EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT AND ITS IMPACTS ON THE DEMAND OF THE CREATION OF NEW PROVINCES IN PAKISTAN: *A CASE OF HAZARA PROVINCE MOVEMENT*

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Abstract:

The Eighteenth Amendment was inserted in the Constitution of 1973 in April 2010. The Amendment contains various democratic and constitutional versions to upgrade and strengthen democratic values. After this Amendment, the sub-nationalist movements of various provinces began to demand separate provinces in their respective territories. Similarly, the Hazarawal, an ethnic group living in eastern zone of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa also demanded for a separate province in Hazara region. The demand for a separate province in this region was not new. The people of the Hazara region have been demanding separate identities, political recognition, and separate province since the 1950s. The study is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the Eighteenth Amendment and the constitutional mechanism for the creation of new provinces in Pakistan. The second part discusses the impact of the Eighteenth Amendment on Hazara ethnonationalist movement. An effort has been made in this paper to highlight the factors and current status of Hazara province movement after the Eighteenth Amendment.

Key Words: Eighteenth Amendment, Hazara, Separate Province, Creation of new Province.

Introduction:

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The political recognition of culture and language, inter-provincial migration, allocation of resources and provincial and regional autonomy triggered ethno-nationalist movements that demanded the creation of new states and provinces in Pakistan. The federation of Pakistan has been facing a much-stressed history of center-province relations. Furthermore, Pakistan has also been suffering from the politics of identities since its inception. The Muslims who got together to demand Pakistan were far from being of a homogeneous character, linguistically and ethnically. This has created a serious problem of identity for the people of Pakistan. The regional and ethnic identities have emerged more prominently in Pakistan than the single national Pakistani identity. The very inception of Pakistan began with a dual and complex vision of ethnicity. (Baljit Singh, 2006). Hence, the Bengali succeeded in breaking away and creating their separate state Bangladesh in December 1971. East Pakistan became Bangladesh, but the state did not learn any lesson and continued its policies. The state of Pakistan failed to manage the ethnic diversity in East Pakistan. In 1971, it became the first post-colonial state that suffered an effective secessionist movement that caused the creation of Bangladesh. (Veena Kokreja, 2020). The non-dominant ethnic group feels more insecure and suppressed, hence, the sense of grouping and fighting against the dominant group ignites. In politics of ethnicity, political power includes an adequate share in representation in political and administrative institutions and also requires control over local resources and the use of a particular language for communication. It is an evolving pursuit in almost all the post-colonial divided societies. (Veena Kokreja, 2020).

There was a big demographic shift in the Zia regime especially after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the influx of refugees in Pakistan. In 1989, when the PPPP-ANP coalition government was formed, Baba did not address the challenge linked with this demographic shift being minister of the province. In 1990, Baba Haider Zaman realized there was less room for ideological politics in Pakistan. He felt all this when he witnessed the alliance of right-leaning fundamentalist IJI against progressive nationalist ANP and PPPP. (Fakhr Ul Islam, 2023). When PPPP had formed the central government at the Centre and ANP formed the provincial government in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, he reached political control from 2013 to 2018 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In 2010, Sardar Baba Haider Zaman extended power and became a popular leader when NWFP was renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He was a widely respected political figure among all circles in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Later, Tehreek-e-Suba Hazara Pakistan

registered as a separate political party and sustained its efforts for Hazara Province in Hazara Division Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. (Muhammad. F, Erdem, 2017).

The demand for new province is now very popular among major political parties, social activists, and media. In favour of the creation of a new province of South Punjab, the National Assembly of Pakistan has approved a resolution. The Punjab Assembly was also asked to take compulsory action in that regard. In addition, the Punjab Assembly also demanded in its resolution to award provincial position to the earlier princely state of Bahawalpur. Both the mainstream political parties, Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz and Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian have decided to institute a national commission to determine the borders of the planned federating units. The demand has been raised from time to time for new provinces; on various lines, ethnic, grounded on the distribution of resources, and occasionally on the socioeconomic backwardness of the areas. (Saman Zulifqar, 2012).

Theoretical Underpinnings

According to Anderson, a nation is "an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign". It is imagined in the sense that the members of even the smallest nation can't know, meet with, or hear of, most of their fellow members. It is imagined as limited in the sense that even the largest nation has restricted territories beyond which exist other nations. No nation seeks to spread across the globe. Lastly, it is imagined as a community in the sense that "regardless of the exploitation and actual inequality that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship". It is this sense of fraternity, Anderson notes, that scenario leads millions voluntarily to sacrifice their lives for their nations. (Muhammad. F, Erdem, 2017). According to Ronald Grigor Suny, in the discourse of the nation, culture is a source of political power. The right to rule belongs to the people, a nation that is imagined as coherent, conscious, and bounded of its position as the foundation of the state's legitimacy. (Christophe Jaffrelot, 2005). Christophe Jaffrelot discusses that Pakistan appears to be an unachieved nation as it is clarified in a way exactly because of the perseverance of ethnic identities which may even be defined as nationalities. (Christophe Jaffrelot, 2005).

Primordialists consider language and culture or their recognition as basic forces to drive any ethnic movement because people are extra-rational and emotionally attached to their language and want to preserve their lingual identity. On the other hand, instrumentalists view that language is socially constructed and it's a tool for any gain for both the economic and political interests of any ethnic group. (Tove Skutnabb Kangas, 2000).

Arend Lijphart has described the characteristics of Segmental Autonomy in four parts. The first is that unity and administration coordination is necessary to understand plural democracies through the demands of segmental cleavages. The need is to build constitutional principles as well as on economic trespassing of majority coalition rule. If the cleavages have been disseminated into slight groups on lingual, cultural, racial and creed lines, to meeting the grand coalition run decision-making are also several problems may be faced. (Christophe Jaffrelot, 2005).

The second is plural societies where considerable minorities have been living the segmental autonomy is valid along with the major ethnic groups. In multiethnic societies like Pakistan, two fundamental characteristics, religion and language are considered very important. It is still under process how to accommodate the various lingual groups through constitutional management. The regional elites, who are polarized in discussions on such ethnic issues are the main machines. The third is the sufficient constitutional privileges, an extensive impression has been provided to the minorities through the constitutional privileges where they reflect more satisfied as related to the popular region. Personified elites in plural developed states have preferred to discuss ethnic issues in parliamentary language rather than packages. Constitutional engineering is the inter-parliamentary criteria while the packages are inter-executives' mechanisms. The earlier is the sufficiently long-lived political consensus and the latter is short-lived. Lastly, the territorial unity with diverse economic rights. To support harmony on both national and regional levels, economic liberalization is also the main formula. In plural societies, a small number of issues will be because of the more economic liberty to segmental cleavages. The procedure has become more puzzling where the societies are existing in odd shapes following rigid social and cultural heritage. (Bukhari, Syed Mussawar Hussain and Muhammad Faisal Kamran, 2013).

State nationalism and cultural diversity is a debate that has been considered by both Ayres and Siddiqui in their works. The cultural multiplicity of the population in Pakistan is the main issue highlighted by Siddiqui and Ayres. Both authors agreed that the state is the agent most responsible for managing ethnic diversity in a way that maintains peace. According to Siddiqui, cultural variance does not become a cause for conflict until the state exploits or neglects it. Ethnic violence and conflict are dependent on the political structure which assists to either reduce or strengthen feelings of ethnicity. (Julien Levesque, 2020).

Siddiqui thus excludes the cultural content from his study of ethnic deployment and emphasizes rather on the role of institutions in inflaming and alleviating ethnic bitterness. It does not matter how many ethnic groups live in a particular society. All that matters is how ruling elites appoint different ethnic groups by empowering them with decision-making in the political system of the state including a convocational and a federal political system. Now one may conclude that ethnic conflicts are not shaped automatically nor are they essentially related to degrees of ethnic heterogeneity that triumph within a society. Ethnic conflict is a function of political factors and it accepts importance as a reply to the state and its policies. The cultural difference becomes the foundation for political deployment when ethnic anger arises in reaction to the hegemonic project of state nationalism. (Julien Levesque, 2020).

Siddiqui quoted the example of ethno-nationalist movements in Pakistan by saying that feelings of nationalism can emerge in rural and tribal socio-economic contexts. Yet, he categorized the Balochistan and Sindh and said tribal and rural settings do not analyze the traditional contradiction but rather reinforces it. He mainly assumed that 'tribal' and 'rural' societies were isolated from modernity or industrialization ignoring the argument that the 'underdevelopment' of colonial societies was as much part of the modern imperialist project as the industrialization of the home country. He simply categorized Balochistan and Sindh as tribal and rural overlooking the complex relations between urban and rural areas, as a result of which the changes in urban lifestyles considerably impact rural social structure. (Julien Levesque, 2020).

Delineating the Methodological Framework

The present research work is qualitative, and descriptive in nature. In fact, primary and secondary sources both have been used for the collection of data. Primary data has been collected from government official reports, intellectuals, politicians and political activists, while secondary data has been collected from different books, research journals, newspapers and the internet.

For analysis, the researcher used qualitative research methods. My analysis primarily is based on the open-ended interview, as devolution of power to provinces occurred after the passing of the Eighteenth Amendment in the constitution of Pakistan in 2010.

Eighteenth Amendment and Constitutional Mechanism for New Provinces

The decentralization concept is proven historically and earlier civilizations adopted this popular and well-applied notion in their period. For instance, the Greeks found as early as 200 B.C, city-states as more administratively effective and democratically manageable. Moreover, in the recent past, an example is the breaking way of the states from the USSR. (Muhammad Hanif, Maqsudul Nawaz Khan and Maqsudul Hassan Nuri, 2013).

Generally, two important institutes have been greatly strengthened by the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment, Auditor General and Election Commission of Pakistan. A fixed term of four years has been granted to the Auditor-General through amended (Article 168), while, earlier, the tenure was to be strong-minded through an Act by the Parliament. The Parliament of Pakistan will determine the other conditions and terms of his service. Moreover, it is the power of the President to appoint the Auditor General the most high-ranking officer from the office of the auditor-general. (Muhammad Ahsan Rana, 2020).

It was an argumentative part of the Eighteenth Amendment to deal with the appointment of judges to the Supreme and High Courts. To appoint judges of the Supreme Court a special procedure was announced. A Judicial Commission of Pakistan was created with a new Article (175A). The prime objective of this Judicial Commission is to appoint judges to the Supreme Court, Federal Shariat Court, and High Courts. A former judge of the Supreme Court nominated by the Chief Justice in consultation with the two judges, six other members a former Chief

Justice, two senior-most judges of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General of Pakistan, the Federal Minister for Law and Justice, and a senior advocate nominated by the Pakistan Bar Council is the composition of the Judicial Commission. (Muhammad Ahsan Rana, 2020).

Talking about the power of the President, he has the right to be up to date on all matters of foreign policy and internal, but he has to act on the advice of the Prime Minister (and his Cabinet) in all important matters. Furthermore, the President now can appoint governors, chairmen of the Federal Public Service Commission, and services chiefs on the advice of the Prime Minister and he is bound to act on the advice of the Prime Minister. However, the time limits have been specified for this procedure as the parliament has been reduced to 10 days to grant the President's assent to a bill passed by parliament. The discretion power of the President to raise a question to a referendum has also been removed. Similarly, the provincial powers of governors have also been reduced. (Muhammad Ahsan Rana, 2020).

A Bill to amend the Constitution may originate in either House, and when the Bill has been passed by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the House, it shall be transmitted to the other House. If the Bill is passed without amendment by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the House to which it is transmitted under clause, it shall, subject to the provisions of clause, be presented to the President for assent.

If the Bill is passed with an amendment by the votes of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the House to which it is transmitted under clause (1), it shall be reconsidered by the House in which it had originated and if the Bill as amended by the former House is passed by the latter by the votes of not less than two-thirds of its total membership it shall, subject to the provisions of clause, be presented to the President for assent.

A Bill to amend the Constitution which would have the effect of altering the limits of a Province shall not be presented to the President for assent unless it has been passed by the Provincial Assembly of that Province by the votes of not less than two-thirds of its total membership. No amendment of the Constitution shall be called in question in any court on any ground whatsoever. For the removal of doubt, it is hereby declared that there is no limitation on the power of the Majlis-

e-Shoora (Parliament) to amend any of the provisions of the Constitution. (Muhammad Hanif, Maqsudul Nawaz Khan and Maqsudul Hassan Nuri, 2013).

In the Punjab the 'Claim of Seraiki as a federating unit' by 'Seraiki' speaking people and the people of Bahawalpur also started demanding for restoration of it provincial status. (Sana Ullah, Sana, Ijaz Khalid and Shazia Hassan, 2013).

In Article l, clause 2, paragraph (a) the following shall be substituted- namely- (a) the Provinces of Balochistan, Hazara, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa the Punjab, and Sindh: Explanation. - the Province, Hazara shall comprise the territories of existing districts in Hazara Division shall stand excluded from the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. (Saman Zulifqar, 2013).

The Punjabi elite's intelligentsia claim that in the Senate their representation would become small undermining. Moreover, they feared that the creation of Seraiki as a separate province would result in the spread of another ethno-nationalist movement for more provinces in Pakistan. There is also a demand for the creation of a new federating unit in Balochistan. Interestingly, the members of the Balochistan Assembly opposed the suggestions for the formation of new units. They thought that the problem would not remain limited to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab but also engulf Sindh and Balochistan where people would be likely to demand new federating units. Nawab Aslam Raisani, the then Chief Minister of Balochistan, was also found guilty of the proposal of new provinces in numerous press statements. It was demanded by Nawab Aslam Raisani that the districts of Rajanpur and Dera Ghazi Khan should be merged with Balochistan if the Seraiki province is created in South Punjab. Moreover, he argued that this region had continued traditionally and archaeologically as part of Balochistan. (The Dawn News, 2014).

Rana Sanaullah Khan, the Punjab law minister, then tabled that resolution. Another resolution was approved in the Punjab Provincial Assembly for the restoration of the provincial status of Bahawalpur. (The Express Tribune, 2012). This was a political move from PML-N to demand the restoration of Bahawalpur Provincial status, which is a reflection of failure of the Seraiki's demand for a distinct federating unit. (The Express Tribune, 2012).

Abbasi contended to organize the crowds to launch a peaceful movement for Bahawalpur province. He further said we would give the call for the movement at a suitable time. People

from the Bahawalpur circle would be required to participate in the movement including women, men, and children would go to the street and return to their homes alone when the status of the province is reinstated. Similarly, the movement for Seraiki province is not popular in the Bahawalpur region. Generally, the preference was given to the Bahawalpur over Seraiki Province.

Similarly, the Punjab Assembly endorsed the resolutions approved by the parliament and sent them for further procedure. Subsequently, on August 16, 2012, for the formation of a new province(s) in Punjab, a commission was formed by the Speaker of the National Assembly. In light of the resolutions in Punjab and the National Assembly, the commission planned the province of Bahawalpur in Janoobi or South Punjab with Bahawalpur as its capital. (The Express Tribune, 2012).

Similarly, with the grant of the office greater active autonomy, the requirements have been amended concerning the functioning and appointment of the election commissioners of Pakistan. The tenure has been heightened from 3 years to 5 years of office of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC). Formerly, the President had the discretion power to appoint the CEC. Now the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment proposes an apparent criterion for the selection. The three names will be sent by the Prime Minister of Pakistan through amended Article 213 for the requirement to a parliamentary committee. The composition of the parliamentary committee is made by the Speaker. That committee consisted of twelve members, six from the opposition parties and six from the treasury to be selected in the National Assembly by numerous parliamentary party leaders based on their particular strengths. Moreover, through a process of broad-based discussion in Parliament, the Chief Election Commission must be chosen. Moreover, power and authority have been assigned to the Election Commission, rather than the Chief Election Commissioner. The Election Commission consists of five commissioners and one of them is Chief Election Commissioner. All must be retired judges from the respective provincial High Court is the eligibility criteria. (Sana Ullah, Sana, Ijaz Khalid and Shazia Hassan, 2013).

The amended articles in the Eighteenth Amendment are as follows:

1,6,10,17,19,25.27,29,38,41,46,48,51,58,62,63,70,71,73,75,89,90,91,92,99,100,101,104,105,1
12,116,122,129,130,131,132,139,140,142,143,144,147,149,153,154,155,156,157,160,167,168
,170,171,172,175,177,193,194,198,199,200,203,209,213,215,216,218,219,221,224,226,228,2
32,233,234,242,243,246,260,267,268,269,270. (Fakhr-ul-Islam , 2023).

Language, Culture, Identity and Power

Throughout history, language has acted as a platform for the quest for power against other language speakers. Ancient Greeks built their ethnic identity based on differences from the Barbarians. They were called 'Barbarians' by the Greeks based on their language because they found their language speech nonsense and meaningless. (Kanavillil Rajagopalan, 2001) The language used by linguistic elites to attain the objectives of nationalist movements. There are two types of nationalist movements regarding their conflicts. First, they want to get separation from the present state. Second, they want a greater part of autonomy and recognition within the present state. (Feroz Ahmed, 1998).

The Hindko speaking population claimed that Hindko is a separate language not a dialect of any language. The Hindko-speaking people are demanding that Hindko should be recognized as a separate language in the national census. It may be noted that Hindko-speaking areas are including Mansehra, Abbottabad, Peshawar City, Haripur, Kohat, Nowshera and D. G. Khan. (Sana Ullah, Ijaz Khalid and Shazia Hassan, 2017).

But legitimacy, and that authorized culture of the nation, are the things that must be produced. Language occupies a central role in this discourse, though one not always grounded. According to Johann Gottfried Herder, the intellectual inspiration for the notion that language and nationality, or language and race are mutually bounded like a sort of double helix. For Herder, "national genius" was located in poetry, literature and folk songs-the products of the people, but not understood as produced. (Ayres, 2009).

Language and culture are the most important features of ethnic identity. This formation of identity can be witnessed in multi-cultural and multi-lingual areas. Religion can also be a source

of the formation of ethnic identity in multi-religious areas. In the case of Pakistan, language is the main distinguishing feature of an ethnic group. Many cultural norms and values are common all over Pakistan but being a multilingual country, Pakistan has many languages which form different identities. Punjabi, Sindhi, Seraiki, Baluchi, Pashtu and Hindko, etc. are the identities formed based on language and not race and religion.

As there is a difference in opinion about the initiation of various ethnic movements, people feel concerned about their language and do not prefer being governed by people speaking other languages. Thus, loyalty to a certain language can act as a rallying point for a certain language or ethnic movement. There can also be other rallying points like religion, culture and race. The main rallying point for the quest for power has remained to be language and religion in Pakistan. (Tariq Rahman, 1998).

Language is closely related to politics, the quest for power, ethnicity and construction of identity. The language of the elites is often treated as the language of power in the world. However, there are lots of language movements in the world to gain power and importance. Power enables anyone to impose his own will on others and also resists the imposition of other's will on himself. Lukes states that the existence of power is actually "shaping people's perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things." (Steven Lukes, 2005). Domains of power include networks of the judiciary, military, bureaucracy, media and education. These domains control the distribution of goods and services. Some domains of power like culture, ideology, commerce and research lie under governmental control or private control. Only private business and private interactions are purely not under governmental control. (Tariq Rahman, 1998).

The language of the domains of power is often the official language all over the world. Any local language can be used in private business and interactions. Language and power can be used to gain access to the domain of power. People believe that the current order will not change so they teach their children the language of domains of power so that they can get a chance to attain power. A struggle for the access to domain of power among different groups of society which are called elites and proto-elites exists. Those who have power and access to the domain of power are known as elites. Elites are the decision-makers and they exercise power.

In Pakistan, the English language is the language of power and domains of power. Elites, right from the independence, have been tilted towards English. English is considered a symbol of status and high intellectual ability. Hence, people teach their children English so they can get access to higher positions. (Tariq Rahman, 1998).

Similarly, many ethnic movements have been launched in Pakistan based on language as people are emotionally and closely attached to their language. Along with language, culture is also a symbol for any ethnic group. In the case of the current study, the language and culture are two different things and Hazarawal considered themselves culturally and linguistically different from the rest of Pashtuns. The Hazara activists and nationalists started the demand for separate province movement on an ethnic basis on the demands of common people as they are emotionally attached to their language and culture. (Tariq Rahman, 1998).

Quest for Economic and Political Justice

Political recognition in a multicultural society is a common demand. The cultural identity of national and ethnic minorities should be recognized. To develop and express their culture and language, these minorities should have specific rights. Consequently, culture and politics should not be two separate domains. Politics vigorously interferes with culture in a multicultural society. However, in liberalism, politics and culture are seen as detached from each other. In liberalism, when it comes to culture, the state usually holds a neutral position. The "Culture" exclusively belongs to private life.

Charles Taylor rightly states that this principle is untenable since both state and politics are always culturally embedded. Politics itself is a cultural practice, in which norms and values play an important role. Therefore, culture cannot exclusively belong to private life: culture is also a part of the political arena, there is no line between politics and culture. This is a postmodernist conception of the relationship between such categories as society, arts, science and politics. (Mennens, 2012). Post-independence ethnic imbalance led to inequality throughout Pakistan. Disparities have been caused by unequal development and human insecurity which leads to uneven socio-economic and political opportunities for different identities. (Anuradha M. Chenoy , 2006). In the case of Pakistan, these ethnic groups are also linked in domains of

political strength and human development index. (Charles Taylor, 1994). The leaders and the nationalists of the Hazara Province Movement claimed that economic inequality was one of the leading factors in the rise of the movement. They further argued that the revenue generation from the tahsil and district level was used by the province and hence the nationalists claimed economic equality. Historically, before the advent of the British in the subcontinent, monarchies were directly ruling over most of India. British introduced the system of electoral college and the arbitrary power of the King was replaced by constitutional development. (Charles Taylor, 1994).

The modern sense of identity or politics of identity emerged in South Asia during the British rule and subsequently, the regional identity politics based on language emerged in both Pakistan and India. In Pakistan, the non-recognition of ethnic, language and cultural groups played a vital role in the ethnic movement and the demand for economic equality remained part and parcel of their demands. Political recognition of language and economic inequality were two driving forces behind the Bengali nationalist movement. (Kangas, 2001).

Eighteenth Amendment and its Impact on Hazara Province Movement

Informing the overall development portfolio of the Hazara Division, worth over Rs.74 billion of 226 development plans had been scheduled for the Hazara Division. Keeping this in view, it was learned that an accurate development strategy had been devised and the public and population needed the strength of different districts. For District Abbottabad, a total of 85 development orders estimated at over Rs. 22 billion had been intended. (The Nation, 2012).

Likewise, 44 development schemes having a total worth of Rs.10.568 billion for the Mansehra District and 71 development projects with a total worth of Rs. 27 billion for the Haripur District were part of the development program. For the Districts of Kohistan, Torghar and Battagram cumulatively, a total of 70 development projects with a total worth of Rs.14287 million had been redirected in ADP. For Haripur By-Pass Road it had been concluded the forum described that 60 percent of construction work done so far. Consensus has also been developed on the regulation of high school authorities and for newly established hospitals and initial accomplishment of the formation of new posts procedure in District Haripur. The need to grow

the number of police forces in various Districts of the Hazara Division was also discussed. (The Nation, 2012).

Yousaf Raza Gilani, former Prime Minister of Pakistan during the PPPP government (2008-13) declared the formation of small federating units and Seraiki province will be the PPPP's upcoming election program. He said in a meeting in Jalalpur (Multan) that a Manifesto committee of PPPP will formulate suggestions. The PPPP leader Asif Ali Zardari has also announced support for a new federating unit of Pakistan.

However, this declaration of PPPP was rejected by high profile session and Pakistan Seraiki Party's National Council and specified that the pronouncement by PPPP was destined only to get the sympathies of the Seraiki people to put PML-N in a covered situation. He further said that the PPPP is sincere and loyal in accomplishing the call of 70 million Seraiki people by giving them a new province. As PPPP ought to announce the 20th Amendment in the National Assembly which has currently a majority in the parliament from the Seraiki area as the majority of MNAs of all parties help the matter courtesy of the demanding people. (Sana Ullah, Ijaz Khalid and Shazia Hassan, 2017).

The Eighteenth Amendment brought many positive changes in the constitutional setup of Pakistan. At the same time this amendment opened the pandora box of the creation of new provinces in Pakistan. The sub-nationalists' ethnic groups of Pakistan starting demand for the creation of new province in their respective regions. The Hazarawal also raised the voice for the creation of Hazara as separate province in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Eighteenth Amendment finally reawakened the dying demand for the creation of new federating units in Pakistan. (Sana Ullah, Ijaz Khalid and Shazia Hassan, 2017).

Conclusion

Pakistan is a country of various linguistic, ethnic, and cultural communities. There are three types of ethnic groups in Pakistan, national, provincial, and subnational. At the national level, all people are considered one nation. At the provincial level, each major ethnic group has a separate ethnic identity and lastly, at various divisional levels, subnational ethnic groups are

demanding for separate identity and province. The case of a subnational ethnic group is more or less common in all four provinces of Pakistan.

However, the constitutional mechanism has some provisions regarding the creation of new provinces in Pakistan. The Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment was passed in April 2010. It brought so many changes in the constitutional mechanism of Pakistan. At one stage this amendment strengthens the democratic values by emitting 58(2) B and 144 (2) B from the constitution of Pakistan and it also opens a pandora box by changing the name of NWFP to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

After renaming of NWFP to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province the people of the Hazara Division redemanded the creation of a new province in the Hazara belt. Hazarawal (the people living in Hazara region) leadership objected that the Pashtun is not the only ethnic group living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa but the Hazarawal is another subnational ethnic group around 8 million people of the province.

The state performs a key role in the development of politics of ethnicity through its erroneous policies and political decisions. Ethnic groups are mobilized positively or negatively in response to the state's role. The conflictual situation is formed by the state. Another important thing is that ethnic conflict should not be perceived by the state only but it should be perceived as a conflict within the ethnic group created by the state casual policies. In this way, the government and state are the words used interchangeably. Despite this fact, the State is a set of institutions that exercise its power over society. However, the researcher considers that a state without a government and a government without a state cannot perform, both are essential for each other and that is why both are used identically. Moreover, the role of political parties and state actors, including, Senators, MNAs and MPAs also very important in this regard. For this purpose, the role of the state is very important. Instead of following the old repressive policies, political engagement, economic and political reforms, cultural accommodation and social giving can bring about change in plural societies like Pakistan.

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