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## KARACHI: THE ADMINISTRATIVE BLACK HOLE OF PAKISTAN

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### ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to analyze the worsening situation of law and order in the city of Karachi and assesses its impact on civic life. Karachi happens to be the pulsating economic hub of Pakistan, with huge economic potential but due to the collapse of administration, it has become an economic melting pot, with horrible social and economic consequences for its inhabitants. The reasons for the collapse of administration are more political. On the whole, turbulence in Karachi is part of the national enigma that Pakistan is suffering from. Currently, Karachi is bleeding as a result of the ethnification of politics and this, in return, has had a knock-on-effect on the administration, industry, custom and values of the society. The city has been divided in ethnic zones with spiraling violence, killing, kidnapping for ransom and extortion and gunny-dead bodies being dumped by criminals to scare and frighten people.

If rulers want to fully utilize the economic potential of the city, then they have to focus on building institutions, separating politics from administration and improving governance to manage the demographic transition of the city and socio-economic transformation being brought about by the winds of globalization. For the analysis of Karachi as an administrative hole of Pakistan, this paper uses the conceptual model developed by two Harvard Professors Daren Acemoglu and James Robinson (2012) in their book "Why Nations Fail". In the Book, they argue that if politics and political institutions are all-inclusive, then inclusive economic institutions are created and as such they propel societies into the virtuous spiral where cities are developed and people get opportunities to fully utilize their potential for the socioeconomic development. This Paper applies qualitative methodology by relying on secondary sources of data to analyze how institutional collapse and misuse of political power for personal gains have contributed to the deterioration of socioeconomic condition in the largest city of Pakistan – Karachi.

**Keywords:** Public Policy, Governance, Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan, Terrorism, Population, Economic Development.

### INTRODUCTION

Karachi is a mega city of the world, with a population of more than 20 million. According to the Foreign Policy magazine, from 2000 to 2010, Karachi's population grew more than 80% (Khan, 2013). It is the hub of economic activity and constitutes the jugular vein of Pakistan. It contributes more than 20% to GDP and more than 70% to national exchequer. It is a pulsating commercial hub and home to banks and corporations, shipping and transport, entertainment and arts (Khan, 2013). In addition to being a technological center and

informational float, it is a port city wherefrom most exports and imports are carried out. Being an important strategic city, it also serves as a route for transit trade for landlocked Afghanistan besides working as supply line for U.S. and NATO troops stationed in Afghanistan. So, Karachi has both global and local economic and strategic dimensions of high proportion to be developed into the global trade center but this has not happened and today it has been turned into a black hole of administration. As a result, it has been turned into the boiling cauldron of lawlessness, violence, extremism, terrorism, killings, kidnapping for ransom, bank robberies, muggings and torture and mafia wars and extortion. All these unsavory happenings have made the

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life of inhabitants of Karachi what 17<sup>th</sup> century English Philosopher Thomas Hobbes called 'nasty, brutish, solitary and shortish'. Hobbes said these words when Europe was passing through the dark ages. Today Karachi too is passing through the same dark ages where all are against all and fighting pitched battles to grab power and resources. Hobbes said: "In such condition there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain, and consequently, not culture of the earth, no navigation, nor the use of commodities that may be imported by sea, no commodious building, no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force, no knowledge of the face of the earth, no account of time, no arts, no letters, no society, and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" (Koeller, 2005).

Due to this anarchic situation, Karachi suffers heavy economic losses and loses (Rehman, 2010). When it is closed due to strikes and such strikes are frequent. As a result of these strikes, about 70% of the mill and factory workers who live in the restless areas of the city were not able to go to work (Rehman, 2010). The biggest cause of all this mayhem the city is facing today is due to the collapse of administration and its total failure to maintain the law and order situation and provide safety and security to the life and limb of people so that they can carry out their usual lives. People are leaving the city, capital is flying out and businesses are being shifted to other cities or overseas. The youth that is the backbone of any vibrant city is feeling growingly frustrated and leaving to settle abroad for good. The apparent reason is the lack of safe social and economic environment where youth can feel safe. This drift among the youth is dangerous for the economic and social growth of the city. Hence, the city is deprived of all the vital human resources.

The failure of the administration can be attributed to the reluctance and psyche of rulers to build democratic and developmental institutions to serve people without any discrimination. The reflection of this attitude is seen in Karachi as well where administration is more politicized on an ethnic basis. According to Laurent Gayer (2003), the seeds of ethnic politics were sown when the Government of Pakistan, dominated by bureaucracy that migrated from India in the wake of partition, decided to turn Karachi into a federally administered area. This was resisted by the local people who termed the Mohajir

population and bureaucracy as arrogant and hateful of the sons of the soil (Gayer, 2003). It is unfortunate to note that the politicization of administration of Karachi has been done by different military regimes with ulterior motives to use metropolis as a constituency for their political support and use it as a proxy against opponents. While adopting a corporatist approach, the dictatorial regimes patronized certain religio-ethnic political parties to participate in the political activities and banned the national political parties which were opposed to them. This has led to more polarization and divided society on the ethnic and sectarian basis.

#### **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

To analyze the worsening political and economic situation of Karachi, this paper uses the 'Institutional Model', developed by two Harvard Professors Daren Acemoglu and James Robinson (2012) in their book "Why Nations Fail". In the book, they argue that it is politics and political institutions that determine the pace of development, level of the openness of society, its willingness to allow creative destruction and, rule of law and social and economic inequalities. To them, the intimate relationship between political and economic institutions is the key to development and plays a decisive role. They vociferously argue that if politics is all-inclusive it, it promotes a virtuous spiral and if it is bad it spawns a vicious spiral. Sadly in Pakistan, politics has produced a more vicious spiral than virtuous, if we look at it objectively, because it has been used by politicians to promote their personal interests rather than public interest. This has been done by both democrats and dictators alike. And interestingly, no attempt has been made since the creation of Pakistan in 1947 till date to use politics as tool of state and national building to establish inclusive political and economic institutions. As a result, the state has miserably lost its capacity to maintain the law and order and cultivate different ethnic groups into a cohesive political community, with common national thinking and consciousness, sharing common goals. The increasing political polarization and socio-economic conflicts have weakened the state to the extent that it has lost its capacity to manage conflicts and society

Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) argue that it is politics and political institutions that produce either poverty or prosperity. In this regard, they cite two opposite examples of U.S and China. U.S ushered itself in the era of new economic prosperity after 1619 as a result of the

emergence of inclusive political institutions. On the other hand China plunged into the economic darkness as a result of Mao Zedong's politics of reform and Industrialization of Chinese society under 'Great Leap Forward' in 1950; It led to starvation and famine due to dictatorial policies not based on the will of the people.

The work of Acemoglu and Robinson (2012) show there is a synergistic relationship between political and economic institutions. If political institutions are inclusive, then they produce inclusive economic institutions that create inclusive markets, which not only give people freedom to pursue the vocations in life that best suit their talents but also provide a level playing field that gives them the opportunity to do so. Those who have good ideas will be able to start businesses, workers will tend to go to activities where their productivity is greater, and less efficient firms can be replaced by more efficient ones. On the other hand, extractive political institutions concentrate power in the hands of a narrow elite and place few constraints on the exercise of this power. Economic institutions are then often structured by this elite to extract resources from the rest of the society. Extractive economic institutions thus naturally accompany extractive political institutions that are designed to consolidate the dominance of narrow elite.

No doubt, institutional building in the post-colonial societies has remained a sharp focus of international and national studies in various countries. For example, the classical modernization theory in 1960's attributed this phenomenon to the underdevelopment of political systems built on weak political processes such as political socialization, articulation and aggregation of interests. It should be noted that in the formative years of Pakistan, the political processes were strangulated by overdeveloped civil-military bureaucracy (Alavi, 1972) as it was afraid of the democratic forces and thought that if they takeover then the combo of civil-military would not enjoy the power, perks and privileges in the years to come. Hence, serious setbacks to the political developments came when the Ayub regime banned political parties under Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) and only those political forces that extended their support to his regime were allowed to participate in the military controlled political system and in return regime offered political and economic patronage (Shafiqat, 1989). Such actions of the Ayub regime damaged the process of state and national

building in Pakistan colossally and paved way for the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 (Ali, 2009).

Samuel P. Huntington was one of the early social scientists who vociferously advocated the idea of state building in the Third World prior to the initiation of social and economic development process. In his interpretation of events, Huntington conclusively argued that the nature of the transformation process in the developing countries, especially in the early phases, was such that it would lead to political instability or even chaos if steps were not taken as part of the state building. One of his theses was that the initiation of an economic development processes would leads to expectation and if those expectations far exceeded than what could be redeemed then result would be increasingly widespread frustration among the citizens which, in turn, would prompt uprisings and rebellion (Marteinsuen, 1997).

When we look at Pakistan today, the views of Huntington, articulated in 1960's, sound true and most of the parts of Pakistan, from KPK to Karachi and Baluchistan, are in turmoil and people are protesting for the safety and security of their lives and limb but the state does not have the capacity to provide and government seems to be totally absent. As a result, the very fiber of social contract of the state with people is being eroded beyond control.

Some analysts argue that even after a lapse of 66 years to its independence, Pakistan is still grappling with the fundamental issues of institutional building, poverty, unemployment, inflation, bad governance, corruption, growing social and political polarization, dilapidating educational and health system and last but not least the worsening law and order situation, extremism and terrorism that is ravaging the public life and bringing economic activity to halt. The 8<sup>th</sup> June, 2014, attack on Karachi Airport by the TTP is glaring example of the failure of the state and its agencies to keep people and its vital installation safe from terrorist attacks. Before that a church in Peshawar was attacked in September 2013, killing 83 and injuring 100, including women and children is glaring example of the failure of the state to protect its citizens. And this unequivocally defies the ideals of Jinnah who had envisioned Pakistan as secular and democratic state where the rights or minorities would be protected and everyone would live in peace and harmony. There is no peace and harmony in the country – they have become rare commodity. Karachi,

the financial hub of the country, has become boiling cauldron of violence and insurgencies. Here is some gist of international studies that depicts Pakistan in very dismal light. Prof. Stephen Cohen (2004) in his book "The idea of Pakistan" raises the questions: Is it a 'rogue state', 'a delinquent nation', 'Taliban East' a 'failing state' or just 'misunderstood but an effective U.S. ally'.

Anatol Levin (2011), in his book "Pakistan: A Hard Country" maintains "Pakistan is divided, disorganized, economically backward, corrupt, violent, unjust, often savagely oppressive toward the poor and women, and home to extremely dangerous forms of extremism and terrorism."

Dr. Ayesha Siddiqi (2007), Woodrow Wilson scholar, in her book "Military Inc" calls Pakistan praetorian state which allows the military to partner with various other elite groups to extract resources and power.

Dr. Ishtiaque Qureshi (2011), in his book calls Pakistan "Garrison State" where military is engaged in efforts to consolidate its power in the society as major partner.

Another study "Pakistan: Can the United States Secure an Insecure State" (2010). Conducted by RAND Corporation (Fair, 2010) attributes problems being faced by Pakistani state to imbalanced civil-military relationship and indulgence of security establishment to run Islamist proxies in neighboring countries to foment trouble and use that trouble as bargain point for the settlement of Kashmir issue with India.

Overall, the above cited studies amply demonstrate that Pakistan is struggling for its survival and is facing a serious existential crisis. It is faced with multiple threats on internal and external fronts and most of the threats are the creation of its own actions due to misconceived policies being pursued by the ruling elite since its creation.

#### **POLITICIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION**

As said earlier Karachi's volcanic situation is part of the overall national enigma of administrative and institutional failure that Pakistan is suffering from. Administration and institutions have collapsed and governance is decaying with the passing of every day and majority of people live a life without economic, social and security protection. Karachi, the largest city in Pakistan, has borne the major burnt of national chaos and collapse of institutional and administrative machinery that has given rise to personal rule and ethnification of politics. These developments, in return, have had a knock-on-effect on the administration,

industry, custom and values of the society. The city has been divided in ethnic zones with spiraling violence, killing, kidnapping for ransom and extortion and gunny-dead bodies being dumped by criminals to scare and frighten people.

The politicization of administration happened in Karachi during the time of Zia and Musharraf as a result of the coup in July, 1977 and October, 1998. Zia toppled down the democratically elected regime of Bhutto who had a very different vision about the development of Karachi as the most modern city on the pattern of Hong Kong and Singapore or Dubai of today. The problem with dictatorial politics is that it lacks legitimacy and support of the masses; what it does is try to win over the support of urban masses by playing narrow politics on ethnic and religious basis. In the case of Karachi, the same happened. Both Zia and Musharraf pursued this kind of politics to sideline their opponents by patronizing religious and ethnic parties. Facing resistance at national level, both tried to woo the ethnic and nationalist political parties by offering them perks, privileges, power and special funds. Ethno-religious politics has played havoc with the administration. During 1978-88, the city institutions fell apart due to army rule and the absence of transparency and accountability and "the decade also saw the rise of Mohajir Quami Movement and its conflict with the establishment on the one hand and Sindh nationalism on the other. Military regime of Zia embarked on the project of Islamisation of the society and it was introduced in Karachi too, which resulted in the closing down of Karachi's active night life, racecourses, bars, billiard rooms and a number of cinemas. All this had adverse effects on Karachi's cultural and intellectual life" (Hasan and Mohib, 2003). A ban on liberal culture, arts and politics provided a germinating ground to the politics of parochialism; politics was used as tool for controlling power and resources which were considered essential for political growth. The military government held local body's election in 1987 in which MQM swept polls in Karachi and Hyderabad. It appointed its mayors and controlled the city administration. People thought that the entry of MQM would bring more peace to the city but what happened as consequence was contrary to what people generally believed. Since 1987 MQM has dominated the urban politics of Karachi. The ethnic politics and the MQM-establishment conflict has dominated political scene of Karachi, leading to targeted killings, strikes, and

street violence and police excesses. As a result, industry has shifted to other parts of Pakistan and unemployment in Karachi increased (Hasan and Mohib, 2003). Hassan(2003)further observes,“During this globalization and structural adjustment has had a negative impact on Karachi’s job market and resulted in widening economic inequalities and inflation. Since then no new schemes or development projects on a large scale have been initiated, homelessness has increased and so have the expansion of Katchiabadis and the densification of inner city slums”.

While following the footprints of Zia, Musharraf played the same kind of politics as his predecessor did. His politics damaged Karachi more than anybody else and added more salt to the already pestering ethnic wounds of Karachi. The five districts of Karachi were merged into one district with the city Nazim as its CEO under Sindh Local Government Ordinance of 2001, and Hyderabad, which was smaller than Karachi, was broken into several districts. Some political parties and nationalist opposed this move of Musharraf and equated it with the division of Sindh. Musharraf handed over the power and control of resources of Karachi to MQM. According to some analyst, this was the peak of politicization of administration. The whole city administration was handed over to a particular party, and even the Chief Minister of Sindh was a lame duck as far as Karachi administration was concerned. The incident of 12 October is glaring example of when the city witnessed carnage on an occasion of a visit by the former Chief Justice to Karachi. The entire city administration was

just a spectator to the gory incident where more than 50 human lives were lost. It was done just to placate the dictator who was opposed to the Chief Justice on personal grounds.

#### **KARACHI IN MALTHUSIAN TRAP**

The ethnification of politics and politicization of the city administration and institutions has led to uneven development of the city and urban governance and planning is emerging as the major problem. Karachi has evolved demographically, economically and politically but the growth of Karachi administration has remained stunted. It lacks the capacity to tackle the socio-economic issues. Further, the Politics and economy of Karachi over the years has become more complex and intricate due to uneven distribution of power and resources, so is the management and planning due to absence of administrative autonomy and lack of vision on the part of bureaucracy. Owing to the heavy influx of people from up-country due to unemployment and militancy, there has been an unprecedented growth of slums. According to the Foreign Policy Magazine, Karachi is growing faster than New York and Shenzhen. Karachi today seems to be in a proverbial ‘Malthusian Trap’ (Khan, 2013). The mammoth population increase is outstripping scarce resources and the administration of the city has failed to manage those issues arising out of population increase. The slums are growing but without basic amenities of life such as health, education, sanitation and infrastructure. At present Karachi has a population of 20 million consisting of different ethnic groups. Figure 1 shows the ethnic composition of Karachi (Nafees, 2012).

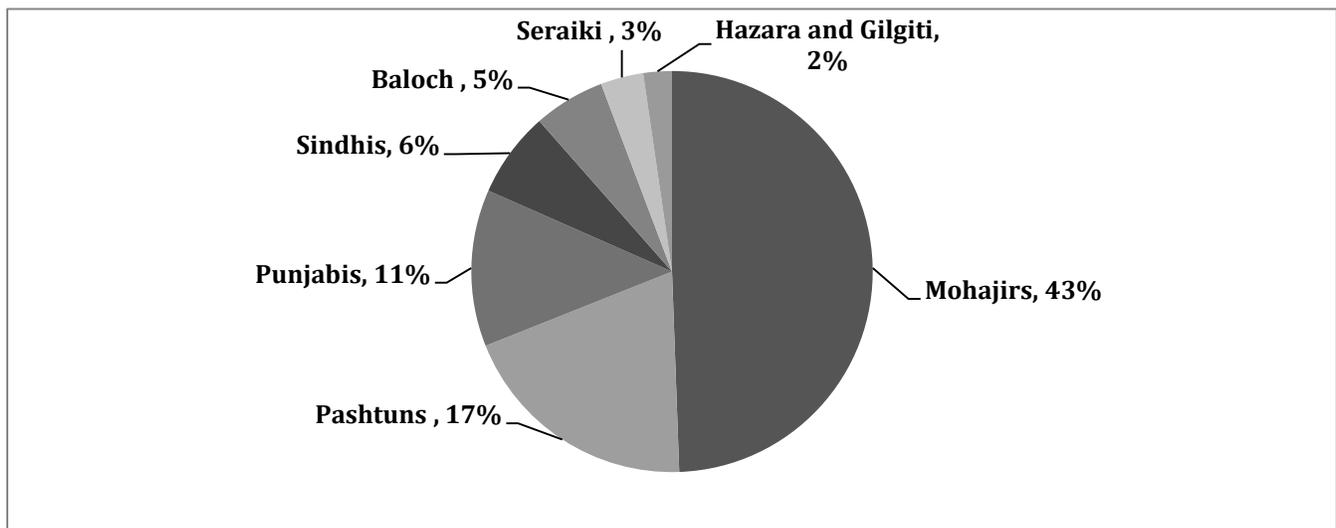


Figure 1. Ethnic composition of Karachi according to 1998 census.  
Source: Mohammad Nafees, (2012), *Karachi: The State of Crimes*.

The current ethnic composition is in total contrast to the one before partition where Sindhis were the highest ethnic community having a population share of 61.2% and Urdu speaking merely 6.3% percent shown in Figure 2 (Hasan and Mohib, 2003). As a matter of fact, the uneven distribution of ethnic composition has led to uneven distribution of power and resources and this has impacted the very nature of city administration which is highly ethnicized; the ethnification of the administration can be judged from

the fact that Sindhis, who supported the partition and welcomed refugees from India, are denied of access to admission in major educational institutions of Karachi. Today minority ethnic groups feel marginalized and excluded and this marginalization has led to violent and criminal politics because of the politics of patronage introduced by dictators; where power is concentrated in the hands of their favorite political groups and has marginalized others from opportunities the city offers.

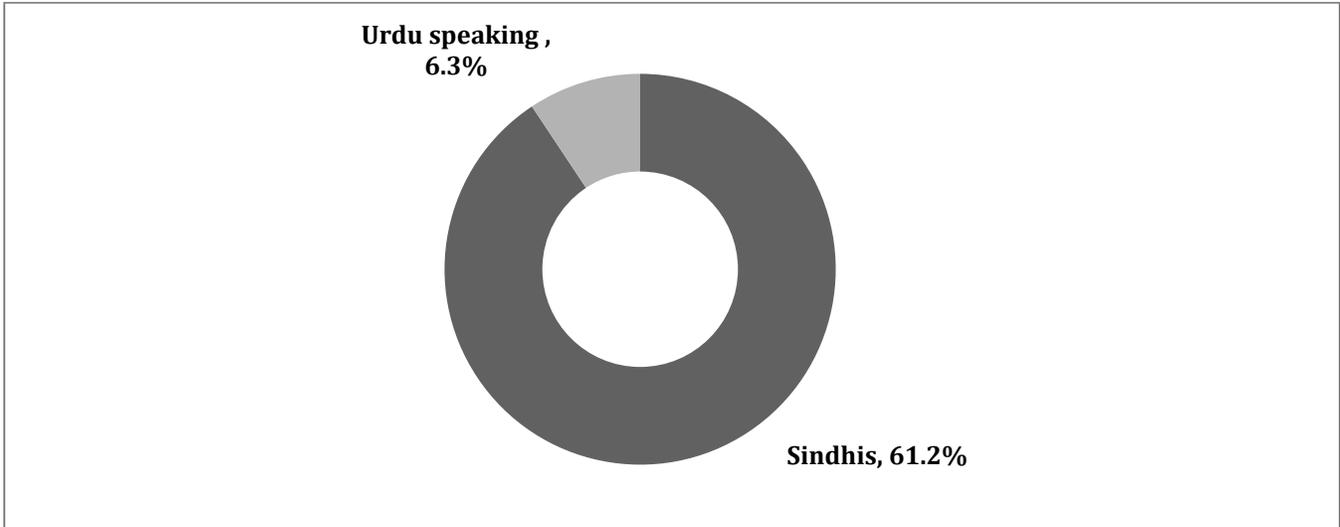


Figure 2. Ethnic composition of Karachi before partition.

Source: Arif Hasan and Masooma Mohib, (2003). Urban Slums Reports: The case of Karachi, Pakistan.

### CRIMINALIZATION OF POLITICS

The major problem Karachi is suffering from, as a result of ethnification of politics and politicization of administration promoted by dictators to server their ends at the cost of Karachi's ethnic harmony, is the increasing criminalization of politics. Before partition, Karachi was a peaceful city where different ethnic groups lived in complete harmony without disturbing each other and politics was for the overall development of city. Administration was free from all kinds of biases and served the people selflessly but today Karachi is a boiling cauldron of ethnic hate and criminalization of politics. And nearly all the politico-religious parties have its armed wings and use violence and targeted killings as tool to intimidate and harass opponents. No mega city in the world has this kind of politics and political parties who run armed wings to grab power and resources. Today Karachi has become a den of crime where outlaws are running at large without any fear of law. According to a report submitted by Ranger and Police in the Supreme Court of Pakistan, there are over 110,000

absconders in Sindh out of which 33,665 are in Karachi. Moreover, there are pending cases of 1,486 absconders in the anti-terrorism court (*The News*, 2013). The criminalization of politics has given rise to unprecedented violence. The violence is allegedly perpetrated by different militant groups and gangs operating in rundown areas of the city like Malir, Lyari, Mangopir and Kati Pehari, Baldia Town etc. These areas have become incubators, producing criminals and militants who have turned the peaceful life of people hellish. Violence in Karachi is multifaceted and different types of violence such as ethno-political, militant, sectarian and criminal has engulfed the city and has claimed more than 7000 lives since 2008 (Yusuf, 2012). Data collected by different sources suggests that out of all the 11,990 civilians who lost their lives due to bombing, suicide and other fatal attacks in the country during the last eight years, Karachi's share is nearly 50%. From 2003 through 2011, nearly 5549 people were eaten up by different types of violence in the city, involving target killings and

sectarianism (Yusuf, 2012).

Another report that appeared in the Express Tribune (2013, January 8) provides information about the victims of Karachi killings and the major causes of these deaths were attributed to kidnapping, gang war in Lyari, sectarian conflicts, ethnic killings, political

rivalry, police encounter, and many other reasons (Report of Express Tribune, 2013, January 8).

Where there is no development and availability of basic amenities of life, there is more poverty and crime and this can be judged from Figure 4 which shows the more infected areas of Karachi targeted killing.

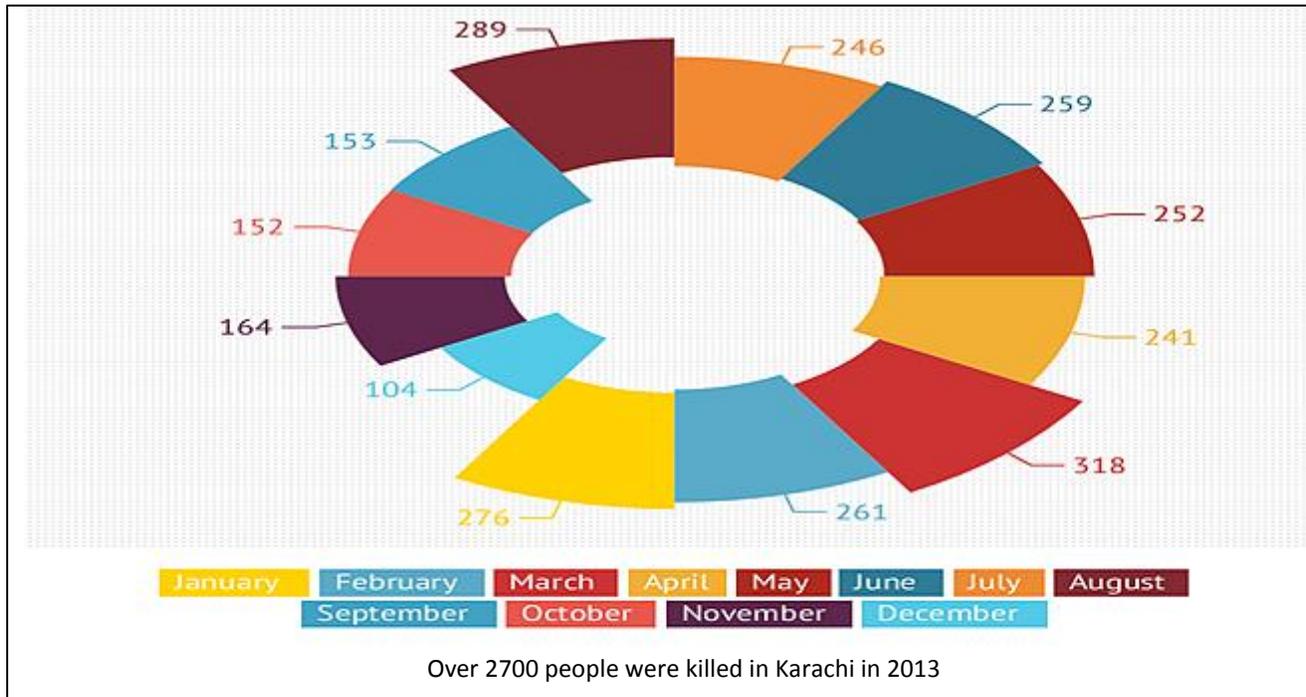


Figure 3. Deadliest Year for Karachi.

Source: *Express Tribune* (2013, January 8)

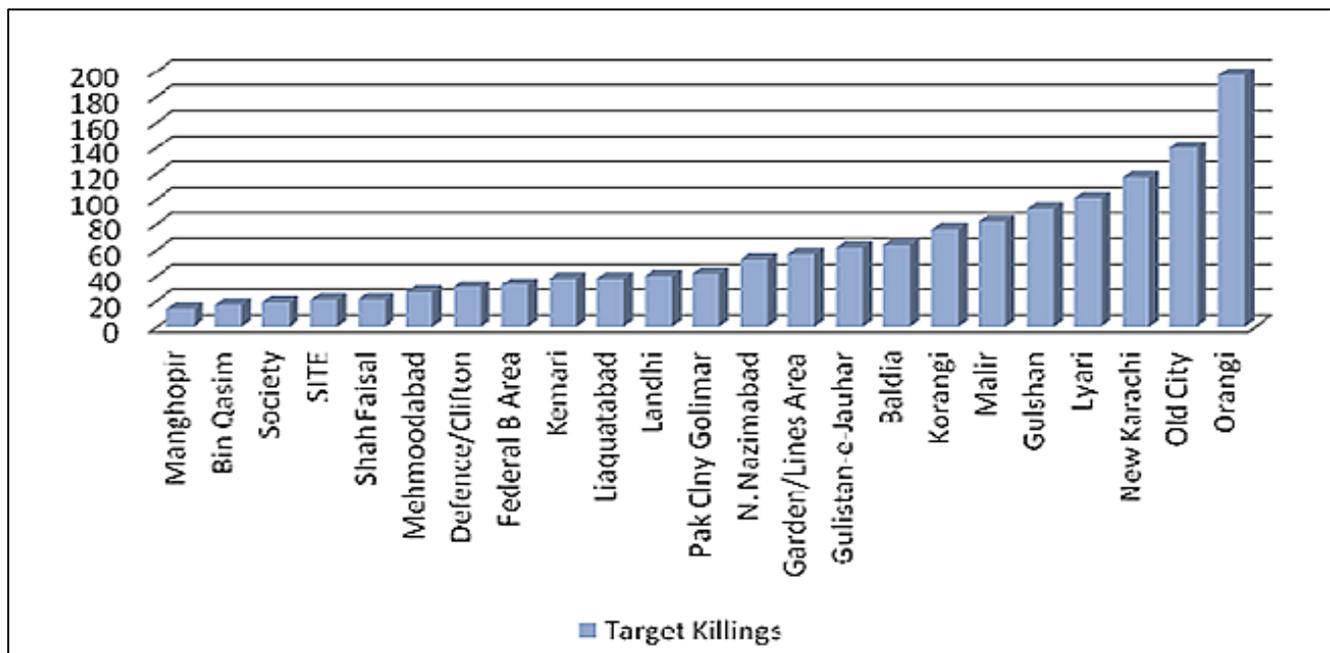


Figure 4. Target Killings – 2012 Source: *Dawn* (2011, August 28).

Keeping in view the violent nature of the city, Karachi has been declared the 'most dangerous megacity' in the world by the US magazine 'Foreign Policy' (Khan, 2013). According to the magazine, "Gangs tied to political parties have long operated in the poorer parts of the city, running extortion rings and land-grab schemes. More recently, Pakistani Taliban militants have also gained a foothold in the city, carving out territory in neighborhoods like Manghopir, where they run criminal and smuggling rackets, rob banks, and administer a cruel and terrifying justice. From restive Baluchistan province, in Pakistan's west, a war economy driven by more than a decade of conflict in Afghanistan has opened Karachi and its ports to narcotics and weapons smuggling. Pitched firefights that go on for days between gangs, or between gangs and the police, are not uncommon" (Khan, 2012).

While comparing the homicide rates of Karachi with Mumbai, the magazine presents data that puts Karachi ahead of Mumbai in criminal and smuggling activities. According to the magazine, "Karachi is far and away the world's most dangerous megacity, with a homicide rate of 12.3 per 100,000 residents, some 25% higher than any other major city. Consider this telling statistic from a megacity next door: In 2011, 202 murders occurred in Mumbai, India. Karachi had 1,723 and more than 2,000 in 2012" (Khan, 2013).

A recent report by the Wall Street Journal (Shahand Hasan, 2014) has rung alarm bells for Karachites, who have become weary of terrorist activities in the city. According to report, "TTP dominates 33 of Karachi's 178 administrative units — known as union councils and controls 1/3 of the city".

The reason for the failure of administration to establish writ of the law can be attributed to the increasing politicization of the administration and further there is no strategic management at the top. It is the strategic management that glues institutions together and creates alignment amongst relevant departments. So, in the absence of strategic management at the top, institutions lack cohesiveness and coordination because for tackling crime and militancy, there is a need of a strong criminal justice system and close cooperation between judiciary and policy. The lack of this cooperation and coordination can be judged from the statement of Karachi police Chief Mr. Shahid Hayat who complained that the criminals and terrorists being caught by police are not punished by the Judiciary (Dawn, December 9, 2013).

#### **KARACHI: FROM METROPOLITANISM TO TRIBALISM**

Karachi, known as KalachiJo Goth, emerged as a fishing town in 1729 (Gayer, 2003). But it was turned into a garrison town when Charles Napier reached the shores of Karachi in 1843 and used it as military outpost for landing troops for their military campaigns to secure Afghanistan in order to prevent Russian from reaching warm water (Hasan and Mohiba, 2003). The Karachi port finally emerged as strategic asset for the British, linking Sindh's hinterland and Punjab with Persian Gulf and China for conducting trade (Gayer, 2003). Karachi first witnessed modernization when it was linked with its hinterland and Punjab through railway as a means of transportation of cotton to India. Being a conduit of trade, it benefitted a great deal from the American cotton crisis in 1860 and in 1870 McLeod Road became the hub of commercial and financial activities, housing a big number of European firms and Banks (Gayer, 2003). In 1899, Karachi replaced Bombay as a wheat exporter and by the same time Empress Market became the second largest vegetable market in the world after Bombay (Gayer, 2003).

So, keeping in view the economic viability and the state of Karachi emerging as apulsating trading center in the region, political movement was launched by politicians for the separation of Sindh from Bombay and finally Sindh got separate status as a province in 1935 and as a result, all the government offices and trade organization were shifted to Karachi. At the time of creation of Pakistan, Karachi was made the capital of Pakistan but later the capital was shifted to Rawalpindi.

From the above brief historical background, we can deduce that Karachi had all the trappings to be an important node in the architecture of globalization, along with other cities like Mumbai, Seoul, Singapore, Hong Kong, Dubai, etc. Without a doubt, Karachi is a global city considering its international trading potential and strategic location. Different governments should have tried to develop transnational relationship with other cities in the region. While highlighting the importance of global cities, Professor Saskia Sassen of Columbia University, the leading urban theorist of the global world, argues in her book 'Global City' (2001). "Cities are major nodes in the interconnected systems of information and money, and the wealth that they capture is intimately related to the specialized businesses that facilitate those flows -- financial institutions, consulting firms, accounting firms, law

firms, and media organizations. “.....these flows are no longer tightly bound to national boundaries and systems of regulation; so the dynamics of the global city are dramatically different than those of the great cities of the nineteenth century”.

There is no doubt that Karachi has the dynamics of Sassen’s ‘global city’ but those dynamics have been lost due to the failure of the city administration to create and maintain social order that is favorable for business and investment. Sadly, the Karachi is losing its metropolitan character and becoming more of the tribal society, which is characterized by increasing violence among different ethnic groups fighting over the control of power and resources. However, if Karachi wants to benefit from the gains that globalization brings to cities then Sindh and federal governments have to build institutions, improve governance and curb the spate of violence, crime and terrorist activities by giving autonomy to the cities’ law enforcement agencies.

Keeping in view the above discussion, following steps are necessary to be taken in order to take Karachi out of administrative hole.

- There is a need to improve urban governance by having a participatory governance model with small Government and big society with “g” governance to liberate the city from the old and outdated governance system which has become more irrelevant and anarchic. It is top down and does not involve all the stakeholders; nor inspires confidence by ensuring autonomy of all the actors involved in it.
- There is a need to adopt the Wilsonian model of administration, separating politics from administration.
- Administration needs to be depoliticized and appointments and transfers be made on merit.
- There is a need of decriminalizing politics and dismantling of all the militant wings of all the political parties. If any political parties aids and abets any militant wing and is found involved in the subversive activities of kidnapping, torture and kidnapping, those political parties should be banned.
- The city administration should be completely free from the interference and influence of political parties and must focus on providing services in critical areas such as safety security to the citizens,

providing quality education, healthcare and other necessities of life that are considered essential for making life productive and useful.

- Address the issue of increasing population and build at least one lac houses per year in the city for people who are coming to the city in search of jobs.
- Regularize slums and they be provided with all the utilities of life such as education, health, sanitation and infrastructure.
- Government need to adopt a holistic approach and pay adequate attention to the development of the rural sector of the economy in order to stop the flow of people into cities as they are already facing resource constraints. If this flow is not stopped then there is possibility of civil war over the distribution of scare resources of the city.
- Attempts be made to shift manufacturing to other cities and Karachi must focus on the service sector. This way other cities will also develop and promote more jobs and improve the living standards of the people.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Karachi has the entire wherewithal to be a global city serving as a front end face of the Pakistani Economy and accelerating the economies of other cities within Pakistan but unfortunately our rulers have not properly utilized the economic and strategic potential of Karachi. But due to ethnification of politics, weak and politicized administration and poor governance, this city is drifting towards tribalism where communities have been divided and living barricaded life. Crime is rampant and outlaws are on rampage to loot and plunder the city with impunity. They feel no fear of being punished as city administration has totally broken down, with dangerous consequences. However, for the peace and progress of Karachi, it is therefore imperative that the focus be made on building institutions, separating politics from administration and enhancing their capacity to provide people with essential services like health, education, sanitation, water and safety and security to the life and limb of people and decentralize power to grassroots level. There is a need of small government and big society so that it can manage its affairs for the betterment of the people of Karachi.

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