



## Ethno-Nationality and Violence in Sindh: A Case Study of MQM

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**Abstract** *Regionalism has oftenly expressed itself in terms which are opposed to national unity and integrity and challenged the legitimacy of the state while the rulers see it as a threat to development, progress and unity that is the why a regional issue of socio-political representation of Muhajirs has been projected in this paper. As in other states of South Asian region, factors of language and geography contributed a lot in ethnic identification in Pakistan as well which gave birth to various conflicts among different identities in different times and making the process of national integration vulnerable. 'Two Nation Theory' and became successful in the existence of Pakistan but usually culture and language do not support only the development of a single ethno-nationalism aspirations in new republics. Clifford Gertz calls it as "old societies and new states". One of endeavors by an ethnic federation is the re-orientation of ethnic based collective action into non-violent politics. Unity among all peoples, linguistic or racial groups must be obtained and can be found within diverse ethno-cultural environment of Pakistan. Sindh has had long history of ethnic struggle.*

**Key Words:** Regionalism, Ethnicity, Muhajir, MQM, Karachi, Violence

### Introduction

The paper primarily focuses on ethnic politics with special reference to MQM. The issue has got increased significance due to presence of 21% Urdu speaking population in Sindh (<http://www.census.gov.pk/.htm>, 2011). The social unrest in Karachi especially and in Sindh as a whole is due to ethno-political landscape of the province and these tensions come up when Muslim League leadership divided on the lines of ethnicity i.e Sindh landlords (waderas) and Muhajir elders after partition of Indian Sub-continent. The decolonialization and division of Indian sub-continent left such unresolved issues which later on made the situations complicated for Pakistan - a state, already in an infancy stage but nourished by certain elements containing contaminated ingredients of delimiting frontiers between the neighboring states, fate of immigrants from India, devolution of power or provincial autonomy, independence struggle for separate political identity by different provinces which led to acute ethno-nationalist movements by various communities in different parts of Pakistan and so adversely affected the very federal character of a new born state on one hand and economic problems on the other (Tambiah, 1997).

### Ethnic Background of Muhajir Nationalist Movement

In the context of ethnicity and nationalist movements- historical and geographical background of (Bengali, Balochi, Sindhi and Pukhtoon movement), the nationalist movement of the settlers (Muhajirs) if studied who consider themselves as 'sons of soil' but are regarded as aliens by other ethnicities in Pakistan as having no any historical and geographical features like the former ones, rather they are the entity separate from the host state and later on they turned themselves into a self-conscious native community in order to make a political space for themselves (Mushtaq, 2009).

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An ethnic federation like Pakistan also known as “ethno federation”, “multinational federation” or “devolution federation”, tries to accommodate the rights of different ethnic groups for autonomous co-existence within the nation-state system. Juhasz defines ethnic federations as countries

*“Which are nationally and ethnically heterogeneous and work in a federal structure at least partially based on national and ethnic heterogeneity,” and further, “where integrative national political consciousness and a strong separate identity are simultaneously present (Juhasz, 2005).”*

One of such endeavors by an ethnic federation is the re-orientation of ethnic based collective action into non-violent politics. But the existence of violent, turbulent and secessionist ethnic conflicts within sub-national regions propose that the ethnic federation (center) has its limitations. It has been noticed that in certain cases the federation, in spite of diffusing and containing conflict, it has aroused and worsen the conflict in the state. This is known as “minorities- within- minorities” problem. When these two groups are put in direct political competition through a federal structure, it reverses the dominance of minority group by granting a majority group a privileged *de-jure* status. Thus the conflict between Sindhi identity dually recognized by 1973 constitution and Muhajir identity that resides within that territory of *de-jure* group ( Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkar ) has engulfed the commercial and industrial metropolis of Karachi in unrelenting turmoil and bloodshed (Khan, 2006).

The province of Sindh remained a part of Bombay presidency but was made apart in 1936 as Sindhis were of the opinion that Sindh was culturally and linguistically distinct identity and their rights were being usurped by non Sindhis so it was separated as a distinct entity. Although before partition it was not an ethnically pure area, having Baloch and Punjabi settlers as well. Sindh accommodated in itself various Baloch tribes and Jat clans who moved from Southern Punjab during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The roots of clan or tribal life in some parts of Sindh can be traced back to those immigrants. The 1941 census shows that 23% share in Sindh Muslim population was acquired by Balochis. History also tells us that before 1947 there was no any acute Urdu-Sindhi linguistic conflict among different groups. However the situation was not wholly free from ethnic antagonism as attacks were made by Sindhis against ‘Punjabi domination’. Various writings by G.M. Sayed and Mr. Rashidi fanned ethnic fire and made the environment polluted with anti-Punjabi bias during independence time (Gangovsky).

Mr. Rashidi wrote

*“We can clearly see that after establishment of Pakistan, the central government would be in the hands of Punjabis and after sometime they would also dominate the provincial government of Sindh. The Punjabis are trying to occupy Sindh because all avenues of employment in Punjab are now closed and a single inch of land is not left there (Hayat).”*

However Abdus Sattar Pirzada in his statement clarified that Pakistan would be the home for all Muslim immigrants from India; Sindh has been the gateway of Islam in India and it shall be the gateway of Pakistan too (Feyyaz, Oct 2011).

Allama Muhammad Iqbal therefore says

*“Nations are born in the hearts of poets; they prosper and die in the hands of politicians (Baloch).”*

## Demography of Sindh

Sindh is the second largest province inhabiting 24% people of Pakistan’s whole population. This province has enjoyed great autonomy for the promotion of culture, democracy, non- violence and secularism. In urban Sindh no Muslim salariat persisted as urban society was Hindu majority. Another influential class in Sindh was Landlords who were economically, politically and socially powerful class of Sindh. Yet business and administration were dominated and controlled by non- locals (Muhajirs). However the Sindhi language and culture had the superiority as compared to others (Feyyaz, Oct 2011).

The immigrants (Muhajirs) who came from East Punjab in 1947 mainly settled and accommodate themselves with native population of West Punjab while Muhajirs who migrated from East, West and South of India accumulated in urban Sindh but keep themselves apart from indigenous people due to linguistic, cultural and historical remoteness while integrated with the local urban people. So The percentage of Muhajirs in Hyderabad

is 86.16% , 58.7% in Karachi and 1% in Sakhar. So overnight Karachi became city of Muhajirs but when it was declared as federally administered area (capital) on 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1948 of Pakistan (Kardar, Polarization in the Region: The Roots of Discontent, 1988).

The influx of refugees in urban Sindh and declaring Karachi as the capital moved a layer of fierce on high level against both the central government and Muhajirs because Karachi was made a separate place from Sindh provincial government on the one hand and induction of immigrants to Karachi and outnumbering native Sindhis on the other. By the year 1951, first census of Pakistani refugees, counted for 57 percent of Karachi’s population, 65 percent of Hyderabad’s and 55 percent of Sukkur’s. The 1961 census showed a population of 2.048 million, of whom 838,499 had migrated from India (Safdar, 2004).

Unit	Sindhi	Urdu	Pushto	Punjabi	Balochi	Seraiki	Others
Urban	25.79	41.48	7.76	11.52	2.74	1,17	8.80
Rural	92.02	1.62	0.61	2.68	1.5	0.32	1.25
Total	59.73	21.05	4.19	6.99	2.11	1.00	4.93

Population of Sindh Census Report 1998

The immigration to Punjab had though virtually stopped but in Sindh the strength was continuously increasing, although, a system of visa and passport been introduced but still 1,00,00,0 Muhajirs each year came straight to urban area of Karachi which created a sense of frustration even among refugees by themselves (WASEEM, winter 1996).

The decision of Muhammad Ali Jinnah (self Gujrati speaking) declaring Urdu as the national language and such other initial policies of the new state like gathering four provinces into ‘One Unit’ and focusing and enhancing economic developmental activities in Karachi (largest Muhajir city) by Ayub Khan and out of 48 high ranks in military, 11 posts upper than Brigadier level were acquired by Muhajirs. All these were the initiatives which were beneficial to the sole interests of Muhajirs in Sindh. Consequently Muhajir became overrepresented in Pakistan’s elite class. Muhajirs who were less than 8% of the whole population in 1973, got 33.5% high position in bureaucracy and same situation was in business community as well. Out of twelve, seven big public enterprises in 1974 and similarly private sector to the great extent were owned by Muhajirs. In comparison to Muhajirs, Sindhis were underrepresented in almost all sectors, 2.7% in employment, 4.3% in secretariat level, 3.6% in public enterprises and no Sindhi General in Army till 1968. It is therefore Ghulam Mustafa Sayed argued,

” Sindhis are the victims of ‘Punjabi-Muhajir imperialism’ and that the interests of Sindhis are ill-served by a strong central government (H.Kennedy, 2011).”

Resultantly the nationalist movement led by Mustafa laid stress over dissolution of ‘One Unit’ and restoration of Sindhi language at the provincial level but campaign became relatively weak as his party secured no seat in 1970 general election. Soon after the secession of Eat Pakistan, PPP election manifesto to restore Sindhi as an official language of the province was enacted by PPP dominated provincial assembly in order to weaken Sayed’s appeal of Jiye Sindh Mahaz. Besides this, the introduction of an increased job-quota for both urban and rural Sindh to 7.6% and 11.4% respectively, was the aim of the Bhutto’s nationalization policy as large scale enterprises were usually owned by muhajirs. Reaction of Muhajir to such enactments was inevitable. Agitations by Muhajirs started claiming threatening of muhajir interests both in provincial and central government. The intra-ethnic conflict made the circumstances unbearable which made the PPP to amend the bill and declared both Urdu and Sindhi as provincial official languages (H.Kennedy, 2011).

The policies of Bhutto were never perceived to be pro-Sindhis or anti-Muhajir as he argued,

“We have given our lands, we have given our houses; we have given our lives to people from all parts, to the Pathans, to Punjabis, to the Muhajirs living in Sindh. What else can we do to show our loyalty, our love and our respect for Pakistan and for our Muhajir brothers (Feyyaz, Oct 2011)?”

### Pakistan by Mother Language (1998)

Linguistic group	Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan
Urdu	7.8%	4.5%	21.1%	0.8%	1.6%

Punjabi	45.4	75.2	7.0	1.0	2.9
Pashto	13.0	1.2	4.2	73.9	23.0
Sindhi	14.6	0.1	59.7	0	6.8
Balochi	3.5	0.7	2.1	0	58.5
Siraiki	10.9	17.4	1.0	3.9	2.6
Others	4.8	0.9	4.9	20.4	5.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Population in Million	127.5	73.6	30.4	17.7	5.7

Source: Obtained by Coakley, J. p. 147

According to 1981 census, Pakistan had a total population of 19.3 million of whom 10.6 were permanent indigenous Sindhis and the remaining 9.3 million were either domestic (Punjabi, Pathan and Balochi) or immigrants came from abroad. The mother language of these foreign immigrants were either Urdu or Gujrati. All these immigrants have been attracted by economic opportunities either in Karachi or newly cheap and irrigated land at the borders of Punjab and Balochistan. As the Muhajirs were settled in urban areas so the native Sindhis became minority in their own cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. However in rural Sindh they were in majority encompassing 81.5% inhabitants of Sindh. The politicization of issue of urban-rural ethnic representation further escalated with illegal settlement of Afghan refugees in Karachi during 1980's and that is why the 1991 census disclosed that Sindhi remained no more majority in Sindh (Feyyaz, Oct 2011).

### Military Coup and Political alliance in Sindh

The military coup under Zia in 1977 became a primary source for political conflict and intensification of Sindh ethnic nationalism. Bhutto's trial was thought to be motivated by Punjabi elite's intolerance of competing claims to power. The split verdict of the seven member bench of Supreme Court showed ethnic bias as four judges, all Punjabi, found Bhutto convicted and the three judges, non-Punjabi acquitted him. Sindhis regarded this decision as "judicial murder" General Zia greatly relied on support of military and it was therefore that victimization of PPP workers and displacement of Sindhi administrators by Punjabi military officials fuelled ethnic antagonism in the state. As compare to 1960's, the military officials were more visible in 1980's in performing civil duties as extensive appointment of military officials (10% in the secretariat) to top civilian posts, admission quota for sons and daughters of military officers in high level universities including medical, engineering and law colleges, army induction in the foreign offices; 43% of Pakistan's ambassadors came from military. The main beneficiaries of these preferences were Punjabi (60-65%) and Pathan(30-35%) officers as these groups had dominance in military. The era is therefore termed as "the military colonization of other institutions . . . the military acts as a reservoir or core of personnel for the sensitive institutions of the state (Noman, 1988)."

The policies adopted by Bhutto and Zia served to eliminate Muhajir's domination from bureaucracy and public enterprises and to increase the representation of Punjabis and Sindhis. Though the Muhajir's strength decreased to a great extent in every sector but still they were overrepresented in accordance to their population. In 1988, only one muhajir military officer (General Mirza Aslam Beg) reached to the rank of General and became commander-in-chief of armed forces. Similarly Sindhis' strength increased but still underrepresented with regard to population and federal quota. However after Bhutto's death, Sindhi nationalism exploded in three different directions;

- "Separatists" headed by G.M.Sayed, favoured secession of Sindh from Union and establishing independent Sindudesh.
- "Autonomists" an amalgamation of Sindh Awami Tehreek and Sindhi-Baloch-Pukhtoon Front led by Rasool Bakhsh Palejo and Mumtaz Bhutto respectively, advocated for decentralization of powers to province.
- "Gradualists" led by Benazir Bhutto, urged to end martial law, to restore 1973 constitution.

Later on the aspirations of these groups were diffused and forwarded by disturbances of MRD in 1983. In summer 1983, President Zia, proclaimed non-party elections to national and provincial assemblies preceded by local elections. In a statement Zia clarified,

*"Elections will be held but they will be for the purpose of strengthening ideological foundations of the nation . . . Islam has no room for political parties or Western democracy. We will not imitate the Western system and the army will hand over power an elected government by March, 85 on condition that Islamization process would be continued (H.Kennedy, 2011)."*

### **Political Strife for Resolution of Ethnic Violence**

The political parties, understanding the aims of military rule, gathered under the banner of MRD against Zia ambitions with a view to ensure free democratic elections. On the other side, the major land owning classes, large industrialists and businessmen availed the opportunity of non-party base elections in order to get direct access to the government. The government was also sure regarding split in PPP which would happen in Punjab and Sindh and it proved true as PPP expelled 31 members in Sindh and 60 members in Punjab who had earlier stood on PPP ticket in 1977 elections. Similarly Tehrik-e-Istaqlal (ally of MRD) kick out 9 members from party. Anyhow the government scored a decisive victory over MRD in the election, although the average elections turn out (52.93%) as compared to 1970 (57.96%) was low (Safdar, 2004).

The era 1971-86 witnessed political passiveness of Muhajirs. Anyhow it was in 1978 when APMSO (All Pakistan Muhajir Student Organization) was formed in Jamia-Karachi for the protection of rights of Muhajir students. APMSO contested student elections against Jamiat Talaba in University of Karachi but was faced by a discouraging result securing only 95 votes against 10,000 students. It got, however, 900 votes next year which was encouraging to some extent. Jammāt-i-Islami threatened the workers of APMSO and was forced for leaving institution. In response to the failure of APMSO, MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Movement) was established in March, 1984 which was not only joined by Muhajir youths but by the aged people as well. It was an organization of middle and lower middle class and got popularity in Karachi and Hyderabad. The MQM created a strong cult of personality of Altaf Hussain.

### **MQM Ideology**

The MQM party was of the view that four provinces (four nationalities) were regarded as four brothers with the exception of Muhajirs so the slogan of Muhajir nationality was basically reaction to the slogan of four nationalities and they have now identified themselves to the destiny of Sindh and de facto sons of the soil. The key to the success of the MQM has been the ability of their self-styled leader Altaf Hussain to project his political ideology through speeches that mobilize Muhajir identity and motivate and fuel party growth. 36 Biharis, (post 1971 incident) in search of jobs and housing from Bangladesh, economic migrants from former NWFP, Balochistan and Punjab and war victims from Afghanistan in early 1980's provided a rapid increase in immigrants' population in Karachi. This inflow of multilingual people from various parts of Pakistan and over population in Karachi, scarcity of jobs and employment, socio-economic deprivations during Bhutto and Zia regimes widened the gulf not only between Sindhis and Muhajirs but among other ethnic groups also which resulted in riots in between different groups. The intensification of riots rose militant ethnic groups in Muhajirs and others making Karachi as a battlefield since 1985 onwards. During Afghan war, most Pukhtoon transporters, who happened to be policemen, started investing in real estate in the 1980's and so did several of drug and arm barons who made their entry on Karachi's political stage. The possession of transport by Pukhtoon and business and jobs by Punjabis created a sense of insecurity among Muhajirs. An incident took place in Karachi in May 1985 when a Muhajir girl student was struck and killed by a Pukhtoon driver and so first Pukhtoon-Muhajir tussel started. Although Abdul Wali Khan made it clear that,

*"The interests of Pukhtoos and Muhajirs are not at odd with one another in the city, in fact, both need each other and hence there is no cause for any friction between the two ethnic groups. The Pukhtoos are in Karachi for work and labor not for threatening the existence of the native Sindhis and or other settlers including Muhajirs (Qadir, 2013)."*

### **Charter of Resolution**

The Charter of Resolutions issued by Altaf in 1987 containing some grievances of Sindhi nationalists and Muhajirs and on the basis of those points, MQM got plural seats in local body election in 1987 in Karachi and Hyderabad and Muhajir Mayor was elected in Karachi. This fact was recognized by the rest of actors in Sindh and so a cooperative initiative was taken by Sindhis and Muhajirs with the aim to keep 'outsiders'- common enemy,

especially Punjabis, away from Sindh politics. After the death of Zia, during election campaign for 1988 general elections as promised by Zia, Sindh political climate split into four way directions- MQM, PPP, Sindh nationalists under banner of PNP (Pakistan National Party) and Jammat-i-Islami under the banner of IJI (Islami Jamhoori Ittehad). During campaign, Benazir skillfully cashed her father's martyrdom and convinced youth Sindh to play under PPP's umbrella. On the other side, MQM strongly criticized Jammat for affiliation with Zia regime and distrusted Punjabis. The 1988 election results proved to be purely on ethnic lines both for PPP and MQM as PPP got 28 rural seats, 3 in Hyderabad and 1 in Karachi and MQM secured 13 seats for National Assembly. Similarly for 100 seats of Sindh Provincial Assembly, 70 were won by PPP and 24 by MQM. An Accord between PPP and MQM known as Karachi Declaration based on (Charter of Resolutions) was made for a shared government with PPP, on conditions; repatriation of Biharis to Pakistan, Strict enforcement of federal and provincial quotas for high level recruitments, repealing policy in federal quota regarding rural/urban Sindh designations, revision of federal quota in accordance with 1991 census to reflect five ethnic communities of Pakistan. But the MQM-PPP accord didn't continue for a long time because of Benazir's failure in fulfilling the accord's promises. For instance: ignoring federal quota system, establishing federal Placement Bureau having personnel personally loyal to Benazir and PPP, making senior Muhajir officials as OSD and withdrawal from support of repatriation of Biharis to Pakistan. Resultantly a new coalition was established in October 1989 with MQM-IJI accord on a condition that MQM demands would be fulfilled except clause regarding 'outsiders'- the right of owning property or voting in the Sindh province by non-Sindhis which was antithetical to Punjabi interests (Bureaucrat, 2015).

## Violence in Sindh

Various disturbances and atrocities started in 1989-90 not only between MQM and PPP but among different Muhajir groups also because of culture, linguistic and geographic location. Several copies of *Daily Jang* and *Dawn* were burnt down, kidnaping and torture of each other students' groups, Muhajirs who remained out from disturbances called as traitors were strongly beaten by MQM workers. All these activities were to destabilize PPP government. Subsequently the inability of keeping law and order by Benazir government at the center and refusal from establishment of military courts in Sindh by provincial government made Ghulam Ishaq Khan (Pukhtoon) to dismiss Benazir's government and appointed Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Jam Sadiq (both were Sindhis and ex-members of PPP) as care taker P.M of Pakistan and C.M of Sindh respectively (Saleem, April 2012).

Jam Sadiq Ali adopted repressive policy against ethnic violence in Sindh which was criticized by PPP as provincial administration had mounted towards Muhajirs because most of PPP's activists and PSF members were roundup of in 1991. The elections of 1990 gave a clear victory to IJI securing 52.8% seats while PPP won 22.7% seats. Such great difference encouraged the perception of rigging in 1990 elections. A coalition government thus constituted under the premiership of Nawaz Sharif, the MQM-IJI accord remained short lived as MQM's demands of repatriation of Biharis and readjustment of quota policy to civil bureaucracy were not entertained by the central government. Moreover Nawaz Sharif instead of gaining support of MQM by initialing denationalization or privatization policy lost the confidence of MQM by selling MCB to Mansha National Group owned by a Chinioti (Punjabi) despite a high bid Adamjee- a (Muhajir) ownership (WASEEM, winter 1996).

By 1991, during the time MQM which had political monopoly of not only in urban Sindh for Muhajirs but had its influence in provincial and national politics as well. Sindh-Muhajir polarization and MQM's conflict with other economic ethnic immigrants on one side and MQM-IJI discrepancies at the center on the other intensified the violence in Sindh and the escalation of war between army and Muhajirs.

MQM's claim of holding a map of 'JinnahPur' or 'Urdu Desh' meant separation of Karachi, Hyderabad and coastal areas making an independent part of Muhajirs apart from Sindh. "Operation Cleanup" sanctioned by P.M was started in 1992 against the separatist ambitions and to end anti-social elements in Karachi that continued till 1994. The army unearthed torture cells of MQM and imprisoned many MNAs and MPAs of the Party. Altaf Hussain fled to London and many of the prominent workers were underground. Resultantly the party split into two, MQM (Altaf) and MQM (Haqiqi), opponents of Altaf group. MQM didn't participate in 1993 National Assembly elections however got 27 out of 100 in Sindh provincial assembly. In the election of President of Pakistan, MQM voted in favor of Farooq Laghari, a nominee of PPP. A series of bilateral negotiations between

PPP and MQM which were already initiated ended in failure each time. During the process, Altaf was sentenced to Jail by Suppression of Terrorist Activities court for 27 years while Altaf was sending open letters to army chiefs regarding army enmity against Muhajirs and involvement of army unit 'FIT' and other officials in taking bribes from people in millions and devoid of morality and patriotism. In the year 1994, army withdrew from Karachi and civil administration was reinforced. Disturbances regarding law and order situation were started once again by MQM, in order to keep tight grip over anti-social activities and strong hold over MQM, a 'new Operation Cleanup' was launched under supervision of General Babar (Interior Minister) with sophisticated tactics of collecting information relating Muhajirs, extrajudicial killings in the name police encounter, humiliating search of the households and torturing MQM's workers and so on which made MQM in mid-1996 to curtail its illegitimate state affairs (H.Kennedy, 2011).

Altaf said,

*"We are left with half-achieved independence. Muslims got the country, but we are still slaves. Before it was the foreigners, the colonialists and today we are slaves to our own people. We went through many sacrifices. Muhajirs, never were or have been enemies of Pakistan. Don't push us away (Hussain, 2006)."*

By 1997, Muhajir Qaumi Movement had been transformed to Muttahida Qaumi Movement in the result of oppressing of not only Muhajirs but of all poor, working class and underprivileged people of Pakistan. Altaf Hussain, addressing in Tufts University announced,

*"Punjab? We will go there because people want us there. Who will stop us? No one has the power and courage in Punjab to prevent MQM from giving the Siraikis their right (Baloch)."*

Between the two military regimes (1988-1999) different successful and unsuccessful state's endeavors were made for ethnic violence in Sindh. From 2002 onwards and especially after the MQM's domination in local government election 2005, the non-Muhajir community observed discrimination in eliminating encroachments, regulation of transport and conversion of land etc. particularly the Pukhtoon began to protect themselves against 'planned ethnic annihilation' from Karachi. Among others differences do occur in between PPP and MQM on division of urban area consisting of Hyderabad and Karachi and Musharraf was alleged for strengthening Muhajir cause. It is due to this reason that ANP (Pukhtoon representative party) and PPP (Sindhi and Baloch representative party) adopted themselves according to new dimensions. The most crucial issue which has endangered the province in general and Karachi in particular is the target killing which is the outcome of political, religious and ethnic hostilities (Bhutto, 2008).

One of the views that heinous crimes in Karachi are due to political turf war between MQM and ANP but ANP denies this perception and holds that ongoing tussle is due to denial of changing demographic realities. In the election of 2008, traditionally, PPP got support from Balochi and Sindhi in Liyari and Urdu speaking in Khatiawaris while the remaining Urdu and Pukhto speaking people voted for MQM and ANP respectively. It clearly shows that in Sindh votes were usually polled on ethnic lines. To maintain an up hand and hegemony over each other both PPP and MQM issued licenses to arms used by their respective workers due to which sometimes minor matter turned into bloody clash. These weapons were supplied Western and Northern borders of the state. The ethnic turbulence has reached to an extent that whenever an incident took place, the ambulance service, has to send the driver of the same race in order to pick the victim of the incident. In short, 5000 fatalities were recorded since 2008 (Feyyaz, Oct 2011). Voting is set to ethnic division, ppp tries to get vote of Sindhis and Balochis, Urdu speaking to MQM and Pushto to ANP respectively. The situations have become so critical that ethnic groups have issued arm licences to respected groups and any petty issue can turn the circumstances into severe bloodshed. Thousands of lives were claimed in these tussles. They are more than Taliban and extremists in causing terror in Karachi and other parts of sindh. Police officials have failed to stop violence (Din, 2011). The political scenario of Karachi now a days is unpredictable as which party will grab most of National and Provincial assemblies seats especially Karachi based (21 NA, 40 SPA).the credit will go to that party which will fill the vaccume created by the split in MQM due to a crackdown by army in 2016 sealing nine zero (<http://en.m.wikipedia.org>, 2018). Mutthida became victim of its own political culture and militant factor though survived as party but declined miserably.PPP though secured two to three from Karachi but this time in 2018 elections, it is optimistic to get five to six seats from that city. Same is the case with PTI making confidence of the people and that's why Imran Khan is contesting from Karachi (News, 2018).

## **Conclusion**

Ethnic feelings are basically related to bad governance which in terms resulted into frustration, less representation, economic sufferings, autonomy to rule and the idea that small ethnic group is ruled by another major ethnic group. Ethnic movements in Pakistan are very virulent but the state should not react in coercive mood rather reconciliation and mediation role may be performed by the state authorities as Karachi & port Bin Qasim are the commercial and industrial hub of the concerned area (Sindh). Though eighteenth amendment has ensured the provincial rights but these rights are yet to be practicalised. Peace in Karachi and prosperity in the state are reciprocally important so any executive step against Karachi would disturb the whole climate of the country. Political parties may strive to join hands to bring this synergy for the nation.



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