarawals. Azhar (2017) in direct communication stated that HQM later on in 1992, included in its objective the establishment of Hazara province and for the achievement of this objective, a movement was launched in all the districts of Hazara division. Zaman (2017) stated that renaming of NWFP as KP was an ethnic move made by ANP; though they have right to promote their identity, but Hazarawals also have the right to protect their unique identity which is not possible without the establishment of separate Hazara province.

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The present research work is qualitative and descriptive in nature. For data collection purpose, both primary and secondary sources have been employed. Primary sources include the direct communication with Hazara intellectuals, politicians and political activists; whereas secondary data has been collected from different books, research journals, newspaper periodicals and internet.

For the interpretation and analysis of data, thematic technique of data analysis has been applied which revealed that the politics of federalism mostly revolves around ethnicity as this system is capable enough to accommodate and adjust the requirements of a diverse society. The analysis and verification of data reinvigorated that political parties and their leadership especially in developing countries promote ethnic and regional nationalism to articulate economic and political demands. The study reveals one most important fact about national politics of Pakistan that since independence instead of promoting national unity, the politics of ethno-regionalism has been deliberately promoted by all the stakeholders for achieving their own vested interests. The study further highlights that One-Unit scheme, 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment, hegemonic and biased attitude adopted by the dominant ethnic groups, has created a sense of alienation and consciousness among Hazarawals about their separate identity and forced them to demand for the creation of new provinces so as to protect their separate identity.

### **FEDERLAISM AND POLITICS OF ETHNICITY**

Many powerful racial and linguistic groups had been capturing the weaker communities and their territories by force, but this tendency in modern era has undergone tremendous change because of the rise of nationalism among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which compelled the imperialist powers to leave colonies and give them independence (Khan, 2015). Modern states are too large in respect of population and territory that they may not be administered efficiently by one central government, therefore, the division and decentralization of powers on regional basis has become

inevitable. On the basis of the concept of centralization and decentralization, modern political systems may be classified into two categories; unitary vs. federal (Khan, 2015). In unitary system, all powers and authority is constitutionally exercised by one central government. For the diverse and heterogeneous societies, federal system is appropriate and desirable; because under federal arrangement unity in diversity can be managed by decentralization and division of powers between center and provinces (Anderson, 2008).

But one of the main challenges faced by federal system is that there is no full-fledged theory of federalism and this lacuna has been acknowledged by leading intellectuals. They believed that the core principles of federalism i.e. division and sharing of powers and autonomy of the units has been applied in different ways under different social and political environment (Burgess, 2006). There are many federal states such as Pakistan and Nigeria, where federation has failed to regulate and properly manage the ethnic conflicts. At the same time there are several multi-ethnic federations such as India, USA, Canada and Switzerland who have successfully managed ethno-nationalist conflicts and has strengthened federalism (Adeney, 2007).

### **Concept of Ethnicity: Operationalization**

Ethnicity is a sense owing by a distinctive group having common culture, language, religion, kinships, race etc. Ethnic groups having common sense of identity exist as sub groups in a diverse society. The members of these groups differ with regard to certain cultural characteristics from other groups of the society. Ethnic division of society may be absolutely vital to organize a working and stable political system (Robertson, 1985). This fact is historically proven that people express their prejudice, hatred and feelings of alienation towards other groups on the basis of ethnicity; history of federalism is filled with various examples especially in developing countries (Yang, 2000).

### **POLITICS OF ETHNICITY AND FEDERALISM IN PAKISTAN**

Today there are more than 200 nation states around the world and out of these about 28 states have adopted federal system of government. Each federal state has its own history regarding its origin and development. In many cases, originally the state has centralized administrative structure, but public pressure, language crisis and economic disparity forced them to decentralize powers and adopt federalism (Anderson, 2008). In the developing countries like Pakistan, where dozens of ethnic and linguistic groups reside, but few are more dominant and others have less or no influence in the decision making process in state administration. An attitude of ethno-centrism has been developed in Pakistan under which the identity and culture of major four dominant groups is being promoted, while the ethnic identity of the weaker groups has not been given due attention, which is a major cause of disharmony, conflicts, sense of deprivation and many other social, economic and political problems in Pakistan (Mustafa, 2020).

### **Saraiki Cultural and Linguistic Movement**

The origin and evolution of separate Saraiki identity can be traced back to the decade of 1970s when One-Unit was abolished and princely state of Bahawalpur was merged in Punjab province. This decision has been viewed by the leaderships of the Saraiki belt as a violation of the agreement signed by the ruler of Bahawalpur State with federal government of Pakistan in 1955. According to that agreement, when One-Unit scheme would be abolished, the former status of the State of Bahawalpur will also be restored. In the beginning, it was initiated as a cultural and linguistic movement, but later, Saraiki leadership began to demand separate Saraiki province (Rehman, 1999). Saraiki political leaderships and intellectuals are of the view that all the provinces should be based upon ethno-linguistic lines such as Sindhis are living in Sindh province, Punjabis are in the province of Punjab, Balochis are in Balochistan and Pakhtuns are in KP (Chandio, 2009). Under 18th constitutional amendment, NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. This decision gave momentum to the politics of ethnicity in Pakistan as new ethnic name was not liked by Hazarawals and they started Hazara province movement. This amendment has changed the political dynamics of new provinces movements in other regions on ethno-linguistics basis including Saraiki belt (Siddiqi, 2015).

### **Identity Crisis in Urban Sindh**

The ethnic based conflict and antagonism between Muhajir and Sindhi began immediately after independence due to the dominant position of Muhajir community in the state politics and business. The situation was further complicated after the implementation of 1973 constitution in which autonomy was given to provinces which badly affected the position of Muhajir in state administration and economy. Sindhi-Muhajir conflict developed minorities within minority's problems in Pakistan, which not only affected the politics of Sindh province, but also put deep impact on the national politics of the country. Federal structure under new constitution has increased the visibility and identity of Sindhis and decreased the position and identity of Muhajirs. After this development, consciousness about separate identity among Muhajir community began to evolve and resultantly their leadership decided to mobilize their community for separate Muhajir province as fifth nationality in Pakistan (Khan, 2015).

After the division of Punjab province at the time of independence in 1947, millions of Muslims migrated from India and they settled in urban Sindh and West Punjab. The influx of immigrants came to Pakistani Punjab shared common culture, language and ethnicity. On the other hand, the immigrants who settled in Karachi and Hyderabad (urban Sindh) found themselves completely alien in new environment having no commonality of culture, language and ethnicity. Muhajirs were economically and politically enjoying a dominant position in state administration along with Punjabis. All this became possible due to the high literacy rate, experience in business and trade and more importantly their struggle and sacrifices for the creation of Pakistan (Rehman, 2006).

Later declaration of Urdu as national language and Karachi as federal capital further improved the position of Muhajir community. However, Sindhi Nationalist including the then Chief Minister criticized and opposed this development. The prominent Sindhi nationalist leader G. M. Syed publically stated that Sindh has become a victim of Punjabi-Muhajir imperialism (Syed, 1949). Later One-Unit scheme was announced in order to limit the influence of Bengalis in state politics, but Sindhi Awami Mahaz headed by G. M. Syed criticized this development and they formed anti-One Unit front with the support and co-operation of all other nationalist and regional political parties, started protest movement and raised voice against undermining separate identity of all other ethnics of the country (Afzal, 1979; Khan, Shaheen & Alvi, 2020).

After the separation of East Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party came to power and all social and economic plans made by new government both at federal and provincial level perceived by Muhajirs community as ethnically driven only meant to demote them from their previous position. Under new scheme, ethnic quota system in civil services was introduced along urban-rural basis and under this arrangement urban Sindh got 40 percent share while rural Sindh got 60 percent share (Waseem, 1997). At the same time PPP government also announced the policy of nationalization of key industrial units, which badly affected the big industrialists, which were mostly owned and managed by Karachi based Muhajir capitalists. Both civil service and industrial reforms badly affected the position of Muhajir community which they were enjoying before the implementation of 1973 constitution (Tahir, 2010). In 1972, Sindh Assembly passed a language bill and declared Sindhi as provincial language which was severely criticized by Muhajirs both within and outside the Provincial assembly of Sindh. During the passage of the bill, house was clearly divided on ethno-linguistic basis and even Urdu speaking members of PPP withdrew their support from the bill and staged a protest. Resultantly, Sindhi-Muhajirs communal riots broke out in Karachi and Hyderabad (Tahir, 2010).

### **Identity and Ethnic crisis in Balochistan**

In Balochistan province, Pakhtun are in minority and they are living in the north-western part of Balochistan which is attached with the border of KP province and Afghanistan. Districts Quetta, Loralai and Pishene are Pakhtun populated regions of the Balochistan. Baloch- Pakhtun relation has not been remained cordial in the past and the antagonism between two communities caused much harm to province. The most important development took place in Pakhtun dominated areas was the establishment of Pakhtun Brotherhood (Waror Pashtun) in 1954 by Abdual Samad Khan Achakzai. The chief aim of this organization was to organize Pakhtun of Balochistan and to put pressure on government to establish a separate Pakhtun province comprising of Pakhtun majority regions (Siddiqi, 2012). In 2012, Pakhtun National Awami Party (PNAP) held meeting in Quetta and warned that if Pakhtun' equal status with Baloch was not recognized then we



would be compelled to launch movement for the creation of Pakhtun province for the protection of our separate identity (Hussein, 2015).

Similar tendency of separatism even exist among the Baloch Nationalists as Balochistan is the biggest province of Pakistan in respect of territory and it possesses huge deposits of precious minerals and other resources, but it is still backward. Most of the Baloch nationalist leadership trace the origin of Balochistan conflict to the accession of the region with Pakistan in 1948 which sowed the seed of mistrust between center and province. Baluchistan's former chief minister Sardar Attaullah Mengal publically stated that Punjab has dominated the entire federal structure and other smaller provinces particularly Balochistan has remained disadvantaged since independence (Sajjad, 2012). Main issues and problems identified by Baloch nationalist are separate identity, less representation in different state institutions and economic underdevelopment. For the achievement of its objective in the beginning, negotiation started with federal government, but after military operations during Musharraf period and death of Akbar Bugti, the situation has become much complicated and separatist organization has started movement for the liberation of Baluchistan which is fully backed by India (Janmahmad, 1989).

#### **IDENTITY CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG HAZARAWALS IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA**

Hazara Division is located in the north-east of KP province and consisting of more than six million population living in six districts of the region. Major part of Hazara Division is hilly terrain and the region is backward economically. According to the historical record, the old name of Hazara was Abisaries. Abisaries was the rulers of Punch (Kashmir) and this area was given to them by Sikander-e- Azam. From second to twelfth century, the region remained under Hindu rulers. In the thirteen century, the region was captured by Turk and to strengthen rule and protect it from possible aggression, King Tamur in 1398 stationed permanent regiment comprising of 10,000 soldiers from Fariq tribe of Turk near Haripur (Panni, 2016) When Turk soldiers came to bazar in Haripur, they were called by local people as Hazaree and later on Hazree changed to Hazara. After Turkish decline, Hazara remained under the control of Duranni and Sikhs rulers for many years. In 1849 British captured the region from Sikhs rulers and later, for some political consideration they detached Hazara from Punjab province and merged it with NWFP in 1901 which was Pakhtun dominated province, but this merger was resisted by the different local tribes living in Hazara because there was no ethno-lingual and cultural homogeneity between Pakhtun and people living in Hazara (Sooz, 2019).

There is historical rivalry and political differences between Pakhtun and Hazarawals. During Pakistan movement; leaderships of Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek (KKT) headed by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan supported the stance of Indian National Congress and opposed the partition of India. On the other hand, political leadership of Hazara region fully supported Muslim League's political struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. In the

elections of 1945-46, Muslim League contested the election on one-point agenda and that was the establishment of Pakistan, but it was defeated in Pakhtun dominated areas of NWFP. However, people of Hazara supported Muslim League and all reserved seats for Muslim were won by Muslim League (Mustifa, 2020).

During the referendum, again the leadership of Khudai Khidmatgar articulated the demand to establish a separate independent Pakhtunistan, but the demand was not accepted by British govt. Then as its reaction, Ghaffar Khan and his followers decided to boycott the referendum and for this purpose they started anti-referendum campaign through out NWFP, but despite their call of boycott, referendum was held in the province and majority of the population cast their vote in favour of division of India and to join Pakistan. The percentage of votes in favour to join Pakistan was highest in Hazara Division where 83,269 votes were cast in favour of division of India and only 387 votes were cast against division (Electoral History of NWFP, 2012).

### **Identity Crisis in Hazara after Independence**

Feelings of prejudice and dissatisfaction gradually began to emerge in the minds of the people of Hazara region largely due to the negative ethnic politics of Khudai Khidmatgar. After independence, it was expected that now they would change their negative and biased attitude, but majority group especially the leaderships of Awami National Party made no sincere efforts to accommodate and remove the grievances of the people of Hazara Division, whenever they came into power (Ahmad, 2020). In 1948, a movement was started by intellectuals, lawyers and journalists under the leadership of Muhammad Iqbal and they demanded that Hazara should be made a separate province so as to protect their separate identity and to bring prosperity in the region. In 1957-58, Mufti Muhammad Idrees (Ex Minister) and his associates started Kohistan province movement and demanded that new province include not only Hazara region, but some part of Tehsil Muree of Punjab should also be made part of it (Kamran, 2019).

In the decade of 1970s, some prominent poets, intellectuals and lawyers formed an association to protect and develop Hindko language and literature and named it, 'Hindko Batool Gerga'. Later, they demanded that Hindko language should be recognised as a regional language and should be given same status as is given to other regional languages in the constitution of 1973. During the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88), three political developments took place, which gave fuel to ethnic politics in Pakistan especially in the province of NWFP. Firstly in the beginning of 1980s, Hazara Student Federation was established by Qazi Muhammad Azhar in Karachi university and its allied colleges as a reaction against the conflict and prejudice attitude adopted by Pakhtun Student Federation against the students belonging to Hazara division. Later Hazara Student Federation also organized itself in all the colleges of Hazara division (Azhar, 2017).



Another important political development during this period was establishment of Awami National Party (ANP) in 1986 by Abdul Wali Khan (Son of Ghaffar Khan) and he demanded that NWFP should be renamed as Pakhtunkhwa, which created ethnic crisis the province. It is important to note that Khudai Khidmatgar remained in power before and after independence, but the name Pakhtunkhwa was firstly heard after the establishment of ANP. The establishment of ANP and its demand to rename NWFP also created separate identity consciousness among Hazarawals and forced them to remain vigilant about their identity. Therefore, Malik Asif established Hazara Qoumi Mahaz (HQM) in 1987 for the protection of rights, interest and separate identity of the people of Hazara division and in the same year Hindko Batool Gerga was also merged in HQM on the request of the its leaderships (Azhar, 2017).

In the beginning, the main objectives of HQM were limited to protect the rights and interests Hazarawals and to develop and protect Hindko language, culture and literature, but in 1992, its leaderships decided to include in its objectives the establishment of Hazara province. This news was being published in all the national and local newspapers on 7th January, 1992 and after that this news spread rapidly in all the districts of Hazara division and people of all the districts resolved to support the demand of Hazara province. Same year, resolution for the establishment of Hazara province was moved in the Provincial assembly of NWFP by elected representatives of the region including Qasim Shah, Faiz Muhammad, Sabir Shah, Yousif Trend and some others. (Qureshi., 2019).

### **Resolution of Pakhtunkhwa in NWFP Assembly**

General Elections were held in the country in 1997 and coalition government of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz and Awami National Party was formed both at center and in the province of NWFP and in the same year resolution to rename NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa was passed by the assembly. But all the members belonging to Hazara division including Chief Minister Sardar Mehtab Ahmad boycotted the voting process and declared it as an ethnic move. After the passage of resolution, the top leaderships of ANP such as Bashir Balour, Farid Taufan and others decided to celebrate the victory of Pakhtunkhwa resolution in Abbottabad and this decision was a deliberate attempt on part of ANP leaderships to play with the emotion of Hazarawals and was just like to incite ethnic politics in the region (Nalotha, 2020).

In response to this development, the leaderships of HQM decided to start protest against this immature, bias and prejudice political behaviour by the leaderships of ANP and they also resolved not to allow the said program on the soil of Hazarawals. Meanwhile, meeting was arranged between the leaderships of HQM and district administration Abbottabad and it was decided in the meeting that ANP leaderships would be allowed to do their program at Town Hall and rally will not be allowed on the main road of the city. But later, ANP leaderships managed to arrange the rally in main bazaar of Abbottabad which

was clear violation of the agreement reached between the leadership of HQM with district administration (Azhar, 2017). After hearing the news Malik Asif and his followers decided to counter the rally and as a result clashes started between HQM and ANP political activists in main bazar of Abbottabad. However, rally dispersed due to firing and at the same time news also spread in the city that ANP activists opened fire on the activist of HQM, resultantly thousand of the the people rushed towards main bazar with weapons. But in order to avoid further clashes the district administration helped out the leaderships of ANP in safe flee from the spot in private vehicles and even the arranged program in Town Hall could not be held (Azher, 2017).

### **Renaming of NWFP as KP under 18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment**

After 2008 general elections, PPP and ANP formed government at center and in the province of NWFP. New government brought about 18th constitutional amendment in 2010, under which many changes have been made in the constitution including the renaming of NWFP as KP province. However, change in the name of province was not accepted by Hazarawals and they once again revived Hazara province movement. But this time HPM was supported by all the factions of the society and Haider Zaman Baba was nominated as its Chairman to lead the movement. After the tragic incident of 12<sup>th</sup> April, 2010, in which ten people lost their lives for the cause of Hazara province, the movement got momentum in all part of Hazara division. The movement became so intense that it also incited the leaderships of sub-nationalities of other provinces and they also revived separate province movements in their respective regions. Later, leaderships of all new provinces movements formed co-ordination committee to launch joint struggle for the establishment of new provinces in Pakistan and Baba Haider Zaman was nominated as its chief coordinator (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

Although, the leaderships of HPM failed to contest and win the election of 2013 from one platform, but all groups contested the election on the slogan of Hazara province because the demand of the province is rooted deeply in the hearts of the people of Hazara division. As stated above that feelings of separate identity consciousness gradually developed among the people of the region due to biased and prejudice attitude adopted by majority ethnic group who failed to accommodate and remove the genuine demands and grievances of the people of the region. It is stance of the leaderships of HPM that the region is rich in various types of natural resources, but provincial government from Peshawar does not intend to develop them and they believed that the Pakhtun leaderships is responsible for the backwardness of their region.

### **Factors behind separate Identity consciousness in Hazara Division**

Some important factors and causes of separate identity consciousness among Hazarawals are as follow:

1. Hazara division is rich in all types of natural resources, essential for bringing economic prosperity and is largely contributing in the economy of Province, but is economically weak and backward especially, the upper part of division is lacking basic facilities. The region has been ignored by the successive governments of the province and it has been denied from its due share in jobs, education, health and development of other infrastructure (Qamar, 2019).
2. Important cause of alienation and dissatisfaction among Hazarawals is administrative inconvenience. As major part of Hazara division is consist of hilly terrain and the residents of the area especially those living in upper part are facing administrative hardships to reach capital city Peshawar as it takes about six to eight hours to reach capital city (Khan., 2020).
3. Since the establishment of Pakistan, dominant ethnic groups in the province had been neglected the grievances of smaller and weak groups and positive and sincere efforts have not been made for the protection of their culture, language and identity. Establishment of Hindko Batool Gerga, Hazara Student Federation and Hazara Qoumi Mahaz was an outcome of the separate identity consciousness among Hazarawals (Azhar, 2017).
4. Ethnic and identity crisis in all backward regions including Hazara division is increased in the country. In all over the world; new units have been created with the passage of time for good governance but in Pakistan .the number of units has been decreased instead of increasing as some princely states have been merged in existing provinces.
5. Identity consciousness among the people of Hazara division lies in bias, irresponsible, prejudice and immature political attitude of ANP leaderships. It is stance of the people of Hazara division that Hazara has no identity as in Pakhtun dominated areas they are called Punjabi (Punjabian) while in Punjab, they are called Pakhtun (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, 2019).

## CONCLUSION

To sum up the discussion, it may be concluded that federalism is suitable for diverse states, because under this arrangement diversity could be managed by the division and decentralization of powers and authority. It was due to this reason that federalism was introduced in Pakistan after independence. But unluckily provisions of the constitution related to federal structure could not be implemented in its true spirit which caused resentment and sense of deprivation among smaller provinces and sub-nationalities within existing provinces. No doubt state authorities made efforts to manage diversity, crisis and tensions by giving more autonomy to provinces through 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment. But it is also a fact it also brought negative impact on ethnic minorities in different provinces particularly in Hazara division where new ethnic name was criticised and as a reaction HPM again revived and this movement also given impetus to other new province movements in other provinces. The ethnic, language and regional differences still exist in the country which have destabilized federal structure and also developed prejudice and hatred in smaller and weak groups of society against the domination of big and powerful

ethnic groups. It is in this environment that regional based political parties and ethnic groups articulate economic and political demands around ethno-linguistic and regional basis. It is not possible to eliminate such tendencies completely, however, it may be reduced through political and economic empowerment of the weak and vulnerable identity groups.

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