

Movement for Creation of Hazara Province: Genesis, Causes and Challenges

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Abstract:

This study aims to survey the genesis, evolution and causes of the movement demanding creation of Hazara Province comprising 8 districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). The origin of the demand for a separate province based on distinct identity of the people of Hazara can be traced back to the time of independence of Pakistan. However, the demand could not become popular till the renaming of the province in 2010. The paper explores the political, economic, social and cultural factors behind the demand. The study is mainly based on qualitative research which employed thematic analysis method to scrutinize the data collected through primary and secondary sources. Besides available official reports, data was also collected through semi structured interviews of the target groups such as political leaders, intellectuals and activists affiliated with movement for Hazara province, selected through purpose sampling. The study affirms the assumption that the demand for Hazara province movement is based on the separate identity consciousness of the people as well as their sense of political alienation, economic deprivation, social exclusion and cultural estrangement. The renaming of the province in 2010 served as an intervening factor in popularizing the demand for Hazara province.

INTRODUCTION

The origin of the demand for a separate province based on distinct identity of the people of Hazara can be traced back to the time of independence of Pakistan from British colonial rule which had placed the region with Pashtu majority area to form KP as a new province separating it from Punjab. It was negation of the history, geography and culture of the region. The people of Hazara played highly proactive role in Pakistan movement and they bitterly opposed and rejected the ethnic nationalism propagated by Pakhtun nationalist leaders such as Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of Khudai Khidmatgar Tehreek (KKT). In 1945-46 elections, All India Muslim League (AIML) contested election in the name of Pakistan and was defeated badly in Pakhtun majority districts of NWFP. However, the people of Hazara fully supported the Pakistan movement and All India Muslim League (AIML) won all seats reserved for Muslims in Hazara (Ghulam Mustifa, personal communication, Feb. 4, 2020).

The bitterness caused by 1946 elections and the decisive 1947 referendum that paved the way from inclusion of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) now renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) into Pakistan could not completely subside even after creation of the country. The tug of war between Pakhtun nationalist politicians with political leadership of Hazara region continued throughout Pakistan's history as the latter mostly preferred mainstream politics and rejected ethnic or regional politics. It reached to the climax in 1990s when Awami National Party (ANP) strove to

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rename the province and get passed a resolution to this effect from the provincial assembly of the province, despite bitter opposition from elected representatives of the Hazara division. The demand to rename the province was finally accepted and incorporated in the 18th constitutional amendment passed by the parliament of Pakistan in 2010. It prompted strong reaction, including widespread and massive protests throughout Hazara division. The provincial government resorted to violent means to suppress the movement that resulted in the killing of about 10 people. These developments gave rise to the spontaneous popularity of movement for Hazara province in all parts of the division (Raja, & Hussain, 2015; Musarat, 2011)). However, the demand has deep rooted political, economic, social and cultural factors that this study aims to delve upon.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research paper under discussion has been analyzed and discussed in the light of theory of pluralism and conflict management. In the age of diversity, contradiction and change, conflicts exist on the basis of ethno-lingual identity and the desire for regional autonomy. Political and bureaucratic centralism and increasing domination of powerful elements cause resentment, and evolution of regional ethnicity in many states particularly in third world countries (Kolker, 1987).

Pluralistic and ethnic trend in the politics of the state represent a reaction against state absolutism and centralization of powers which was supported by John Bodin, Grotius, Hobbes and Austin. On the other hand, pluralists such as O. V. Gierk, F. W. Maitland, Figgs, and H. J. Laski criticized state absolutism and domination of particular group on state politics. They advocated the recognition of the importance of all groups and associations. They believed that group is the real person with its own group mind, will and culture and they should have right to act freely within its own orbit. They also viewed that for diverse societies, federalism is a suitable political system because it has ability to accommodate regional autonomy with that of national unity (Laski, 1967).

In developing countries such as Pakistan there are many ethnic and linguistic groups and sub-groups, but few are dominant while the rest have less or no influence in decision-making process in state politics. An attitude of ethno-centralism has been developed in Pakistan under which the culture of major dominant groups is promoted while the cultural identity of minority ethnic groups has been ignored which is main the cause of tension, disharmony, sense of deprivation and political instability in the country (Ihsan-ur-Rahim, personal communication, March. 4, 2019). Comparative study of many federations around the world revealed that a state having lowest number of units/provinces caused political instability, disintegration and secession due to existence of some dominant groups while federation having more provinces but less possibility for any one of the unit to establish its monopoly over state politics (Adeney, 2007).

Regional and ethnic based political conflicts and diversity in Pakistani politics is not new but 18th Constitutional Amendment has increased its severity which captured the attention of political parties and its leaderships both at national and regional level. This amendment intensified conflicts between majority and minority ethnic groups within existing provinces. Renaming of NWFP as KP revived rivalry between Pakhtun nationalists led by Awami National Party (ANP) and different communities living in Hazara Division. Resultantly, movement was revived for the establishment of Hazara Province. In KP, Pakhtuns are in majority while Hindko speaking population and other communities of Hazara Division are a minority. The leaderships of Hazara Province Movement hold

the view despite rich in all types of natural resources; the region is still socially and economically backward (Qazi Muhammad Azhar, personal communication, March 3, 2017; Shaheen, Mahmood, & Naazer, 2021).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research is qualitative and descriptive in nature which has explored all important factors which compelled to demand Hazara province. Both primary and secondary sources have been used in the research. Available official reports and the 18th constitutional amendment as passed by the parliament were obtained and analyzed to carry out the research. Furthermore, primary data was also collected through semi structure interviews by using purposive sampling technique to reach target groups. Interviews were arranged from politicians belonging to different political parties, and intellectuals and political activists associated with Hazara Province Movement. Secondary data was taken from books, research papers, reports and newspaper articles published related to the research.

GENESIS OF THE MOVEMENT FOR A SEPARATE HAZARA PROVINCE

Diversity existed between Pakhtun and the people living in Hazara even before the division of India and on all important issues both communities took different stands. During referendum of 1947, Khuda-e-Khadmatgar (KKT) headed by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, articulated the demand of a separate independent Pakhtunistan state; however, this demand was rejected by the British government. As a protest they boycot 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 casted their vote in favor of division of India and to join Pakistan (Qazi Muhammad Azhar, personal communication, March 3, 2017).

The demand of a separate Hazara province was first emerged in 1948, when some intellectuals and writers led by Muhammad Iqbal started movement for the creation of Hazara province. Then in 1957-58 Muftee Idress, ex minister and senior lawyer of Supreme Court of Pakistan and Dawood Shah started movement for the establishment of Kohistan Province to include not only Hazara, but also some part of Murree and its adjoining mountainous areas (Malik Kamran, personal communication, March 11, 2019).

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. During the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, some important developments took place which included establishment of Hazara Student Federation (HSF), ANP and HQM. HSF was established by Qazi Muhammad Azhar Advocate and his other colleagues in 1982 in Karachi. It was set-up in reaction to the disputes that took place between students of Hazara and North Waziristan in Karachi University on the issue of identity. Later HSF was also established in the colleges of Islamabad and Hazara division (Qazi Muhammad Azhar, personal communication, March 3, 2017).

Meanwhile, ANP leader, Abdul Wali Khan raised a demand to 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 the

demand of renaming of NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa aggravated the separate identity consciousness among the people of Hazara division and made them vigilant about the separate identity and rights. Therefore, Malik Muhammad Asif Advocate established HQM 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 (M. Kamran, personal communication, March 11, 2019).

In 1992, the central executive committee of HQM decided to include in its objectives the establishment of Hazara province. On 7th January, 1992, this news was published in all important newspapers and movement spread in all the districts of Hazara division. Due to this development in Hazara division, Taj Muhammad Langah and other leadership of Saraiki belt also revived the movement for the establishment of South Punjab as a separate province. 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 (Qazi Muhammad Azhar, personal communication, March 3, 2017).

RESOLUTION TO RENAME NWFP AS PAKHTUNKHWA

After the general election of 1997, Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and ANP formed a coalition government in NWFP. In November, 1997 a resolution was moved in provincial assembly of NWFP and was passed by majority of its members, seeking renaming of the province as Pakhtunkhwa. All the members of provincial assembly belonging to Hazara division boycot the voting process as protest. Even Saleem Saifullah Khan and Humuyan Saifullah Khan both from Pakhtune majority area, opposed the resolution. After the passage of resolution, the provincial leaderships of ANP such as Bashir Balour, Farid Tufan and others decided to celebrate this victory in Abbottabad (Sadaqat, 2014).

This decision was a deliberate attempt on the part of ANP nationalists to play with the emotions of the people of Hazara division and tantamount to fanning the flames. The people of Hazara division were already enraged. 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 decided 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 would be allowed only to organize program in district council hall Abbottabad (Qazi Muhammad Azhar, personal communication, March 3, 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 the two rival groups; however, rally dispersed due to firing. Meanwhile, news spread across Hazara Division that ANP activists opened fire on leaders of HQM, resultantly, thousands of people moved towards Abbottabad. In order to avoid further clashes, the District Administration ensured the safe escape for the leadership of ANP from Abbottabad in private vehicles and they were, therefore, even not allowed to attend the previously

scheduled program in District Council hall (Aurangzeb Nalotha, personal communication, Feb. 10, 2020).

RENAMING OF NWFP AS KP UNDER 18TH AMENDMENT

After the elections of 2008, Pakistan People Party (PPP) and ANP formed coalition governments both at centre and NWFP province. Sooner, the newly formed federal government constituted a Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) headed by Senator Raza Rabbani. After a long deliberations spreading over about one year, the report was passed through 18th Constitutional Amendment in 2010. Under this amendment many changes were made in different articles of the constitution including renaming of NWFP as KP (Rabbani, 2011).

The renaming of NWFP as KP caused severe anger and incited strong reaction and protests in all parts of Hazara division. The decision was bitterly criticized by all segments of people in Hazara irrespective of their political affiliation and ultimately inflamed the demand for creation of a separate Hazara province. The political leaders of Hazara division united together to launch a Tehrik-e-Sooba Hazara or Hazara Province Movement (HPM) under the leadership of Sardar Haider Zaman. The movement held rallies and demonstration throughout Hazara division from Haripur to Kohistan. After April 12, 2010 ten activists of HPM movement were martyred in police firing in Abbottabad which further popularized the movement in every nook and corner of the Hazara division (Khan, 2012). After the incident of 12 April, 2010, the Provincial Government of KP constituted a Judicial Commission headed by Justice Abdul Aziz Kundi, a judge of Peshawar High Court, to conduct inquiry about Abbottabad incident. The commission began inquiry on 20 April, 2010 and published its report on 10, May 2010, which revealed that police, local leaderships of HPM and District Administration were equally responsible for the incident (Kundi, 2010).

However, the leaders of HPM rejected the report and termed it as 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 to register the movement as a political party. Consequently, the movement was divided into different groups such as Sooba Hazara Tehrik (SHT) led by Sardar Muhamma Yousif and Tehrik-e-Sooba Hazara (TSH) led by Baba Haider Zaman (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, personal communication, Mar. 18, 2019). Several leaders of HPM joined other political parties including Pakistani Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), and PML-N that weakened the vigor of the movement.

Due to this division, the leadership of HPM failed to contest the election of 2013 from single platform; however, all groups and political parties contested the election on the slogan of Hazara Province. The demand of Hazara Province is deeply rooted in the hearts of the people of the region. In 2014, three members of KP Assembly from Hazara Division i.e. Sardar Idress, Mushtaq Ahmad Ghani and Qulandar Lodhi proposed a resolution in Provincial Assembly for the establishment of Hazara Province on administrative ground. The resolution was passed by the assembly on March 21, 2014. It was, however, opposed by other parties and they called it a conspiracy to divide the province (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, personal communication, Mar. 18, 2019; "KP assembly adopts," 2014). Later on, another resolution was also passed in the assembly seeking implementation of the first

resolution (Mahmood, Jan. 5, 2022). Both the resolutions, however, could not get affirmative vote of the two-third majority, a constitutional requirement to change the boundaries of any province including creation of a new administrative unit (province). Several political leaders, especially those hailing from the Pakhtun areas of the province opposed the demand and considered it as a conspiracy to divide the province. The successive provincial governments (PPP/ANP government and PTI government) did not take any serious step to resolve the problem and instead strove to sabotage the movement through different means including the split the Hazara division into two divisions by separating Kohistan and some Pakhtun areas from Hazara division creating a new (Abasyn) division ("Creation of Abseen division," 2011; "Pashto-speaking areas," 2013; "KP govt mulling over," 2017; Hameed, 2021; "KP CM announces," 2021)

Despite, these problems, the movement of Hazara Province is not only alive but also thriving day by day due to deep rooted factors including political exclusion, economic deprivation and cultural alienation (Shaheen, Mahmood, & Naazer, 2021).

FACTORS BEHIND HAZARA PROVINCE MOVEMENT

As stated earlier Hazara Province Movement emerged as a result of negative attitude of dominant group in the province, who failed to address the grievances of the people of Hazara Division. It is the stance of the leadership of HPM that the region is rich in various types of natural resources but Provincial Government from capital city Peshawar is lacking ability to develop them. They consider that leadership of the other parts of KP, particularly nationalists Pakhtun is responsible for the backwardness of the region (Musarat, 2011). Some important factors which forced the leadership of Hazara Division to articulate the demand of Hazara Province are discussed below.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION

The movement or demand for the creation of Hazara Province is based on socio-economic ground. Hazara Division is rich and fertile with forest, precious minerals and variety of natural resources and the region enormously contribute to the economy of KP Province. Moreover, the unexploited resources may be used for the generation of hydro-electric projects, development of infrastructure and promotion and development of tourism in the region, but the region has been ignored by all successive provincial governments in the past. Despite generating billions of rupees in revenues, the people of the Hazara Division are denied from their due share in jobs, education, health care and development activities (Hafiz Sajjad Qamar, personal communication, Nov. 11, 2019).

The contribution of Hazara Division to the economy of KP can be observed through the ratio of revenue collected by Excise and Taxation Department of the KP Government during 2013-2017 as shown in table-1.

Table 1.

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%

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

In the above table, contribution of Hazara Division has been shown regarding collection 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 for Peshawar Division. The highest percentage of hotels tax indicates the importance of tourism in Hazara division. The amount of hotels tax is presently contributed by only three districts of the KP Province namely Abbottabad, Haripur and Mansehra (Govt. of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), 2013-17). The contribution of hotel tax can be further increased by promotion of tourism in other districts located in upper parts of Hazara Division.

FEWER SHARES IN ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

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 different districts of the province. (Govt. of KP, 2008-2013). The share of Hazara Division in the Annual Development Program during that period is given in table 2.

Table 2.

Budget Year	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	2012-2013
ADP in Million	7281.161	10801.165	148553.167	21521.561	12135.692
Peshawar	1665.48 23%	2390.78 22%	4494.87 30%	4698.70 22%	3831.71 32%
Mardan	1082.62 15%	1526.00 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 comparative statement of ADP from 2008-2013: P&D Deptt, Govt of KP

Despite plenty of different types of natural resources and large contribution in revenue generation of the KP, Hazara Division has also been ignored in development of socio-economic infrastructure. According to Provincial Finance Commission (PFC) 2017-18, the allocation of amount of ADP

schemes among different districts of the provinces, was to be made on the basis of formula given in table-3.

Table 3.

Population	Backwardness	Lag in infrastructure
60%	20%	20%

According to agreed PFC formula, the share of Hazara Division was 19.4 percent, but it received less than 7 percent share from provincial ADP and this practice has been continued for last so many years. Economic backwardness is important cause of the demand of Hazara Province. For example; financial report of the budget prepared by Omar Asghar Khan Development Foundation (OAKDF) showed that during 2016-17, Rs.5.1 billion was allocated for District Nowshera which was home district of the then CM Pervaz Khattak and for all the districts of Hazara division, only Rs. 5.6 billion was allocated. It is important to note that total outlay of provincial ADP during the said period was Rs.206 billion and out of it, 2.6 percent was allocated for district Nowsehra. Comparative analysis of expenditures showed that allocation for the eight districts of Hazara Division was Rs.5.6 billion, which should have been around 38 billion as per PFC formula for the financial years 2017-18. It is due to unequal distribution of developmental funds, that the provincial capital and its adjacent regions are more developed than far-flung areas of the province (Omer Asghar Khan Deveoplment Foundation Report, 2018).

Hazara division generates more revenues than what is being spent on it. There is much potential to increase the revenue generating capacity of the region by utilizing its hydel and other resources. In 1990s, a survey was conducted in Hazara division to explore the hydel power potential of this region. The report revealed that there is about 20000 MW potential of hydel power generating capacity in Hazara Division excluding Tarbala Dam. But all Provincial Governments of the province paid no attention towards this aspect, which is considered main cause of the backwardness of the region and also important cause of growing alienation and deprivation among its people (Umar Ayub Khan, personal communication, May 12, 2019).

NEGLECT IN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

Industrialization plays a significant role in the development of any region. Hazara Division is very important region due its geo-strategic location and its importance has further been increased after the beginning of construction work on China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). 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 decreasing instead of increasing (Govt. of KP, 2016-17). The ratio of closed and running industrial units in different regions of KP Province is shown in table-4.

Table 4.

Division	Total Units	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

Backward in Education

Education plays a key role in the socio-economic development of the country, but in Hazara Division education sector, too, is ignored by successive governments of KP (Govt. of KP, 2016-17- Govt. of KP 2017-18). The deplorable conditions of different categories of colleges and schools both male and female, particularly in districts Battagram, Torghrah, and Kohistan are shown in table-5 and 6.

Table 5.

Category of Colleges	Degree Colleges		Postgraduate Colleges		Technical Colleges		Colleges of Management Sciences	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Hazara Division (Abbottabad)	3	5	2	1	1	1	1	1
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 6.

Number of Schools	High Schools		Higher Secondary Schools		Literacy Rate	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Male	Female
Districts						
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 indicate the negligence on part of the all provincial governments to the remote districts of the province in general and five districts in upper Hazara Division in particular i.e. Battagram, Torgarh, 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 (Jamal Abdul Nasir, personal communication, April 29, 2019).

In most of these institutions staff 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 have very low literacy rate hence they have very low share in the federal and provincial services and face 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 (Wali Muhammad Khan, personal communication, Feb. 8, 2020).

LACK OF HEALTH FACILITIES

Health facilities are also very much poor particularly in upper part of Hazara Division. New created districts such as Torghar (2011), Upper Kohistan (2016) and Palles Kohistan (2017) are still deprived 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 referred to AMI Abbottabad for better medical treatment. But due to poor condition of roads and traffic problems, most of the patients lose their lives on the way to Abbottabad (J. A. Nasir, personal communication, April 29, 2019). The detail of various types of health institutions in Hazara Division are shown in the table given in table 7:

Table 7.

Institutions	Abbottabad	Haripur	Mansehra	Battagram	Torghar	Kohistan (all 3 districts)
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 a 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 have been facing discrimination for the last 70 years (Sardar Haider Zaman, personal communication, Oct. 3, 2017).

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

The capital city of the province and its nearby regions are considered the center of power and remained the hub of all administrative, political, economic and social activities. The socio-economic infrastructures of these regions are more developed as compared 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 compared to nearby regions. The long distance from capital city Peshawar, parent department may not properly check field departments/sub-offices located in remote districts of Hazara division which is an important cause of administrative inefficiency in the region (Shahid Ali Khattak, 2014).

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 Hazara division. They consider that the region produces more revenues and also rich in all types of natural resources; but its social and economic infrastructure is still backward. Administrative problems lead to the demand of Hazara province with the hope that new center of power closer to the people would enable them to have an easy access to different types of socio-economic opportunities (Umar Ayub Khan, personal communication, May 12, 2019).

Hazara Division consists mostly of hilly terrain and the inhabitants of 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 (Abdul Sattar Khan, personal communication August, 23, 2019).

Hazara Province Movement is also justified on administrative ground as new Hazara province will improve governance and enable the Provincial Government to ensure efficient delivery of services at door steps. 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 headquarters) that is nearest to them (Wali Muhammad Khan, personal communication, Feb. 8, 2020). 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 live 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 than ethnic (Hafiz Sajjad Qamar, personal communication, Nov. 11, 2019).

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) in 2014 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 two-third 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 of 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. Article, 161 (2) of the Constitution of 1973 says that Net Hydrel

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 be shifted to government of the new province and enable it to remove the grievances of the people of affected areas (Qazi Muhammad Azhar, personal communication, March 3, 2017).

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 environment experts say that for the sustainability of environment, 25 percent area should be covered by forest (Hafiz Sajjad Qamar, personal communication, Nov. 11, 2019). The percentage of the area of each district covered by forest of Hazara division is reflected in table given below:

Table

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

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 a 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 creation of Hazara Province will empower the local representatives to devise legislation and policies to stop the illegal cutting of trees and will help them preserve the natural beauty of the region (Sultan-ul-Arfeen, personal communication, March. 9, 2019).

SEARCH OF IDENTITY

Since the establishment of Pakistan, majority of ethnic groups within the provinces ignored the minority ethnic groups. Therefore, the minority ethnic groups always made efforts for the protection of their socio-economic rights, political interests 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 Advocate in 1987 was the consequence of the separate identity consciousness of the people of Hazara Division (Qazi Muhammad Azhar, personal communication, March 3, 2017).

The leadership and followers of HQM believed that Hindko language has been ignored by all the provincial governments in the past and Hindko speaker are deprived of their due share in services and jobs (Shaheen, Mahmood, & Naazer 2021). Similarly, Hindko is neither the language of

schoolnor 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 (Tariq Rehman, 1996).

It is also the stance of the leadership HPM that in Pakhtun dominated areas, the people of Hazara are considered as "Punjabi" (Punjabiyan) and in Punjab Province, they are considered as Pakhtun (Pathan). Therefore, now they want to get out of the 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 a 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 might have addressed 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 denied the identity of Pakhtun and many other ethnic minority groups in West Pakistan (Muhammad Shafique, personal communication, January. 16, 2020).

INCREASE IN POPULATION

The rapid increase in the population of the country is also an important factor in voicing the demand of the creation of new provinces/units in the country. In 1901, when, NWFP became province, it consisted of only six districts, but now it has reached to 34 districts after mergence of erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in the province. Moreover, according to Census Report of 1931, the population of NWFP was 2.5 million which has now reached above 35.5 million. Hence, due to massive increase in population, there is a need to create 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.

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 federating units have not been created which is the main cause of disharmony, disunity, and political instability, backwardness of remote areas, bad governance and unequal distribution of resources mainly on regional and ethnic basis (Muhammad Arshid Mehmud, personal communication, April. 4, 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 indispensable that new provinces must be created including Hazara Province for socio-economic development on the basis of equality to end 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, which badly affected the efficiency of different services delivery institutions. Due to above stated development, the administration of capital city is unable to provide civic services to the increasing population efficiently and effectively. 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. Besides, it will also create new job opportunities for the local population and will end socio-economic disparity among different regions (Amad Faiz., 2011).

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. Therefore, after this amendment new provinces movements resurfaced with new vigour in different provinces including HPM in Hazara Division of KP. 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 on one hand and to strengthen democracy, federalism and national unity on the other (Muhammad Asif , 2020).

CONCLUSION

It may be concluded that that there has been a historical rivalry between Pakhtune nationalists and the people of Hazara Division. Even before the creation of Pakistan, both the communities had never been on the same page. There are many factors which developed sense of political alienation, economic deprivation, exploitation and cultural estrangement among the people of Hazara Division, but one important factor which compelled the people to make the demand of separate Hazara Provinces was ethnic politics of ANP. HPM was established in 1980s due to ethnic politics of ANP and now after renaming of NWFP as KP, once again the movement for the creation of Hazara province revived which is supported by all political parties and their leadership.

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