

The Dynamics of the Demand for Hazara Province in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan: Horizontal Inequalities Perspective

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Abstract:

The demand for a separate Hazara Province is being voiced since 1950s but it got impetus in the second decade of the 21st century. Existing literature clearly indicates that economic inequalities, social disparities, ethno-cultural denial and political exclusions are the main factors augmenting the voices of people for a separate province. This study aims to analyze direct and positive co-relation between the horizontal inequalities (HIs) and demand for creation of Hazara Province. This hypothesis has been substantiated through analysis of data obtained from already reliable published reports and surveys to identify Horizontal Inequalities (between claimed Hazara Province area and rest of the province). The statistical analysis confirmed the positive co-relation between the demand of a new Hazara province in KPK and Horizontal Inequalities. Therefore, the present study concludes that greater level of Horizontal Inequalities provided strong basis that increased the inter-group conflicts for the demand of new Hazara Province. This study proposes that relevant authorities must ponder over this dilemma of Horizontal Inequalities and increased demand of new province to avoid further escalation of tensions in the region.

Keywords: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Hazara Province Movement, horizontal inequalities (HIs), political exclusion, economic deprivation, social disparities, cultural denial

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is a heterogeneous state, both religiously and ethnically. It has four provinces, all of them have a diversified societal makeup, with different ethnic groups; for example, Sindh is home to two major ethnic groups: indigenous Sindhis and immigrants (Mohajir). Majority of Sindhi people live in rural Sindh, while the Mohajir live in metropolitan areas. Apart from majority Pakhtuns, a significant number of Hindkowan (Hindko Speaking from Hazara region) live in the Hazara and Kohat divisions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). In the case of Balochistan, the province is home to a considerable portion of the Pakhtun population, as well as different Baloch tribes. Besides majority Punjabi population, many Siraiki speaking people live in Punjab's southern region. The minority ethnic communities in all four provinces, i.e. Mohajir, Hindkowan, Pakhtuns and Siraikis, complain of being treated unfairly by provincial authorities dominated by ethnic majority groups. The former demand the territorial reorganization of the existing provinces, either on ethnic and linguistic basis or on administrative grounds.

The paper aims to highlight the dynamics of demand for creation of the Hazara province in KP. An effort has been undertaken in this regard to investigate the underlying causes that contribute to the demand for a distinct province. The theoretical premises of horizontal inequalities (HIs) proposed

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by Frances Stewart (2008) have been used to study the demand pattern of this movement. This emphasizes the significance of regional socio-cultural differences and politico-economic inequities in instilling ethno-nationalist emotions and later constructing demands for self-determination and separate provinces. As a result, it is important to look at HIs and their severity levels to see how they affect demand for a separate province in KP.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To assess the influence of HIs on Hazara province's demand, data from various sources have been used. The available reports from official, semi-official, and non-official sources were examined in the first step to determine the existence and degree of inequalities between the proposed Hazara region and the rest of the province. Primary sources, such as KP Provincial Census Reports 2017, District Census Reports, Tehsil wise population census of 2017, and official websites of Peshawar High Court and KP Police Department, are used in the study.

The current research is divided into three sections. The first segment briefly delves into the political and historical discussions around the desire for a Hazara province in KP, from its inception to the present day. The second portion looks into the primary elements that have aided the growth of Hazara nationalist sentiments and the demand for the establishment of a Hazara province in the region. It gives a detailed and comprehensive statistical study of the four-dimensional theory, with "Horizontal Inequalities" (HI) as one of the most important variables in boosting Hazara province's demand. The study's conclusion is summarized in the final section, which also suggests some potential solutions for addressing regional needs and dealing with the demand of Hazara province.

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND THEORIZATION

The majority of people have several identities, including territorial /regional, religious, and cultural identities. Individuals with similar identities establish groups and see themselves as unique from others. The connecting markers could be anything from cultural similarity to shared ancestry. On a larger scale, these disparate groups constitute societies; but, in some civilizations, they live in peace, while in others, they are subjected to conflicts leading to riots, violence, and even civil wars. Keeping the complexity of the issue in mind, it is crucial to look into the causes of conflict between these ethnically diverse communities. When social, economic, cultural, and political inequities persist between identity groups, a sense of deep resentment and marginalization is sparked, according to the theoretical principles of HI. If not addressed appropriately by the state authorities, ethnic strife, provincial autonomy, demands for new component entities, and even violent conflict and civil war may ensue, leading to separatist and secessionist tendencies, as happened in Sri Lanka, Spain, and Azerbaijan (Stewart, 2008).

HIs' concept relates to the types of disparities that exist among the identity groups that make up the residents of a given region and how state authorities treat different portions of the same territory differently (Cederman, Weidmann, & Gleditsch, 2011). The difficulty in analyzing HIs in any country is determining the criteria for group formation and classification. The most appropriate classification considers the significant identification distinctions that people have in terms of their particular apparent identity and others' perceptions of those distinctions. Some of the group categories, such as specialized club membership, are likely to be inconsequential or ephemeral.

Various research projects look into the causes and origins of organized differences in religious, ethnic, and regional conflicts. They are linked to a variety of factors, including climatological and biological variances, natural resource endowment distribution, colonialism's derivative influence, and diverse economic strategies (Langer, & Brown, 2008). The growing prominence of inequalities in global politics has sparked a debate on how to define inequalities in the modern period. This perplexing scenario has highlighted the question; what is inequality, precisely? (McDoom & Gisselquist, 2016). Frances Stewart was the one who originally coined the term "horizontal disparities" and brought it to the world (2002). Stewart & Langer (2008) describe HIs as "the inequality between culturally created or characterised groups," as opposed to vertical inequality, which is defined as "the discrepancy between individuals or households within the same group." Horizontal inequality refers to political, social, and economic disparities between ethnolinguistic groups inside one country (Stewart, 2008). Political horizontal inequalities (PHIs), Social Horizontal Inequalities (SHIs), Cultural Horizontal Inequalities (CHIs), and Economic Horizontal Inequalities (EHIs) are four elements of the theory of "horizontal inequalities" (EHIs). These four aspects encompass almost all kinds of disparities and place a particular emphasis on group-based inequalities, which is thought to be a prerequisite for inducing group-based injustices that can lead to ethnic conflict, political violence, provincial autonomy movements, and even separatist tendencies in some cases. As a result, identity-based socioeconomic disputes are the best variables to use when examining the association between the demand for additional constituent units (new provinces) and HIs in Pakistan. The dominant Pakhtun group demand region in Hazara division (Hindkowan), and complain of being economically disadvantaged and culturally neglected. . As a result, the HIs theoretical framework is best suited to the current study's goal of determining the relationship between Hazara province demand and HIs.

Since 2010, when the former North West Frontier Province (NWFP) was renamed as KP through 18th Constitutional Amendment (Khan, Shaheen & Ahmad, 2019; Asif, Naazer, & Ahmad, 2019) the politics of new provinces in Pakistan has gotten a lot of attention from academics. The renaming process established a solid foundation for other ethnic groups' demands for territorial restructuring based on ethnicity. This scholarship can be used for a variety of studies based on HIs. However this study remains confined specifically to understanding the dynamics of demand for Hazara province based on direct public opinion (of Hazara Division).

THE DEMAND FOR HAZARA PROVINCE- BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is the third largest province in terms of population but the smallest in terms of area constituting 14.69 percent and 11.53 percent of the total population and total landmass of Pakistan, respectively (Government of Pakistan, 2018). Formerly, the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) as the province was named under the British rule was renamed in 2010 through 18th constitutional amendment as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). It is divided into seven administrative divisions which are sub-divided into **twenty-five** districts (the number of districts has been increased in recent years to **34**, but data used in this study covers the 25 districts which existed before mergence of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into KP in 2018). To comprehend the lingual, cultural and ethnic diversity, the province can be split into three regions; Hindko speaking region (Hazara and Kohat divisions), Pashto speaking region (Malakand, Bannu, Peshawar and Mardan divisions) and Siraiki speaking region (Dera Ismaeil Khan division) (Government of

Pakistan, 2018). Although the boundaries of these three parts are not conclusive as the regions are not officially recognized yet there are cultural and lingual distinctions that make them separate and distinct from each other.

Table 1: Demography of Province

Division	Kohat	Hazara	D. I. Khan	Bannu	Peshawar	Mardan	Malakand
Population	2,218,971	5,325,121	2,019,017	2,044,074	7,403,817	3,997,677	7,514,694
Area km²	2,545	17,194	9,005	4,391	4,001	3,046	29,872
Major Languages	Hindko	Hindko and Pashto	Siraiki	Pashto	Pashto	Pashto	Pashto

Source: KP Provincial Census Reports 2017

Hazara region is distinct in several respects from other parts of the province and as such the demand for a separate Hazara province is dated back to the time when Pakistan was established as an independent state. An impression or perhaps a legitimate hope of a separate province for Hazara people remained obvious but it shaped into a proper form in 1957 when a very influential personality, Mufti Idrees, an advocate by profession, started a movement with the assistance of his fellow Abdul Khaliq. This demand lost its momentum as the country saw successive martial laws and traumatic incident of separation of East Pakistan in 1971. The demand was again championed in 1987 when Hazara Qaumi Mahaz (HQM)' was established under the leadership of Malik Asif advocate. It got further momentum in 1998 when provincial assembly of KP (then NWFP) adopted a resolution to change the name of the province Pattanaik (1998). It brought strong reaction and anger witnessed by widespread protest in all parts of Hazara. The first decade of twenty-first century remained almost passive with regard to further development in the movement. In April, 2010, entire momentum was changed when it was announced that through 18th amendment in the 1973 Constitution, NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. A wide protest started against the Constitution headed by Baba Haider Zaman in the entire Hazara region including, Mansehra, Kohistan, Battagram, Haripur and Abbottabad (Munir, 2017). As such, there is a great struggle behind this movement demanding a separate Hazara province that brought this issue to the limelight at national level. This demand is, however, rooted in HIs which are being discussed below.

HORIZONTAL INEQUALITIES AND DEMAND FOR HAZARA PROVINCE: AN INVESTIGATION OF NEXUS

Hazara division is located in the northeastern side of the province and stretches on 17,194 km² area which approximately constitutes 24.54% of the total territory of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The figure 24.54% indicates that Hazara division covers about one-fourth part of the landmass of the entire province. According to 2017 Census, the total population of six districts of the region has been reduced to 17.44 % from 19.75% (Wazir & Goujon, 2019). The division comprised six districts viz. Abbottabad, Haripur, Torghar, Mansehra, Battagram, and Kohistan (it has now been divided into three districts, raising total number of districts in the division to eight. However, this study uses data for Kohistan as a single district). Hazara division is inhabited by three major ethnic groups:

- Hindkowan (Hindko speaking)
- Pakhtuns (Pashto speaking)
- Kohistanis (Kohistani speaking)

Majority of Hindkowan is concentrated in Abbottabad, Haripur and Mansehra districts while the Pakhtun majority lives in Battagram and Torghar districts and Kohistanis live mostly in Kohistan District. However, commonly all the inhabitants living in the region are known as "Hazaraval."

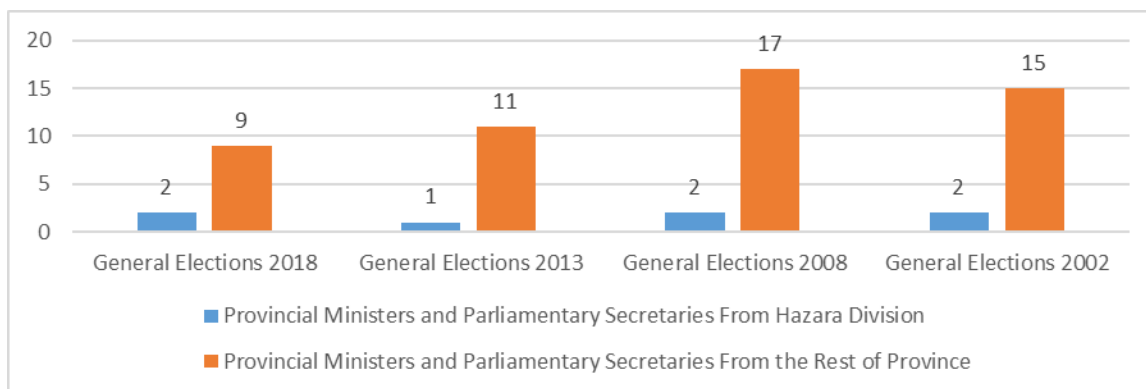
Hazara Region and Political Horizontal Inequalities (PHI)

This type includes inequalities in the distribution of political opportunities and other sources of power among different ethnic groups, including control over the army, the cabinet, local and regional governments, parliamentary assemblies, the police and the presidency. They also encompass inequalities in people's capabilities to participate politically and to express their needs such as budget, taxation, welfare reforms projects. In this study PHIs have been measured through the following indicators,

1. Representation in Provincial Parliaments and Cabinets

Hazara division is relatively more deprived and underdeveloped in terms of political representation. Hence, political horizontal inequalities are very much prevalent in this region because of not getting a due share in resource allocations, job opportunities, academic outlooks, and other developmental projects (Khan & Rehman, 2012). KP's share in federal bureaucratic jobs is 11.5percent according to the quota allocated for all the provinces and federal capital territory. As per its population ratio, Hazara division should receive at least 14.87percent share of KP's quota (11.5%), but it is receiving only 08 to 09percent which is very minimal and unfair (Raja & Hussain, 2015). Throughout 1970 to 2018, there had been 20 chief ministers of KP while the ratio of chief ministers belonging to Hazara is 10percent only. Whereas, 24 governors have passed over the period of 1970 to 2018, only 4.16percent came from Hazara region (Alvi, 2018). As far as the provincial ministers and parliamentary secretaries are concerned, they have been taken disproportionately from the Pakhtun region. The below-given figure depicts the data of previous four parliaments which were established in 2002, 2008, 2013 and 2018.

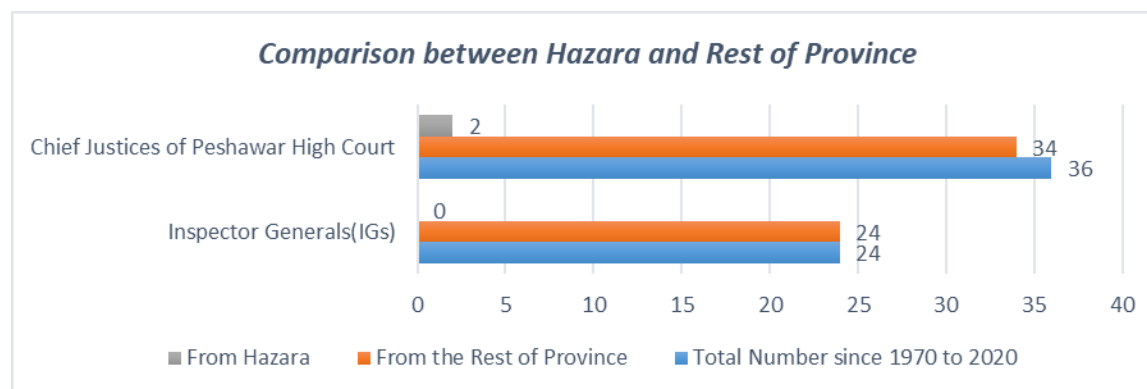
Figure 1: Comparison between Hazara Division and Rest of Province



Source: Data was generated by authors from KP provincial assembly

2. REPRESENTATION IN PROVINCIAL JUDICIAL INSTITUTIONS AND POLICE DEPARTMENT

Throughout 1970 to 2019, there had been twenty-four Inspector Generals (IGs) and thirty-six chief justices of provincial high court (Peshawar High Court). However; only two chief justices from Hazara division served the highest judicial institution of the province. The case was even worse in the police department where not a single IG was chosen from the region. This meager representation in the two most important and prestigious institutions indicates sharp political horizontal inequalities in the province.



Source: Data was inferred from the official websites of Peshawar High Court and KP police department

3. Reform Projects and Annual Development Program (ADP)

According to development ranking and Human Development Index (HDI), from twenty-five districts of the province only two (Haripur and Abbottabad) of Hazara division fall in the category of High Medium Human Development Index while the remaining four districts (Mansehra; Battagram; Kohistan and Torghar) come in Medium Human Development, Low Medium Human Development and Very Low Human Development Districts. The below-given table depicts the impoverished conditions of districts from Hazara.

Table 2: Development Ranking and Human Development Index (HDI)

HHDD ⁴	HMHDD ⁵	MHDD ⁶	LMHDD ⁷	LHDD ⁸	VLHDD ⁹
None	Abbottabad	Nowshera	Hangu	Shangla	Torghar
	Haripur	Malakand	Lakki Marwat	Upper Dir	Kohistan
	Mardan	Mansehra	Buner		
	Peshawar	Chitral	Battagram		
		Charsadda	D.I.Khan		
		Swabi	Tank		

⁴ High Human Development Districts

⁵ High Medium Human Development Districts

⁶ Medium Human Development Districts

⁷ Low Medium Human Development Districts

⁸ Low Human Development Districts

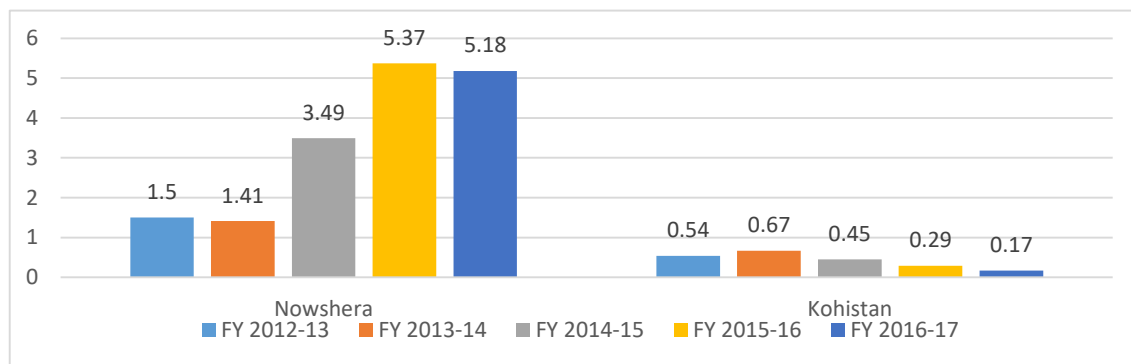
⁹ Very Low Human Development Districts

		Kohat			
		Swat			
		Karak			
		Bannu			
		Lower Dir			

Source: Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) (2014-15; KP Development Statistics Reports) published by Government of Pakistan; Statistics Division; Pakistan Bureau of Statistics; Islamabad and Government of KP respectively.

These figures indicate that the reform projects and other development plans are concentrated in the Pakhtun dominated districts like Nowshera and Swabi. During the four financial years of 2013-14 to 2016-17; the total budget allocation to six Hazara districts was only Rs.22.8 billion while only one district "Nowshera" the hometown of former Chief Minister Pervez Khattak received Rs.15.73 billion. All the provinces, including KP, get financial resources based on NFC Award distribution (National Finance Commission Award). The 7th NFC Award is based on four weighted criteria: population (82 per cent), poverty (10.3 per cent), revenue capacity (5 per cent) and area (2.7 per cent). Hazara division consists of 14.87percent of the entire provincial population; hence it should get at least one-third of the allocated amount (Baqai, 2004). However, the actual amount received by this region is far less than its due share. The comparative analysis of two districts; one from Hazara division and the other from Peshawar division shows downward and upward trends respectively.

FIGURE 2: COMPARISON OF ADPs ALLOCATION BETWEEN NOWSHERA AND KOHISTAN



Source: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Budgets: 4-year scorecard FY2013-14 to FY2016-17 report published by Omar Asghar Khan Foundation in 2016. The report can be assessed here: <http://www.oakdf.org.pk/pdf/KP%20Budgets%204-Year%20Scorecard%202013%20to%202016-17.pdf>.

Economic Horizontal Inequalities (EHI)

The economic dimension of HIs includes; inequalities in terms of access to various assets, especially access to land and employment opportunities. These are the input type of inequalities as they are primarily based on income and income is based on three types of sources; financial, human and social. In contrast, SHIs are the output type of inequalities. If input inequalities would be less,

output inequalities would automatically be lesser, and in case of sharper input inequalities, the output inequalities would be more severe. EHs have been measured through the following indicators; (Chaudhry, 2000).

1. Employment Opportunities and the Unemployment Rate

2. There exists a sharp difference between Hazara districts and the rest of the province in terms of the unemployment rate and employment opportunities. Following table explains this type of inequalities found in the province.

TABLE 3: COMPARISON OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BETWEEN HAZARA DIVISION AND REST OF THE PROVINCE

District	Total Employed Population	Percentage to Total Employment	Total Unemployed	Percentage to Total Unemployment
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	2518368		873408	
Abbottabad	121211	5%	54820	6%
Bannu	97345	4%	30877	4%
Battagram	40766	2%	28276	3%
Buner	79976	3%	18122	2%
Charsadda	161231	6%	48436	6%
Chitral	37248	1%	25997	3%
D.I.Khan	141607	6%	39731	5%
Dir Lower	86838	3%	27717	3%
Dir Upper	62341	2%	36838	4%
Hangu	27485	1%	18066	2%
Haripur	90115	4%	38665	4%
Karak	38784	2%	22720	3%
Kohat	59731	2%	37735	4%
Kohistan	81825	3%	34194	4%
Lakki	59715	2%	20140	2%
Malakand	53838	2%	22614	3%
Mansehra	157985	6%	62716	7%
Mardan	237171	9%	67607	8%
Nowshera	139178	6%	5392	1%
Peshawar	322627	13%	69975	8%
Shangla	69422	3%	28629	3%
Swabi	153652	6%	46181	5%
Swat	169549	7%	74132	8%
Tank	28728	1%	13828	2%

Torghar	- ¹⁰	-	-	-
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Source: Reports "Important District Wise Socio-Economic Indicators of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 2018" and "Development Statistics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2018" published by Bureau of Statistics: Planning and Development Department, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. <https://kpbos.gov.pk/>

Battagram and Kohistan are less developed districts having only two percent and three percent employed population. In terms of incidence of poverty, the three districts of Hazara out of six, fall in the category of extremely poor districts. Specifically, Torghar and Kohistan are underdeveloped, and highly poor. Most of the residents are living below the poverty line (Development Statistics of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 2018).

Table 4: District-Wise Incidence of Poverty in KP.

Hazara Districts	Incidence of Poverty (%)	Rest of the Provincial Districts	Incidence of Poverty (%)
Abbottabad	32.9%	Peshawar	31.5%
Mansehra	40.7%	Mardan	33.8%
Haripur	24.7%	Nowshehra	37.4%
Kohistan	95.8%	Malakand	37.1%
Battagram	75.2%	Lower Dir	41.6%
Torghar	92.0%	Chitral	43.3%

Source: Report "Multidimensional Poverty in Pakistan at the National, Provincial and District levels 2014-15" published by Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF).

The figure shows that the developmental funds allocated for these districts are not spent on the development of these districts rather funds are spent on those districts in which the executive body and the bureaucrats live. Consequently, poverty level is high in the region as compared to other regions of the province. This extreme poverty may force the inhabitants to indulge in illegal and violent activities that would not be a good situation for provincial as well as the federal government.

3. Income Ratio

Income disparities increase the level of poverty since there is a positive relationship between income inequality and poverty level. When income inequality increases, the poverty level also increases (Pasha, 2018). Poverty restricts not only the access to basic requirements but also "generates inequality of opportunities" (Stewart, 2009) which can further intensify the income gap among individuals from different socioeconomic stratum. Unjust land ownership in the province is also one of the critical factors leading to income inequalities. The share of monthly spending shows the inequality of utilization between the individuals from the top and bottom quintile (Qureshi & Sadozai, 2016). Those belonging to the top quintile use a more substantial portion of their income

¹⁰ Not Available

on education; whereas, those belonging to the bottom quintile cannot spend the required amount on education. In this situation scholars agree that the literacy rate is directly connected to household income, while income is associated with poverty or development (Mahmood, 2012). The below-given table shows that two districts of Hazara division lie in the category of bottom twenty districts in terms of average monthly earnings.

The distribution of expenditure is similar to income distribution. The expenditure profile reveals the imbalance of income among the well-off landowner and the remaining farmers. It shows that people first allocate their income to their basic requirements and then for their luxuries (Latif, 2017). Since the initial call on expenditures is food, the families having low-income level allocate a significant portion of their income to groceries and comparatively a lesser portion to other items. In the same way, families with high-income levels are left with a significantly more substantial portion of their income even after fulfilling their food requirement.

Social Horizontal Inequalities (SHI)

Social horizontal inequalities refers to the availability of necessary facilities such as education, healthcare services and housing.

1. Literacy Rate and Education Completion Rate

Education is a prerequisite for economic prosperity and development as the educated and literate population play an active role in interest articulation and aggregation. They have excellent skills to grab multiple employment opportunities. Among the twenty-five districts of KP province, three districts of Hazara division have the highest literacy rate while three others Battagram, Torghar and Kohistan have only 49percent, 25percent and 20percent literacy rate respectively. Torghar and Kohistan are the two bottom-most districts having lowest literacy rate. The following table indicates the literacy rate of all the twenty-five districts.

Table 4: The Literacy Rate of KPK Districts

District	Literacy Rate in Percentage	District	Literacy Rate in Percentage
Haripur	69	Kohat	44
Abbottabad	67	Charsadda	43
Mansehra	56	Swat	42
Malakand	56	Hangu	42
Chitral	55	Karak	39
Tank	54	LakkiMarwat	38
Bannu	53	Mardan	36
Peshawar	53	Upper Dir	36
Lower Dir	51	Buner	34
Battagram	49	Shangla	32
Swabi	48	Torghar	25
Nowshera	45	Kohistan	20

Source: Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) (2014-15; KP Development Statistics Reports) published by Government of Pakistan; Statistics Division; Pakistan Bureau of Statistics; Islamabad and Government of KP respectively

In terms of education score, three Hazara districts Haripur, Abbottabad, and Mansehra have a sound education score. On the other hand, Battagram, Torghar and Kohistan are ranked at 69th, 140th and 141st respectively. Torghar and Kohistan are the most destitute and most impoverished districts of province lagging in all political, economic and social realms.

Table 5: District Wise Ranking in terms of Education Score

District	Ranking	Education Score	District	Ranking	Education Score
Haripur	1 st	81.62	Kohat	77 th	56.02
Abbottabad	16 th	71.62	Charsadda	78 th	55.95
Mansehra	23 rd	70.59	Swat	86 th	53.1
Malakand	40 th	66.2	Hangu	93 rd	51.66
Chitra	46 th	64.04	Karak	95 th	51.5
Tank	47 th	77.44	Lakki-Marwat	98 th	50.91
Bannu	63 rd	58.91	Mardan	99 th	50.56
Peshawar	64 th	58.63	Upper Dir	117 th	46.24
Lower Dir	65 th	58.38	Buner	129 th	43.6
Battagram	69 th	57.48	Shangla	130 th	42.29
Swabi	70 th	56.99	Torghar	140 th	34.11
Noshewra	71 st	56.98	Kohistan	141 st	20.67
Dera Ismail Khan	76 th	56.27	-	-	-

SOURCE: PAKISTAN SOCIAL AND LIVING STANDARDS MEASUREMENT SURVEY (PSLM) (2014-15; PUNJAB DEVELOPMENT STATISTICS REPORTS) PUBLISHED BY GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN; STATISTICS DIVISION; PAKISTAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS; ISLAMABAD AND GOVERNMENT OF PUNJAB RESPECTIVELY.

Cultural Horizontal Inequalities (CHI)

Cultural dimension includes societal respect from one identity group to the other group's religious practices, norms, customs, language and cultural recognition (public holidays, local newspapers, language recognition in a political and educational institution) and dress code. This type of inequalities primarily has a possible potential to create the circumstances that later may aggravate the sense of political marginalization and socio-economic discontent. Therefore, such conditions ultimately trigger the political mobilization of masses by the groups' elites. Thus, cultural horizontal inequalities play a significant role in "conflict development and in the genesis of ethno-nationalist movements" (Canelas & Gisselquist, 2019). They are likely to transform the nonviolent socio-political movements into violence if group elites perceive that governmental bodies are not taking their demands seriously and are not paying enough attention. The real driving force is the political

exclusion that may trigger conflict and violence, and the presence of cultural denial or inequalities provide a conducive environment for mass mobilization. However, the situation may be avoided by ensuring a participatory culture and "political inclusion" (Canelas & Gisselquist, 2019).

As far as the status of Hindko language is concerned; it remained unrecognized and was contemplated as a dialect of Punjabi language since the inception of Pakistan and got recognition recently in 2017 Census. Before that, it was put under the category of "Others" in the census form instead of being mentioned as a separate language like Pashto, Sindhi, Balochi or Punjabi. Oppositely, Pashto has been given due respect and recognition at both provincial as well as national level in educational and political institutions. The renaming process of the province in 2010 from NWFP to KP is a practical manifestation of the respect, recognition and promotion of Pashto language at the national level. Despite being the sixth most spoken language, not a single national, provincial or local newspaper is being published in it, and there is only one TV Channel broadcasting programs in Hindko, but most of the times it remains dysfunctional. To preserve the literature, folklore and poetry of Hindko language for posterity, no institutionalized efforts have been made either by the provincial government or by the federal government. No provincial holiday is awarded to commemorate Hindkowan heroes and historical figures and to celebrate Hindko culture or language.

Recommendations

The prerequisite for sustainable development and peace is the due participation of each identity group in the political system, and enough roles in the power structure. Otherwise the political ostracism leads to an environment instrumental to the political mobilization either against the groups who occupy the power and are privileged, or against the state authorities. In a multi-cultural society, it is necessary to ensure each identity group's just participation in the state structures. Horizontal inequalities are having socio-economic and political outcomes which can be highly detrimental to development. Strategies to address such inequalities should be essential part of development planning in all the societies irrespective of the differentiation that some are suffering from the consequences of such inequalities and some others are immune to them.

Although there are variety of policies available for alleviating Socio-Economic inequalities, and many of them have been adopted by various states. However, for the redress of socioeconomic deprivations and political grievances complained by minority groups, two types of state policies have been proved effective and fruitful such as;

- Targeted Policies
- Universal Policies

Direct/ targeted policies are the tailored policies which primarily aim to counter the grievances of the specific groups that are claimant to be disparaged and marginalized. Such policies overtly give benefits to the deprived groups. However, they may be taken as negative measures by the privileged groups, for instance, the quota for women, minority and backward areas in educational institutions, vocational training institutions, engineering and medical colleges or employment opportunities. Being target-oriented, direct policies may bring effective outcomes to reduce horizontal inequalities among the groups living in the same region. They have been applied by many states, for instance, Northern Ireland, United States, New Zealand, Fiji, India, Malaysia, South

Africa and Sri Lanka and observed positive impacts. Demography plays a pivotal role to formulate policies, as only right and accurate policies would be able to combat inequalities. In the case where the claimant and marginalized group's size is comparatively small to the whole population of that region, direct policies are relatively more appropriate and effective as compared to universal policies in which the principal beneficiary is the whole population and majority groups constitutes the significant portion of that populace.

Indirect policies are the universal policies which are primarily formulated to advantage the entire population irrespective of any particular group or community. They aim to reduce horizontal inequalities indirectly through conventional policies; such as progressive taxation, and public spending that give fewer advantages to minority and deprived groups and benefits majority groups. Anti-discrimination legislation is an excellent example of a universal policy that is essential to counter horizontal inequalities. However, its practical implementation requires an unbiased and sound judicial system to prevent the violation and to safeguard the interests of minority groups. The states became successful in combating horizontal inequalities by adopting both direct and indirect policies which supplement each other.

Demographic characteristics of the related region are necessary to consider while forming the policies to overcome the regional disparities and inequalities because where the marginalized group's size is more substantial in number; indirect policies prove more useful as they involve fewer leakages and such leakages may be desirable, by fulfilling the needs of the deprived members of the privileged group. Effective targeting through group identity also requires that group membership is unambiguous and uncontroversial. It is challenging to apply it when there are many cross-group marriages and a significant 'mixed' population as in many Latin American cases (Stewart, 2016).

Many countries apply the direct and indirect policies get relieved from socioeconomic horizontal inequalities. Indirect policies are useful but they do not give results and appear with partial effects. The economic policies are challenging to adopt in macro and structural policies. Universal policies seem to be more appropriate as they do not widen the gulf between the groups, but their intended outcomes take several decades to appear significantly. The other essential requirement is the strict monitoring to ensure the equitable incorporation of each group; which is rare and absent completely in large scale policies. Therefore, to overcome the shortcomings of universal policies, sporadic target policies may be applied.

In case of Hazara, cultural denial or inequalities persistently exist as it is reported that until 2017, Hindku was not included among the languages recorded in the census. This denial of language strengthened the sense of resentment in the region. The renaming process of the province from NWFP to KP purely promotes the identity and culture of majority group "Pakhtun" and other groups of the province feel excluded and deprived. To conclude, there are specific symbolic steps; that states may take to ensure cultural equality. The recognition of various religions, languages and cultural practices bears no economic cost, but it can benefit significantly by reducing the sense of exclusion and deprivation among the minority groups.

CONCLUSION

Horizontal inequalities may cause inauspicious and unpleasant repercussions, and the most dangerous is the outbreak of violent conflict and separatists' tendencies. Hence, it is imperative to

formulate valid policies to mitigate them. Necessary and immediate actions are needed to lessen political horizontal inequalities, and to ensure cultural equality, as well as to reduce social and economic disparities. Complete knowledge about the dynamics and context of the type of HIs is pertinent to design appropriate and right policies. The study has discussed several policy options to combat HIs; however, two major approaches have been proved more effective; direct and indirect. The first involves giving entitlements to people, whether political or economic, because of their group affiliation, while the second involves correcting HIs by more general policies that have the effect of improving HIs but without specifying group affiliation. The combination of both direct and indirect policies in a systematic way is the most effective way to mitigate HIs and to get economic growth and enduring peace. The dynamics of horizontal inequalities change from time to time, and the pattern of the inequalities also appears with new paradigms. Therefore, only the policies based on the complete analysis of the context would prove effective and result oriented.

In the case study of KP, the group (Hazaraval) considering itself marginalized and deprived, is smaller in number relative to the whole population of the province. Hence, target-oriented policies in the entire four spheres; political, social, cultural and economic may reduce the horizontal inequalities, and the uneven development pattern may be addressed. The up-gradation of Hazara division into a separate province would be the most potent measure to lessen the inequalities.

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