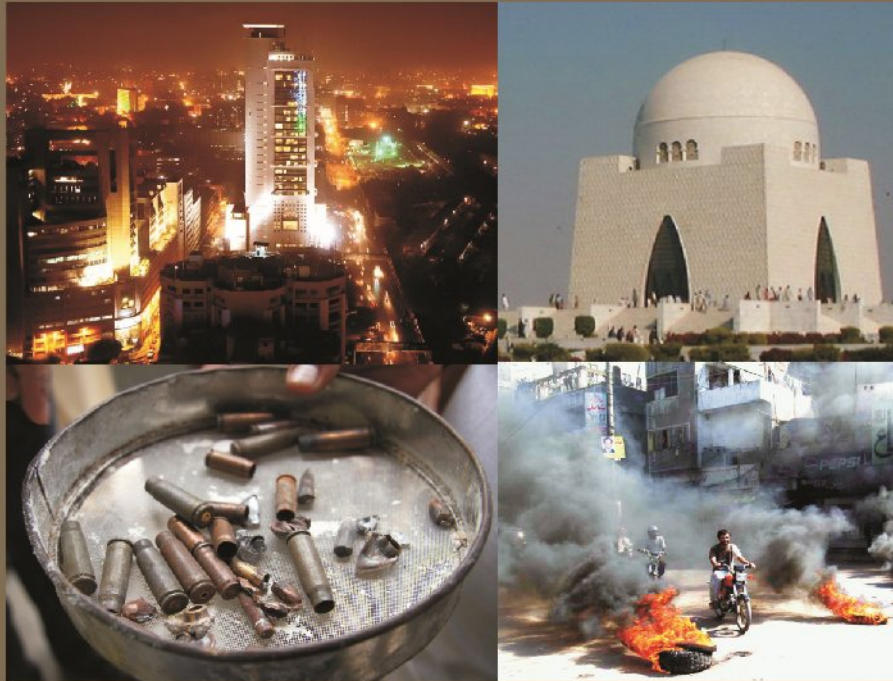


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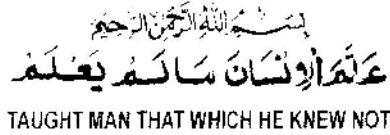
# **Karachi: A City that Refuses to Surrender**



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ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN**



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## **KARACHI: A CITY THAT REFUSES TO SURRENDER**

### **Introduction**

*'You will yet be the glory of the East; would that I could come again, Karachi, to see you in your grandeur'.*

*-Sir Charles Napier*

Karachi is located on the shores of Arabian Sea in the southern part of Pakistan. Home to 21 million people, spread over an area of 3527 km<sup>2</sup>, makes it the 4th largest metropolitan city in the world. It is the hub of Pakistan's economic activities and contributes 25% in Pakistan's Gross Domestic Products (GDP), 65% of national income tax revenue,<sup>1</sup> 54 percent in central government tax revenues, and 30% in industrial output.<sup>2</sup>

Karachi is Pakistan's premier centre of banking, industry and trade and employs the largest population in these sectors. It boasts higher education in South Asia and has the highest literacy rate in the country that is up to 90 percent. However, the city's cosmopolitanism and economic growth are constantly undermined by violent disruptions. Karachi hitherto faced numerous tides of instability and is again facing a strong wave of violence. Karachi's precarious security situation has serious implications on Pakistan's economic stability. Law enforcement agencies in Karachi have experienced persistent shortfalls in manpower, equipment, training and leadership. There is also a wide gap of

coordination and collaboration among the intelligence agencies and law enforcement organizations. Hence, police and other security forces have had little influence to control the violence, given the chronic collusion between the civilian overlords and those perpetrating it.

Karachi plays a vital role in domestic political stability and further maturing the democracy in Pakistan. Unfortunately, Karachi has become a battleground for major political parties, which claim competing constituencies in ethnically segregated neighbourhoods. The demographic shift taking place in Karachi has primarily affected the city's political power struggle and the common man is made to bear the cost in terms of open war on the streets between heavily armed cadres of various political parties and ethnic groups. The innocent civilians become the victims of cross fire targeting, while bodies are constantly discovered with extensive marks of torture. This trend is used as a power tactic to control the provincial and federal-level decision-making.

In this premise, this paper first provides an insight into history, geography, demography, migration pattern and economic outlook of Karachi. After that, security dynamics of city and political dimension of the issue have been discussed at length. At the end, a plausible way forward has been suggested keeping in view the criticality of the issue.

## **Karachi: An Historical Perspective**

### ***Earliest Account***

The earliest account of the area where Karachi is located can be found in the record books of one of Alexander-the-Great's admirals, who sailed back home from the Greek expedition to India from a harbour by the Indus delta, known as 'Krokola'. According to widely held belief, though, the city of Karachi started its life as a small fishing settlement by the Indus Delta known as 'Kolachi-jo-Kun' (the ditch of Kolachi), named after an old fisherwoman, 'Mai Kolachee', who took up settlement here. In time, the settlement grew into a small fishing village and came to be known as 'Kolachi-jo-Goth' or, the village of Kolachee. This small fishing village gradually started trading activities by sea with Muscat and Bahrain.<sup>3</sup> In 1795, the Talpur rulers of Sindh overthrew the 'Kalhoras' and took over the control of the village. The Talpur Amirs erected a small fort at Manora near the village, which had some cannons brought in from Muscat, the remains of which still stand today. The fort had two doorways:

- Khaara Darwaaza: One facing the sea known as 'Khaara Darwaaza' (Brackish gate).
- Meetha Darwaaza: Other facing the Lyari River known as 'Meetha Darwaaza' (Sweet gate).<sup>4</sup>

### ***British Era***

On February 1, 1839, a British ship, 'the Wellesley', anchored off the island of Manora and captured the city without any difficulty. In 1843, upon the annexation of Sindh

into the British Empire, the regional capital was transferred from Hyderabad to Karachi by Charles Napier, the first governor of Sindh. The British made the town an Army Headquarters, military cantonment and established a basic police and judicial system.

***Early Developments***

The British recognized the importance of this natural harbour by the Indus and started developing the fishing village as a principal port for the Indus River basin. In 1843, a river steamer service was introduced linking Karachi with the city of Multan, 500 miles upstream on the Indus. The population of the city started rising rapidly and by the 1850's, Karachi had become an established city with a population of about 14,000 and prosperous overseas trade<sup>5</sup>.

This number had risen to 56,000 by 1872, and kept on growing<sup>6</sup>. By 1891, statistics showed a population of about 105,000. Karachi had 117,000 inhabitants as of 1901. Till that time, Karachi had become one of the biggest and best outfitted ports of the world. The population of the city had crossed over a hundred thousand of which, 55 percent were Muslims and 41 percent were Hindus. Karachi was now a city with a metropolitan character attracting sizable populations of European traders, Iranians, Lebanese, Goan, Parsi and Hindu merchants. Among these, the Parsi merchants quickly made good reputation for themselves and rose to a prominent position in the city.<sup>7</sup> They made significant contributions to

the growth of the city through their generous philanthropy. The city covered about 8.3 sq km in 1946.

### ***Karachi in 1947***

In 1947, Karachi was a bustling metropolitan city with beautiful classical and colonial European styled buildings, lining the city's thoroughfares. It remains the capital city of Pakistan from 1947 until 1958.

### **Geography**

Karachi is the largest city of Pakistan located in south-eastern part of the country. The city is an important industrial centre and a port on the coast of Arabian Sea. Mostly, it comprises flat or rolling plains with hills on the western and northern boundaries of the urban sprawl. The Karachi Harbor is a sheltered bay to the South-West of the city, protected from storms by the Sandspit Beach, the Manora Island and the Oyster Rocks. The Arabian Sea beach lines the southern coastline of Karachi. Dense mangroves and creeks of the Indus delta can be found in the South East of the city. Towards the West and the North is Cape Monze, an area marked with projecting sea cliffs and rocky sandstone promontories. Some excellent beaches can also be found in this area.

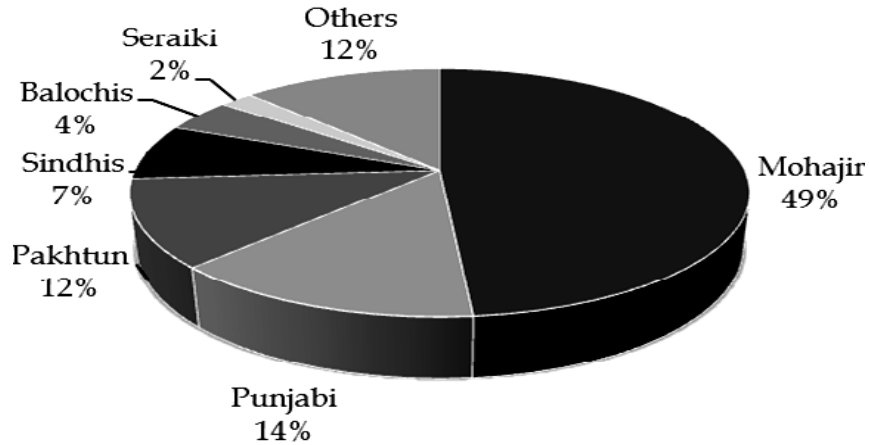
### **Administrative Division**

Karachi's inhabitants, locally known as Karachiites, are a cosmopolitan population composed of many ethno-linguistic groups from other parts of Pakistan and refugees from several countries. According to the census of 1998, the linguistic distribution of the city was; Urdu (49.52%), Punjabi (13.94%),



Pashto (12.42%), Sindhi (7.22%) Baloch (4.34%) Saraiki (2.11%) and others (12.4%). The others include Dari, Gujarati, Dawoodi Bohra, Memon, Marwari, Brahui, Makrani, Khowar, Burushaski, Arabic, Persian and Bengali.

### **Demographic Profile of Karachi (1998)**



### **Religions in the City**

According to the census of 1998, the religious breakdown of the city is as follows: Muslim (96.45%); Christian (2.42%); Hindu (0.86%); Ahmadi (0.17%) and others (Parsis, Sikhs, Bahá'ís, Jews and Buddhists) (0.10%).

### **Literacy Rate in Karachi**

Karachi has the highest literacy rate in Pakistan and highest number of universities and other educational institutions. According to the census of 1998<sup>8</sup>, literacy rate in Karachi is highlighted in the following table:

<b>Literacy %</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1998</b>
Total literacy 10 years and above (percentage)	55.04 (2,139,090)	67.42 (4,978,241)

- Male (percentage)	60.01	71.17
- Female (percentage)	48.84	62.88
Literacy 10-14 years	55.24	74.71
- Male (percentage)	55.11	75.22
- Female (percentage)	55.38	74.16
Literacy 15-24 years	64.74	73.65
- Male (percentage)	66.70	75.25
- Female (percentage)	62.32	71.78

### **Migration Pattern**

Karachi is not only a large city of Pakistan but also most diverse one, demographically. As a result of unplanned migration over the past many decades, the city has been divided into planned and unplanned settlements. The migration towards Karachi has been identified in five phases.<sup>9</sup>

#### ***Phase-I***

The first phase was seen after partition when large number of refugees migrated from Northern India to Karachi which became a source to change the demographic profile of the city. These migrants are known to be Mohajirs and Urdu speaking community.

#### ***Phase-II***

The second phase of migrants was experienced in the 1960s, when large number of Pashtuns from north western area of Pakistan migrated to Karachi for better employment opportunities. Till 1980s, Pashtun population got hold of considerable squatter settlements.

***Phase-III***

The third phase started from 1970s to 1990s, when large number of rural Sindhis shifted to Karachi for better jobs.

***Phase-IV***

The fourth phase started from the 1980s to 1990s, when Afghanis and Iranian influx began due to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and Islamic revolution in Iran.

***Phase-V***

The fifth phase has started from 2001 after the US attack on Afghanistan. Large number of internally displaced people from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) migrated to Karachi as a result of military operations. The economic opportunities, developed after opening of NATO supply lines, also attracted people from across the country particularly from KPK to settle in the city.

**Economic Outlook of Karachi**

Karachi is the largest city and economic hub of Pakistan. It is also called the revenue engine of the country owing to its contribution of about 70% of the total revenue<sup>10</sup> and 62% of sales tax revenue and 30% of industrial output. In February 2007, the World Bank identified Karachi as the most business-friendly city in Pakistan. According to economists, Karachi's contribution to GDP amounted to around 16 billion rupees a day<sup>11</sup> or 42% of the GDP.

Karachi is the biggest fisheries hub in Pakistan. Fishery plays an important role in Karachi's economy. It provides employment to about 300,000 fishermen directly. In addition,

another 400,000 people are employed in ancillary industries. It is also a major source of export earnings. The Karachi Fish Harbour and Korangi Fish Harbour are two major fishing harbours in Karachi.

Karachi is primarily a port city, which is the lifeline of Pakistan's economy. Two main seaports, Karachi Port and Port Qasim, are pivotal for trade and industry. 95% of foreign trade passes through Karachi's two ports and its airport.<sup>12</sup> Karachi port is Pakistan's largest seaport and handles about 60% of the nation's cargo (25 million tons per annum). Port facilities are constantly being expanded on a large scale by increasing the handling capacity of Karachi International Container Terminal (KICT) from 300,000 Twenty-foot Equivalent Units to 400,000 Twenty-foot Equivalent Units per annum. A new desalination plant is also to be constructed to address the city's water shortage problem. Port Qasim is Pakistan's second busiest port, handling about 35% of the nation's cargo (17 million tons per annum)<sup>13</sup>.

Karachi has 4,500 industrial units in the formal sector. The major industries are textile, leather, paper, marble, ceramics, rubber, plastic, glass, iron, electronics, pharmaceuticals, food products, agricultural, dairy products and stationery.<sup>14</sup>

According to the *Business Recorder*, Karachi suffered loss of at least Rs 40 billion per month as business activities have dwindled due to deteriorating law and order situation by some

60 percent in 2012. It is estimated that on a strike-day, Karachi suffers a loss of approximately Rs 3.15 billion.<sup>15</sup>

According to some independent sources, due to strikes, protests and violence etc, Karachi suffers following financial losses:

- The overall estimate of loss incurred in a day in Karachi owing to closure has been projected by the media at Rs 2.5 to 3 billion<sup>16</sup>.
- Government loses an average 3.3 billion rupees a day if the city is shuttered. (Zubair Motiwala, an advisor to Sindh Chief Minister and a leading businessman).
- Violence and targeted killings in Karachi have crippled the national economy, causing a loss of Rs. 7 to 12 billion (US \$80m-\$130m) per day<sup>17</sup>.
- Due to the deteriorating security environment prevailing since 2009, many industrial units have either shifted abroad or shut down, resulting in a number of employees losing their jobs on one hand, while the economy bears additional costs in the form of reduction in tax revenues and declining exports<sup>18</sup>.
- There was a time when Karachi was seen as an economic role model among the developing world, and there was much praise for the way its economy was progressing. Many countries sought to emulate Pakistan's economic planning strategy and one of them, South Korea, copied the country's second "Five-Year Plan".

- Violence in Karachi threatens to destabilize Pakistan for both economic and political reasons and disruptions in the economic activities invariably affect the national economy. Moreover, the ethnically diverse city has become a battle ground for major political parties and thus a source to domestic political instability.
- At the end of a violent day, the ultimate sufferers are the daily wage earners who cannot go to their factories or work places due to transport strike while their families mostly go without food and water.
- Foreign elements also play a crucial role in Karachi situation. In order to coerce Pakistan they destabilize Karachi and thereby put pressure on Pakistan's economy.
- Only sign that portrays a ray of hope is the resilience of Karachiites who are continuously suffering but continue to take part in the economic activities. Karachi Stock Exchange which remains stable throughout the crisis is an apt example to describe the resilience of these people.

### **Security Dynamics of Karachi: Key Factors**

Till 1960s, Karachi was known as one of the cleanest cities of the world. The crime rate was almost negligible. Its airport was so busy that all the major air flights of the world used to land here for provision of better maintenance services. Having a pluralistic culture, the people of Karachi were tolerant and accommodating for other religious communities. The

foreigner had no fear to go and visit any place of the city. It was the city which never slept and that's why Karachi was known as the 'city of lights'. The history shows that the decade of 1970s was a watershed, when the job opportunities created in the Middle East began to alter the socio economic balance in the country. Those who could not benefit from this largesse compensated their disparities by corruption, drugs and crimes. The city gradually transformed from 'city of lights' to 'killing fields'.

During the last ten years, influx of migrants to Karachi owing to military operations and floods in other parts of the country has changed the political realities of the city. Karachi's system of governance has long ignored mass migration and settlement patterns which resulted in a serious societal breakdown, leading to even more serious conflict. The city has been bedevilled with targeted killings, ethnic and sectarian clashes, turf war between different political and criminal groups, extortion, dacoities, robberies, drug peddling and other street crimes. Some of them are discussed as under:

### ***Ethnic Riddle***

Ethnic lines of Karachi are considered the main reason behind the increase of violence in the city. It is impossible to bring peace in the city without strengthening the administrative capacity of the government to deal with the change in the demographics and addressing the fears which gives rise to it.

- In 1947, Sindhis made 60% of Karachi's population, but today they are no more than 7%.<sup>19</sup>
- The Baloch, who are among the indigenous population of Karachi feel deprived of their political and social rights. Lyari, one of the 18 towns of Karachi, is a Baloch majority area. It is considered one of the most neglected in terms of state-funded development in education, health, sanitation and employment.
- With Pashtun population ranging from 4-5 million according to an estimate, Karachi is now considered Pashtun capital<sup>20</sup>. After 50 years of economic migration from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA, there was a new wave of displaced Pashtuns moving into Karachi particularly after military operations in Swat and FATA. It has changed the demographic equation.
- As far as Karachi's Mohajir population is concerned, they stand somewhere between 7-9 million (about 45% of the total population of the city, and about 23% of the population of Sindh).
- Karachi is plagued by sectarian, ethnic and political violence, with the lines often blurring. In addition to political power and land issues, Karachi's political parties and criminal gangs often clash over access to the enormous funds generated through extortion. In January 2010, when the Federal Interior Minister declared the launch of a major operation in Lyari (considered as a PPP stronghold) against anti-social



elements, the proposed operation was unexpectedly called off because of widespread criticism by the PPP legislatures from Sindh. As far as Orangi is concerned, it is a stronghold of the MQM with pockets of ANP supported by Pashtun community. In Orangi town also, launching an operation for the recovery of illegal weapons and arresting criminal gangs is considered next to impossible.

### ***Militancy and Sectarian Violence***

Violence in Karachi is being fuelled by ethnic and sectarian tensions, political fragmentation, economic disparity, mass migration, rapidly changing demography, and bad governance. 'Sindh has become an international orphanage where refugees from within the country as well as India, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Burma, come to settle,' a Sindhi nationalist leader said. 'We are turning into a minority in our own province'.<sup>21</sup> The Soviet intervention of Afghanistan in 1979 fuelled the violence by increasing the flow of arms in Karachi and creating drug mafia. The second intervention in Afghanistan by International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and US forces resulted in an increase in sectarian violence with the threat of 'Talibanization' of the city. The sectarian violence in Karachi originated in the 1990s due to Afghan Jihad and spread of Madrassas. The extremist Sunni and Shia groups targeted each other's prominent 'Ulemas' (Religious Scholars). Since 2006 of Nishtar Park bombing, Karachi has been tormented with sectarian violence. The militant threat

gave a new dimension to the violence as ethno-political violence spread across the region. Mumbai incident of 2008 speaks volumes on it. In the first week of November 2012, Karachi alone counted for more than 90 deaths on the sectarian grounds. Militant and Sectarian groups operating in Karachi are as follows:

- Jundullah
- Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
- Harkatul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI), Arakan
- Harkatul-Mujahideen al-Alami (HuMA)
- Tehreek-e-Islami Lashkar-e-Muhammadi (TILM)
- Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP)
- Sunni Tehreek
- Taliban
- Sipah-e-Muhammad
- Jafria Alliance
- Tehreek-e-Jafria

### ***Madrassas and Extremism***

Karachi's crowded madrassa landscape has many elements that do not seem to be extremist in character, but there are many elements that support extremism. The city's dense network of madrassas is a cradle that has the potential to sustain much of the militant activities by providing ideological inspiration, and in some cases funding, training, manpower and shelter. Few facts include:

- The ministry of education's 2004 directory listed 979 madrasas in Karachi. Two years later the Sindh police

claimed there were 970. Qari Hanif Jallandhry, secretary-general of the 'Ittehad Tanzimat Madaris Dinia' (TMD), who teaches at Karachi's 'Jamia Binoria madrasa', adds: "The government is lying when it says there are fewer than 1,000 madrasas in Karachi".<sup>22</sup>

- Yet in 2004, the 'Deobandi Wafaq al-Madaris' (madrasa federation) insisted it had some 1,500 of its own in the city. According to Interior Minister, there are a total of 13,500 madrasas, of which 12,006 are registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860. Well-founded estimates, however, put the number at about 20,000.
- Many 'madrassas' in Karachi maintain links to following militant groups:
  - Al Qaeda
  - Lashkar-e-Taiba
  - Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
  - Jaish-e-Mohammad
- Foreign networks and banking systems in Karachi have allowed militants to launder money. A 2009 police investigation revealed \$17m of militant funds, suspected to have been transferred to the tribal areas from one bank in Karachi alone.<sup>23</sup>
- In 2002, the government attempted for the first time to regulate these religious seminaries, after Pakistan decided to support the USA's "War on Terror". The

‘Madrasa Registration Ordinance’ (MRO) was accordingly passed. It was done to limit foreign control over ‘Madrasas’ which may lead to breeding terrorism.

- Karachi has a huge middle class with high literacy rate, who find it difficult to tolerate the conservative religious institutions. But due to the demographic changes through massive urbanization, a lot of religious mindset has penetrated into the city which provides a nursery for mushrooming of madrassas. Madrassas of Karachi are much different to the madrassas of FATA. Many of them are providing scientific knowledge to the students but there are some which have established their links with the ‘Taliban’. Although these ‘madrassas’ are not directly involved in terrorism yet they are playing a vital role in providing safe homes to the terrorists. Many figures are available about the total number of ‘madrassas’ in Karachi but unfortunately neither the interior ministry nor the ministry of religious affairs has a correct record of these religious institutes. It was also observed that poverty has a direct link in the madrasa formation, induction of students and ultimately with the terrorism.
- There are definite sources of funding of these ‘madrassas’ but state has persistently failed to maintain a proper check on these sources. It is speculated that huge funds are coming from Saudi Arabia and Qatar to counter the Iranian influence. It has also been noted

that funding is not being made at state level rather individuals from above mentioned countries support these ‘madrassas’ with funds which in turn fuel religious wars on Pakistani soil. Under these circumstances, it is state’s responsibility to control this inflow and provide alternative financial means to the students and teachers of ‘madrassas’. The state should also help in achieving a balance between ‘white’ and ‘black’ through maximizing the benefits of ‘madrassa’ education and minimizing the negative aspects of these religious institutes.

### ***Taliban Factor***

In this city of about 20 million, the directly affected settlements have an estimated population of around one million<sup>24</sup>. It is difficult to estimate how many militants are among them, but according to local residents, they number mostly in the low double digits and may not exceed a triple digit in any particular area. However, one cannot say with certainty how many sympathizers they have within Karachi’s Pashtun population. Following are the few incidents which prove the presence of Taliban in Karachi:

- Military operations in Swat and South Waziristan in 2009 triggered the latest wave of migration of Pashtuns, compelling tens of thousands of residents to flee the fighting. Embedded within the exodus of these desperate Internally Displaced persons (IDPs) were a number of Taliban fighters.<sup>25</sup> The new arrivals, both

IDPs and the TTP militants among them, settled in areas where their competition were already settled, mostly in same area gravitated towards where their compatriots had earlier settled, mostly in 'katchi abadis'.

- Police sources suggest that over 60 IDPs were killed by the militants soon after their arrival in Karachi because they had been on the wrong side of the TTP back home<sup>26</sup>.
- In November 2010, the TTP launched a suicide bomb attack at the headquarters of the CID, the police department tasked with conducting anti-terrorism operations, in which 24 people were dead and 13 were injured.<sup>27</sup>
- On the evening of March 13, 2013 Director Orangi Pilot Project Perween Rahman, a highly respected sociologist, was shot and killed by masked men half a kilometre from her office just off Manghopir Road in Karachi. The police named 'Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan' (TTP) behind this incident<sup>28</sup>.
- Large swathes of Pashtun neighbourhoods in districts West and East, as well as pockets in districts Malir, Central and South are reported to be under the influence of TTP. While 30 or so of its factions have a presence in the city, the most influence is wielded by the Mullah Fazlullah.

- The TTP confirmed its presence in Karachi for the first time when the organization claimed responsibility for an attack on ‘The *Business Recorder/Aaj TV*’ offices on June 25, 2012 as a warning to the rest of the media houses in the country<sup>29</sup>.
- According to ‘*Dawn News*’, eleven Pakistani Taliban militants were arrested by the security forces in different raids carried out in Karachi on April 1, 2013<sup>30</sup>.
- According to another news report, the Anti Extremism Cell, (AEC) of ‘Criminal Investigation Department’ (CID) arrested eight suspected terrorists, including four of TTP on April 25, 2013<sup>31</sup>. One of the arrested suspect, Asad Ali (aka Bhijan or Rafiullah), threatened Pashtun traders into paying extortion and was linked to the January 24 twin bombing in the Quaidabad area in which two police officers were killed. Ali belonged to the Fazlullah faction of the TTP and has confessed to his involvement in December 18<sup>th</sup> killings of two lady anti-polio medics in the Quaidabad area.
- According to news reports, two suspects of outlawed TTP were arrested during a targeted raid in Quetta Town, Sohrab Goth<sup>32</sup>.
- Different reports indicate that following areas are under strong influence of TTP militants:
  - Pathan Colony in the west of city
  - Machar Colony in Landhi in the city’s South East

- Sohrab Goth
- Parts of Manghopir

### ***Bhata and Land Mafia in Karachi***

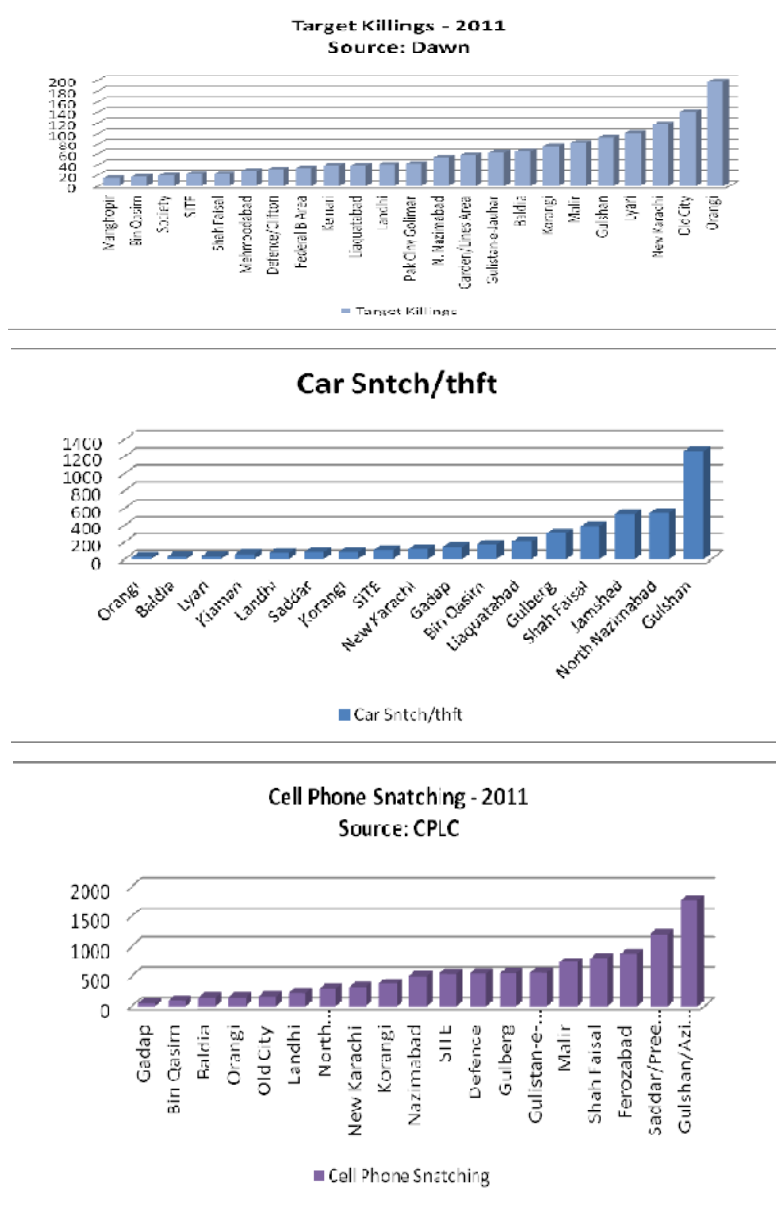
Organized crimes play a major role in Karachi's violence, but there are other, equally powerful fault lines tearing the city apart. According to Gizewski and Homer-Dixon, violence in Karachi stems from a variety of factors that interact to magnify the impacts each might produce separately. Criminal elements exploit state weakness and societal conflicts to their advantage and import small arms that raise the ability of all contending parties to engage in violence<sup>33</sup>. According to news reports, over Rs. 12 million (\$0.13 million) are collected daily from more than four hundred markets and shopping plazas, transporters and tankers that need to park in the city, small business owners, traders, factories, and the residents of illegal encroachments. Supreme Court hearings investigating the causes of violence in Karachi, which took place between July and October 2011, identified the city's political parties including the MQM, ANP, PPP, Sunni Tehrik (ST), and Jamaat-e-Islami, as the main beneficiaries of extortion rackets.

### ***Criminal Groups***

There are more than two hundred well-armed and well-organized criminal gangs, which operate independently or in conjunction with political parties. Their activities including extortion, arms trafficking, smuggling, kidnapping, and



robberies have severely degraded the overall security situation in Karachi.<sup>34</sup> As per CPLC and *Dawn News*, graphic representation of area wise criminal activities took place in 2011, are appended below:



In 2012, there were 4,485 reported vehicle thefts/snatchings, more than 23,442 mobile phone thefts/snatched, 1,683 armed robberies and 114 kidnappings for ransom in Karachi.<sup>35</sup> While 2,032 targeted killings (murders associated with political, criminal, sectarian or terrorist groups) took place in the same year as reported by the Citizens Police Liaison Committee (CPLC) and local law enforcement agencies; many crimes still remain unreported<sup>36</sup>. The known criminal syndicates are as following:

- Shoaib Group
- Lyari Gangs
- Rehman Dakait Group
- Arshad Pappu Group
- D-Gang

### ***Over Population***

It is a critical issue for Pakistan but more so for Karachi. Population growth rate in Karachi itself is the lowest in comparison to the remaining country but constant migration from interior Sindh, KPK and other parts of the country continue unabated. According to an estimate, the population of this city has reached to almost 21 million which is very alarming. Because of continuously increasing population and increasing poverty, the parents do not have enough money for food and education and hence send their children to 'madrasahs' where food, shelter and education is provided free of cost. Many foreigners from Central Asia, Nepal, Bangladesh and Afghanistan enter city in the garb of acquiring Islamic

education and have become a security threat for the city as well as country.

### ***Effects of Migration***

One of the important reasons of over population is migration. Military operations in FATA and Swat forced people to leave their native areas and migrated to Karachi. These people follow a certain ideology. For example, while natives of Swat moved into places like Pathan Colony in the West and Landhi in the city's South-East, an influx of 'Waziris' and 'Mehsuds' from Waziristan, adjoining tribal agencies and settled areas moved into Sohrab Goth, parts of Manghopir, areas along the Northern Bypass and RCD Highway. The activities of TTP elements camouflaged within the population hidden within these areas have had enormous impact on the routine life of Karachi. Crimes such as bank heists, kidnapping and extortion are their favoured means for raising funds for the battle in tribal areas. The state machinery which is very much politicized is not responding to the crisis and hence the Karachi conflict is worsening every day.

Within the country, Karachi being an industrial and port city is very lucrative for the professionals. It sucks the labor force from outside who are relatively poor and thus a class disparity has been created in the city. By linking the two factors, economy and migration, it will be evident that economic development in Pakistan is not compatible, while the state has failed to meet the basic necessity of infrastructure development for industrial growth. The growth

though little has remained confined to some selective places. This is the basic reason which compels the people to migrate for economic reasons towards Karachi.

### ***Socio-Economic Disparities***

The socio-economic disparity among the population is also one of the factors of unrest and violence, as the city is divided into two classes. The Mohajir and Punjabis are affluent groups while the Pashtun and Balochs are among the poor classes. The small segment of Pashtun population linked with transportation sector has immensely benefited from the NATO supply route. In addition, Karachi has a large number of unemployed youth. Lack of jobs, education, and entertainment activities attract the youth towards violent and criminal activities. Another aspect is of migration of low skilled labour from rural areas towards the urban centre. This has created a void between the urban and migrant rural population. The locals saw it as usurpation of their employment opportunities. Employment is also based on ethnic background as to reduce tension at workplace. Employers recruit employees normally from the same ethnic background.

### ***Lack of Law Enforcement***

There is a serious lack of law enforcement in Karachi. The police force is inadequate to handle the city for a population of about 18 million, only 32,534 police officers are available, 12,000 are deployed on special security duties (8,000 are protecting important persons and government officials). Thus,

20,000 officers are left for policing of the city.<sup>37</sup> The city police is highly politicized and work according to the orders of their mentors. Most of the recruitments in the police were made on the political grounds. The politicization of Karachi's police force escalated after Sindh government repealed the Police Order 2002 which now has granted the power to the Sindh government for appointments on higher position. Such appointees, in turn, do not take action against land mafias, extortionists, target killers and criminals in compliance to the dictates of their patron political parties. It is evident from the security crackdown against target killers between July and September 2011 when 291 suspects were arrested and police submitted only 130 charge sheets against suspects to the court.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Weaponization in Karachi City***

Weapons are the main instruments of mass killing and massacres in Karachi. The proliferation of weapons is a major source of violence and instability in the city. In the past, several attempts were made by various governments to deweaponize Karachi but these failed to accomplish the objective. According to Karachi Police report of March 6, 2011, the number of 9-mm pistols sold in the city stood at 125,000 in 2010 alone<sup>39</sup>. The report also said that 3,000 out of a total of 35,000 people had been targeted by 30 bore or 9-mm pistols in the preceding three years in Karachi. 9-mm pistols are available in market at a price ranging between PKR 12,000

to 35,000 per unit while a 30 bore pistol costs around PKR 4,000 to 11,000.

It was considered that the weapons began to reach Karachi during the Afghan war in early 80's. Similar claim is also made by the Larry P. Goodson in his book "Afghanistan's Endless War: The Changing Regional Environment".

In *Dawn*, it was reported that "the Supreme Court was informed in 2011 that the Sindh Home Department had issued 180,956 licenses of non-prohibited bore and 46,114 licenses of prohibited bore in five years. The interior ministry in Islamabad had issued 1,202,470 licenses of non-prohibited bore<sup>40</sup>". According to the report of private television 'AAJ TV', more than 95% of the weapons are made at 'Dara' in KPK. In the same report it was also claimed that police and other law enforcing agencies are part of the transportation system of these weapons. In a statement ex-interior minister Rehman Malik revealed that Israeli weapons are coming in Karachi. He also said that foreign elements are involved in deteriorating law and order situation in the city.<sup>41</sup> Thousands of missing NATO containers since 2011 is also considered one of the factors in increase of illegal weapons in Pakistan and particularly Karachi.

Any effort at de-weaponization will go futile unless the sources through which arms flow into Karachi is not found and eventually, attenuated.

## **Structural Inadequacies of Institutions**

*“The first duty of a government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.”*

*-Quaid-I-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*

Security is the basic human right. The extent to which a population enjoys security depends on factors which include legislation, unfortunately, the policy formulation, role of law enforcement agencies and their effectiveness. The state institutions, responsible for ensuring law and order in Karachi, are deteriorating with each passing day. Few facts about the inadequacies of these institutions are highlighted as under.

### ***Intelligence Agencies and their Effectiveness***

The intelligence agencies are the eyes and ears of law enforcement agencies. These agencies have played a vital role in stabilizing the situation. They however lack an efficient mechanism of coordination and collaboration. Presently, following six intelligence agencies are on field in Karachi:

- Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)
- Intelligence Bureau (IB)
- Military Intelligence (MI)
- Field Security Wing (FSW) of Pakistan Rangers Sindh
- Criminal Investigation Department (CID)
- Federal Investigation Agency (FIA)

Intelligence is an art of gathering, collating and disseminating timely information for the law enforcement

agencies to act. Unfortunately, in spite of having the best recognized intelligence agencies, violence and bloodshed is at peak in Karachi.

There are about six intelligence agencies working in Karachi in different capacities, however, due to the absence of an effective collaboration and coordination mechanism among these agencies, the efforts mostly go in waste.

Establishment of 'intelligence coordination cell' is the acknowledgment of above mentioned facts. Now a platform has been formulated for sharing of intelligence information and to conduct joint operations.

No law and order institution can be run without effective unified command. It is a pre-requisite for successful operations against militants and extremists and emergency management of crisis/conflict.

### ***Law Enforcing Agencies: Sindh Police***

Police in Karachi is highly politicized however it is also a fact that Karachi Police, till 1970's, was the best force in the country. The law and order situation of the city was very good but now the situation is totally opposite. A few facts related to police are as under:

- Total strength of Sindh police according to official website of Home Department, Government of Sindh, is 1,05,234.<sup>42</sup>



### **Strength of Sindh Police**

Population	40 million
Area	140813 Sq. km
Police Ranges	(1) Karachi
	(2) Hyderabad
	(3) Mirpurkhas
	(4) Sukkur
	(5) Larkana Police
Police Stations	530
Strength	105234
Districts	23
Police Population Ratio	1: 380

- As per official website of Karachi police, total strength of the Karachi police officials is 35,102. On special security duties - 12,000 officers (8,000 officers on VIP duties) are employed.<sup>43</sup>
- There is 1 police officer for every 900 people which earlier used to be 1: 571 according to 1998 figures of official website of “Home Department – Government of Sindh”. Universally, the ideal police population ratio is considered as one police officer to every 500 people<sup>44</sup>.
- There are 110 police stations in Karachi range. The details of District wise list of police stations in Karachi is as follows.<sup>45</sup>
- According to official website of Karachi police, total budget of Karachi police is Rs. 9986.455m.<sup>46</sup>

- 73 Police men embraced Shahadat only during 2011-2012.
- The city Commissioner states that ‘the Sindh Police, Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) and Deputy Commissioner South will join hands to install 9,000 surveillance cameras in markets and industrial estates of the city.<sup>47</sup>
- Modern technology has deeply penetrated in every sphere of human society. However, Pakistan so far has not benefited from the advantage of technology. Recently three projects have been undertaken by the Sindh Police to modernize the police system.<sup>48</sup> These include:
  - E-Police project
  - PROMIS (Police Record and Office Management Information System)
  - AFIS (Automatic Finger Print Identification System)
- These projects started in January 2008 with a total cost of Rs 941 million. These were to be completed within a time period of five years; however the projects are still incomplete. According to ‘*Pakistan Today*’ of 16<sup>th</sup> March 2013, 60 to 70 police stations have been provided with computers which are supposed to be connected with the centralized data centre, established at the Central Police Officer (CPO) of the

metropolitan.<sup>49</sup> This is a good initiative by the Sindh government but still lacks the interconnectivity with the other provinces and centre.

- It seems that there is a weak law and order mechanism to ensure peace in the largest city of Pakistan. Political government at provincial level is divided between the political interests of MQM, ANP and PPP. In this connection, it was speculated that enrolments, posting and promotions are made on the political basis rather than merit.
- Another important factor which has further weakened the efficiency of Police is its division into several groups like Investigation, Policing etc. out of existing small force. It has resulted not only in weak policing but prosecution also which ultimately favours the criminals in the courts.
- Police also lacks resources, equipment and require modern weapons to fight against terrorist who are equipped with more sophisticated weapons and equipment.
- Police is not only indifferent; it is untrained and lacks necessary skills to deal with the existential and emerging challenges. Bomb blasts and killings take a heavy toll of lives, yet there is no proper investigation and arrests, and therefore awarding punishment to criminals is out of question.

- Police ratio to citizens is grossly imbalanced by any standards of the world. Universally, the best training is provided to the Police whereas, in Pakistan this department is least trained and physically unfit to match the law and order challenges.
- Punjab government can be a role model for Karachi police as it has regularized its appointments on merit through Punjab Public Service Commission (PPSC). This step has enabled Punjab Government to appoint officers on merit rather on political basis.

***Law Enforcing Agencies: Sindh Rangers***

According to official website of Home Department – Government of Sindh, a total of 23500 Rangers troops are deployed in Sindh.<sup>50</sup> Only 7000 troops are employed on internal security duties in Karachi. Following table indicates the strength of Rangers in Sindh.

**Strength of Pakistan Rangers**

Total Strength	23500
Total Wings	30
I.S Duty Wing	18
Major Deployments:	
-- Foreign Consulates / Residencies	801
-- Educational Institutions	996
-- VIP / Important personalities	179
-- Vital Installations	580

-- Hospitals	126
-- Oil & Gas Companies	803
-- Water Hydrants	324
-- No. of vehicles provided by F.G & P.G	750
<b>Total</b>	<b>4559</b>

Recently special powers were provided to Rangers for a period of three months to provide durable peace in the city. These special powers were extended for another three months in February 2013.<sup>51</sup> During this period, Pakistan Rangers launched selective operations and for a brief period, the situation to a great extent was brought under control but due to political expediencies, no further extension was granted to them. As a result this, the situation reversed very soon.

***Law Enforcing Agencies: Frontier Constabulary***

Frontier Constabulary is also assisting the civil administration in maintaining law and order situation in Karachi. These are provided by Federal Government on payment of charges and on the request of provincial authorities.<sup>52</sup>

**Frontier Constabulary**

Total Strength	45 Platoons
(Total Personnel) 1935 (43 per platoon)	
<b>Break up of deployment</b>	
Karachi Zone 27 Platoons	Diplomatic Mission 215, Key Installations 316, Prisons 169

Sukkur Zone 10 Platoons	
Hyderabad Zone 08 Platoons	Jamshoro Bridge , Iranian School, FC Lines, Kalimori

### **Judiciary**

Judicial system of a country ensures that its citizens are able to live safely and in a civilized manner. Unfortunately, judiciary in Pakistan and Karachi in particular, has failed to address the issues of the people with regard to security and justice. Poor law enforcement is also compounded by the failings of the criminal justice system. Most of the suspected target killers arrested by Police and Rangers have not been prosecuted due to weak judicial system. Some important facts and figures related to judiciary are:

- According to the official website of “District Court of Sindh” there are 26 courts in Karachi.<sup>53</sup>
- While addressing on the occasion of New Judicial Year Ceremony 2012, the then Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry said that in Pakistan over 1.6 million cases were pending in the district, and the superior courts till August 15, 2012.<sup>54</sup>
- Three anti terrorism courts are working and 1 more was approved by the then Chief Justice of Pakistan in 2012.<sup>55</sup> In addition, Sindh High Court (SHC), on March 9, forwarded a list of 15 additional district and session judges to the Sindh government to increase the number

of special anti-terrorism courts (ATCs) in Karachi from three to 18.<sup>56</sup>

- At the start of 2012, more than 320 cases were pending in Karachi's three anti terrorism courts while some cases have been awaiting hearings for over eight years.<sup>57</sup>
- Over 100 cases are pending because of delays in repairing the roof of a courtroom in Karachi Central Prison as for security reasons; sensitive anti-terrorism cases are heard within the prison premises.<sup>58</sup>
- Experts are of the view that that in the unusual circumstances as are in Karachi, the laws should be amended and improved to tackle the deteriorating law and order situation. Lack of a comprehensive and effective witness protection program is the primary reason that suspected target killers and terrorists are not successfully prosecuted. It is evident that lack of sincerity by the political parties poses the biggest hurdle in bringing peace to the residents of Karachi.
- Judicial institutions are also weak in delivering the justice in Karachi/Pakistan. Pending 1.6 million cases raise serious concerns over the efficiency of our judiciary.
- The judicial policy of 2009, which was considered a revolutionary reform and a panacea for all judicial ills, has failed to deliver as it is not being implemented in true letter and spirit.

- To understand the issue of Karachi, case studies of Mumbai violence of 1993 and London riots of 2011 create significant understanding that although violent behaviours within societies come out, yet there are ways and means to deal with situations. Countries like India and UK have faced similar conflicting situation within their respective cities. However, they have successfully managed to delimit the violent behaviour through fast tracked judicial amendments. In Mumbai riots, the commission had taken extra ordinary judicial decisions, however, due to lack of political will, it could not deliver desired results. While in London riots, there was strong political will at government as well as opposition levels to address the causes and context in which riots happened and they remained generally successful.

### **Political Dimensions of Karachi**

The power of Karachi's political parties becomes easier to understand in the light of demographic trends. As ethno-political tensions flare, affiliations with Karachi's political parties also offer security. Key facts are appended below:

#### ***Demography/Inclusive of Political Representation in the Assemblies***

National Assembly of Pakistan has a total of 342 seats. Out of this, 60 seats are reserved for women and 10 for non-Muslims. Remaining 272 general seats are allocated among the four provinces and two federal territories i.e. the Federally



Administrated Tribal Area (FATA) and Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) as per Article 51 of the constitution.

***Ethnic Demography and City Politics***

In the last census of 1998, half of Karachi residents reported their mother tongue as Urdu. They are mostly migrants from northern India. Sindhi and Balochi speakers, who were the overwhelming majority in 1947, now accounted for 7 and 4 percent respectively. Punjabi-Seraiki speakers counted in as the second largest linguistic group at 17 per cent, while 11 per cent reported their mother tongue as Pushto. Over 12 per cent of the population had 'other' mother tongues including Kachhi and Gujarati-speakers many of whom are also descendants of partition, but not self-classified as Mohajir. The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) has accepted the list of registered voters in Karachi which has gone up from approximately 6.8 million to around 7.1 million after the fresh door-to-door verification.<sup>59</sup>

***No Major Surprises***

Interior Sindh is dominated by Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) and urban centres of mainly Urdu-speaking populace of Karachi and Hyderabad by Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM). PPPP has had unflinching support in Sindh from the population but also employed feudal tactics to strengthen its hold. Nationalists seem to have recovered and have gained good ground in the past 4 years due to PPPP bad governance. MQM, over the last 10 years, have strengthened their hold on Karachi and expanded to

Hyderabad; first with the help of ex-president General Pervez Musharraf and then due to general elections boycott of Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) in 2008. PPPP and JI are other two strong political forces in Karachi, but MQM's threat-and-rigging politics has scared their voters. In a fair election in Karachi, MQM may not win half of constituencies they have now.

### ***Delimitation of Constituencies***

Section 10-A of the 'Delimitation of Constituencies Act 1974', empowers the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) to make amendments, alterations or modifications in the final list of constituencies as it deems necessary. The Supreme Court observed that constituencies in Karachi should be delimited in a manner that they comprise 'mixed population' to avoid political polarization and issued notice to the secretary of the Election Commission of Pakistan.<sup>60</sup> On March 22 2013, the Election Commission of Pakistan issued a notification for delimitation of some constituencies in Karachi. According to that notification, three constituencies of National Assembly (NA) and eight constituencies of the Provincial Assembly were subjected to delimitation. These include NA 239, NA 250, and NA 254. Following constituencies were included on the provincial level, PS 89, PS 112, PS 113, PS 114, PS 115, PS 116, PS 118 and PS 124. Delimitation remained restricted to changing few boundaries of the constituencies and has been implemented successfully. Deputy Convener MQM Rabita Committee Dr. Farooq Sattar

has said that after the election, his party would go to the Supreme Court against the delimitation of constituencies in Karachi.<sup>61</sup>

### ***Proportionate Representation***

Due to increase in population and change in ethnic demography, there is a dire need to conduct fresh census to determine the correct population of Karachi and then carry out fresh delimitation of constituencies. MQM or Urdu speaking population which is almost 49.5% of total Karachi population (census 1998) gets almost 90% seats in National and Provincial assemblies that does not allow the other ethnic groups to have their proportionate representation in both the assemblies. Fresh census would definitely reduce the population of Urdu speaking people and delimitation carried out in the light of fresh census would increase political representation of other parties in both assemblies.

### ***Governance System***

MQM is well organized in major cities like Karachi, Hayderabad and Sukker etc. Their command structure is also very strong and based on 'sector in-charge' and 'unit in-charge'. They are comfortable with the system of Metropolitan Corporation, while the PPPP wants 'Commissioner System'. Restoration of local government system in Karachi is considered more beneficial for the people of Karachi as it stands for the rights and ability of local authorities to regulate and manage a substantial share of

public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interest of local population.

### ***Militant Wings***

Almost all the political parties have militant wings in Karachi. At the local level, the supporters and activists are mostly armed and involved in turf wars which escalate into ethnic violence. The mixed population settlements encourage parties to get involved in enforcement activities, which can easily transform into extortion rackets. Over last five years, these activities have led to increase in violence and instability.

### ***Political Change in Pakistan***

In May 2013, Pakistan has seen its first democratic change of government through nation-wide polls. There is a major setback to Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q) and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) along with Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) and Awami National Party (ANP) in this election whereas Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) emerged as a new political power in National Assembly (NA) by securing 23 seats. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) has become the most powerful political party by securing 124 seats in NA and thus has been able to make government in the centre, however, MQM's position remained the same. Details of the present position of political parties in NA and comparative analysis of the change in positions of NA in 2008 and 2013 elections are given in the following table.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, by elections were held on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2013 on 14 National Assembly seats from which 5 seats were scored by

PML(N), 3 by PPP(P), 2 by PTI and 1 each by MQM, ANP and Pashtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party, further result of 2 seats was withheld by ECP.<sup>63</sup>

**Summary & Comparative Analysis of National  
Assembly Seats Secured By Major Political Parties  
2008 – 2013 Elections**

<b>Major Political Party</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2013</b>
PPPP	91	33
PML (N)	69	124
PML (Q)	38	02
MQM	19	18
ANP	10	1
PTI	—	23
PML (F)	4	4
NPP	1	2
MMA	7	0
JUI(F)	0	9
Independent	20	8

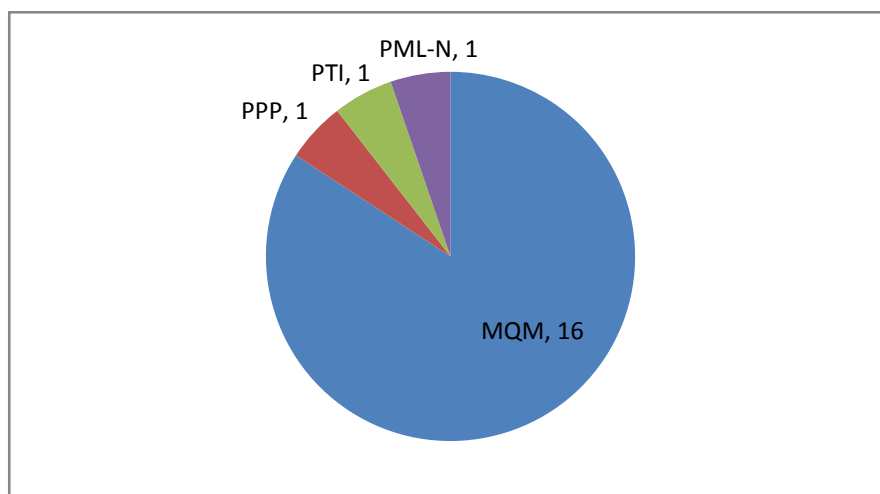
It is important to discuss the political change in Sindh and specifically Karachi. The table given below illustrates the summary of National Assembly seats scored by major political parties from Sindh, where PTI and PML-N have scored one seat each, however, PPP and MQM almost have retained their previous position. Karachi contributes 20 NA from NA 239 to

NA 258 seats and pie chart given below shows the results of elections 2013, in Karachi.

**Summary & Comparative Analysis of National  
Assembly Seats Scored By Major Political Parties  
from Sindh in 2008 and 2013**

Party Name	NA 2008	NA 2013
PPPP	33	34
PML-N	0	1
PTI	0	1
PML-Q	4	0
MQM	19	19
ANP	0	0
MMA	0	0
PML-F	3	5
NPP	1	0
Ind	1	1
Total	61	61

**Results of NA of Karachi in 2013 Elections**



Provincial Assembly of Sindh has total 124 seats. Results of 2013 general election show that there is no major change however PTI AND PLM-N have secured 3 seats each whereas MQM has lost 3 seats. A new trend is in the making. Particularly, the decision makers in Sindh Assembly are not the same. There was a coalition government as a result of 2008 elections whereas now it is a government of PPP alone. Results of Provincial Assembly of Sindh along with a comparative analysis of 2008 and 2013 election are given below.<sup>64</sup> In the election, 4 provincial assembly seats were contested by different parties and out of these four seats, three are now held by MQM and one by PPPP.

### **Results of Provincial Assembly Sindh 2013**

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>General Seats</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Non Muslim</b>	<b>Total</b>
PML-N	3	2	1	0	6
PPPP	66	2	17	5	90
PTI	3	0	1	0	4
MQM	36	0	9	3	48
PML-Q	1	0	0	0	1
PML-F	7	0	2	1	10
NPP	2	0	0	0	2
Ind	1	0	0	0	1
	<b>119</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>162</b>

**Results of Sindh Provincial Assembly in  
2008 and 2013 Election**

<b>Part Name</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2013</b>
PPP	72	69
PML -N	9	4
PTI	0	3
PML-Q	3	0
MQM	37	39
PML-F	6	8
NPP	2	2
Ind	0	5

Karachi has total 42 Provincial Assembly seats out of 130. In the last election, there were only two parties in power politics of Karachi i.e MQM and PPP and ANP had 2 seats in Karachi. But now picture has changed significantly with the emergence of PTI and PML-N who secured three seats each. Five seats are lost by MQM and three seats by PPP. Details of comparative analysis are given below.

**Comparative Analysis of 2008 and 2013 Election of  
Karachi from Provincial Assembly Sindh**

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2013</b>
PPP	6	3
PML -N	0	3
PTI	0	3



MQM	36	31
ANP	2	0
Terminated	0	1
Vacant	0	1

In the recent election, although there is no major shift in power yet it seems that situation is changing. Firstly, election commission has taken very concrete steps towards the correction of voter lists. According to the recent statistics published by election commission, there is overall “increase” in registered voters in Pakistan however, there is slight decrease in Sindh and Baluchistan. It is also found during the registration process in Sindh that 1,106,633 voters are no more part of the new electoral rolls as they were fake.<sup>65</sup> The graph showing change in the registered voters and its comparison with the earlier statistics is given below.<sup>66</sup>

**Change in the Registered Voters and Its Comparison with the Earlier Statistics**



Another important change is the vote gained by all the major political parties in Karachi. The details given below indicate that PTI though secured only three seats from Sindh out of which one seat is won from Karachi actually it has come up as a second largest party by securing 634,483 votes which is 28% of the total votes polled in Karachi. It is hoped that if PTI performs well, it has the capacity to cause major setback to opponent political parties in the next elections.

### **Vote Bank of Major Parties in Karachi - 2013**

<b>Parties</b>	<b>Total votes received</b>	<b>Percentage of total vote</b>
MQM	1,949,075	56 %
PTI	634,483	28 %
PPP	299,109	8.5 %
Others	5,97,824	7.5 %

### **Recommendations**

Considering the multiple perspectives of Karachi situation, following are some recommendations as measures to curb the wave of violence in Karachi.

#### **Government Level**

##### ***Economy***

- At present, it is only Karachi where two ports and warehouses are operational thus, country's economy might suffer in case of any turmoil in the city. To reduce the burden from Karachi and provide more economic opportunities to the locals, Gawadar port

should be made operational on priority. Besides, new business centres in different parts of Karachi city should be established to divide the burden which exists presently in few old business centres. New industry, warehouses and cold storages must be established outside the city to reduce dependency and burden from Karachi city.

***Socio-economic Disparities***

- Equal economic opportunities must be provided to the people of KPK and Balochistan, by investing and establishing industry in those regions. This will reduce the flux of migrants to Karachi.

***Registration***

- Huge number of migrants comes to Karachi. It is important that immigrants must be restricted to selected areas and proper security checks must be conducted to avoid penetration of insurgents in the garb of these migrants.

***Political Will***

- The solution of all the problems of law and order and inadequacies in the government institutions lies in ‘political will’ of the ruling party in the province as well as centre. Lack of sincerity by the political parties creates the biggest hurdle in bringing peace to the residents of Karachi. Political interests should not be supreme for all the political parties, especially for the ruling party.

### ***Divergence of Funds***

- To meet inadequacies of law enforcement agencies at Karachi, extra allocation of annual grants must be made. Even some amount from Public Sector Development Programme (PSDP) of 2013/14 may also be diverted to improve law and order situation.

### ***Good Governance***

- Internal peace and economic development, emanating from political stability, sound economic policies, good governance, human resource development, redress of political grievances through constitutional mechanism, continuity of elected governments and provision of judicial justice is a key to attaining impregnable national security. These problems can be tackled if taken seriously by the state.

### ***Government System***

- Irrespective of the governance system Sindh government adopts, it should be implemented in the entire Sindh for the welfare of common man and not to serve the political motives of an individual or a party.

### ***Fresh Census***

- In last 14 years, the demographic pattern of the city has changed considerably. There is a need of transparent data collection at governmental level. This will help to bring all inclusive political representation and in delimitation of constituencies.

***Job Opportunities***

- The government should take steps to increase the job opportunities, particularly for young generation. The government should take proper steps to indulge the youth in creative and productive activities. The government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should start free technical education and vocational training courses to produce skilled labour. The services sector should be at the top for economic progress. By focusing on producing skilled labour, the issue of population bomb can settle at Karachi.

***Elimination of Militant Wings of Political Parties***

- As at the local level, the supporters and activists are mostly armed and involved in turf wars which escalate into ethnic violence, therefore, to restore peace at Karachi, it is needed that all political parties should negotiate and close down their respective militant wings.

***Surgical Operation***

- Government of Pakistan should launch a ‘surgical operation’ immediately and without discrimination, in all areas of Karachi which have become ‘combat zones’ because of political turf wars, sectarian strife, extremist terrorism, weaponization and ingress of Taliban in the masses.

### ***Check and Balance on ‘Madrassas’***

- To curtail sectarian violence, the government should ban religious groups from disseminating hatred against other sects. In this regard, the government should strictly monitor the ‘madrassas’ to ensure that funds raised by them could not end up in the hands of extremist religious groups.
- Diplomacy as a tool can be used with Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Iran to create a check and balance on the funding sources.
- By streamlining the syllabus, capacity building of the faculty and audit of funding of ‘madrassas’, the state can harness the positive effects of these institutions.
- There should be substantial increase in Sindh Government education budget to open new schools in newly developed areas of Karachi.
- Constant check by Intelligence agencies of those ‘madrassas’ which are involved in harbouring terrorists.

### ***De-weaponization***

- All arms licenses in the country should be digitized besides linking license and weapon number with CNIC of the license-holder so as to guard against possession of more than one weapon on one license. Digital License holders should only keep the weapons and remaining should deposit with police.

- Weapons buy-back program by the government can help to minimize the number of illegal weapons to some extent.
- Some amnesty scheme for a specific time period should be announced to deposit all illegal weapons followed by an extensive operation through law enforcing agencies to further clean the city.
- Karachi should be declared weapons free city and in this regard a legislative bill should be passed in the Sindh assembly. Similarly, display of weapons should also be banned.

### ***Witness Protection Program***

- Protection of witnesses should be ensured at all costs. In this regard, special arrangements be constituted in collaboration with Police, Rangers and Intelligence agencies.

### ***Incentive to Public***

Lucrative incentive packages should be announced by the government for general public on reporting about miscreants or any other unlawful activity/witnessed by them in their respective areas. They should also be ensured that they will remain anonymous in the process.

### ***Institutional Level***

#### ***Intelligence Agencies***

- Intelligence Agencies should be brought on board under a Unified Command for more effective and efficient sharing of information and joint operations.

Lack of trust among the agencies should be addressed in greater national interest. A mechanism is needed which allows the information sharing on regular basis among the law enforcement agencies in Karachi for better coordination and cooperation.

- The agencies also need to adopt more professional approach and must work in close harmony with other sister agencies. Moreover, there must be a continuous connection between police and intelligence agencies so that culprits cannot get away.

### ***Police***

- First and most important thing for any organization is its human resource; induction in police should be carried out on merit by Sind Public Service Commission.
- Training system to update the knowledge for investigation and intelligence gathering must be evolved.
- Political patronage must be lifted and police be allowed to work independently, free from political pressures. Secondly, a vigil is needed on them to avoid the criminals' murderers and land grabbers go scot-free after accepting illegal gratifications.
- Like Military Secretary (MS) Branch of Army, police postings/transfers should also be regulated through police provincial headquarters so that politically motivated transfers and promotions may be



discouraged and job security may be provided to the law enforcing police.

- Concept of community policing should be adopted. Karachi requires systematic street-by-street scrutiny and police officials are better positioned than military, paramilitary, or intelligence personnel to develop nuanced understandings of local communities, political dynamics, and crime trends.
- Due to massive increase in Karachi's population, there is dire need to increase the Police Force substantially.
- A small but mobile, well equipped with sound communication and well trained Rapid Response Force, capable to handle any untoward incident should be established at each town committee level.
- Karachi police should be trained on modern lines and Special Combat Training in collaboration with Army should be imparted to police officials.
- Incentives and rewards to the honest police officials basing on their ground performance should be given in the shape of monetary benefits or promotion. In the same way strict punishment be given to the corrupt police officials.
- Institutional backing and financial assistance for the families of martyrs should be ensured.
- All the police stations must be linked with computers and computerized criminal record of their areas be properly maintained. These should also be linked with

the NADRA's database so that each and every person can be checked when ever required.

- Police strength to be increased along with the number of Police stations.
- Few wings of Rangers stationed in Karachi be placed under command Sindh police to meet the deficiencies of manpower and to provide a potent and well trained force to the police to deal with the present situation.
- Jails have become breeding grounds of crimes, where gang leaders are provided all the facilities to communicate with their outfits. Honest and strict police officers must be posted at jails who should ensure that such activities are not be allowed to flourish.

### ***Rangers***

- Responsibilities in due course should be gradually shifted to police for maintaining law and order and Rangers should be spared for their primary responsibilities.
- Till the time rangers are involved on IS duties, they should be given expanded policing powers, and priority access to funding and equipment.
- Rangers are trained and equipped to fight on the border. Ranger troops once employed in Karachi on Internal Security should also carry out PIT (Pre Induction Training).

## **Judiciary**

- Additional Anti Terrorist Courts (ATCs) as ordered by Chief Justice should be established as soon as possible.
- Anti Terrorism Act should be amended according to the requirements of present security environment. Sindh High Court and Supreme Court should monitor the Anti Terrorism Courts to ensure impartiality, transparency, and early disposal of cases.
- There is a need to establish a Witness Protection programme including personal security concerns of judges, state prosecutors, and defence counsels to avoid frequently postponement of hearings.
- The vacant posts should be filled by the judges on merit and not on political references.
- Immediate measures should be taken to improve security for ATC personnel.
- In the past, strong social and local system of justice in the form of ‘town committees’ has played its vital role in maintaining law and order situation at Karachi. This system may be encouraged and supported again.
- In order to provide speedy justice and to deal with long outstanding cases following is recommended:
  - Night courts system should be introduced.
  - Judges strength should be increased.

- System should be evolved where challan is presented by prosecutor with in stipulated time. Department of prosecution be made more strong.
  - A code of conduct for the lawyers should also be introduced to avoid delaying tactics at their end.
- Judicial policy of 2009 has the potential to make the entire judicial system transparent. It needs to be implemented in letter and spirit. Strict implementation of existing laws by judicial reforms can help in overcoming rising crime rates, lawlessness and corruption.
  - Strict implementation of existing laws by judicial reforms can help a lot in overcoming rising crime rates, lawlessness and corruption.
  - In the absence of witness, recommendations of Joint Investigation Teams (JIT) should be considered as evidence. For this, if need be laws should be amended accordingly.

### **Conclusion**

The key to Karachi's stability is a representative power-sharing agreement among the major political parties that reflects the city's evolving demographics. Karachi is a metropolitan city, divided in terms of ethnicity, development, and class. There is not one political party, which enjoys absolute popular support. The political parties are immune to the changes of maintaining links with armed groups and

exacerbating violence. The economic and political disparities are visible across the city.

Curbing the menace of violence in Karachi is an uphill task, as the problem is multifaceted and the interest of political parties is involved. Solution of ethno-political violence is in negotiations and peace deals amongst the political parties. The religious and sectarian violence is not just an issue of Karachi; it is national security issue and needs to be tackled with policies such as Madrassa reforms. There is a need of cleaning Karachi from the criminal groups. The Army intervention or deployment of rangers in the city is a short-term solution to the problem. For long-term peace and stability in the economic and commercial hub of Pakistan, effective policing is necessary along with good governance. The improvement in law and order situation can restore peace of 'City of Lights'.

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