

THE MULTI-LAYERED ETHNIC MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN: AN ANALYTICAL APPROACH TOWARDS THE HAZARA COMMUNITY IN BALUCHISTAN AND KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA

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ABSTRACT

The Hazara community in Pakistan is a multi-layered ethnic society, living in the Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provinces of the country. The Hazara community or Hazarawall (the area of the Hazara community) is also an ethnolinguistic group, inhabited in the Hazara region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). Whereas, the Hazara community of Baluchistan, which is also an ethnic group, lives slightly different from the Hazara of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Interestingly, the voices for a separate identity and equal distribution of resources come from both communities, all together, despite having colossal cultural and language differences. This study intends to highlight the various leading factors, disregarding of both Hazara communities, in their respective areas. The discussion on this subject also contends that the people of both Hazara communities had demanded self-assertion and the role of media in this regard has remained limited. This results in a situation of identity crisis for the Hazara community in Pakistan. Therefore, this study focuses on the issues related to the social and political acceptance of the Hazara community in Pakistan. This study follows the identity crisis theory by Erik H. Ericson (1968) which explores the concept of an adolescent identity crisis. Moreover, this study focuses on the primary source of data to bring up the true picture of the ground. Also, the study involves a secondary source of data to bring a proper background of the Hazara community in Pakistan.

Keywords: Hazara, Ethnicity, Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Identity Crisis, Religious Extremism.

INTRODUCTION

The social layer and divergence contexts are an inbound mechanism of social structures in any state. Several scholars have studied this phenomenon as per their understanding. However, many academics believe that ethnicity is a concept, exclusively designed for minorities, groups, races, castes, classes, or inner and outer groups. However, there are some other scholars, who studied this concept in terms of insiders and outsiders or others, nationalities, aborigines and immigrants as well. Ethnicity and ethnocentrism as concepts have remained of recent origins, however, the phenomenon of ethnicity is not new, at all. Most countries across the globe have experienced a variety of ethno-dissonance that encompasses an intensity of politicized ethnicity. Developed countries like the U.S. and Britain, have also suffered from this particular phenomenon. (Mujeed, 2021, 392) The Federal structure in any democratic country is considered an administration design that shall adapt provinces/states along with accommodating national or sub-national entities in a broader national system. The federal system is also expected to accomplish the developing socio-political system along with economic and also address identity conflicts to run the state affairs, smoothly. Although, the institutional provisions, to grow operational political structures upon federalist ideas, differ from state to state. (Khan, 2020, 144)

In the case of Pakistan, the state is divided into two wings, i.e., military and civil. The political parties, mostly the parties with an extreme Islamic ideology, do place their influence on the overall administrative and political structure of the country. (Khan, 2022,) However, the military establishment does act as “the parallel state”. (Waseem, 2011, 7) This results in disparity among the state institutions such as civilian and military wings, which disrupts the overall policy and strategy matters of the country. (Waseem, 2011, 7) Moreover, handling ethnic diversity in Pakistan has remained a big challenge for the country’s federation, since its inception in 1947. After the split-up between East and West Pakistan in 1971, the minority provinces remained alive to achieve autonomy. (Mushtaq, 2016, 307) Currently,

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Pakistan faces the secession of ethnic groups due to a lack of social cohesion. One of the most somber is the demand for greater autonomy in Baluchistan. Also, independent separatist feelings in Sindh province for the creation of Sindhudesh, and demands for an independent Pathan state, to be called *Pakhtoonistan*, trigger political tensions across the country. Among all these, there are also provincial minorities namely “*Hazara*” in both Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which are also considered marginalized communities of the respective provinces. (Tahir, 1996, 7) Similarly, most of the academicians in Pakistan believe that the *Hazara* community is a multi-layered ethnolinguistic group that is vying for the recognition of its identity. As mentioned above, the *Hazara* community in Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are slightly different in terms of their language and cultures, but their living structure is analogous. (Waseem, 2011, 7) In this regard, various representatives of the *Hazara* community have been voicing their concerns, pertaining to the ignorance of a multi-Islamic sect of Pakistani society. This has led to an identity crisis in this particular community. Eric H. Ericson (1968) has deeply studied this phenomenon. Being one of the finest psychologists in the world, Eric believes that an identity crisis is a time of rigorous examination and thus, an investigation of different behaviors of looking at oneself. However, Eric further suggests, humans do question their existence in any society. However, a sense of identity is an important aspect for youngsters in order to promote the inner sense of resources in an acute crisis situation. (Ericson, 1968, 11) Now here is a question that arises, what is Identity?

Generally, identity is understood as a concept that involves experiences, values, customs, beliefs, relationships and most importantly, memories which make a human believe in his/her existence in any society. On the other hand, the *Hazara* community is going through the same situation. The community, as mentioned above, has been vying for their identity and expects the state of Pakistan to felicitate them as per the soul of the constitution. This study, however, intends to explore the following objectives;

- To assert the history, language and culture of the *Hazara* community in Pakistan.
- To explore the nature of marginalization in the *Hazara* community in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan.
- To explore the role of state of Pakistan in providing the safeguards to these communities

To meet the above-mentioned objectives of this study, we designed the following research questions;

- ⇒ What is the historical background of *Hazara* communities in Pakistan?
- ⇒ What are the main issues being faced by this particular community?
- ⇒ How far the state of Pakistan has provided safeguards to this community?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The discussion generated in this study is based on the interviews conducted with the relevant stakeholders along with a qualitative analysis of the existing published literature in the form of books, research articles, reports, and official documents. Moreover, this study, not only discovers the contradictions of this but also includes societal perspectives on the ethnic diversity and federation of Pakistan. The current research is exploratory, normative, descriptive and qualitative. Both primary and secondary sources have been consulted. Primary sources included interviews with the relevant stakeholders under the convenient sampling method. Primary data also conducted through government official reports, census reports, gazetteer and archives. We talked to thirteen people of the *Hazara* Community in both Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces. However, the required secondary data for this study has been collected from Books, Research Articles, Journals, Newspapers and Internet sources.

Hazara at a Glimpse

While exploring literature on the history of *Hazara*, we learned that there is no realistic substantiation that may determine the origin of this community. Although many scholars argue that this particular community has its roots in Genghis Khan (Elizabeth, 1951, 7) We also witnessed a contradiction with this argument, too. Therefore, one cannot determine the roots of *Hazaras*, either in Afghanistan or in Pakistan. However, it is believed that the *Hazaras* were converted during the 13th century, in Afghanistan. The *Hazara* migrated from central Afghanistan to Pakistan, especially in Quetta. Many scholars believe that this community was forced to migrate in the late 1880s by Afghan King Abdur Rehman following their persecution. Despite having a full supremacy and control, thousands of *Hazara*

people fled to Quetta. (Elizabeth, 1951, 7) However, Zargar (2021) notes that over sixty per cent of the total *Hazara* population was either killed or displaced in different parts of Pakistan. (Zargar, 2021, 9)

Historically, *Hazara* would look like most districts on the frontier side of the KP province. Interestingly, *Hazara*, in the course of its history, has changed hands many times. As Ahmar believes; “During the 16th century, the Turks and following them the Mongols invaded *Hazara*. The Mughals ruled *Hazara* and called it *Pakhli Sarkar*. At the end of the 18th century, *Swati*, and *Pathan* tribes, themselves ousted by the Yousafzai Pathans, invaded North *Hazara* and laid claim to its forest and valleys. During the Sikh rule, *Hazara*, like most of the frontier, became part of Punjab”. (Ahmar, 2016, 7) During Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's era, the *Hazara* region was promoted to a divisional level that comprised two districts, ie. *Mansehra* and Abbottabad. *Haripur* was upgraded to the level of District and from *Mansehra Battagram*. *Torghar* was also given the status of District. (Ahmar, 2016, 8) The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province borders Afghanistan to its west, Punjab and Kashmir to its East and North and Baluchistan to its South. Except for the province District of *Hazara* and a part of its *Kohistan* area which were cis-Indus, the rest of the province was Trans-Indus. The new district *Hazara* was created in 1901 when NWFP was created as a separate province and it was one of the smallest ones in British India, which was spread over an area of 38665 sq miles. (Jadoon, 1977, 373) Politically, the area was divided into two sections.”

- 1) The Tirbal Territory, including *Malakand*, *Mohmand*, *Khyber*, *Kurram*, *South and North Waziristan*.
- 2) The five settled districts are *Hazara*, Peshawar, Dera Ismaeel Khan, Bannu and Kohat. The tribal territory which lies around the Durand line covers 25140 sq miles while the other districts adjacent to the Indus cover 14119 square miles. (Jadoon, 1977, 373)

Currently, the *Hazara* division hosts the *Sindu Darya* (Indus River) and it contains eight districts, ie. Abbottabad, Battagram, Mansehra, Upper Kohistan, Lower Kohistan, Haripur, Torghar and Kolai Palas. (Government of Pakistan, 2022, 7)

Comparatively, most of the *Hazara* families have been settled in Quetta in late 19th century. Though the migration took place in two stages. The first waves taken place in 1966 as majority of the *Hazara* community came during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The second phase started when the Taliban rule in Afghanistan began to target the *Hazaras* in 1979 to onwards. The 600,000 and 1 million total estimated population of *Hazaras* living in Pakistan. (Connel, 2022, 7) Moreover, the *Hazara* community is also living elsewhere, including Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Karachi and Lahore. (Home office, 2022, 6)

Language

Dari as a common language is shared by *Hazara* with *Tajik*. This language is with a slight difference in dialects. (Asfand Sultan, 2022, 7) *Dari* is spoken in Afghanistan, Iran and Tajikistan and as a variation of Farsi but with some variances in dialects in each country. According to a report prepared by European Union Agency for Asylum (EUAA) *Hazara* community living the rural areas, often speak *Hazargi* (which is an eastern dialect of the Farsi (Persian) language. Whereas, the Urban population of *Hazara* community speak Urdu. Persian and even English, fluently. (Home Offices, 2022, 8) S.A. Mousavi believe that *Hazargi* is a mix of Farsi (*Dari*), Mongolian, and Turkish, with its own oral but not written tradition. (Mousavi, 1998, 8)

Hazara Province Movement

Recently, the case of the formation of new federating in Pakistan, post-18th Constitutional Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, has created a new debate. Along with the other administrative and ethnic issues, the catastrophe of *Hazara* is also considered as the most viable. Since 1950, the people of *Hazara* demanded a new province. In fact, there are various phases of the *Hazara* province movement. The first-time voice came for a separate province was in 1957 when Mufti Idrees who was an advocate and Abdul Khaliq an activist raised the voice for it. Later on, this movement remained inactive for almost three decades. The second phase of the *Hazara* province movement began when advocate Asif Malik founded *Hazara Qaumi Mahaz* in 1987. It was generally perceived that he was inspired by the founder of the *Mutahida Qoumi Movement* (MQM) Altaf Hussain. He also got support from the creation of MQM in this regard. The third phase of the Movement was started in April 2010 when NWFP was renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The main purpose was to start the protest against the renaming of NWFP. The leader of the movement Sardar Baba Haider Zaman demanded the renaming of NWFP. The fourth and final phase was begun in June 2011 when Sardar Baba Haider Zaman founded

Tehreek-e-Subha *Hazara* as a registered political party and started the campaign later on for the 2013 election. He contested the election from this platform and got the second position in his respective constituency. (Abbasi, 2021, 2) Meanwhile, their voice was heard and therefore, the *Hazara* people living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were provided with a new division, called *Hazara* division. One of the respondents believes that the *Hazara* of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were given a new division because of the military instalments in the area. He believed that the security agencies wanted this entire region peaceful, thus, the *Hazaras* were given their due right in order to refrain from any conflict in the area. (Asfand, 2022, 8)

The *Hazara* Province Movement in *Hazara* division in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was moved in order to overcome the politico-economic and socio-cultural deprivation of the people of the *Hazara* region. Due to the existence of the *Hindko* speaker around 30% of the total population of the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa their demand for a separate *Hazara* province sought great importance. Consequently, the *Hazarawall* (the people of the *Hazara* region) are demanding a new province for the territorial division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for identity, cultural and economic grounds. This demand pursued larger importance in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa when the 18th Constitutional Amendment has been proclaimed into the state constitution. Waqar Alam from Swat District MPA of the opposition of Awami National Party was the only member in the house, who opposed the resolution by voice vote. (Abbasi, 2022, 6)

A Comparison of Hazara Communities

In comparison, *Hazara* is the name of two communities which are living in two different provinces of Pakistan. One in Baluchistan and the other in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. However, a number of people belonging to this community are living in different parts of Karachi, Sindh, as well. Both communities have so many commonalties and differences. Both communities have a common name called the *Hazara* community. Both *Hazara* claimed to assert self-assertion. Both claimed to have separate identities. The *Hazara* community in Baluchistan who had migrated to Afghanistan due to various pull and push factors has been demanding cultural, economic and fundamental rights. They claimed that we have some threats from other dominant ethnic and sectarian groups in Baluchistan. *Hazara* in Baluchistan claimed that our people *Hazara* have been killed in target killing due to sectarian conflicts.

The people of *Hazara* in Baluchistan have a different language, culture, tradition, customs, and history from those of the *Hazara* community who are living in the *Hazara* region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The people of *Hazara* in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa speak the *Hindko* language, which is considered the oldest language of the region. The *Hazara* community in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is also called *Hazarawall* and *Hindkowan* in Pakistan. On contrary, the *Hazara* ethnic group in Baluchistan is called *Hazara*. The *Hazara* in Baluchistan has a different language, tradition, culture and origin. There are four major theories of the origin of the *Hazara* people. Similarly, *Hazarawall* in the *Hazara* division also have many theories but they are the oldest inhabitant of the region. *Hazara* in Baluchistan shares the common language with Tajiks which is Dari with a slight difference in dialects. Both *Hazara* ethnic communities have the same religion having various sects, Sunni, Shia etc. The *Hazara* in Baluchistan is mostly from the Shia sect and the *Hazara* people who are living in the *Hazara* division are from the Sunni sect. Moreover, both ethnic groups are struggling for their economic, cultural, and political rights.

Religious origin; Sunni and Shia

Hazaras, living in Baluchistan, particularly in Quetta is an Imami Shia Muslim where some of whom are Ismaili Shias and some minors have adopted the Sunni sect of Islam. The difference between Imami and Ismaili Shias is that the first accepts twelve Imams (Isna-Ashri) and the second only accept six of them (In fact, it is seven Imams but since in customs and history only six are mentioned therefore they are called Shias (six) Imams). The minor fraction of *Hazaras* who is Sunni now had converted from Shiaism to Sunniism because of the continued victimization of this sector during the Pashtun ruling class. One should know the difference between the Sunni sector of Islam and the Shia sector to better understand the reality. Both Sunni and Shia belong to one religion Islam with the same Holy book Quran or Furqan and the same Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) following the one divine kinship rules. Thus, the only difference between Shia and Sunni is over the succeeding Caliph after the death of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). Sunnis believe that Abu Bakr (R) was the first Caliph after Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) passed away, followed by Omar (R), Usman (R) and Ali (R). On the other hand, Shias believe that there are instead twelve Imams who succeeded Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) starting from Ali (R) Ibn Abu Talib to Mohammad bin Hasan ul Mahdi. (Humayun, 2005, 39) Currently, the

Hazara community lives in the suburbs of Quetta city, having their own housing society with a huge boundary wall. The *Hazara* people would go to Quetta city for their jobs or to do business and would come back to their society. (Abbass, 2022, 7) The social construction of *Hazara* is entirely different from the rest of Pakistan. They have a 100% of female education ratio. The *Hazara* are more progressive than the common people of Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The *Hazara* would show their identity cards while entering their own society whereas any non-*Hazara* would be allowed on the guarantee by any local *Hazara* community member. This is nothing but to ensure the security of the *Hazara* people. (Abbass, 2022, 8) The female *Hazara* are provided with Martial arts training so that they could secure themselves in any uncomfortable situation. However, all the women and girls have been trained to distance themselves from the local Pakistani people. (Abbass, 2022, 8)

The Issue with *Hazara*

Since its inception, Pakistan has been struggling with religious disharmony among different sects. Many scholars believe that the father of the nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was a secular person and urged Pakistan to be declared a secular state. However, after the assassination of the first-ever Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Kha, it was evident that Pakistan would follow a religious ideological order. Therefore, the country is yet to develop a balanced political system that may provide an equal representation of all faiths and cultures. Since its birth, Pakistan has been witnessing religion as a political tool to establish an orthodox Islamic state. The issue with *Hazara* emerged when a dictator General Zia-ul-Haque imposed Islamic order in the country that undermined the *Hazara's* (Shia) faith. This led the Shia community to establish an organization, *Tahere-e-i-Nafaz-i-Fiq-he-Jafria* (Protection of Shias) in response to Zia's Shia laws. In 1985 another orthodox religious sect *Deobandi* established *Anjuman-e-Sipah-e-Sahaba*, which currently is said to be a militant organization, allegedly involved in various sectarian violence activities inside and outside of Pakistan. Moreover, countries like Saudia and Gulf states also provide financial assistance to this group.

Hazara community is said to have been targeted by the Sunni extremists, particularly the *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi* and *Sipah-e-Sahaba* groups. Many studies suggest that both groups are now aligned with the Islamic State (IS), which is another group, declared a terrorist group by the international community. As per the Minority Rights Group International report, over five hundred *Hazara* have been killed since 2013. (World, 2022, 7) The report further states that over one thousand *Hazara* were murdered during sectarian violence, from 2009 to 2014. One of the *Hazara* community members from Quetta believes that the State of Pakistan follows the Sunni-Islamic ideology, and with that, the state does not support the *Hazara* ideology. This is in confrontation with the constitution of Pakistan. (Khalid, 2022, 8) Now, let's explore, what does, the constitution of Pakistan states about minorities.

Constitution of Pakistan and Minorities

Under article 36 of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, "the state shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial services.". (Constitution, 2022, 16) Additionally, the constitution further states that "any section of citizens having a distinct language, script or culture shall have the right to preserve and promote the same and, subject to law, establish institutions for that purpose.". (Constitution, 2022, 16) Interestingly, the constitution of Pakistan places its emphasis on equality in Articles 25 and 25 (1). It states; "All citizens are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of law.". (Constitution, 2022, 16) In response to this, the Minority Rights Group International states that "Pakistani Constitution references are made to 'minorities' There is no clear definition for this term set out which results in ambiguity regarding what constitutes a 'minority'." (Directory, 2022, 7) In this regard, we talked to a Professor at the Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad, to learn the connotation of the term 'minority'. Thus, we learned that, in the Pakistani context, the term 'minority' is a generally understood concept that refers to religious minorities, such as ethnic groups. (Anwar, 2022, 8) Moreover, the Freedom House mentions a report on World 2016, noting that the constitution guarantees the protection of minorities and the freedom of religion, but such protections have not been provided with effective checks to social prejudice, discriminatory legislation and sectarian violence. (Home office, 2022, 7)

Persecution of *Hazara* in Baluchistan

In 2014, nearly 1,000 *Hazaras* died in sectarian violence. Thousands have been injured. Moreover, the Country Report on Human Rights Practices by the US state department states;

"Members of the *Hazara* ethnic minority, who are Shia Muslim, continued to face discrimination and threats of violence in Quetta,

Balochistan. According to press reports and other sources, *Hazara* were unable to move freely outside of Quetta's two *Hazara*-populated enclaves. Community members complained that increased security measures had turned their neighborhoods into ghettos, resulting in economic exploitation." (Report, 2022, 8)

Interestingly, while searching for the data, pertaining to the issues being faced by the *Hazara* community, we found that a number of news items, available on newspaper websites, have, either been, terminated or blocked. When we talked to the interviewees, we learned that even the journalists in Pakistan are reluctant to cover stories of the *Hazara* community. One of the interviewees said; "one female journalist from a well-recognized broadcast media in Pakistan visited us to learn about our issues. We provided her with all information and let her (journalist) talk to our females. Later, the journalist informed us that she is unable to broadcast the stories due to some "unknown" reasons." (Khalid, 2022, 8) The interviewee also believed that only foreign media has been covering such stories and becomes the voice of the *Hazara* community, globally. (Khalid, 2022, 8) Similarly, another interviewee said that the ISIS factor in Baluchistan cannot be ignored. However, the interviewee believes that the Afghan Taliban along with some other militant groups are targeting the *Hazara* community in Baluchistan. The interviewee also claims that the political parties in Baluchistan are even reluctant to issue any statement against IS or the Taliban. (Abbass, 2022, 8)

The Minority Rights Group International reports that Sunni militant groups such as Lashkar-e-Jahngvi and Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan have increased their targets against the *Hazara* ethnic group in Pakistan. (Directory, 2022, 7) Moreover, in April 2019, a suicide bomber attacked a fruit market in the suburbs of Quetta city, which left 18 killed and several injured. The half of deaths were from the *Hazara* community. (Yousafzai, 2019, 6) In 2021, eleven coal miners, belonging to the *Hazara* community of Baluchistan, were kidnapped and later, killed by the IS militants. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) reported that "A gruesome video from the scene shows the victims' bodies strewn across the floor of a small hut - their hands had been bound together". (BBC News, 2021, 8) The *Hazara* community protested against this inhuman act and refused to bury the dead bodies. Later, the Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan, visited Quetta to condole the victims and requested them to bury the bodies. The *Hazara* kept the bodies on road for several days to protest and demanded the state of Pakistan punish the perpetrators. (Hussaini, 2022, 3) "It was a cold freezing day, and none of the protesters left the bodies for even a single second. We could not feel the cold because there was a fire in our soul.", says a *Hazara* community member. Meanwhile, former Prime Minister Imran Khan ordered the security agencies to investigate the incident and bring the culprits to justice. (Zargar, 2021, 8) Soon after the incident, the prime minister tweeted, "The condemnable killing of 11 innocent coal miners in Machh Balochistan is yet another cowardly inhumane act of terrorism. Have asked the FC to use all resources to apprehend these killers & bring them to justice. The families of the victims will not be left abandoned by the govt". (BBC News, 2021, 8) The prime minister then called on demonstrators to refrain from 'blackmailing', a statement that triggered extensive criticism, because it was perceived as 'insensitive' and also lacking empathy for the *Hazara*. (Zargar, 2021, 9)

CONCLUSION

Sectarian violence in Pakistan is not a new phenomenon at all. Since the inception of Pakistan, the country has witnessed bloodshed, either in the form of sectarian conflicts between Sunni and Shia, the Ahmedi riots of 1951 till date or terrorism. However, the *Hazara* community, in this regard, is the most frequent target in Pakistan. Unlike the *Hazara* people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the Baluch *Hazara* have been witnessing persecution for decades. Despite their multiple protests and vying for their identity, which should be accepted by the state of Pakistan, the *Hazara* people have remained under the eye of the storm and left in the hands of terrorist groups, who easily operate in the suburbs of Baluchistan, from Afghanistan. Like the *Hazara* Community in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, the *Hazaras* of Baluchistan should also be provided with a such territorial and administrative system where they could enjoy their political, social and religious rights, freely, as per the soul of the constitution of Pakistan. Interestingly we learned that a major portion of the media in Pakistan is unable to report the issues being faced *Hazara* community in Baluchistan. Moreover, as per our surveys and based on the interviews with the relevant stakeholders, we also learned that the *Hazaras* of Baluchistan may seek international political assistance to force the state of Pakistan for taking some conducive steps, pertaining to their full

protection. Such protection could be territorial and social. If not addressed now, the *Hazara* community could come to nationwide protests, which could create an alarming situation for the state of Pakistan.

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