

 2023 Asif. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons-Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike License 4.0 International (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly attributed, not used for commercial purposes, and, if transformed, the resulting work is redistributed under the same or similar license to this one.

Received:
August 14,
2023

Revised:
September 04,
2023 &
September 27,
2023

Published:
December 10,
2023

Journal of Politics and International Studies
Vol. 9, No. 2, July–December 2023, pp.51–65

Encountering Challenges to the Creation of New Provinces in Pakistan

Nusrat Asif

Associate Professor, Government Graduate Fatima Jinnah College
for Women, Chuna Mandi, Lahore.

Correspondence: nusratasif123@gmail.com

Abstract

A dichotomy prevails between pro and anti-new province creation supporters for a long time. The article supports the latter, because creation of new provinces is more beneficial than administrative separation or merger. Therefore, this paper deals with two questions, why Pakistan have not met the demand of craving new provinces besides inflexible provisions in the constitution of 1973, how this challenge can be encountered, and second; how to deal with the political as well as financial strains that may come with the creation of new provincial setups. After the separation of East Pakistan leadership gave total control to provinces about their boundary adjustments in the 1973 constitution thus making any demand for creation of a new province impossible. While demand exists in both Punjab and Sind. Political parties demand it during every general election. Other factors have provided a strong requirement to reorganize provincial boundaries. Indian state creation on the base of language, provided that an increased number of states has not only strengthened the Indian federation, but also has improved governance. In Pakistan administrative separation has been used as an alternative to the Saraiki province. Analysis provided that creation of new provinces was possible at the time of the merger of FATA in 2018, and concluded that acceptance of the demand for regional identity within the federation would not only strengthen the state, but also increase the quality of governance and economic development, along with a politically satisfied public.

Key Words: FATA merger, New provinces, federalism, South Punjab Secretariat, Hazara, Karachi province, Saraiki province, Multan province, Indian states, 25th amendment.

Introduction

During every general election in Pakistan, the issue of new province creation becomes a popular rhetoric, especially in Karachi, and South Punjab and Multan. Political opinion is divided into supporters and opposes of change in provincial boundaries. Those who demand to recreate the provincial boundaries argue that a distinct ethnic group has the right to get territorial identity as well as separate status within a federation. Secondly, a rapidly growing population needs more administrative division of a large province to improve the quality of administrations. Moreover, far flung areas from the capital of a province are neglected in developmental schemes and people have to travel for legal and official errands.

While the opposing group of the creation of new provinces argues that it is a conspiracy against the state and related provinces. Such efforts endanger the integrity of the state as well unjustly decreases the area of a province. Provinces of Pakistan are already divided into administrative divisions for better administration. After the 18th amendment there is no need for more freedom, because powers are devolved at root level through making provinces to establish local governments.

This article argues that creation of new provinces is the best option for both the political and financial development of Pakistan. The creation of new provinces on the base of both ethnic and administrative purposes will not only satisfy related people but also ensures the integrity of Pakistan. Federations are not static, therefore political challenges appear, are treated, and changes accepted for success.

Should there be separate provinces or should existing ones be united? Pakistan history provided the evidence for latter as in 1955 four provinces in West Pakistan were merged into One Unit against the wishes of smaller provinces. In 2018 same practice was repeated again and federally administrative areas (FATA) and provincially administrative areas (PATA) were merged into the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa against strong unwillingness of local parties. Question arises whether it is possible to create a new province, if people belonging to a particular region demand it.

In 2017 authorities agreed with the public to introduce legal reforms and law enforcement in tribal areas to curtail terrorist activities. Local leadership, especially Jamiat-e Ulama-e-Islam (F) and Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party, demanded to convert this region into a province (Dawn, 24-05-2018). Instead, through the 25th amendment in the constitution FATA was merged into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Demand for carving of new provinces exists since the birth of Pakistan. Regional and national level politicians often criticise Centre or the province Punjab for ignoring the regional ethnic demands. In fact, this issue has not become violent, however its genuineness has been presented all the time. Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf (PTI) during the 2018 election campaign incorporated the South Punjab faction of Muslim League (N) with the promise of establishment of a Saraiki province in South Punjab. The group called Janoobi Punjab Suba Mahaz (JPSM), led by Mr. Khusro Bakhtiar (Daily DAWN, Jang 2018), blamed Muslim League (N) government for failing to do so. After the elections and becoming a federal minister he seems less active for his demand. Chief Minister of the Punjab Usman Buzdar, another southern veteran often expresses his pledge rhetorically.

After coming into power in 2018, the PTI Government set up a Secretariat in the south region of Punjab in 2020. PTI declared that it did not have a 2/3 majority in the National Assembly to amend the constitution. Therefore, they set up a separate secretariat, which will lead eventually toward the establishment of a new province.

Background

The Indian freedom movement took a profound effect when in 1905 the British declared division of Bengal for the improvement of administrative matters, while Hindu Bengali elite along with the All Indian Congress protested and refused to accept it. On the other hand, the Muslims were happy for the status of a separate East Bengal province because there was a chance of economic and administrative improvement in East Bengal. Anti-divide Protest resulted in the nullification of the

division in 1911. Pakistan historians presented this incident as a turning point for the Hindu Muslim unity in India (Sayeed, 1997, 2nd Ed). After many years of it Pakistan received East Bengal, and West Punjab, because Congress refused to give the whole of these provinces to Pakistan.

Congress leaders claimed that division of Punjab and Bengal would fail the newly made provinces. However, divided provinces both in India and Pakistan continued flourishing. The process of division was complicated and stressful. Both nations were resentful and doubted each other. Redcliff Award decided the territorial division and Steering Committees were set up to divide the transferable assets. These steering committees consisted of provincial leaders and officials from both sides. Sub committees have to divide from revenue to artefacts in museums and rare manuscripts from libraries. It took many years to complete the task while both parties were unsatisfied (Hussain, 2019).

Another task was the succession of Princely states, advised by the Act of 3rd June 1947, to join a country on the bases of either the same religious connection or geographical connection. Those princely states who joined Pakistan, were officially made the part of Pakistan in 1955, before promulgation of the constitution of 1956. Sardar Patel and V.P. Menon performed excellently in favour of India and soon secured most of the states (Hudson, 1997). Even IOJ&K was obtained by India through the so-called Instrument of Accession executed by Maharaja Hari Singh on October 26, 1947. This unfair action later became the cause of contention between Pakistan and India. Pakistan still demands for a fair decision over the fate of Jammu and Kashmir, a Muslim majority state and geographically adjacent to Pakistan.

Pakistan started its constitutional journey with two wings; one has four provinces; the other has a larger population. In 1955 instead of creating provinces in the East Pakistan and West Pakistan government chose to convert the four provinces into one-units and made Lahore its capital because Karachi was already the capital of Pakistan (Talbot, 2012). Through this one unit, West Pakistan was given equal seats in the federal legislature but a sense of insecurity was created in all regions of both parts of Pakistan. Punjab was blamed for the tendency of centralization of powers and authority (Jaffrelot, 2009). It was called one of the major factors for the alienation of East Pakistan too.

In 1971 after experiencing two constitutions, East-Pakistan became Bangladesh. Instead of learning a lesson from this tragedy, authorities in Pakistan kept centralising powers instead of accepting and confining in regional identities. The Bhutto government when promulgated the constitution of Pakistan in 1973, inserted the Article 239 (7) to bar parliament to make Karachi a separate province, against the wishes and interest of people of Karachi.

Karachi was made the capital of the new State. The Sindh government was not satisfied with this act. Refugee migration from India started before 14 August 1947. Though more than five million settled in the Punjab, the non-Punjabi migrants mostly came to Karachi for jobs and business. These migrants were from Delhi, UP, Gujrat, and South of India. Gradually they grew in number and obtained a majority in Karachi along with other urban areas of Sindh. Later members of other ethnic groups of Pakistan settled in it, especially during the era of General Ayub Khan (Imran, 2002).

When migrant leadership demanded the status of province for Karachi it was not irrational, though politically this demand may result in both shortening of the area, and revenue of Sindh. Sindhi leadership opposed the demand, and felt threatened. They protest against any move of making Karachi a separate province, the largest revenue source to both Sindh and Pakistan.

The Constitution 1973 on Provincial Boundaries

The constitution of 1956 and 1962 have no article related to the boundaries alteration of provinces in the original draft of the 1973 constitution, article 239 dealt with the amendment in the constitution along with change in provincial boundaries and contained seven clauses. In 1985 this article was amended but section 4 was not changed. Article 239(4) provides that if the amendment is related to the change in the boundaries of a province, then the consent of that Provincial Assembly with two third majority is required. The President cannot sign an amendment bill related to the alteration of any provincial boundaries unless it is passed in the provincial Assembly.

The Pakistan People's Party government added 239(4) to bar Karachi from becoming a new province. But it has become a hurdle to create new provinces out of other provinces too (Awais, 2014). This sub-clause proved rather unfair because a minority group who wanted to obtain the status of separate province cannot do so, whereas the majority will not allow it to get a separate status of province. In the presence of this clause they are dependent on the good will of the majority. It is impossible for a minority to show two third majority in the provincial assembly.

18th Amendment and New Provinces.

In 2011, the famous 18th amendment was passed during the Pakistan People's Party regime, and many regional parties and leaders hoped that it would also allow territorial changes in provinces to fulfil the public demand. However, it mainly focused on the devolution of powers from the federal government to provinces. Article 140 A amended in 18th provided each province by law to establish local government and devolve the political, financial, and administrative responsibilities and authorities, to representatives of local government. Increased provincial powers gave authority in financial and administrative fields, however this amendment failed to address the demands of underdeveloped, farflung regions and ethnic groups within Pakistan.

As Article 239 (4) has made the readjustment in provincial boundaries almost impossible. Therefore, the demand for making Karachi, and Saraiki province cannot be met easily. It is interesting to note that in almost every federal country it is nearly impossible to create a separate regional unit from existing provinces or states in a federation.

Research Question

In this situation following questions were selected for the present paper, they are;

1. How can Pakistan legally address the issue of provincial boundaries or creation of new provinces in the presence of Article 239.
2. Why new provinces are essential and how government can deal with the financial, administrative needs for new provincial set ups

A proper investigation into these questions could help legislators and policy makers to decide effectively. Descriptive method is used in this article. It would be useful to look at the practice of the other federations about recreation of new units.

America

Thirteen colonies after ratification of the constitution became the states of America in 1779. Gradually western lands were included into the Union through capture, purchase, and state legislatures. First given status of territories and later made into states. Part of Louisiana was purchased by President Jefferson from France. The Spanish and Mexican lands were won after fights. In 1959 territory of Hawaii was dissolved and given permission by Congress to join the federation under the Admission Act 1959. The American constitution do not provide to create a new state from already existed states. Many American states contain factions, which proposed a split of certain states, but could not get it passed in the State Congress. California is a famous case for split, but it failed to get support from within the State. Though local parties regularly demand a split during elections in the state.

Canada

The federation Union of Canada was formed in 1867 with three British colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada. Later other British colonies joined the Union. The British North America Act of 1867 section 146 provided for the British Colonies and territories in North America to join the Federation Union through the order of the British Crown. The Territories could join through addresses while provinces could do so through their legislatures because at that time Canada was not an independent state. From 1982 Canadian Parliament started to make laws for itself (Dyck, 2004). In 1971 an important Act was passed by the British Parliament which also allowed Canada beside many things to establish new provinces from the territories, as Manitoba was made out of Northwest Territories. This Act provides provisions for establishment of governments and administrations in those territories barring veto from provinces. In 1993 Nunavut Act allowed Canada to organise the Eastern part of Northwest Territories, which came into effect in 1999.

Australia

Australia became a federation on first January 1901, and has six states, three internal and seven territories. After 1901 gradually other colonies and areas joined Australia. The Australian Constitution provided that new states may be admitted to the commonwealth. The Parliament of Commonwealth with the majority of state voters upon question of increase, diminish, or alteration in limits of State and with the consent of State Parliament, can do so. New state can be made but with the consent of the affected State Parliament (Robinson, 1961).

India

Authors of the Indian constitution considered the possibility of emerging differences within the states of union in future, and debated the creation of new provinces on the bases of administration, language, ethnicity, but not religion (Jalal, 1995). Congress was against the division of India on religious bases. It thus provided its people to exert more autonomy through territorial independence within the Union.

Indian constitution 1950 adopted the name for country 'Union of India' instead of federation of States, and word 'States' replaced the Provinces like America. The world's longest written constitution 1950 of India has one special feature; the power of parliament to form new union territory or states by uniting parts of any already existing state or union territory. It can also change the identity of states. Article 2,3, and 4 empower parliament by law to include a new state, increase, decrease, the area of any state. The Article 3 made it obligatory for the President after introduction of a bill in parliament about the change into state boundaries to send the bill in the state legislature to express its views within a given period. It is commented that the authors of the Indian constitution believed that states would evolve and change therefore, making new states was easier. Firstly, a bill to create new State was to be recommended by President in the Parliament (often on the request of the cabinet), secondly President refers the bill in State assembly for its views in a given time period and if it fails to give report within time, Parliament is not bound to the opinion of State Assembly. It can introduce the bill after the end of time given to the state assembly.

The article 3 of the Indian constitution has resulted in the creation of twenty-nine states in India. There are different views about this proliferation of states. The supporters took it as a sign of Indian political development and strengthening of competitive federalism, while the opposing group took it as a continuous trend and a danger to Indian integrity. The observation of economic status tells that the new states have done mostly well and not a single state has done worse than before or from the mother state (Ahmer, 2016). The Indian public has gained confidence in the political system and in their Union that it has responded to the political demands and the union has not disintegrated as they fear. Competitive federalism has increased the speed of economic development and India has succeeded in maintaining the ratio of GDP growth (Naik & Kumar, 2016). People know now that if they have a political difference, the constitution can respond to it.

The analysis of above-mentioned federations concluded that every federation has worked out the issue of creating new territorial units according to its unique situation. Already existing territorial units are reluctant to allow regions within them to get a separate identity. They have gone into the future to assure this by adding clauses to stop creation of new units, however federations welcome new territories easily. The Indian constitution provided powers to the federal legislature to create new units from older ones on the bases of language. The Canadian constitution also bars provincial veto on recreation of specific boundaries.

Pakistan and India share the same political history, Muslim League representing Muslim majority supported the division of India, claiming that their identity as a prominent minority was ignored by the majority. Ironically after the independence Pakistan leadership ignored the same principle and began to group both powers and territories in the centre. After twenty-four years of continuous conflict and conspiracy theories East Pakistan was separated. Even then the remaining leadership failed to accept the demands of West Pakistan's ethnic groups and created hurdles against their demands in the constitution through inclusion of 239(4). Consequently, after seventy-six years of independence Pakistan still consisted of four provinces.

While Indian leadership, who opposed division of India, took a significant step and included Article 3 to accept the demands of dissatisfied sections and avoided future

division in future. It is the only constitution which does not empower the state parliament to decide the cutting of its territory to make a new state. Only the Union government and parliament are given the power to do so. Swenden (2016) has explored the roots of article 3 in the Indian constitution in the history of Princely States succession. Indian scholars are also divided into two groups on making new states. Supporters of new states consider it useful for the economic and political well-being of Indians (Kumar, 2010). When new states are made, the ratio of economic development increases (Niak & Kumar, 2016).

While the groups criticised the proliferation of states considering it as a weapon of disintegration. They say that Article 3 encourages local leaders to over-publicize local problems or disagreements to get popularity and discontent between different regions of a state. Soherwordi and Khattak (2014) also found permission to establish new provinces as a gateway to disintegration. They described five reasons for the demand of provinces. These are feelings of isolation, dissimilarity, distance from capital, increased population and to achieve the goal of development. However, the authors rejected the idea fearing that it might encourage local leaders to make it a source of popularity. They said that the public preferred more of good governance and low prices than demand of a new province (Asghar, 2012). says that new provinces can lead to more discrimination and polarity instead of unity therefore administrative division should be preferred.

New unit's creation on bases of language has allowed the Indian federation to convert focus from religious identity for unity into language. Separation movements were also weakened through division of provinces for example Haryana was carved out of Punjab. New states have strengthened the federal government in India.

Demand for New Provinces in Pakistan: Karachi

This demand of Karachi province existed before the establishment of MQM. Karachi has grown into an international city with a huge population of more than two and half million and the third largest city in the world. It is not easy to administer the province and Karachi through the same government. Karachi leadership continuously demands its separation while the Sindhi are against it, because it would deprive the remaining Sindh from the income and an important part of Sindh. However, the demand sometimes has become violent and sometimes compromising throughout a long period.

Members of Standing Committee of Pakistan Senate on Law and Justice, including Mr. Ghous Mohammad Khan, Mr. Walid Iqbal, Mr. Musaddiq Masood Malik, Ms. Sana Jamali along others led by Senator Mohammad Javed Abbasi called upon Chief Minister Murad (Dawn, 2019). The Chief Secretary Sindh Mr Mumtaz Ali Shah, and Law Minister Mr. Murtiza Wahab were also present. CM Sindh Murad Ali Shah from PPP said, "constitution allows modification of provincial boundaries but not the creation of new provinces in the country". Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) Party along with other parties in a huge public meeting in Karachi demanded to make this "mini Pakistan" a separate province to save the country (Tribune 31-01-2022). However, in 201, the first step in the change in provincial boundaries took place in KPK, and it was not a division but a merger.

Beside Karachi there has been the same demand in the south Punjab for Saraiki Province since long. Multan, and the former Princely state of Bahawalpur wanted separate provincial status for their regions. There is hardly any noticeable opposition in Punjab against their demand but the task of removing inelastic provisions from the constitution needs radical efforts. MNAs belonging to Karachi and Saraiki belt often introduced private member bills with suggestions of making new provinces in the Parliament without any results.

FATA and PATA Merger

In 2018 an important event took place in regard to provincial boundaries change. The 25th amendment was passed within a short period resulting in the merger of FATA and provincial tribal areas into KPK. FATA was formed by the British, Pakistan kept the same administration until 2018. During anti-terrorism war terrorists made their hideouts in the tribal areas. Law enforcing agencies faced hurdles due to their different tribal regulation code. General Pervaiz Musharraf tried to merge FATA into KPK in 2002. KPK assembly passed a resolution to incorporate tribal areas with it in December ,2016 for the purpose of development.

However, after the APS tragedy in 2014, the Government of Pakistan decided to bring these areas under the penal code and jurisdiction of Pakistan. Local and national political parties who have vote banks in these areas wanted this region as a separate province. Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazal-ur-Rehman) ran a rigorous campaign to make it a separate province, however the federal government denied the best opportunity to experiment with the process of making a new province and merged it with KPK through passing the 25th amendment and after 26th in a short period.

25th Amendment 2018

The Law minister Chaudhry Mehmood Bashir of Muslim League (N) introduced the Bill. On 24th May 2018 National assembly passed the 25th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan. Next day it was passed by the Senate, and on 25th May 2018, from the assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Finally, the president signed it. Consequently, both FATA and PATA were merged into KPK. The 25th amendment or Act 2018, amended Article 1, 51,59, 106, 155, &146 of the Constitution while repealing Article 247. Adjustment of seats were made accordingly. The President also signed the bill called 'FATA Interim Governance Regulation 2018 under Article 247. This article was repealed by the 31st Amendment of the constitution.

Response

Amendment caused mixed response within the Country. Molana Fazal-ur-Rehman had run a vigorous campaign to demand a separate provincial status for FATA. Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F), and KPKN Milli Awami Party (PkMAP) walked out while voting on the amendment from the National and Provincial assemblies. They stated that local citizens wanted a separate province. FATA Grand Alliance also called it unjustifiable and forced. Tribal leaders praised the Army Chief for playing a role in the merger of the FATA (Tribune 30-05-2018). PTI Chairman Imran Khan appreciated the amendment. The Afghan government produced a statement saying it was against the 'Treaty of Rawalpindi' between Afghanistan and the British before making of Pakistan, however, Pakistan rejected their claim.

MQM leader Mr. Farooq Sattar commented that they supported national unity but they also wanted FATA to be made a separate province. He also suggested making 19 provinces in Pakistan, including Hazara, and south Punjab. He said a referendum could be used to know the opinion of the public (The Dawn, 24-04-2018).

Saraiki Province in South Punjab

Immediately after the merger of tribal areas into PKP, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf came into power. In the 2018 general elections PTI promised to create Saraiki Province in South Punjab. Many south Punjab veterans were given important positions in the government, Usman Buzdar was made CM of the Punjab against the opposition of a large faction in the party. Shah Mehmood Quraishi was given the portfolio of Foreign Minister. Foreign minister Shah Mahmood Quraishi, and CM Punjab Usman Buzdar discussed the plan of creating a separate secretariat for south Punjab. Both leaders said that dissolving the south secretariat is mere propaganda (Daily Jang: 06-04-2021). The PTI government did not have a 2/3 majority in both the national and Provincial assembly to pass any amendment. Therefore, after much deliberation, the government announced the creation of a separate administrative zone for the southern region. It was declared that the setting up of south Punjab secretariat will gradually lead towards the Saraiki province.

Rana Sanaullah of Muslim League (N) moved a Private Member Bill in the Punjab Assembly to create two provinces in the South Punjab that were restored as Bahawalpur and Multan (Jang, 2021). He mentioned that in the Punjab Assembly's two resolutions were passed to restore the state of Bahawalpur and the making of another province during the last government. Motion was supported by all parties. He also emphasised that a national commission should be formed to work on it. MQM Pakistan leadership also submitted a Private Member Bill to eliminate clause 4 of Article 239 which provided that consent of two thirds majority of the provincial assembly is required to approve creation of a new province. The Bills are still with standing Committees.

Foreign minister Shah Mahmood Quraishi told while answering a question from Nasir Awan in the National Assembly that Imran Khan has laid the foundation of the south secretariat, however there are factions in every political party who have contradictions and could not agree on the choice between Multan and Bahawalpur as capital of Secretariat. Shah Mahmood Quraishi said the slowness is due to disintegrity among politicians of south (Daily Jang: 19-08-2021 page 8).

Establishment of South Punjab Secretariat

CM Punjab Usman Buzdar approved the establishment of South Punjab Secretariat in the 43rd cabinet meeting (Daily Jang: 30-04-2021). CM claimed that the south Punjab secretariat would be totally independent along with its secretaries. Provincial cabinet standing committee for legal affairs approved the Rules of Reference. In the same meeting cabinet allocated more funds for the district of south Punjab's new tehsils, Chock Serwar Shaheed of Muzafar Ghar.

Governor Punjab delivered a notification on 11th September 2020. According to the notification important amendments have been made in the Punjab government Rules of Business 2011. The notification describes that the Chief Minister is allowed to make this notification in the public interest. More than one secretariat was

established and an Additional Chief Secretary South Punjab position was created. He will supervise the departments on the behalf of the Chief Secretary in South Punjab. Notification described that the Additional Chief Secretary will strictly keep the Chief Secretary informed about everything about departments.

Agriculture, forest, fishery, & Wildlife, education, Communication and works, Finance, Home department, Law & Parliamentary, Irrigation, Livestock & Dairy, Law enforcement. Housing, urban development, public health engineering, local government and community development departments. Both Multan and Bahawalpur want this secretariat in their respective regions.

Challenges and Solutions

The south Punjab secretariat is working; however, the demand of Saraiki province is still not met. General elections are due in Pakistan. Separate provincial status in Karachi, Multan, and Saraiki belt would be part of the election campaign.

An efficient Federal system provides for the satisfaction of both the territorial units and the citizens living in them. States and their constitutions do not keep static. They evolve with time to satisfy and meet the demands of their nation. There is always a possibility in the federal system that a group within a territorial unit may demand individual identity. It could be cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious, economic, or territorial. The basic principle of federal ideology is based upon the existence of individualism inside nationalism. Therefore, when a federation is successful in dealing with political challenges practically, it becomes stronger in unity and integrity. If a federation as a political system delays providing solutions to problems with its people and territorial units due to fear of disintegration, it becomes economically and politically fragile and thus loses the confidence of its people.

Accountability and Fiscal federalism in a federal system needs accountable governments (Khalid & Hussain, N, 2018). Provincial governments in case of Pakistan need to be accountable for their performance and to respond to their native's with good governance in every area of their territory, but unfortunately governance in areas farther from the provincial capital became more and more dependent on the political and bureaucratic officials. Who did not do their job properly and the public took it as a fault of the provincial capital.

Population of Pakistan has increased many fold. Slowly shifting from agricultural economy to service economy because the industrialization process has been halted by many factors. Rural migration is alarming. Good governance in rural areas is still absent. Such factors lead people to lose their confidence in the political system and federation. They need evidence that the federation responded to their original demands. Merit and transparency can be improved through new provinces because administrations will have to work comparatively at a smaller level.

FATA and KPK merger has not yet solved the problem. Administration as well as law and order in the tribal areas has not improved. People still want separate administration in their region. There are some options discussed with their possibility and problems.

The Option of Referendum

MQM and Sariki-belt residents often suggest that the option of referendum should be used and the federation can use this option to create provinces. However, careful homework is needed before using the option of the referendum.

Referendum in the constitution of Pakistan was first introduced through seventh amendment, and 96-A was inserted in the constitution under the Act 1977 (23 of 1977) section 2 w.e.f. May 16, 1977, and under sub section (3) section 1 of the said Act ceased to be in force on September 13, 1977. It allowed the Prime Minister to hold a referendum to obtain confidence directly. However, General Zia-ul-Haq amended it in favour of the President in 1985. Finally, under the 18th amendment and now the President can do so on the Advice of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister can advise the President to hold a referendum under Article 48(6) of the Constitution. (Awais, 2014). It says; “if at any time the Prime Minister considers it necessary to hold a referendum on any matter of national importance, he may refer the matter to a joint sitting of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and if it is approved in a joint sitting, the Prime Minister may cause such matters to be referred to a referendum in the form of a question that is capable of being answered by either “Yes” or “No”.

All Political Parties Conference & Media Platform

The PM can use the tool after taking consent of national and regional political leaders in an ‘All parties conference’ before the referendum. Public opinion usually mirrors the opinion of political leaders, media or news people and scholars. Media is an agenda setter in every field of life. Research Reports from academia can also convince policy makers to take action.

Financial Issues

The anti-province groups and technocrats claimed that Pakistan cannot afford new provinces due to poor economy. Pakistan has no funds to establish new provincial capitals, administration machineries, legislature Assembly buildings. In the past East Pakistan leaders claimed that their financial sources were unjustly used by the centre and Punjab. MQM in Karachi, the Southern citizens in Punjab, and Balochi rebels in Balochistan claimed that their regional sources are exploited by federal or provincial governments and are not used for their welfare. Therefore, it would be wise to create new provinces not only to satisfy them but also for the proper and just use of financial means of a region.

The Economist Asher and Paul Novosad (2017) in the Indian case observed that when new Indian states were established, rapid Economic growth was seen. They concluded that Institutions matter in the development therefore local control of institutions can have a huge impact on the economy of the related region. The size and poor economy of a new territorial unit can be improved with trade and being market friendly, moreover services provision by the native in other provinces and foreign countries can support the provincial government structure. Size is irrelevant to economic success. When investment and free trade beside free markets are practiced, economy also improves (Alesina & Spolaore, 2003). Size is irrelevant to economic success; investment, and trade between the units improve the economy, (Alesina & Spolaore, 2003). There will be more economic activities with increased transparency and accountability due to the nearness of provincial capital. Pakistani

Provinces already consist of administrative divisions and same administrative staff and offices can be divided along with the boundaries.

Pakistan can also rename provinces as 'states' like India. Ex-Princely states can be revived, and provinces can be established on the bases of language, ethnicity, administrative improvement in every existing province. It will improve not only law and order in the province but also a sense of belonging, especially Bloach alienated element would lose its attraction.

Conclusion

The article concludes that political dissatisfaction is far more dangerous for integrity of state than economic issues. Federations, which recognizes, accepts and protects the regional identity of its people have less fear of disintegration. Economic development takes place when different sections of people feel included and heard by their system. Newly-made units will create competitive federalism resulting in rapid growth. Therefore, the creation of provinces would increase public confidence in leadership and the state rejecting conspiracies.

References

- [1] Ahmer, M. (2016). "The Dynamics of Pakistan's Intra-National Security", in *India Quarterly*. Vo. 72, No.1.pp 16-29 Article retrieved from URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48505480>
- [2] Alesina, A. and Spolaore, E. (2003). *The Size of the Nation*. New York: Harvard University Press.
- [3] Asghar, U. (2012). "Demand for New Provinces in Pakistan", in *ISSRA Papers*.
- [4] Asher, S., Novosad, P. (2017). 'Political and Local Economic Growth: Evidence from India' In *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*. Vol 2 No. 1.pp 229-273. Retrieved from URL: <http://www.jstor.org./stable/26156214>
- [5] Asif,N., Mukhtar, A., and Rashid, A. (2021). Interstate Hydro Politics: Issues of Hydro Resource Management in Indian, in *Journal of Political Studies* No.1 volume 28. Pp 23-42
- [6] Awais, A. (2014). *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973*. Lahore: Law Book House.
- [7] CM Punjab in the provincial cabinet meeting approved.Jahng (19-04-2021)Lahore: Page 8,
- [8] CM Punjab met with foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi and discussed creation of Secretariat for south Punjab along with the development plans. Both said the news related to the dissolving of new secretariats are mere propaganda. Jahng (06-04-2021). Lahore: Page 10,retrieved from <https://www.jhang.com/news/>
- [9] Copland, I. (1991). "The Princely States, the Muslim League and the Partition of India in 1947", in *The International History Review*. Vol.13. No. 1 pp 38-69. Article retrieved form URL <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40106322>
- [10] Dyck, R. (2004). *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*.4th Edition. Canada: Thompson Nelson.
- [11] Hodson, H.V. (1986). *The Great Divide: Britain-India- Pakistan*. Karachi: OUP
- [12] Hussain, N. (2019). *Dynamics of Governance and Politics in the Punjab (Pakistan) 1947 to 1955*. Unpublished PhD dissertation , University of the Punjab Lahore.
- [13] I,Khalid & N.Hussain.(2018). Financial federalism in pakistan :implications for centre-province relations. In *Journal of Political Studies* no.i volume 25. Pp 33-54

- [14] Imran, I. (2002). Past and Present: the Making of the State in Pakistan', in Imran, I. , Mumtaz, S. and Racine, J.L. (eds.), *Pakistan: the Contours of State and Society*. Pp 67-90. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- [15] Jaffrelot, C. (2009). *Pakistan: Nationalism without Nation*. London: The Middle Eastern Association of North.
- [16] Jalal, A. (1995). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [17] Kumar, A. (2010). "Exploring the Demand for New States", in *Economics and Political Weekly*. Vol. 45, No. 33. Pp 15-18. Retrieved from URL:<https://www.jstor.org./stable/25741961>
- [18] Malik, M.S., Abbasi, A.M. and Gul, S. (2019). "Politics of Identity and Rewarding the State Boundaries in India: An Historical Perspective", in *Global Social Sciences Review (GSSR)*. Vol. 4, No. 3. Pp 10-16.
- [19] McKenna, T.C.M. (2002). "Reorganisation of Provinces," in *Vincentiana*. Vol.46, No. 3. Retrieved from URL: <https://via.library.depaul.edu/vincentiana/vol46/iss3/25>
- [20] Naik, S.K. and Kumar, V.A. (2016). *Federalism and the Formation of States in India*. (Working paper 378). Bangalore: The Institute for Social and Economic Change.
- [21] Nisar Awan asked about the new South Punjab Secretariat. Page 1. Jahng (30-04-2021)Lahore.
- [22] Robinson, K.W. (1961). "Sixty Years of Federation in Australia", in *The Geographical Review*. Vol. LI No.pp
- [23] Sayeed, K.B. (1997 2nd Ed.). *Pakistan the Formative Phase 1857-1948*.Karachi:OUP
- [24] Shah, A. (2012) "The 18th Constitutional Amendment: Glue or Solvent for National Building and Citizenship in Pakistan?", in the *Lahore Journal of Economics*. Vol 17. No. SE. pp 387-424.
- [25] Soherwordi, S.H. and Khattak, S.A. (2014). "The Creation of New Provinces in Pakistan and its Implication for Integrated Country", in *J.R.S.P.*, Vol. 51 No.1, 20202020
- [26] Swenden, W. (2016). "Centre-State Bargaining and Territorial Accommodation: Evidence from India ", in *Swiss Political Science Review*. Vol. 22. No. 4. Pp 491-515. Doi:10.1111/spsr.12233
- [27] Talbot, I. (2012). *Pakistan: A New History*. Karachi: OUP

- [28] The Express Tribune Pakistan. (31-11-2023) Retrieved on (14-11-2023) URL: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2341223/various-parties-demand-making-karachi-a-province>
- [29] Tribal leaders hail the role of the army in the merger of FATA in KPK. The Express Tribune.Pakistan.(30.05.2018)
<https://www.tribune.com.pk/story/https://tribune.com.pk/story/1722279/activists-tribal-leaders-hail-armys-role-fata-merger>
- [30] “Constitution Needs to be Interpreted Early on New Provinces: Murad”. *The Dawn* (03-12-2019). Retrieved from URL: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1520145>