Contending Ethnic Identities: An Issue to Pakistan's Internal Security
(The case of Karachi)

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Abstract

Intra-ethnic conflict is an inevitable feature of plural societies. The presence of diverse ethnic groups poses an acute threat to Pakistan's internal security. The uneven political, economic and social growth of these ethnies also accompanies the deteriorating situation especially in the city of Karachi. The deeply entrenched ethnic animosity, sectarian interests of religious elites and mutilated political leadership has plunged Karachi into a vortex of endless violence. The main argument of the present article is that there is a direct connection between political elite, ethnic parties and criminal gangs in Karachi. The article also highlighted various factors, influencing intra-ethnic warfare in Karachi.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Plural societies, ethnic conflict, over centralization, political mobilization

Introduction:

In contemporary world, ethnic heterogeneity is a usual phenomenon. All multiethnic societies confront with the problem of accommodating various ethnic groups. The issue becomes more severe when these ethnic groups owe allegiance to their own ideology and philosophy. The continuous tussle among them not only a cause of national security dilemma but proved a constant threat for the prosperity of the nation and progress of the state. The undersigned study has its focus on Pakistan's internal security dimension in relation to intra-ethnic warfare in Karachi. The analysis is organized on the concept of ethnicity, its nature and sources of conflict among ethnic groups. The detailed discussion for analytical delineation necessitates understanding the concept of ethnic group, ethnicity and ethnic conflict.

1. What is an ethnic group and ethnicity?

The term ethnic group and ethnicity has been used interchangeably. There are very thin lines between these two concepts. An ethnic group is defined as

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"a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their prophethood" (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:6). Anthony D. Smith (1986 has used the term "ethnic" for an ethnic group and exhibit six main features. These are common proper name, a myth of common ancestry, one or more elements of common culture (include, religion, language and customs), link with a specific territory, a shared historical memories and a sense of solidarity (pp.21-30).

A publication by the United Nations research institute for social development (UNRISD) about ethnicity and ethnic groups argued that the main features of ethnic groups are various and not clear cut (UNRISD, 1995, pp.95-107). Allen and Eade (1996) also claimed that although the terms became the part of literate in social societies since 1940s, but it gained wider acceptance in the 1970s (pp.219-221).

According to Weber (1978) ethnicity relates to group feelings developed by then members of the group consciously for group solidarity (p.389) and Rex (1996) has presented that language, religion, territory, commonality in culture and traditions, etc. are used by a community of people to recognize itself as an ethnic group while ethnicity has no physical entity, but social feelings, feelings of oneness in one group (p.88).

The approach toward ethnicity has three main connotations. One school of thought argues that these feelings are essentially "primordial". The approach has its focus on the importance of a fundamental set of ascriptive features which form the basis of collective emotions (blood, speech and custom) (Olzak, 1983: 356). Cliffrd Geertz (1963) has also discussed the primordial nature of ethnicity in a way that it seems "ineffable" and sometimes overpowers others. According to him, the general strength of primordialism varies from person to person, from society to society and from time to time. But it is considered as a spiritual association (pp.108-113). Primordialism is also discussed as a subjectively held feeling of shared identity. Most of the primordialists believe that it is quiet natural, because it is a strong part of human psychology and their social relations (Baloch, 2012: 2).

Contrary to primordialists' view the utilitarionists have propagated the instrumentalist approach. They see ethnicity or ethnic feelings as a tool to achieve some socio-political or economic objectives. They claim that the feeling of ethnicity is manipulated to attain some benefits by various individuals, groups and through organizations (Brass, 1991:18.20). In this sense, instrumentalists focus on the goals and objectives rather than ethnic origin. They believe on the changing nature of ethnicity (Joiremen, 2007: 36).

Social constructivism is the third approach in the debate of ethnicity. Their views are quiet relevant to the instrumentalists. They hold the argument that ethnicity is a social phenomenon. Ethnic groups emerge and then disappear or one ethnic group could merge into another group according to their political, social or economic requirements (Joiremen, 2007:54-55). Instrumentalists and social constructivists both criticized the fixed and enduring nature of ethnicity as propagated by primordialists. The constructivists also enhance the role of leadership in the formation of ethnic association. The leadership and elites, who are in competition, construct and sometimes distort new ethnic groups for collective and individual benefits (Brass, 1991:8). Apart from the role of leadership and elite the centralized policies of state also play a pivotal role in the development of ethnicity.

The above mentioned debate concludes that consensus on anyone approach of ethnicity is not possible because the concerns of ethnic groups and their ethnic association vary from region to region and from time to time. Therefore, different schools are emerged to present their views. Apart from variety of opinion regarding definition of ethnicity it is a reality that ethnic feelings are present in almost all the regions and all the times.

2.   What is An ethnic conflict

The appellation usually explains internal conflict, in which those groups are involved who have ethnic basis (Kaufmans, 2009:204). It is a catch-all term which covers a wide variety of socio-political domain. Primarily, there are two types of ethnic conflict;

a.   Conflict among ethnic groups or intra-ethnic warfare. These conflicts may appear as a dispute on important social, political, economic cultural, religious, territorial, or lingual issues.

b.   The second type of conflict may reveal the trust deficit on the state authorities. Paul Brass (1991, pp.41) and Donald L. Hoowitz (1985, pp.105-135) has highlighted the development of ethnic conflict as the consequence of state policies. Numerous factors contribute towards this conflictual situation. These include uneven-distribution of resources, social benefits, over centralization and dominance of one ethnic group in central power equation. These factors are responsible for creating problems for the federation and begetting an abyss among ethnic groups in the society.

The present research is an effort to evaluate nature and sources of intra-ethnic warfare in Karachi. For its detailed analysis ethnic composition of Pakistan is helpful to understand the heterogeneity of the state.

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3.   Ethnic composition of Pakistan

Pakistani society is characterized by cultural plurality and ethnic heterogeneity. Lingual and territorial affiliation is the major attribute of ethnic groups in Pakistan. Theoretically, they are cultural primordialists as defined by Geertz (1963) that "religion and customs serve to unite the people an bring solidarity in an ethnic group" (p.130). Religion played an important role in the formation of a Muslim Nation in United India. But after partition, with the dismemberment of East Pakistan, common religion seems failed as the cementing force of the nation. One nation was divided into various ethno-linguistic nationalities and different attributes of ethnicity became dominated factors of their ethnic origin. Bengali ethnicity was cultural, linguistic and economically motivated, while the Pakhtun ethnicity was racial and historic. Territory and tribal culture became the dominant factor in Baloch ethnicity. The Sindhis also highlighted cultural and lingual affiliation. The Punjabi community remained the most powerful having all the symbols of ethnic feelings but seems to have been satisfied with the state structure and political system (Khan, 2005, p.16). The fifth nationality of Pakistan Mohajir that gradually emerged on the national scene also projected as lingual identity.

According to 1998 census report, the population of four federating unites is divided into different linguistic and ethnic groups.

Table: 3.1 Major linguistic groups in Pakistan

Territory	Language Spoken	Share in National Population
Punjab	Punjabi	44.15
	Siraiki	10.53
Sindh	Sindhi	14.1
NWFP*	Pashto	15.42
Balochistan	Balochi	3.57
All Provinces of Pakistan	Urdu	7.57
Others	-	4.66

* NWFP is now called Khyber Pakhtun Khwa (KPK)
Source: Adopted from Census Report of Pakistan 1998

The table shows that each of the federating unite is conjoin with a specific language; Punjabi in Punjab, Sindhi in Singh, Balochi in Balochistan and Pashto in North West Frontier Province (the new Khyber Pakhtun Khwa) KPK. Apart from this linguistic division of ethnic groups, there are other sub-divisions. At present the main identities are threatened by other minor or sub group identities. The ethnic contention is visible in Punjab where Siraiki lingual

group is contesting for its separate territorial boundaries. The simmering tension can also be seen in the province KPK, where Hazara community is fighting for the same cause. The ethnic groups in Balochistan province are not only fighting among themselves but contesting with the federation as well. The worst situation of ethnic warfare has been observed in Sindh province. Here Karachi the industrial hub of Pakistan has become a bleeding wound because of ethnic tussle. More than 2000 killings mostly on ethnic grounds have been observed in the year 2011. These circumstances forced to interrogate the linkages between how identities get mobilized, politicized and how it reaches to the level of conflict. The pattern of ethnic formulation in Sindh and Karachi further helps to understand the problem.

4.   Ethnic Composition of Sindh

Sindh is the second largest province of Pakistan. Although Sindh did not remain ethnically homogeneous area, but there were no signs of ethnic conflict in the pre-partitioned period. After that, the agricultural and industrial strength of Sindh attracted other non Sindhi communities to establish here. A number of Punjabis, who served the army, allotted land from the government and put down their roots here (Upreti, 2000, p.96). Some Baloch tribes, who migrated to Sindh, assimilated their selves in Sindhi culture. Prior to 1947, Baloch also constituted approximately 23 percent of the Sindhi's Muslim population (Amin, 1988, p.64). After independence, a large number of Muslims from India migrated to Pakistan. Punjab borne a major share of these migrants. For their proper rehabilitation, the then government decided to settle them in other provinces like Sindh and KPK (Former NWFP).

Following table shows the pattern of migration in associated provinces of Pakistan.

Table: 4.1 Trends of Migration

Federating Units	Number of Refugees	Share of Refugees	Ratio in Total Population
East Bengal	0.7 million	9.67 %	1.7%
W. Pakistan	6.25 million	90.3%	20%
Punjab	5.3 million	73%	25.6%
Sindh	0.5 million	7.6%	11.7%
Karachi	0.61 million	8.53%	55%

Source: Census of Pakistan 1951, Vol. I, Table 19-A, Vol.6, p. 65

Migrants from India were settled mostly in two cities of Sindh, Karachi and Hyderabad. One reason to choose these cities might be that refugees or

Mohajirs were educated people. In urban areas, immediately, they became "Salariat Persons" (Alvi, 1988, pp.66-67) and formed an effective middle class. The census report of 1951 highlighted almost 50% of the total urban population of Sindh comprised to those, whose mother tongue was Urdu. The figure gradually rise and the 1998 census report showed overwhelming majority of Urdu speaking community in urban areas of Sindh.

Table: 4.2 Population of Sindh on the basis of language spoken

Unit	Sindhi	Urdu	Pashto	Punjabi	Baloch	Siraiki	Other
Urban	25.79	41.48	7.96	11.52	2.74	1.71	8.80
Rural	92.02	1.62	0.61	2.68	1.5	0.32	1.25
Total	59.73	21.05	4.19	2.11	2.11	1.00	4.93

Source: Census Report 1998. Statistics Department of Pakistan

The table figures out the moderate rise of Urdu speaking Mohajir community in urban areas of Sindh, especially Karachi. The influx of different ethno-lingual communities in Karachi has made it a sensitive part. At present the sensitivity is conjoin with complexity that made Karachi a soft underbelly of Pakistan.

5.   Ethnic Formulation of Karachi

Karachi is the greatest business center and industrial hub of Pakistan. Around 45 percent of federal revenue is generated from Karachi. Although the Mohajir and various other ethno linguistic groups have created an intense demographic pressure but at the same time this demographic flow has provided the city a highly adapted work force. According to the 1998 census report Karachi comprises following ethnic groups:

Table: 5.1 Ethnic Structure of Karachi

District	Urdu	Punjabi	Sindhi	Pashto	Balochi	Siraiki	Other
Karachi East	60.75	14.72	3.8	5.95	1.64	2.11	11.02
Karachi West	39.64	12.95	6	24.55	5.29	2.05	9.52
Karachi South	25.65	18.84	11.37	7.95	9.77	1.82	24.6
Karachi Central	73.57	8.63	1.59	4.56	0.77	2.3	8.58
Malir	15.87	17.46	25.08	20.67	8.51	2.36	10.06

Source: Census report 1998. Statistic Department, Govt. of Pakistan.

The table shows that almost all lingual groups are present and complete the demographic picture of Karachi. The table highlights that in most of the areas, Urdu speaking community dominates other lingual groups.

6.   Nature of Conflict in Karachi

The nature of issue in Karachi is not simple but very complex. A variety of factors are involved to destabilize peace of the city from decades. Following factors are important to shape the character of conflict in the city.

6.1   Patterns of Migration

Gayers (2003) described Karachi as an urban mess (pp.4-5). Due to mass migration, the city is facing various problems regarding development and planning. Presently, Karachi is divided into planned and unplanned areas, where basic utilities like education, health and sanitation varied greatly. Migration towards Karachi from various parts of Pakistan is still continued due to its industrial importance. Waseem (1998) has identified four waves of migration towards Karachi. From 1940-50 Mohajirs migrated from India. In the period of 1960-80 Punjabi and Pakhtuns drifted towards Karachi. In 1970-90s a number of rural Sindhis shifted towards urban areas including Karachi. And from 1980 to 90s Afghani and Iranian influx has been seen in Karachi (p.623).

Among the mentioned four moves, the Pakhtun influx and Afghani and Iranian incursion has put adverse impact on the city. The Pakhtuns kept their link with native place and relatives, supported them with their income. They are also responsible of the expansion of the squatter settlement (Kachi abadis) of Karachi. Initially, Mohajirs and Punjabis built these settlements. Later, Pakhtun eruption introduced coercion and violence on the basis of language. Pakhtuns also captured the construction industry and transport business. At present competition between Mohajirs and Pakhtuns is an important source of conflict. The Iranian and Afghan convergence in Karachi also brought a wave of conflict. The former has introduced a culture of armament while later is acquainted with sectarian tussle.

6.2   Ethno-Political Conflict

Karachi is the home of contending ethno-linguistic identities. The convoluted nature of ethno-linguistic mosaic of Karachi could also be catalogued as the major reason of conflict. The political preferences of ethnic groups were distinguished initially on two lines. The migrants had joined Islamist Parties while the others go for Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). From 1947 to 1970s, there was no delineation between ethnic parties and political parties in

Karachi. However in early 1970s, things began to change. Two important events have marked significant importance in the politics of Karachi. First, Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's policy to address Sindhis grievances and lower their feelings of alienation from government. Second, the language Bill, which was passed in July 1972 by the Sindh legislative Assembly. Under the first policy, PPP government formulated quota system. According to the system 60% state jobs and admission in government owned educational institutions were fixed for rural and 40% for urban population (Ahmar, 2002, p.2). These policies were apprehended as anti-Mohajir conspiracy. Moreover, the language riots further widened the gulf between Mohajir and other communities. Tariq Rehman (2006) has argued that these conflicts led to the rise of militant ethnicity (p.125).

After the language riots, First Mohajir Students organization was formed in 1978 purely on ethnic basis. All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization (APMSO) which lately changed into Mohajir Qaumi Movement and then renamed Mutahidda Qaumi Movement (MQM) was a product of the perceived Mohajir afflictions (MQM Document, 1994, pp.32-33). All the partitioned migrants joined MQM.

The decade of 1980s is marked the origin of ethnic strife in Karachi. The first ever ethnic riots between Mohajir and Pakhtuns started after a deadly traffic accident. A girl named Bushra Zaidi from Mohajir community was died. The reckless driving was identified as Pakhtun. The MQM retaliated and Mohajir Pakhtun ethnic violence erupted (Rashid, Shaheed, 1993, p.32). The following years have been observed as a torrent of violence in which all ethnic groups, arms and drug mafias are involved. Since then thousands of innocent people have become the victim of this ethnic contention.

6.3   Demographic Pressure

Unprecedented population elevation in Karachi put immense pressure on the government bodies. It seems that the problems are unmanageable. The 1998 census report has affirmed that total population of Karachi was 9.86 million. The gradual move up of the population is estimated 14.25 million in 2011 (Gazdar, 2011, p.7). Population growth rate in Karachi is higher than any other province because people migrated from across the country and added to its population. Under this demographic trend, the growth rate is slow as for as the development is concerned. Around half of the population of Karachi lives in unplanned and less developed areas, where basic necessities are not easily available. Low standard health and education facilities have created a sharp difference between planned and unplanned settlements. Unplanned living adjustment and slow progress of these areas is one of the sources of increased political and ethnic conflict in Karachi. (Malik, 1998, pp.2219)

6.4 Ethnic Militant and Sectarian groups

On the ethnic land scope of Karachi, dozens of sectarian and militant outfits are existed. Some groups are active on political front like, Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, Tahrik-e-Jaafriya Pakistan and Sunni Tahrik. Some militant religious organizations which are pronounced banned by the government like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Jaish-e-Muhammad, HizbulTahreer and Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan are still working underground (Daily Dawn, 2003). Many religious charity organizations are also shaping the ethno-religious outlook of the city. Apart from these sectarian and religious militant groups some criminal gangs also have strong networks. Shoaib group, Lyari Gangs, Rehman Dakait group and Arshad Pappu group in Lyari are the most notorious as for as the killings of innocent people are concerned (Khan, 2008, pp.7-8). These groups have a history of antagonism. They also have indirect linkages with different ethnic communities. It is also believed that some of the criminal groups have no ideological base and they can be hired on business request. Following table shoes the area wise possession of different criminal groups in Karachi:

Table: 6.4.1

Criminal Group	Area / Locality
Arshad Pappu / Gaffar Zikri	Agra Taj Colony, Bihar Colony, Gulistan Colony
Abdur Rehman Group	Gul Mohammd Lane, Saeedabad, Singho Lane, Chaki Wara, Bakra Piri, Nerw Kumhar Wara, Dhobi Ghat, Nawa Lane, Kalkot, Usmanabad, Rexer Lane, Miran Pir, Khadda
Jhengo Group	Hingorabad, Idu Lane, Daryabad, Newabad, Shah Baig Lane, Baghdadi, Lean Market.
Baba Ladla Group*	The area downward to Rexer Lane and in the westward to Usmanabad.

Source: Compiled by the researcher after reading stories of ethnic violence from Daily Dawn and the Herald, a monthly magazine.
*Baba Ladla and Jhengo Group are key gangsters of Rehman Group.
The presence of mentioned variable have made Karachi a battle ground for ethnic, political, and sectarian violence.

Table: 6.4.2 Most Violent areas in Karachi

Name	Main Location	Ethnic Group	Contending Group	Area
Lyari	Khadda Market, Nawababad, Baghadai Lean Market, Reer Lane, Kala Kot, Chaki Wara, Dhobi Ghat, Usmanabad, Bhimpura	Urdu Speaking 8.7% Baloch 28.7 % Sindhi 22.7% Punjabi 8.7% Pakhtun 5.7% Others 25.4%	Peoples Aman Committee VS MQM	8.5 sq km
Kati Pahari/ Banaras	Orangi 1, Bukari Colony, Data Nagri, Peerabad, Islamia Colony, Qasba Morr, Ali Garh Mohammd Pur, Frontier Colony, Metro Cinema,	Urdu Speaking 47.5% Baloch 0.1% Sindhi 0.5% Punjabi 6.4% Pakhtun 40.9% Others 4.5%	ANP VS MQM	2.5 sq/Km
North Karachi	Federal Barca, Soharab Goth, Ancholi, Godhra Camp	Urdu Speaking 54.5% Baloch 0.4% Sindhi 0.7% Punjabi 6.2% Pakhtun 9.7% Others 28.5%	Sipahe-e-Sahab, Sunni Tahreek, Shia Groups, MQM	3.5 sq/km
Abdul Hassan, Isphaham Road	Gulshan Iqbal, Mubeena Tow, Abbas Town, Iqra Complex, Adacent areas of Paradise Bakery	Urdu Speaking 54.4% Baloch 0.4% Sindhi 0.7% Punjabi 6.2% Pakhtun 9.7% Others 28.5%	ANP VS MQM	1.5 sq/km
Gulistan-e-Jauhar	Rabia City, Pehalwan Goth	Urdu Speaking 40.2% Baloch 2.1% Sindhi 6.5% Punjabi 21% Pakhtun	ANP VS MQM	3.55 sq/km

		20.6% Others 9.5%		
Malir	Jaffar Tayar, Sahibdad Goth, Asoo Goth, Bakra Piri, Mola Ran Compound	Urdu Speaking 67.4% Baloch 7.9% Sindhi 7.7% Punjabi 4.2% Pakhtun 0.9% Others 4.8%	Peoples Aman Committee, PPP, MQM	2 sq/km
Landli	Sherpao Colony, Quaidabad	Urdu Speaking 16.8% Baloch 0.3% Sindhi 2.7% Punjabi 17.6% Pakhtun 38.5% Others 24.2%	MQM VS MQM Haqiqi	3 sq/km

Source: Compiled by the researcher from Daily Dawn.
* Population figures are based on the projection of growth according to 1998 Census Report.

7.   Reasons of Ethnic Strife in Karachi

Zartman (2000) argued that "Perceived collective need that is denied is the basic condition for conflict" (p.141). When need is denied or it is feuded, create a wide range of grievances. The essence of ethnic contention in Karachi is due to the need denied and need deprived. At present Karachi is the heartland of ethnic violence. The sources of conflict are not fully spontaneous but historic as well. Initially, when Karachi became the capital of Pakistan in 1948, the Punjabi-Mohajir elite became its beneficiary while the local Sindhis showed their anger. This was the first policy decision of the state which disclosed the seeds of ethnic strife in Karachi (Gayer, 2003, p.3). Now the conflict is not limited to rural-urban or between Sindhi and Mohajir communities but Pakhtun is one of the major contenders. The reason of conflict is also not dependent to inter-personal animosity alone but very often government level policy decisions also held responsible for intra-ethnic warfare. The reason might be that MQM, ANP, PPP and religious parties off and on remained coalition partner in Sindhi Government. The reason of ethnic violence can be classified into two domains.

7.1 Political Domain

It is a fact that identity politics force an ethnic group to develop their political organization which is helpful to safeguard their rights. All the ethnic groups in Karachi have structured ethnic organization. MQM and Awami National Party (ANP) are representing their specific ethnic communities. PPP and Muslim League (Q) and (N) are not purely ethnic political parties but they have diverse support base. The Jaye Sindh Qaumi Mahaz (JSQM) represents native Sindhis.

Among variety of ethnic groups, the Punjabis and Mohajirs initially formed an "urban elite group" holding all the key positions in civil and military bureaucracy. The Mohajirs including Memon, Bohra and Khoja communities not only occupied government jobs but took control on business (Waseem 1996, p.621). The other ethnies also entered in this competition to get their proper share. Consequently, a conflict like situation was created among different ethnic groups. On political front, following factors are responsible for ethnic tension;

I). Acute migration towards Karachi from all parts of Pakistan has coined a political crisis. Two importance consequences of this internal migration have been observed. First, the local Sindhis thought that they are being reduced to minority. Second, the Mohajirs who consider theirselves as the true ruling elite of Pakistan because of their struggle and sacrifices during Pakistan Movement feel that an even growth of other communities will eventually reduce their majority. And they will become equal rival in power politics (Raman, 2011). ANP strongly contends with Mohajir's fear and argues that certainly after more than 20 years, the demographic complexion of the city has been transformed. The on going violence is the result of the denial of changing demographic realities (ANP Position Paper, 2011).

II) Mohajir community has remained a permanent part of provincial and national power equation. The other ethnic groups have fear of Mohajir dominance.

III) The seeds of conflict have its roots in history. In 1958, under Ayub Khan's martial law an alliance between Punjabi-Pakhtun elite was designed to oust Mohajirs from national, political, economic and administrative machinery, but failed. The Pakhtoon-Mohajir violent clashes were also observed in 1964 when Gohar Ayub led procession of victory in the sensitive areas of Urdu speaking community. Khalid Athar (2011) has quoted the incident in his book that "Pakhtoon attacked the Mohajirs for favoring Fatima Jinnah in the presidential election on 1962. The whole civil administration was failed to stop killings of Urdu speaking community (pp.22-23). Since the hostility between Pakhtuns and Mohajirs heightened day by day.

IV) Another important variable is the lack of political communication among contending groups. Instead of discussing real concerns, the power play is based on blame game. The two major rivals off and on blame each other for fomenting violence. ANP the Pakhtun ethnic political Party blame MQM for seeking monopoly and exploiting their rights. ANP claims that in the months of May and June 2011 around 69 ANP workers and 260 Pakhtuns have been gunned down. Their hotel business, hardware shops and carpet shops have been targeted and forced to vacate because hey are situated in the Mohajir dominated areas of Gulistan-e-Jauhar, Shah Faisal Colony, Gulshan and Korangi in District East of Karachi. ANP leaders blamed that intentionally Mohajir dominated areas have been created to manipulate election results. They blamed military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq for creating this problem (HRCP Report, 2011, pp.11-12). MQM also fixes the liability on ANP for patronizing arms and drug mafias in Karachi. They claim that approximately 16000, Urdu speaking people have been killed so far. They call it genocide of Urdu speaking people. Now the level of conflict between them is reached at a stage where governing authorities seem helpless. The height of violence can be compare with the figures of two years only. In 2010 1339 people were killed, while 1423 people were murdered only from January to August 2011 (Express Tribune, 2011).

V) The most important factor is the dysfunctional system of governance. The governing authorities are failed to apprehend the target killers or trouble makers. The city is filled with criminal gangs, mafia and drug suppliers. Latest weapons are also available in various areas of Karachi. One of the workers of MQM had pointed out that they had their first encounter with Kalashnikov in 1986 and after that every type of arms and ammunition is found in Karachi (Hasnain, 1993, p.33). Although the government has continuously made various attempts to de-weaponize Karachi and launched numerous operations to make the city free from gangsters but the evidence shows strong political backing of these groups. The two town of Karachi, Lyari and Orangi are notorious for arms but the law enforcing agencies are failed because of their strong political connection with the ruling coalition (Ahmer, 2011, p.5). Due to the weak and contested leadership the capacity of the political system is debilitated to serve to their people.

7.2 Economic Domain

In Karachi, the issue that has generated the fiercest contestation among ethnic groups include economic tussle. All the ethnic communities in Karachi voiced against the uneven distribution of resources. Actually, resources are

being distributed according to the census reports. Unfortunately after 1998 census report, no other valuable and trusted document has been produced to give the real picture. Consequently, the real demographic picture of Karachi has not been provided. This is one of the reasons that new economic problems of Karachi are being solved by decrepit illustration of its demography.

According to the census reports of 1981 and 1998 the Urdu speaking community has gradually lost its majority in Karachi. The Pakhtun, Punjabi, Siraiki and Sindhi communities constitute almost 56% of the population.

Commensurate with this appraisal, the moderate rise of other ethnic groups demanded a fair distribution of all the resources but a clear cut economic division is found in various sectors. The Pathans have captured the informal housing market (Tambiah, 1996, pp.184.185). Since 1980s they are investing in real estate business and squatter settlements (Bastis) are totally under their new terms and conditions. Pathans are also in a position to control transport business in the city. The other two communities Punjabi and Mohajirs are usually job oriented communities. Even then a small number of Mohajirs is also involved in industrial business. The Sindhis mostly are land lords, and settled in Karachi to share the bounties of the city life. All the stake holders, somehow the other tried to control the economy of the city.

The two main contenders ANP and MQM also blame each other for getting maximum economic gains. ANP blames that Karachi port trust and Port Qasim Authority hired only Urdu-speaking people. According to ANP leaders, the Karachi Electric Supply Company (KESC) has hired around 7,000 Mohajir workers while 4500 non Mohajirs were sacked. Pakhtuns are victimized because of their ethnic identity. Due to the reason a spate of violence is erupted, off and on involving all ethnic communities of Karachi.

Due to ethnic fragmentation, the economic capital of Pakistan has hitherto confronted with numerous waves of instability. At present the city is also victim of a strong wave of insecurity. The law an order situation is not only imparting fear among the residents but directly affecting the economic activities across the state. Karachi is divided into five industrial zones having almost 15,000 industries. The city whips up the biggest share of 67% for the national exchequer and 35% of Gross Domestic Production (GDP). Violence and strikes stops the wheels of industries. It causes a colossal loss of some 3 to 5 billion rupees per day and takes almost a week for normalizing the situation (Dusat, 2010).

Karachi is the engine of economic growth in Pakistan. The economic stakes of all ethnic communities are much larger. Its port and basic infrastructure is the main locus of wealth creation. The appropriate use of economic potential of

Karachi is dependent on the fair play of its diverse ethnic groups. An agreement or cross ethnic political alliance is required for getting wider economic benefits.

8. Role of The State

States are considered major actors in creating, accentuating and diminishing ethnic identities. Actually, state policies determine the national narrative in which diverse cultures and various ethnic identities have been accommodated when the state is failed, the logical result is raising conflictual political trends that lead to ethnic, regional and sectarian clashes. Zahid Hussain (1986) has observed that,

"There have been deliberate attempts to divide the people of Sindh (Karachi) on an ethnic and sectarian basis. The mushroom growth of Mohajir organizations and the government's undercover support for Jiye Sindh elements are widely regarded as part of a plan to subvert the democratic movement in the country" (p.48).

It is being argued that the attitude of the state towards MQM has remained instructive and general Zia's military government has played a key role in strengthening MQM as a counter force against the PPP in Karachi (Rashid, Shaheed, 1993, p.30). Resultantly, within a few years, MQM became a strong parallel force against government. And in latter years a clear cut animosity between other important ethnic groups of Karachi has been contemplated.

The newly emerged major political contender of MQM and Pakhtun backed ANP's leaders have also criticized the role of military governments to support one ethnic group in Karachi. In this environment, the mediatory role of state is not only biased but crucial to resolve the issue. A serious effort is required to circumscribe the state's capacity and will to anatomize the ethnic problem in Karachi.

9. Conclusion:

While concluding the ethnic dilemma in Karachi, it is true that ethnicity has been manipulated politically as well as economically. Unfortunately the state's policies seem unable to incorporate all segments of society. Similarly, the provincial government is also failed to sub-sume various ethnic communities under one national approach. Their interpersonal, inter-sectoral and inter-ethnic conflict has grown increasingly violent and poses serious threat to Pakistan's internal security.

The complexity of Karachi's ethnic problem is eminent in a way that the government's ability to govern has been discredited. It is further entangled with some structural inequalities, having deep roots since independence. There is no short cut and no quick fix solution of this unabated level of ethnic violence in Karachi.

9.1 Findings

The study comes across with the following important points.

1. The growing population of Karachi has created severe inter-ethnic problems. It has developed a deeply divided society on the basis of language. Ethnic conflict has reached to a level where the injured and dying persons are taken to the hospital by the drivers of the same ethnic identity.

2. Cross country migration is key reason for the worsening ethnic climate. According to 1981 and 1998 census report the highest ratio of migration is recorded towards Karachi. In various areas of Karachi, the demographic changes are steadily disrupting the patterns of living of ethnic groups and gradually multiplying domains of inter-ethnic conflict.

3. Due to planned and unplanned areas and squatter settlements, the development of Karachi is uneven. The slow process of progress is often considered a source of heightened ethnic conflict in the city.

4. The crucial issue like deweaponization of the city is not addressed effectively.

5. The main competitors in Karachi, the PPP, ANP and MQM's role is instigating the violence. All are hesitant to take responsibility of any of the act of violence committed by their militant wing.

6. The state machinery is completely failed to safeguard life and property of the residents and to dispense justice. Above all the civil society is also silent and not playing a proper role to bridge the gap among divided factions of society.

9.2 Recommendation:

1. The government should not deal with the dispute within a narrow framework. Within institutional arrangement, a general interest in conflict management should be manifested.

2. A mechanism should be developed to bring back ethnic communities into agreed institutional settings.

3. The Government has to establish its writ in Karachi. For this purpose, a thoroughly reviewed strategy is required.

4. Law enforcement agencies should be equipped properly with political support and adequate resources.

5. Karachi must be deweaponized, so that its youth could be equipped with education.

6. Misperception and mutual distrust among the main ethnic and political actors should be culminated. Communication and interaction should be developed which is a key ingredient to any effort to end conflict.

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