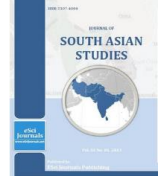




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## ETHNIC POLITICS OF MOHAJIR QUOMI MOVEMENT FROM 1986-93

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### ABSTRACT

Ethnicity refers to a complex combination of racial, cultural and historical characteristics by which societies are divided into different groups and sects. Assumed blood ties, race, region, language, religion and values create ethnic identities. It is an ascriptive trait that acquires political relevance under certain historical and socio-economic circumstances. It is also an instrument for creating political identity and political mobilization as well as employed to pursue collective advantage of the group. Pakistan is a multiethnic state. Different ethnic and regional differences were over shadowed in the wake of excitement during the movement for independence. However, once the euphoria for movement was subsided, the ethnic and regional differences resurfaced vehemently. It proved to be an uphill task to create sense of political participation among various ethnic groups within democratic and participatory framework. Over time ethnic and linguistic diversity turned out to be the most complex political and social problem that had a profound impact on the nature and direction of Pakistani politics. This study is an effort to analyze and comprehend the ethnic conflict in Sindh (province of Pakistan) with emphasis on Mohajir Quomi Movement (MQM) politics.

**Keywords:** Ethnicity, territorial diversity, MQM politics, centralized state government.

### INTRODUCTION

This article envisages the theoretical parameters of ethnicity. It seeks to examine the role of ethnic, linguistic and territorial diversity in shaping and directing the political process in Pakistan. The policies of the successive governments i.e. imposition of One – Unit, unfair distribution of resources and centralized state structure evoked ethnicity among the deprived ethnic communities. Moreover the influx of Mohajirs in the urban areas of Sindh exacerbated the ethnic consciousness among the local Sindhis. This article emphasizes the role and impact of Mohajir Quomi Movement (MQM) in the politics of Pakistan. Initially the Mohajir community (Urdu speaking) dominated the state structure but with the passage of time their privileged position declined due to the policies of the governments.

### METHODOLOGY

Various thinkers like Ziring, Choudhury, Jalal, address various issues in the political history of Pakistan. Ziring

(1997) presents a historical analysis of the formative phase of Pakistan, the constitutional development and the centrifugal forces which hindered the process of national reconciliation.

According to Ziring (2003) the attributes of pluralism were not cultivated in the Pakistani society which undermined the process of national integration and generated the acute ethnic problems. Then Choudhury (1988) addresses various issues in Pakistan politics like military intervention which not only halted the smooth functioning of democratic system but the ethnic conflicts were not yet resolved. Moreover Jalal (1995) examines the intractable ethnic conflicts in both India and Pakistan. Albeit both the states had been combating ethno-nationalistic forces but the electoral political culture compelled the Indian polities to bargain or negotiate with the regional forces.

Arif (2004) shares his personal experiences and observes the circumstances which led to the frequent military intervention in Pakistan. While discussing the Zia regime he also encompasses factors responsible for the emergence of Mohajir Quomi Movement. He asserts that the MQM was founded on ethnic lines while

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Pakistan needed national integration to consolidate the federation. The formation of MQM raised the question of fifth nationality in Pakistan. It created bifurcation among the political forces in the province of Sindh. Arif also analyzes the MQM's participation in the national politics. He views that the MQM has not been a mutual coalition partner although it made alliances with all the governments throughout its political career because there have been conflicts over various issues between the ruling parties and the MQM.

Waseem in Richter and Wagner (1998) explains the nature of Mohajir ethnic movement in Sindh. He views that as compared to other movements like Baluchis, Sindhis and Pukhtuns the Mohajir ethnic movement has no historical antecedents. He perceives the phenomenon of Mohajir nationalism as an attempt to nativize the settlers to perpetuate their domination in the province of Sindh. Hussain (1997) in Mian and Ahmad discusses the phenomenon of MQM with reference to violence in the urban areas of Sindh especially Karachi. He investigates the factors behind the eruption of violence in Karachi and the failure of the ruling elite to devise a pragmatic framework to control the law and order situation.

However there has not been a comprehensive study on the topic of politics and ethnicity in Pakistan, which encompasses its theoretical and operational aspects. Some writers discuss the ethnic movements in Pakistan in historical and descriptive perspective. Their writings lack analysis and most of them stretch back the historical evolution of the ethnic movements in Pakistan. Most of these studies deal with one or two movements. This article endeavors to develop a link between the country's politics and ethnic movements. It exclusively envisages the politics of Mohajir Quomi Movement during 1986 -93. It epitomizes the reasons which caused the emergence of MQM and its role in provincial and national politics.

The underlying assumption is that the historical experiences and dynamics of the politics of ethnicity have a profound impact on the working of the political system and that the ethnic identities can better be accommodated in a democratic and participatory framework. It is argued that dictatorial and authoritarian systems accentuate the ethnic differences and promote distrust. Moreover organizations based on ethnic identities promote the politics of rewards and

punishments despite their allegiance to the electoral politics.

This study thoroughly examines the politics of ethnicity in Pakistan in the context of MQM politics by using historical, comparative and analytical approaches to find the cause and effect relationship between various developments and issues leading to them. The case study of MQM provides the analytical description of the politics of MQM in response to the various political developments in Pakistan during 1986-1993. It also investigates all the events that happened under varying conditions within the theoretical context in order to draw inferences. In order to complete the proposed research the survey was conducted in different academic institutions of Sindh to collect the authentic data. It was a random survey, conducted to get the views from different nationalities (Sindhi, Punjabi, Seraiki, Pushtun and Urdu Speaking) in Sindh about the issue of ethnicity in the province. In this connection the academia of different universities (Shah Abdul Latif Bhatai University, Khairpur, Sindh University, Jamshoro and Karachi University) was chosen as a population sample to collect the required information. There was a mixed response rate.

#### **THE PHENOMENON OF ETHNICITY – A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS**

Ethnicity implies the sense of belonging together as the cultural group in a given society. It is a complex combination of racial, cultural and historical characteristics by which people differentiate themselves from other groups. The term ethnicity may be defined as 'the self-consciousness of a group of people united by shared experiences' i.e. language, common religion, economic and political interests etc.

The word 'ethnicity' is derived from the Greek word 'ethnos' meaning a group having blood relations. In social sciences the term "ethnic" was first coined by David Reisman in 1953. It was subsequently discussed by a number of social scientists like Harold Isaac, Max Weber, Nelson Kasfir, Denial Bell, Joseph Rothschild, Geertz etc.

Nelson Kasfir describes: "Ethnicity involves certain condition, particular objective indicators associated with common ancestry, become the focus of subjective perception both by members within the unit and by non-members, through social solidarity created by a resurgence, or the fictive creation of traditional unity

and so that in certain situations political participations will occur" (Kasfir, 1975).

According to Nelson ethnicity implies some universal conditions like common heritage. It also gets strength from social and political mobilization. It has a significant impact upon the nature and direction of political change in the society. It also depends upon the solidarity of the ethnic group and the historical antecedents, which magnify the role of the particular ethnic group in the politics of the state. Weiner observed that, "Ethnicity as Hobsbawm notes, is a less demanding form of nationalism emphasizing common origin and descent, and shared characteristics based on language, race, religion, place of origin, culture, values of history, but not a state" (Weiner, 1978).

He has compared ethnicity with nationalism that ethnicity refers to the demands of a particular group within the state boundaries but nationalism leads towards secession.

Srivastava quotes the opinion of Brass, that ethnicity or ethnic identity involves:

- i) "Subject self consciousness.
- ii) A claim to status and recognition either as a superior group or as an equal group.
- iii) Objective cultural markers such as kinship, descent, birth, endogamy and exogamy, religion or race, language, customs etc" (Srivastava, 1995).

Brass explains ethnicity as a gradual process of self consciousness to strengthen the ethnic group and to articulate their demands.

According to Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, this fixed four concurrent features of ethnicity:

- i) Belief in their unique identity;
- ii) Belief in their shared or common descent;
- iii) Belief in their cultural distinctiveness;
- iv) The fact that outsiders perceive and aggregate its members in these terms whether truly or not.

Moreover Denial Bell explains the reasons of social change. As in the age of globalization more channels of communication have developed. The states are getting closer to each other due to rapid means of transportation. He highlights that these international developments have not only intensified the impacts of change but also contributed to the ethnic mobilization within the states (Bell, 1975). Melson and Wolpe argued that "in culturally plural societies, citizens tend to perceive their competitive world through a communal prism and to be responsive to communal appeal"

(Melson and Wolpe, 1970). Melson and Wolpe explain that in heterogeneous societies communal conflicts (conflicts among different ethnic groups) are generated by the inequitable distribution of resources.

Moreover, Berghe highlights the cultural and social factors contributing to ethnicity. He says that "both ethnicity and race (in the social sense) are Infact, extensions of the idiom of kinship, and that, therefore, ethnic and race sentiments are to be understood as an extended form of kin selection" (Keys, 1981).

Berghe encompassed the socio-biological dimension of ethnicity that common ancestors and kinship strengthen ethnic sentiments. De Vos explains that: "A major source of ethnic identity is found in the cultural traditions related to crises in the life cycle, such as coming of age, marriage, divorce, illness, or death. It is particularly in rites of passage that one finds highly emotional symbolic reinforcement of ethnic patterns" (Vos, 1975).

De Vos has described the psychological aspect of ethnicity. According to him, shared experiences of the ancestors also provide basis for ethnic identities.

There are various approaches to study the phenomenon of ethnicity which also explain the attributes of ethnic groups. They include:

**Primordialism:** Primordialists i.e. Geertz, Shils and Horowitz argue that kinship, racial similarities and blood ties among the members of a particular group solidify their group feelings. Sociobiologists like Berghe also emphasizes that blood ties and common descent ensure the survivability of an ethnic group. Primordialists magnify the importance of cultural ties because common culture, values and practices bind the people together. According to them ethnic identities are inherited not deliberately chosen. These can't be changed.

**Instrumentalism:** This approach rejects the primordialist's views. Instrumentalists like Anthony Smith discusses those racial and ethnic identities are instrumental and ethnic groups use them for particular motives. It refers that some ethnic groups are inferior or superior to others. Instrumentalists view that ethnicity keeps on changing depending upon the political motives and interests of the individuals. Moreover they emphasize that sometimes ethnic identities become more significant but in some circumstances these are vanished. They particularly focus upon the objectives of the ethnic groups.

**Social Constructivism:** The proponents of social

constructivism believe that ethnic identity is the combination of both ascriptive traits (birth place, tribe, clan etc.) and social inputs (subjective beliefs, religion, political interests etc.).

Ethnic identities are not only natural but these are also socially constructed. In this connection Max Weber encompasses that people attain their ethnic identity Table 1. Theories on approaches to ethnicity.

from the society. The dynamics of ethnic groups are influenced by the societal conditions. Infact this approach emphasizes that ethnic identities of the people are based on innate characteristics and socio - economic factors in the society. However social constructivists are less concerned with the goals of the ethnic groups (Keys, 1981) as comprehended in table no. 1.

| Approaches            | Ethnic Identities  |
|-----------------------|--|
| Primordialism         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ascriptive</li> <li>• Unchangeable</li> </ul>   |
| Instrumentalism       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tools to specific objectives.</li> <li>• Changeable</li> </ul>  |
| Social Constructivism | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Descriptive / Ascriptive</li> <li>• Ethnic identities are based on social and political factors.</li> </ul> |

The above discussion shows that an ethnic group comprises a group of people who perceive themselves as distinct from others in terms of culture, race, religion and heritage. Ethnic groups are generally defined as those groups (either small or large) who have common culture, traditions, customs, language, practices, common heritage and religion, common descent and racial analogies. These groups have also strong racial and social bonding which gives strength to their sentiments of belonging to a single group. In the present world, ethnic groups seem like interest groups in order to articulate their demands. They strive for common economic or political objectives.

**ETHNIC POLITICS OF MOHAJIR QUOMI MOVEMENT FROM 1980-93**

The politics of identity in Sindh accentuated the ethnic polarization in the province. It increased the momentum of Mohajir Quomi Movement activities in Sindh. The leadership of the MQM emerged as the champion of interests of the Mohajir community and pressed for their demands including the increase in civil services quota for Mohajirs. It gained popularity rapidly in youth of the middle class. MQM faced political upheavals since its inception. Initially, the main focus was the confrontation between indigenous Sindhi and Mohajirs but after the 1972 language riots, its leadership gradually softened their stance towards the local Sindhis. The emergence of PPI (Punjabi – Pukhtun Ittehad) in 1987 to protect the rights of the Punjabis and Pukhtuns in the province was mainly responsible for this change. Consequently, the MQM perceived the Punjabi and Pukhtun alliance as a major threat to domination of Mohajirs in the province.

They began to criticize the Punjabi hegemony in government and private sectors. They highlighted the role of Mohajirs in all walks of life especially in the administrative and economic development of the country. To counter this rhetoric, the PPI glorified their contribution in the socio-economic progress of the Sindh.

The relations between Mohajirs and Pukhtuns got strained and turned violent after certain clashes between two communities. The “Sohrab Goth Massacre (November-December 1986)” was a significant development. The controversy started with an Army raid on heroin distribution centre (run by Pathans) in Sohrab Goth. During the raid some mohajir house - holds were also effected in the nearby Aligarh Colony (Hussain, 1987). But the action enraged them as they perceived the action a deliberate act from administration to target and implicating the Urdu Speaking Mohajir community by the establishment. This incident intensified the mutual hatred and suspicion between the Mohajir and Pathan ethnic groups. Following it the ethnic riots spread all over Hyderabad and Karachi. These ethnic riots provided an excuse to military government to intervene and take the control of the province. The heterogeneous society needs a broad – based democratic political system which could secure the interests of all competing force. Relations among diverse groups get strained due to political maneuvering and manipulation on the part of the state authorities. In Pakistan during mid-1980s the state policies seem to aim at exploiting the diverse interests and maneuvering them to its advantage. Resultantly, relations among ethnic groups

remained fluctuated causing political instability.

The MQM and PPI continued to have clashes in the next two or three years. Landhi, Malir and Saudabad were the most affected areas. On 18<sup>th</sup> July 1987 two people were killed and ten others injured in the clashes in Landhi Colony No. 6. The indiscriminate use of force by security agencies against people aggravated the situation. Police arrested many innocent people. However, a significant feature of the development was the mutually shared hatred on the part of the MQM and Jeya Sindh towards the Punjabi establishment. Although Sindhi nationalists were critical of Mohajir's demand for a separate identity and took it as inimical to harmony in the province. Nevertheless, both communities had contemptuous feelings against Punjabis and Pathan alliance.

Moreover the Sindhi nationalists came closer to MQM in a bid to counter the influence of the Pakistan People's Party (in the province. Although both had different motives behind this opposition but both had the blessing of military regime. Therefore, division among the political forces in the Sindh helped the military regime to perpetuate its rule. The Movement for Restoration of Democracy movement against military rule was more vocal and had pronounced effects in the Sindh as compared to other provinces (Richter, 1985). Nevertheless the lack of cooperation and coordination among various political parties in the province allowed the military rulers to manipulate their differences in the regime's interests. According to Dr. Teesta Gosh Butt: "Zia encouraged the rise of ethno-nationalist groups primarily, because political parties were not allowed to function. In fact it has been suggested, that Zia deliberately encouraged the ethnic and sectarian divisions to perpetuate his rule. It is a well known fact that Zia sponsored the creation of MQM solely with the objective of undermining his main political opponent, the PPP. The MQM came into being at the time when Sindh was in the midst of the movement for the restoration of democracy in 1984. Zia also courted G.M. Syed, the leader of Sindhi nationalist party Jeay Sindh Mahaz, the implacable enemy of the PPP" (Chandio, 2009).

The political spectrum was in a way encouraging the Zia regime to follow the suppressive tactics for perpetuation of his rule and curb the democratic forces (political parties i.e. PPP and other parties under the banner of MRD). Although he had frequently reiterated his promise to hold elections but remained vague on details.

He also tried to mitigate the intensity of Sindhi nationalism by extending quota for another ten years. This policy of divide and rule on part of the government created a political instability and let the Mohajirs to strengthen their position in the politics of Sindh.

The holding of party less elections in early 1985, made the ethnicity the main feature of Pakistan politics. When the democratic forces are curtailed by the ruling authorities then the ethnic consciousness becomes more vibrant and people increasingly identify themselves with their particular region or group. They pursue their vested interests and defy the process of national integration. It becomes a serious threat to national solidarity and creates the problems of social divisiveness. In the absence of the organized political parties (symbol of democratic and electoral process) the ethnic identities became more pronounced, especially in the urban areas of Sindh (Karachi, Hyderabad). The Mohajirs became more organized and emerged as a dominant force in the political arena, defeating the candidates of JI (Jamat -i- Islami), JUI (Jamiat -i- Ulmai Islam) and JUP (Jamiat -i- Ulmai Pakistan).

**Local Bodies Elections 1987:** The MQM strengthened its position in the wake of Local bodies election in Sindh. Altaf Hussain, chairman of MQM declared the "Charter of Resolution" which included:

1. The right to vote in the province of Sindh be given only to the "real Sindhis".
2. Only the "Real Sindhis" (Indigenous Sindhis and Mohajirs) would be able to get business licenses.
3. The "Stranded Pakistanis" (Urdu speaking Mohajir community called Biharis living in Bangladesh) to be allowed to rehabilitate in Pakistan.
4. The charter also emphasized that the government of Pakistan must not allow the non - Sindhis especially the Afghan refugees to purchase property in Sindh.
5. In order to curtail the domination of Pathans in transport it was stressed in the charter that the bus license must be issued only to literate drivers. (Pathan drivers were mostly illiterate).
6. It was stressed that the new census must be held in the province of Sindh to revise the quota system.
7. Outrages by the police against the Mohajir community must be stopped (Kennedy, 1991).

The 1987 local bodies election results in Sindh dramatically changed the political scenario. MQM emerged as the majority political party in the urban areas of Sindh (Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur). Three

out of four of the newly created zonal municipal corporations in Karachi were swepted by MQM. Altaf Hussain stated that the electoral victory of MQM proved its strength of MQM. Moreover Dr. Farooq Sattar (1<sup>st</sup> MQM Mayor of the Karachi city) talked of cooperation with other political forces. It was quoted in Herald: "As a mayor of the country's largest city, I have an opportunity to see things more closely and to find ways to solve them. I will not discriminate against my group or section" (Hussain, 1988).

Therefore with the electoral triumph a major change occurred in the MQM's stance and their demand for a separate nationality status was replaced by sub-nationality status. Its leadership began to acknowledge the rights of other communities in the urban areas and talked about peaceful coexistence based on mutual cooperation and coordination. Its leadership stated that there was no discrimination between local Sindhis and Mohajirs as both shared common problems and issues regarding basic necessities and livelihood. These common problems and interests became common identity. Mohajirs were a part of Sindh and they did not want to divide the province. They just needed to be recognized as a distinct cultural identity. But on the other hand the response of other nationalist groups could not be ignored.

Abdul Hafeez Pirzada (Sindhi-Baluch-Pukhtun Front) rejected the term sub-nationality. He asserted that Mohajirs could be a separate linguistic group because two major languages were spoken in the province (Sindhi and Urdu). But the same situation was there in Punjab, Baluchistan (five languages were spoken) and NWFP. While PPP took this view that both Mohajirs and indigenous Sindhis (urban or rural) were all Sindhis and both the groups should have equitable share in resources and opportunities. Moreover the Punjabi settlers reacted in a restrained manner. Mumtaz Qureshi (General Secretary of the Sindh Punjab Abadgar Welfare Association) said: "I hope the MQM realizes its immense responsibilities. The Urdu-speaking people have given them a mandate which must be honored by us. How they use this mandate is yet to be seen" (Hussain, 1988).

However the spirit of cooperation did not prevail long as soon after the November 1987 local bodies elections, clashes were reported especially between Islami Jamiat-i-Tulaba (IJT) and MQM. IJT felt threatened for the first time due to the emerging power and popularity of MQM. The situation led to violence in educational institutions

as well as in the cities (mainly Karachi). In the post Martial Law period (during Junejo government) about twenty students were killed during clashes. Kidnappings of members of the rival groups and attacks upon each other became a routine matter in Karachi. The glaring example of Student's violence was witnessed at the Nadirshaw Edulji Dinshaw University (NED) in 1987 when some student groups refused to allow the new vice chancellor, Jamil Ahmad to enter the campus (Abbas, 1991). Student groups asserted that they would accept him only when he would assure that he would not interfere with the practices including unfair means in the examination.

The Vice Chancellor of Karachi University during 1988, Dr. Manzoor-ud-din Ahmad expressed relief on government decision to establish exclusive police stations to control law and order situation at both the universities (Karachi University and NED University) (Abbas, 1988). Infact Sindh's educational institutions had over the years become polarized along ethnic lines. There had been violent clashes between Sindhi and Punjabi students and between Mohajirs and Sindhis. The Karachi University was ultimately handed over to rangers to maintain law and order.

Along with these developments in the province of Sindh, the national politics of Pakistan took a new turn when president Zia dissolved the Junejo government in May 1988 (there were charges of corruption against the Prime Minister). Although the country did not face any significant political turmoil but measures taken by the president derailed the democratic process in the country once again. After Zia's death (due to air crash in August 1988) Ghulam Ishaq Khan (Chairman Senate) took the charge of the office of President and conducted fresh elections in November 1988.

**MQM – Politics of Coalition (1988 Elections):** The period of late 1980s witnessed dramatic changes in the national politics as well as in the provincial politics in Sindh. These developments mainly involved the Mohajirs and the local Sindhis. The Pacca Qila (situated in Hyderabad) incident (On 30<sup>th</sup> September 1988) was a great blow on the Sindhi- Mohajir relations in Sindh. The incident took place in the backdrop of controversy generated on the issue of regarding the redecoration of Hyder Choke, named after renowned Sindhi poet Hyder Baksh Jatoi. In 1988 after the victory at 1987 local polls, the MQM decided to place large portraits of Pakistan Movement heroes which covered the traditional Sindhi

style of decoration of the Choke. It caused the rage among Sindhi youth who tried to remove these portraits. Though, MQM leadership announced their intension of removing them, it did not satisfy the Sindhis. Consequently, on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1988, attacked and sprayed bullets indiscriminately on people in streets of mohajir dominated area. It resulted into the death of dozens of people mostly from mohajir community. In retaliation MQM supporters killed several Sindhis in Karachi. It generated hatred and bitterness among Mohajirs and Sindhis against each other. It had widened the gulf between Mohajirs and Sindhis (Verkaaik, 2005). Moreover the "Charter of Resolution" declared by Altaf Hussain was also a matter of conflict between Mohajirs and local Sindhis. The demands for the recognition of Mohajirs as the fifth nationality along with Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushtun and Baluch nationalities and the repatriation of stranded Pakistanis (Biharis, living in Bangladesh) were unacceptable for Sindhis. Consequently the Sindhi-Mohajir contradictions led the MQM to get aloof from the Sindhi nationalists and participate in the 1988 elections with focus on their separate identity distinct from Sindhis with great zeal. In 1988 elections MQM got unheralded victory in the urban areas of Sindh and emerged as the country's third largest political party. The PPP won all seats in rural Sindh. At the national level PPP was the majority party and sought the support of coalition partners to form the government. Benazir tried to mediate the conflicts between MQM and interior Sindh. Although MQM decided to join hands with PPP to form government however it kept pressure on the PPP by emphasizing their demands in the form of "Charter of Resolution". Consequently, PPP and MQM signed an agreement known as 'Karachi Declaration' which included:

1. Both the parties agreed to promote an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation with an objective to have an integrated Sindh.
2. The agreement emphasized that the principles of decentralization would be ensured to strengthen the democratic values and to redress each other's grievances. It was also held necessary for the economic growth of the country.
3. Both the parties stressed for elimination of the culture of oppression through political participation and rule of law.
4. Interests of the people living in Sindh whether Urdu – speaking or Sindhi would be safeguarded without

any discrimination.

5. The transparency and accountability in the administration of the government was also emphasized upon. In this backdrop both MQM and PPP committed to wipe out all sorts of mafias to abolish the malpractices in the housing authorities.
6. The provision of public utilities to the people was a task, both parties committed to take on.
7. They also agreed to provide better transport facilities to the people.
8. Moreover certain other reforms regarding the education like allocation of funds and merit policy were also considered.
9. The agreement also emphasized that the spread of illegal weapons would be controlled to ensure peace and harmony in the province.
10. It was considered to carry out national census in 1991 and to figure out new lists of voters according to new census.
11. In addition it was affirmed to form a committee to ponder upon the fair distribution of revenue and to restructure the local bodies.
12. Certain issues regarding the foreign policy of Pakistan like Afghan refugees, opening of Khokrapar border between India and Pakistan were also discussed. Both the parties guaranteed the implementation of this agreement.

Despite the democratic political developments (establishment of an elected democratic government) the issue of ethnicity remained a cardinal feature of Pakistan politics. The emergence and popularity of MQM also stimulated other ethnic groups i.e. Baluch Ittehad (representing Baluch community in Sindh), Sindhi Punjabi Ittehad (SPI). Moreover the Seraiki Quomi Mahaz also emerged in Punjab demanding a separate homeland for Seraiki people consisting of Multan, Bahawalpur, D.I. Khan and Jhang. Though these groups could not enter in the mainstream politics of Pakistan like MQM but still they intensified the issue of ethnicity.

After 1988 elections the coalition was formed between MQM and PPP but their alliance could not last long. After a few months, differences emerged between both the parties. MQM's main demand was to repatriate Biharis from Bangladesh but when the first flight of Biharis from Bangladesh was cancelled in January 1989 due to the protest by Sindhi National Alliance (SNA) and Punjabi Pukhtun Ittehad (PPI). It increased the rift between both the parties – MQM and PPP (Wright, 1991). MQM

declared it as the violation of the Karachi Accord. In 1989 MQM ministers also resigned in protest. Although the PPP leadership claimed to be more federalist to accommodate all ethnic groups but in Sindh the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto wanted to secure her constituencies in interior Sindh. The supporters of PPP were against the repatriation of Biharis from Bangladesh in Sindh.

Moreover the events like the massacre in Hyderabad during the months of April and May 1989 also aggravated the situation. Gunmen on motorbikes said to be Sindhis fired at the people (mostly Mohajirs) in a street of South Hyderabad. There were approximately 250 casualties. In response, the Mohajirs protested in Hyderabad as well as Karachi. They killed people (mostly Sindhis), looted the shops and burnt the cars. These Mohajir Sindhi ethnic riots created a complex situation for the PPP government which could not afford to annoy any of the group in the Sindh province. In 1988 elections PPP won mainly with the support of Sindhi – speaking population. Therefore it did not want to lose its constituency in Sindh and adhered to protect their interests. After the Hyderabad incident the Sindhi nationalist groups i.e. Sindh National Alliance (SNA) had suddenly came alive and held protest demonstrations in the interior Sindh. Infact these riots created an alarming situation and widened the division in the province on ethnic basis.

The situation further deteriorated when PPP and Pakistan Students Federation (PSF) leaders accused the MQM Sindh Assembly member Murtza Durani, of patronizing the terrorist activities in the campus of Karachi University where three PSF boys were killed on 8<sup>th</sup> July 1989. The party workers started naming senior leaders of MQM. At this stage MQM's leader Altaf Hussain approached the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan for intervention which aggravated the situation. Eventually Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto decided to initiate the dialogue to settle the long standing issue. Dialogue continued between Benazir Bhutto and Altaf Hussain for one week. The negotiations between both the coalition partners (PPP-MQM) resulted in another agreement, Memorandum of Understanding. But clashes between the workers of the MQM and PPP continued.

Apart from it, another incident (the Larkana killings in which three members of a Mohajir family were killed) enflamed the situation. But the Sindhi nationalist leaders like Hamida Khuhro (G.M Syed group) asserted that it

was their duty to protect the people from ethnic riots. She described the killings in Hyderabad and Larkana as the job of conspirators. Similarly the statement by Syed Ghulam Shah (Jeay Sindh group) also contributed in normalizing the situation who payed rich tributes to the Urdu-speaking families.

Moreover in 1989 a Federal Placement Bureau was established by the government to recruit the staff for Public Corporations and bureaucracy, without appearing before the Federal Public Service Commission. This Bureau was staffed by the individuals who were the supporters of PPP. Similarly, it was perceived by the Mohajir community that the Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto intended to appoint anti Mohajir Sindhis to important positions. The appointment of G.M. Shah as Minister of Education during 1988-89 strengthened this perception. (He was an editor of Sindh Quarterly and known as anti Mohajir). MQM demonstrated its resentment against PPP's policies by making a secret alliance with opposition Islami Jamhori Ittehad (IJI) and signed a 17 point agreement on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1989<sup>i</sup>.

1. Both the coalition partners agreed to promote the principles of rule of law and socio – economic justice to ensure unity, tranquility and development in the society.
2. They guaranteed the implementation of Islamic injunctions in the country.
3. The spirit of cooperation be extended to all administrative departments including bureaucracy in order to promote mutual respect and esteem.
4. It was also agreed to generate a sense of reconciliation and accommodation among all the nationalities in Pakistan to ensure the solidarity of the country.
5. The governmental affairs would be conducted through a consensus among the coalition partners.
6. Moreover the incident of target killing and lawlessness in Karachi (great hub of economy) were the serious concerns for the parties.
7. It was agreed upon that the new census would be conducted and the quota system would be revised according to new statistics.
8. The arrangements would be made for “Stranded Pakistanis” in Bangladesh were to repatriate in Pakistan.
9. It was also considered to improve the standards of living of the people living in ‘Kachi Abadis’ through employment opportunities and better housing



facilities.

10. Development projects would be launched i.e. building of flyovers and subways etc.
11. Allocation of funds for the educational institutions be reviewed to raise the standards of education.
12. It was agreed that the arms licenses would be issued only on the recommendation of the MNAs or MPs of the respective areas. The coalition partners reiterated their conviction to implement the agreement in order to ensure the integrity of the country.

The MQM in collaboration with the IJI initiated a no-confidence move against Benazir government on 24<sup>th</sup> October 1989 and formally abrogated the PPP-MQM agreement. Although this motion failed, yet it was a serious blow to Benazir government. After the formal break up of alliance with the PPP, the MQM workers openly made protests and demonstrations against the government. Infact the gulf between MQM and PPP had widened so much that PPP perceived MQM as power hungry and opportunist party while the MQM viewed PPP as the Sindhi party, protecting the interests of only the local Sindhis. This situation also led the MQM to extend its cooperation towards the Punjabi led IJI's Islami Jamhori Ittehad (IJI) leader Nawaz Sharif. MQM declared support for Combined Opposition Party (COP) and held a combined public meeting in Karachi in February 1990 (This combined public rally was the manifestation of a new alliance on the part of MQM and IJI). It was an opportunity for MQM to rebuild the morale of their supporters who had demoralized after the end of alliance with PPP and the failure of no-confidence motion against Benazir Bhutto. Nevertheless, MQM-IJI alliance let IJI to win the support in the Mohajir concentrated area of the Sindh province.

Moreover, the law and order situation in Karachi got strained due to a bloody incident in February 1990. Armed students groups rampaged in Karachi and Hyderabad and killed hundreds of people. The federal government, in this backdrop, decided to change the chief minister of Sindh to restrain the deteriorating law and order situation. The change of chief minister was perceived as the admission of failure on the part of the government. Although till June 1990, fifteen thousand troops were deployed in Karachi to control law and order but the armed forces stressed on the imposition of 245 article of the constitution (which suspends human rights and make trials by military court). The federal

government did not accept this option which created bitterness between the federal government and the army. Benazir government which was established after a long period of Zia's Martial Law, wanted to solve the problem through peaceful means but the army wanted the use of force.

Moreover on 27<sup>th</sup> May 1990 a demonstration led by Mohajir women and children was crushed by the police and killed 60 people. These clashes were followed by the series of target killings. In the wake of these horrifying events MQM demanded the army intervention while the Sindhi nationalists stressed that the police should control the law and order situation (Abbas, 1990). This series of violence had not only made the Benazir government fragile but also shaken the entire administrative structure. However, the President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the assemblies on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1990 under 58-2B (8<sup>th</sup> amendment in the 1973 constitution which gave powers to the president to dissolve the government) on the charges of corruption and poor law and order situation.

**1990 Elections and MQM:** National and provincial elections were held in October 1990 under an interim government led by Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi. Islami Jamhori Ittehad (IJI) got about 60% seats in the National Assembly. After the elections the IJI and MQM established a coalition government at the federal as well as at the provincial level. The PPP could not make the government even in Sindh.

Jam Sadiq Ali<sup>iii</sup> ( new Chief Minister of Sindh) in collaboration with MQM tried to control the communal violence in Sindh through power sharing policies. MQM got eight ministries in the province. At this juncture, the MQM leadership also decided to change the name of the party from Mohajir Quomi Movement to Mutihidda Quomi Movement in 1991 in an effort to replace the regional or ethnic character of the party with the national outlook. The name, however, was finally changed in 1997. It was aimed at to attract the people of other communities (Mohammad, 1990). In this regard Altaf Hussain claimed that the new name of party would eliminate the ethnic division and promote unity in the province. Jam Sadiq Ali also assured to extend co-operation to MQM.

Although Altaf Hussain and Jam Sadiq Ali co-operated to maintain peace in the province but the intelligence agencies of Pakistan reported about the weaponization in Karachi, (as a large number of arms licenses were

issued during this period). The army held MQM leaders like Salim Shahzad (Senior Vice Chairman of MQM) responsible for being a defacto incharge of appointments and transfers in the Police Department. He was also instrumental in issuing arms licenses. Although intelligence agencies reported against some organizations like Al Zulfiqar Organization (led by Z.A. Bhutto's son Murtza Bhutto), Jeay Sindh Progressive and Punjabi Pukhtun Ittehad but the most serious criminal allegations were against the MQM.

MQM was also criticized due to its militant posture. There was a general perception among people that MQM had deviated from its real objectives i.e. protection of due rights of Mohajir community and preservation the ideology of Pakistan. The party was allegedly got involved in terrorist activities. It was alleged that Mutihidda Quomi Movement (MQM) killed hundreds and thousands of innocent people, professionals, non-professionals and navy functionaries. MQM's first action against its political rivals was the kidnapping of number of men from Pakistan Steel Mills in 1990. These people were taken to the torture cells in Landhi and Korangi. The intensity of ethnic conflicts increases when these groups allegedly have allegiances towards the states of their origin. The European history is full of such examples. The MQM being the representative of mohajir community coming from India could not escape from this allegation. They were accused of getting moral and material support from Indian government and organizations. It was also alleged that they received training from India for their militant activities.

In addition to it MQM was also condemned by the government for its anti-media activities and killings of journalists. Herald staffer and BBC correspondent, Zafar Abbas was assaulted in his home on 17<sup>th</sup> March 1991. MQM had also problems with Salah-ud-Din the pro Jamat-Islami editor of the weekly Takbeer during 1991. He investigated the MQM's connection with the Indian intelligence agency Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and the supply of Indian funds to the party for destabilizing the economic hub of Pakistan (Karachi). MQM activists also attacked his office to threaten him. Afterwards he was assassinated on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1994, allegedly by MQM death squads.

MQM workers in Hyderabad and Karachi burnt hundreds of thousand copies of dailies - Jang, Dawn, The News, monthly Herald and weakly Takbir between March 10 and March 20 1991. Journalists throughout the

country made protest demonstrations against MQM. Altaf Hussain defended the party workers by saying that Dawn was hatching conspiracies against MQM and Herald spit poison against them. Moreover during 1991-92 MQM was accused of various terrorist activities including the destruction of 20 banks, 95 shops, 102 houses, 35 forced strikes, and forced tax called Bhatta (Since 1988 MQM terrorists introduced a new method to collect monthly tax from each and every shop, house and industry). Military also held MQM responsible for violence in Karachi especially the abduction of Major Kaleem and his colleagues in 1991 made MQM military relations more precarious. So due to some incidents of bomb blasts and the Major Kaleem<sup>iii</sup> case, Altaf Hussain was sentenced to 27 years imprisonment. Consequently, he left Pakistan for London in January 1992 for medical treatment and later on, turned his medical trip into self-exile.

Despite the allegations against MQM, the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif held meetings with Altaf Hussain in Karachi during 1991-92 to sort the way out and combat the increasing chaos but with little success. During his visit to Karachi Nawaz Sharif asked an official of Citizen Police Liaison Committee (CPLC) that why the law enforcement agencies had failed to maintain law and order situation in Sindh. The official alleged the involvement of government authorities in the criminal activities. The situation in Sindh provided opportunity to other miscreants to exploit it. Even the government officials like the security advisor Irfanullah Marwat to Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali (Irfanullah Marwat a former PPI leader and a son in law of Ghulam Ishaq Khan, the president of Pakistan) was also said to be involved in unlawful activities. He had been involved in publicly recorded kidnaps, car thefts, rapes and many cases of extortion. He appointed his own favorite, Samiullah Marwat, as the head of the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) and manipulated his powers to maximum advantage.

After the death of Jam Sadiq Ali (4<sup>th</sup> March 1992) Syed Muzzafar Hussain Shah became the new chief minister of Sindh. He continued working with old Jam's coalition partners. The new chief minister also failed to control the law and order situation in the province and the criminal activities continued. Even various intelligence agencies were found (Pakistani CIA, FIA etc.) be involved in brutal activities - to humiliate and coerce the civil society members. Individuals from press, human rights

groups, and academia were the victims of their repression. Lawlessness in urban areas of Sindh and incidents of dacoity in interior Sindh, kidnapping for ransom in Karachi, car snatching led the army to get involved in the civil administration. Between August 6 and 23, 106 persons were kidnapped, 24 persons were killed and over 100 villagers were attacked by the dacoits. Although the police claimed that it killed 15 dacoits and arrested 47 but still the law and order situation couldn't be controlled (Waseem, 1996). Eventually the army started "Operation Cleanup" on the pretext of national security in June 1992 under article 147<sup>iv</sup> of the 1973 constitution. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said: "Owing to the rising incidence of terrorism, dacoities, attacks on trains and kidnapping the people of the province had suffered a lot and lawlessness had adversely affected economic progress of Sindh. He emphasized that Operation Clean Up would usher in an era of peace and prosperity for the people of Sindh" (Staff Correspondent, 1992).

Altaf Hussain termed this operation as "Un-democratic, immoral and unconstitutional". Sehbai further quotes the Opposition Leader Benazir Bhutto. She opposed any operation in Sindh by stating, "We need a political settlement, a political package which can restore the rights of Sindhis to have their own genuine representative government" (Sehbai, 1992).

Similarly government officials gave their apprehensions regarding army crackdown in Sindh. The Interior Minister Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain said, "As far as the MQM is concerned, I have assured them myself that they need not worry as the crackdown is not against the MQM" (Haque, 1992). Federal Minister Majeed Malik expressed, "We have decided to continue with this clean-up operation. If some people are annoyed about this crackdown, we cannot help that the Prime Minister told all concerned parties during his visit to Sindh that the action will be conducted even handedly and that nobody should expect any favors from us. If you want to establish, peace, you cannot side with any particular group or party" (Haque, 1992).

On the other hand a dissident group MQM (Haqiqi), allegedly patronized by the army was established to counter Altaf Hussain. MQM (Haqiqi) included the MQM's sacked members Afaq Ahmad, Amir Khan, Badar Iqbal and others. Badar Iqbal (a former member of Mohajir Quomi Movement) expressed that the major conflict between us and Altaf Hussain was his policy to

instigate the youth against the army to disintegrate the country.

Although the operation cleanup was aimed to curb the criminal elements from the province but actually the army could not achieve the real targets. It failed to perceive the real problem of Karachi. Secondly the emergence of Haqiqi group escalated the violence which deteriorated the law and order situation in the province. Moreover the operation cleanup, humiliated the people as in Tando Bahawal (village near Jamshoro in the province of Sindh) incident, nine innocent villagers were killed by an army officer. It created resentment among the people of Sindh against army and also resulted in the popularity of Altaf Hussain in urban areas. Altaf Hussain alleged that the military operation was launched to target the MQM (Altaf Group). He also accused the Nawaz government to back out of their promises and threatened for not supporting them. It was a serious blow to the Sharif's government. It endeavored to resolve the political problems through military option as a substitute to diplomacy and politics. The root causes of the Sindh unrest were not addressed. The issues like the breakdown of civil management, economic instability and mis-governance were still there.

Those societies where people are not oriented towards politics based on mass-participation and democratic values, the military become strong. In those societies public attachment to political institutions is fragile due to frequent military intervention. Therefore ethnic issues become so prominent, that defy the process of national integration. Same was the case with Pakistan during Benazir government (1988-90) and Nawaz Sharif government (1990-93), when army seemed the real power holder. The elected democratic governments were fragile and could not combat the ethnic forces in the province of Sindh.

Apart from military operation, MQM had to face another challenge, the growing popularity of different religious groups. These groups included Bareilvi organization (Dawat-e-Islami) formed during early 1990s to preach Sunnah, Prophet Mohammad's (PBUH) lifestyle. This organization was later transformed in (Sunni Tehrik) and the "Tablighi Jamat" in (Deobandi school). These organizations attracted the people especially the youngsters at the grass root level. Consequently the people in urban Sindh especially the Mohajir youth got engaged in the religious activities i.e. Darse Quran and religious celebrations etc. One of the most important

facts of these organizations was that the influential economic groups (i.e. Memon and Others) started funding these organizations. In this way these organizations became a threat to MQM’s vote bank and challenged its political power.

On all accounts MQM was facing a critical situation. It withdrew the support from the IJI government due to crackdown against its members. It weakened its already fragile position in the province. On the other hand several groups (i.e. MQM Haqiqi) emerged to counter MQM (Altaf Group) which escalated violence in the province of Sindh. Ethnic divisiveness and combativeness in the politics of Sindh continued during 1993-99. The activities of the MQM (Haqiqi) against the MQM (Altaf) and the military operation in the urban areas of Sindh had not been stopped, although the Chief Minister of Sindh Muzzafar Hussain Shah in his interview to Herald termed the operation – even handed. Nevertheless, the operation was perceived ‘partial’ by some sections of the society. The law and order situation in interior Sindh improved after one year of the operation for instance in the district Dadu, not a single case of kidnapping was reported during the period (Hassan, 1993).

On the other hand the military operation also complicated the matters, in the urban areas and did not produce the desired results. The local police was bound to follow the directions of the army. Consequently, it remained subservient to executive even after operation and did not act independently. It did not eliminate anti state terrorist elements. Not a single culprit was sentenced by the courts. Innocent people were tortured. MQM leadership asserted that the operation clean-up bolstered the non democratic forces.

MQM (Altaf) was affected the most in the wake of army operation. Hundreds of MQM workers were put behind bars. The operation clean up had serious implications for MQM (Altaf). The MPAs (Member of Provincial

Assembly) of MQM (Altaf) resigned in protest. They thought that the resignation of 28 MPAs would crash down the Muzzafar Shah’s government. But it survived with the full support of government. The MQM (Altaf) lost a platform from where they could have made their grievances heard. The decision was a serious mistake on the part of party.

Infact the process of national integration to mitigate ethnic conflicts significantly depends upon the nature of the political system. In a heterogeneous state with a centralized and authoritarian political system, the ethnic groups compete each other to pursue their interests. The strong assimilationist policies by the state are perceived by the smaller ethnic groups as an endeavor to submerge their identity.

It further maximizes their dissatisfaction with the system. Therefore the ethnic movements defy the process of national integration in these states. On the other hand if the political system is based upon democratic values and encourages the participatory political culture to accommodate the political aspirations of the people then the task of the political development and integration among diverse ethnic groups becomes easier.

**Statistical Analysis:** Data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version 13.0 (Microsoft, 2004). The issue of ethnicity in Sindh and the opinions of the various ethnic groups (Mohajirs, Sindhis, Pushtuns, Punjabis and Saraiki) were calculated by descriptive statistics. The hypothesis to be tested was denoted by “H<sub>1</sub>” as alternative hypothesis and null hypothesis is denoted by “H<sub>0</sub>”. “N” is the population size. The “df” shows degree of freedom. The significance of political and ethnic factors was tested by using Chi-Square Analysis at p <.01. The cross – tabulation of ethnic issues and opinions of ethnic groups is given below where columns show the ethnic groups and rows show the ethnic issues.

Table 2: Sindhi Mohajir Controversy.

H<sub>0</sub> - Sindhi Mohajir controversy is not a challenging issue in Sindh.

H<sub>1</sub> - Sindhi Mohajir controversy is a challenging issue in Sindh.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 20            | 24     | 5       | 7       | 45     | 85.95    |
| Yes     | 30            | 26     | 45      | 43      | 5      |          |

P<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) focus that the MQM was responsible for violent activities in Karachi. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with  $df(4)$ , p<.01.

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| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 20            | 24     | 5       | 7       | 45     | 85.95    |
| Yes     | 30            | 26     | 45      | 43      | 5      |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) highlight that the respondents perceive that Sindhi Mohajir controversy is a challenging issue in Sindh. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with  $df(4)$ , p<.01.

Table 3: Nature of MQM as Political Party.

H<sub>0</sub> - MQM is not an ethnic political party.

H<sub>1</sub> - MQM is an ethnic political party.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 21            | 13     | 25      | 5       | 15     | 21.91    |
| Yes     | 29            | 37     | 25      | 45      | 35     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) show that the respondent perceive that the MQM is an ethnic political party. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with  $df(4)$ , p<.01.

Table 4: Quota System in Sindh.

H<sub>0</sub> - Quota System under Bhutto did not intensify ethnic tensions in Sindh.

H<sub>1</sub> - Quota System under Bhutto intensified ethnic tensions in Sindh.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 12            | 15     | 20      | 3       | 20     | 19.64    |
| Yes     | 38            | 35     | 30      | 47      | 30     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) indicate that the quota system under Bhutto intensified ethnic tensions between Sindhis and Mohajirs. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with  $df(4)$ , p<.01.

Table 5: Pakka Qila Incident (September-1988).

H<sub>0</sub> - Pakka Qila incident did not enflame Mohajir Sindhi controversy.

H<sub>1</sub> - Pakka Qila incident enflamed Mohajir Sindhi controversy.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 11            | 14     | 20      | 5       | 20     | 16.07    |
| Yes     | 39            | 36     | 30      | 45      | 30     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) indicate that the Pakka Qila incident (September-1988) escalated Mohajir Sindhi controversy. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with  $df(4)$ , p<.01.

Table 6: Violence in the Academic Institutions in Urban Sindh.

H<sub>0</sub> - Sindhi Mohajir controversy does not cause violence in the academic institutions in urban Sindh.

H<sub>1</sub> - Sindhi Mohajir controversy cause violence in the academic institutions in urban Sindh.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 13            | 13     | 10      | 8       | 25     | 17.49    |
| Yes     | 37            | 37     | 40      | 42      | 25     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) indicate that the Sindhi Mohajir controversy caused violence in the academic institutions in the urban areas of Sindh. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with  $df(4)$ , p<.01.

Table 7: MQM – PPP Alliance.

H<sub>0</sub> – MQM – PPP alliance did not break in 1989 due to ethnic differences.

H<sub>1</sub> – MQM – PPP alliance broke in 1989 due to ethnic differences.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 13            | 13     | 20      | 5       | 30     | 32.03    |
| Yes     | 37            | 37     | 30      | 45      | 20     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) focus that the MQM – PPP alliance broke in 1989 due to ethnic differences. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with *df* (4), p<.01.

Table 8: Military Operation 1992.

H<sub>0</sub> – MQM was not a main target of military operation.

H<sub>1</sub> – MQM was a main target of military operation.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 11            | 19     | 30      | 5       | 20     | 32.26    |
| Yes     | 39            | 31     | 20      | 45      | 30     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) encompass that the MQM was a main target of 1992 military operation. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with *df* (4), p<.01.

Table 9: Hardliners were expelled from MQM.

H<sub>0</sub> – Hardliners were not expelled from the party due to their differences.

H<sub>1</sub> – Hardliners were expelled from the party due to their differences.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 13            | 17     | 15      | 22      | 20     | 4.68     |
| Yes     | 37            | 33     | 35      | 28      | 30     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) disapprove the hypothesis that the MQM expelled the hardliners from the party due to their differences. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is not significant with *df* (4), p>.01.

Table 10: The Establishment of MQM Haqiqi.

H<sub>0</sub> – MQM Haqiqi was not bolstered by the establishment to contain MQM (Altaf).

H<sub>1</sub> – MQM Haqiqi was bolstered by the establishment to contain MQM (Altaf).

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 9             | 17     | 30      | 20      | 25     | 21.16    |
| Yes     | 41            | 33     | 20      | 30      | 25     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) focus that the MQM Haqiqi was supported by the establishment to contain MQM (Altaf). The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with *df* (4), p<.01.

Table 11: Violence in Karachi.

H<sub>0</sub> – MQM was not responsible for violence in Karachi.

H<sub>1</sub> – MQM was responsible for violence in Karachi.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 23            | 11     | 10      | 5       | 20     | 22.30    |
| Yes     | 27            | 39     | 40      | 45      | 30     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) focus that the MQM was responsible for violent activities in Karachi. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with *df* (4), p<.01.

Table 12: Politics of MQM.

H<sub>0</sub> – Politics of MQM had no negative implication on the process of national integration.

H<sub>1</sub> – Politics of MQM had negative implication on the process of national integration.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 23            | 8      | 5       | 2       | 5      | 38.92    |
| Yes     | 27            | 42     | 45      | 48      | 45     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) show that the politics of MQM had negative implications on the process of national integration. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with *df* (4), p<.01.

Table 13: MQM's Politics Is Based on Ethnic Identity

H<sub>0</sub> – MQM's politics is not based on ethnic identity.

H<sub>1</sub> – MQM's politics is based on ethnic identity.

| Opinion | Ethnic Groups |        |         |         |        | $\chi^2$ |
|---------|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|----------|
|         | Urdu          | Sindhi | Saraiki | Punjabi | Pushto |          |
| No      | 13            | 8      | 15      | 5       | 20     | 15.04    |
| Yes     | 37            | 42     | 35      | 45      | 30     |          |

p<.01.

The results of  $\chi^2$  (N=250) focus that the MQM's politics is based on ethnic identity. The result of the  $\chi^2$  is significant with *df* (4), p<.01.

**CONCLUSION**

Results showed that the majority of the population sample realizes that there are fault lines in the province on ethnic basis. The subsequent incidents and the policies of the successive governments escalated the ethnic dissension. It not only caused collateral damage in the province but also dwindled the state machinery. Poor law and order situation due to ethnic disharmony spoiled the social fabric of the state and caused despondency in the society.

The ethnic conflicts get momentum due to the discrepancies between the privileged and under-privileged groups. This situation leads towards the sense of relative deprivation among the under – privileged ethnic groups which they vent through agitation. They demand for the fair distribution of resources. It not only increases their alienation from the political system of the state but also from the rest of the ethnic groups. Moreover the political turbulence starts when all the ethnic groups don't get due share in the power structure of the state. The power elite also mobilize the ethnic group to pursue their political and economic agenda. Sometimes external influences also escalate the state's internal ethnic conflicts and threaten the national solidarity.

In the beginning MQM did not use violent means to articulate their political and economic interests. When it got major success in 1987 local bodies elections in Sindh,

it tried to adopt the policy of reconciliation with all other ethnic groups in the province. But after the elections, clashes erupted not only between Mohajirs and IJT (Islami Jamiat Tulba) but also with the Punjabis Pushtuns and Sindhis. These ethnic groups were not ready to acknowledge the Mohajirs dominance in the province. It decreased the level of social capital in a polarized society of Pakistan. After the 1987 local bodies elections the ethnic congruity could not be established in the province of Sindh. Law and order situation deteriorated due to the widening rift between the local Sindhis and Mohajirs which had the tendency of getting violent with minor incident. Besides, the 1988 national and provincial elections changed the power equation in Pakistan. MQM got unexpected victory in the elections and emerged as the country's third largest political party. Although both major parties MQM and PPP entered into an alliance at the provincial and federal level but it did not sustain for a long time and both sides started accusing each other for violating the agreement. MQM got disgruntled with the PPP for not facilitating them according to the "Karachi Declaration" and accused the government of betrayal. Conflict between both the political parties occurred over the issue of the repatriation of Biharis in Sindh. However the MQM – PPP coalition ended with the no-confidence move initiated by the MQM against Benazir Bhutto. This motion was all in vain on the part of the MQM but it manifested that it was

quite complex for the political parties in Pakistan to do politics across ethnic lines. Coalition partners (PPP and MQM) could not retain the reciprocity to bolster each other neither at the centre nor in the province. This situation led the formation of another alliance between MQM and the (Combined Opposition Party) IJI (Islami Jamhori Ittehad) during 1990 elections. This coalition could not ensure the stability of the government due to the lack of the compatibility between the centripetal and centrifugal forces.

The provincial government led by Jam Sadiq Ali was established in Sindh in the pursuit of balancing the ethnic and linguistic diversities but the cohesiveness among the conflicting forces could not be achieved. The most wrenching outcome was the terrorist activities of MQM which not only disturbed the law and order situation but also aggravated the ethnic parochialism in the province of Sindh. The political set up in the province had been oscillating between the extremes. On one hand the memorandums of understanding were signed between the political parties while on the other hand the military operation was launched in Sindh. The patronization of MQM (Haqiqi) by the army to counter MQM (Altaf) escalated the lawlessness in the province of Sindh. Army also got involved in their conflict which intensified the conflict.

However, MQM boycott to the national elections held in 1993 gave a serious blow to the party. It did not affect the voter's turnout. The party finally decided to participate in the provincial elections and joined hands with PML (N) led by Nawaz Sharif against PPP. Although it seemed quite paradoxical to make an alliance with Nawaz Sharif PML (N), as Nawaz Sharif government launched army operation in the province. The crises of ethnic stability and national identity were reinforced by the praetorianism in politics and the formation of vested political alliances.

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i Mohajir Quomi Movement raised the same issues which were negotiated with the PPP in the Karachi Declaration (i.e. repatriation of Biharies, to revise the quota policy for recruitment to the bureaucracy.

ii Jam Sadiq Ali managed to cobble together a coalition government with Jatoi, Pir Pagara, the Syed and the Makhdooms in interior Sindh and MQM in urban Sindh. But he faced numerous handicaps in dealing with the problems. He operated in his individual capacity without a party at grassroots.

iii Altaf Hussian was sentenced to twenty seven years imprisonment for master minding the kidnapping of an army officer. Moreover

during the military operation in 1992 the Pakistan Army alleged to recover the maps of Jinnahpur (separate homeland for Mohajir community) from the MQM offices in Karachi.

iv With the prior permission of federal government the army exercises certain powers to take action against anti-social and criminal elements.