

**An Oral History of Clashes Between Sindhi and Urdu-Speaking  
Communities in Hyderabad, Sindh (1985 – 1999)**



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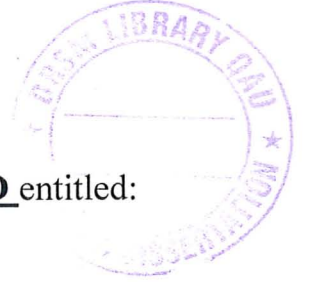
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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declared that the thesis entitled **“An Oral History of Clashes Between Sindhi and Urdu-Speaking Communities in Hyderabad, Sind (1985-1999)”** is my own research and has not been submitted to any other institution for any other degree.

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## **DEDICATION**

**I dedicate this research work to my beloved Mother.**

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### **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

<b>PNA</b>	<b>PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE</b>
<b>IJI</b>	<b>ISLAMI JAMHOORI ITTIHAD</b>
<b>JSQM</b>	<b>JEAY SINDH QOMI MAHAZ</b>
<b>MRD</b>	<b>MOVEMENT FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY</b>
<b>SNA</b>	<b>SINDH NATIONAL ALLIANCE</b>
<b>STPP</b>	<b>SINDH TARAQI PASAND PARTY</b>
<b>MRC</b>	<b>MOHAJIR RABTA COUNCIL</b>
<b>MIT</b>	<b>MOHAJIR ITTIHAD TEHREEK</b>



APMSF

ALL PAKISTAN MUSLIM STUDENT

FEDERATION

APMSO

ALL PAKISTAN MUTTEHDA STUDENT

ORGANIZATION

### ABSTRACT

*This research endeavors to document the oral history of ethnic clashes between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking communities in Hyderabad, Sindh, spanning from 1985 to 1999. Urdu-speaking,-refugees, often referred to as Mohajirs, arrived in Sindh in 1947 with the aspiration of becoming integral to the newly established Muslim nation-state of Pakistan. The Sindhi nationalist politicians showed apprehensions about Mohajir settling in Sindh because they feared that Urdu-speaking people would snatch their rights. The refugees who left their homes for the new homeland faced serious challenges in their new homeland. Ethnic tension reached its peak in the late 1980s in the Sindh province. A brutal incident in 1990 of communal violence in Hyderabad referred to as Pakka marked the peak of ethnic conflict between two communities in post-colonial Sindh. On 26 May 1990 Sindh police started operation Pakka Qila which is Mohajir dominated locality in Hyderabad. The police cordoned off the area, stopped the electricity, water, and gas supplies to the resident of Pakka Qila. Mohajir demonstrated against the shortages of supplies and police killed 53 Mohajirs including women according to media reports. This research seeks to understand the causes behind the violence between Sindhi and Mohajirs from 1985 to 1999 in Hyderabad. This work explains Mohajir's role in Sindh's politics in the form of Mohajir Qomi Movement(MQM), Sindhi Nationalists' role in Sindh politics as Jeay Sindh Qomi*

*Mahaz(JSQM) and Pakistan Peoples' Party(PPP). Moreover, I study the clashes between two communities through in-person interviews with Mohajir and Sindhis of Hyderabad from 1985 to 1999. I argue that for a clearer understanding of clashes between two communities, Hyderabad Mohajir's role must be looked at through a critical lens. Hyderabad Mohajir contributed majorly to the ethno-political movement; All Pakistan Muttehdha Student Organization in Sindh. Hyderabad Mohajir sacrificed their life in Mohajir movement though MQM was emerged in Karachi. Pakka Qila has historic graveyard of martyred mohajirs who killed in Pakka Qila operation. Ethnic clashes in Hyderabad from 1985 to 1999 have not been studied with reference to oral history in academic research. I have contributed to academic research on the topic of ethnic clashes of Hyderabad by oral accounts to understand the aggravated situation in Hyderabad from 1985 to 1999. Through unstructured interviews with Sindhi and Urdu-speaking Mohajir of Hyderabad, the thesis documents their live after the partition, grievances, point of differences, and trauma. The thesis that both Sindhi and Mohajir commoners were affected by the ethnic violence while they were not directly involved in it. They have unending trauma due to losing their relatives.*

**KEYWORD:** Partition, Hyderabad, Refugee, Mohajir, Nationalism, Ethnic conflict, Police Operation

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the discussion of research gap in academic research on Hyderabad, significance of academic writing on the topic of an oral history of clashes between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking communities in Hyderabad, Sindh from 1985 to 1999, research questions, methodology, and lastly literature review. It portrays the whole image of paradigm and proceeding of the thesis in the following chapters. Oral history on account of ethnic clashes in Hyderabad is addition to academic research. It brings oral narrative of locals of Hyderabad on Ethnic clashes in academic research for filling the research gap that how people narrated about ethnic violence spanning 1985 to 1999. Thus, the chapter gives the insight of research pattern in this chapter and ahead.

The partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 was one of the most significant and traumatic events in modern South Asian history. The partition resulted in one of the largest mass migrations in human history. Initially, eight million Urdu-speaking Muslim migrated to Pakistan. They were highly educated. Vazira Fazila stated that Mohajir who were coming to Pakistan were in three categories firstly highly educated government employed secondly capitalist Mohajir and thirdly poor Muslim people of India who were attracted toward a new nation for their betterment in the newly Muslim nation-state.<sup>1</sup> Mohajir played an important role in the formation of Pakistan. Mohajir was in power as they were a salaried and educated class in the new state of Pakistan. Until the 1970s Mohajir posted in important government positions in Pakistan, and they enjoyed privileges as long as military establishment were in favor of them. After the 1970s power dynamics changed in Pakistan and pro-Sindhi PPP has come into power it subjugated Mohajir's role in Sindh and Pakistan

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<sup>1</sup> Zamindar, Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali. *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. p,57.

politics and clashes between the two communities have come to the surface. Sindhi (son of the soil) and Mohajir have come into a clash over power sharing. Undoubtedly, the military establishment and Punjabi elites were inclined toward Mohajir's side. Two debates have accounted for this issue Mohajir who belonged to Northern India, had remained active in politically motivated movements before partition so they would continue their legacy in contemporary Pakistan in form of the Ethno-political movement. Secondly, they have started to claim that land which has been ruled by Sindhi (being from Sindh) so how they could derive their identity in the new state of Pakistan.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Vazira Fazila-Yacoobali Zamindar (2010) and Oscar Verkaaik (2004) have highlighted many core issues of refugees in Hyderabad, but it can be studied further. Particularly, the era which I have chosen for my thesis is important because at that time the emergence of Mohajir Qomi Movement and few operations triggered the communal violence in Sindh. Urdu-speaking migrated people in Sindh and especially in Hyderabad have started an ethno political movement in Sindh i.e., Mohajir Qomi Movement. I will focus on addressing why the Mohajir people of Hyderabad played a significant role in MQM emergence in Sindh. Mohajir those who migrated to Sindh was from Northern India such as Utara Pradesh, Delhi, and Punjab. Majority of them belonged to a political background because northern part of India was center of self-rule movement in 1910s and Urdu-speaking participated in it. After the partition of subcontinent in 1947, they migrated to Sindh province, particularly Karahi and Hyderabad. Owing to Sindhi apprehension toward migrants, Mohajir have been treated as "others" or "foreigner" and "outsider". Why Sindhi feared with Urdu-speaking refugees. What did motivate Mohajir to begin an ethno- political movement in Sindh, Pakistan against the son of the soil (Sindhi)? How Urdu-speaking Mohajir claimed the land of Sindh while they had left their belonging in India. Urdu-speaking had come from Northern India where they were a political rival of British rule, would it be said that their trend of rivalry has shifted from British to Sindhis? Why Mohajir did not try to absolve in Sindhi culture. One and foremost point is to be noted here that prior to the migration of Urdu-speaking to Hyderabad, Sindh, what was the demography of Hyderabad in 1950-1970? Did Mohajir outnumber Sindhis in Hyderabad? Hyderabad was thinly populated before Urdu-speaking migration to Hyderabad. Sindhi Hindus exodus from Hyderabad and simultaneously poor

rehabilitation process of refugees in Hyderabad. Did Sindhi Nationalists deprive by the settlement of Mohajir in Hyderabad? According to Sara Ansari, the urban-rural population of Urdu-speaking of Hyderabad was 38% of its total. This paper traces the nature of Mohajir nationalism from its inception to where it stands today and explores the shape it could take in the future.

### **Significance of the Study**

The role of Hyderabad Mohajir has not been considered significant in the power politics of Pakistan until the 30 September 1988 massacre of Hyderabad, Pakka Qila operation in 1990 and military operation in 1992 and others. In 1985 as MQM emerged officially as ethnic clashes erupted in Sindh. MQM political graph was inclined and Hyderabad Mohajir had large share in it. MQM won the local body election in 1988 from Hyderabad. Research has been done on the perspective of Identity and politics in multiethnic Pakistan as the case study of Karachi. There are several research on this phenomenon. I explain Hyderabad Mohajir's role in Sindh politics and how the locals of Hyderabad were affected by ethnic violence between Sindhi and Mohajir during 1985-1999. As Oskar Verkaaik, argued in his book *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan*. Hyderabadis were also from Northern India, Lucknow, New Delhi, Mumbai, and Uttar Pradesh. My research paper will contribute to the existing literature in the context of the Mohajir politics of Hyderabad and the emergence of violence.

### **Research Questions**

Post-partition, keeping in view that the Urdu-speaking and Sindhi-speaking always have clashes regarding the resources and political power over Sindh. Meanwhile, leaders of both communities had lauded in chambers that they were manipulated by each other. In addition, Clashes broke out between two communities and Hyderabad remained area of

little war from 1985 to 1999. Thus, the main question of the thesis is to understand how Mohajir, and Sindhi-speaking communities brought to the point of no return.

## **Supplementary Questions**

Q.1 What were the major turning points of clashes between Sindhi and Mohajir after 1985 in Hyderabad?

Q.2 How to understand the post-partition violence between Sindhi and Mohajir: Pre-partition tension between Muslim and Hindu communities transformed into Sindhi and Urdu-speaking ethnic riots after partition.

Q.3. The rise of Mohajir nationalism in Sindh: Since 1986 Mohajir politics took off the ground and MQM emerged.

Q.4 What was the role of Hyderabadi Mohajir in the politics of Sindh?

## **Methodology**

For this research I have obtained data from interviews with Urdu-speaking Mohajir and Sindhi of Hyderabad, questionnaires (on which participants write descriptively), focus groups, participant observation, recordings made in natural settings, documents, and case studies. Interviews are necessary to fill the research question. I trace the history of nationalism in Sindh from academic research on the topic of Sindh, Sindhi nationalism and Mohajir nationalism. On the other hand, the identity of Urdu-speaking has been exaggerated by the political leaders. Henceforth, two perspectives on Mohajir identity: one is academic writing in which scholars argued on the basis of rational thought and another is people belief about the identity matrix of Mohajir. I have followed peoples narrative on the word "Mohajir". Open-ended questions were a great source of my research patterns because people have their own biases for this term. I figured out that Ethnic violence in Hyderabad from 1985 to 1999 had left unending trauma and grievances in peoples life. Major sources for my research paper were oral history, Archival documents, commissioner

office data, and literature review. In the 4th chapter I have documented the reply of locals on the following questions: How were they affected by the ethnic violence in Hyderabad? Did the locals of Hyderabad support ethnic movements in Hyderabad? What did they know about the ethno-political divide in Sindh? why and when Qasimabad was inevitable for Sindhis? I have done ethnography and looked at this phenomenon critically.

## Literature Review

The following academic research and arguments have accounted to figure out the real causes of violence in 1990s Ethnic violence in Sindh and identity crises for Mohajir (refugees) in newly independent states were big questions on life after the partition of migrated people and ethnic clashes between Sindhi and Mohajir. In search of lost glory, Asma Faiz highlighted the Sindhi nationalism in Sindh. She added that Sindhi nationalists cashed their nationalism after the emergence of the Mohajir ethnic group in Sindh. Sarah Ansari argued that community politics in Sindh before partition was one and somewhat different from the politics of post-independence. She further expressed that the main dividing line between "Communities" was that which separated Hindus and Muslims, although other smaller religious identities also "emerged" and were endorsed during the British period.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Richard Burton's theory of distinction that Hindus were outsiders and Muslims were original inhabitants of Sindh then why Muslims within the Muslim state had begun identity politics as Sindhi and Urdu-speaking (Mohajir). Uttar Shahani argued Richard Burton's model of distinction in his article "following Richard Burton: Religious identity and difference in colonial Sindh". In addition, "Creating a new Medina" by Venkat Dhulipala whether one agrees or disagrees with Dhulipala's conclusions, 'Creating a New Medina' stands apart in Partition history for the density of its archival knowledge and the richness of its substantive historical content. It is a brave scholarly endeavor, one with disruptive potential. The ultimate question of ethnic violence, Vazira

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<sup>2</sup> Ansari, S. F. *Life after Partition: Migration, Community, and Strife in Sindh, 1947-1962*. Karachi; Oxford University Press, (2005). P, 37.

Fazila explaining it in the form of historical catastrophic events in Sindh in her book: "The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia". Moreover, S. Akbar Zaidi has written an article "Sindhi vs Mohajir in Pakistan" and in which he tries to examine the polarization in the Muslim community in the context of Sindh since 1947. Ethnicity creates binary and makes the rule of business easy in a heterogeneous society. Ayesha Jalal calls it the "political economy of defense". Thus, the literature review assists to draw an entire picture of migration and its aftermaths in the modern Muslim nation-state.

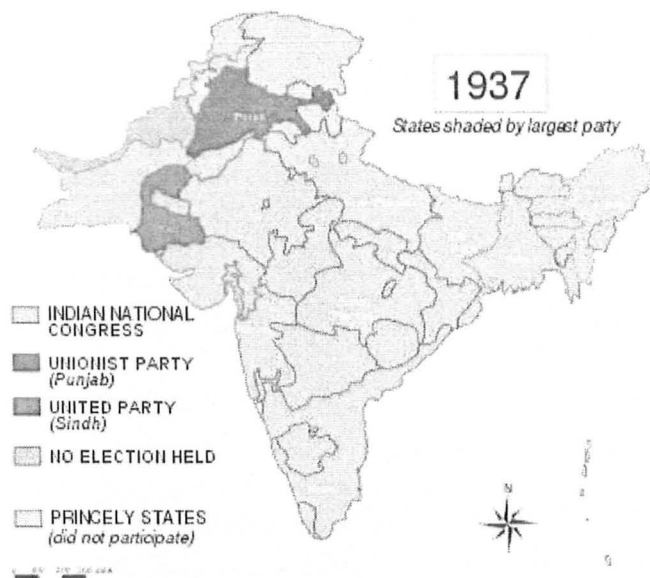
Research proposals about Urdu-Speaking migration in Hyderabad Sindh and clashes between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking it will contribute to the existing literature. It provides a historical lens to see the contemporary politics of Sindh as an ethno-political dilemma. Mohajir came to Sindh who had a long history of political movement in the sub-continent. They were the main actors in movements against British India. Progressively, Mohajir demands Mohajir province on the base of political representation in Sindh. Sindhi-Urdu clashes have not come to the surface for a long time, but it exists in politics. Mohajir split into three main factions: MQM-Pakistan, MQM-London, Pak Sar Zameen Party, and MQM-Haqiqi. Sindhi politics got strength after the faulty politics of Mohajir. The idea of communal clashes between Sindhi and Mohajir is politics-oriented because it assists other political forces in Sindh. From my point of view as an Urdu-speaking member try to distort the fairytales about the clashes and ill-faith of clash of interest in the same land of Sindh



## CHAPTER 2

### FROM PRE-PARTITION TO POST-PARTITION PARTITIONISM

This chapter proposes to document the communal-partition (popularly: Hindus and Muslims) approach of the British Raj in colonial India which has also prevailed in post-partition Pakistan in the form of ethnic partition: Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Mohajir, Pushtoon, and Baloch, history of Hyderabad to study the political and administrative structure in earlier Hyderabad and its causal effect on clashes between Sindhi and Mohajir during 1985-1999, lastly, the role of Sindhu Desh Tehreek and Muttahida Qomi Movement (MQM) in Hyderabad. This chapter contributes to academic research on Hyderabad on account of pre-partition British policy (ethnographic state) in Sindh, and post-partition Pakistan policy in ethnic clashes and operations in Hyderabad during 1985-1999. On this account, I do a literature review from previous well-known academic research by Sarah Ansari, Paul Brass, Farhan Hanif Siddiqui, Asma Faiz, Osar Verkaaik, Muhammad Waseem, Vazira Fazeela Yaqoobi, and Humza Alvi to traces the argument that partition is still linger on the Sindh. In addition, the gazette of Hyderabad and archival documents are followed to confirm the data and statistics.



### The Pre-Partition Policy of the British and Communal Divide

Scholars have considered British information gathering in India, marking categories of difference, and making the “ethnographic state”<sup>3</sup>. British used ethnic and communal lines to divide society into multiple groups. From Brass’s perspective, the state is the ultimate arena of group conflict wherein its actions suggest it is far from being a “neutral arbiter”. The state tends to support certain ethnic groups at the expense of others. The ‘repressive, distributive, and allocative institutions’ of the state representing the interest of power elites require legitimacy, which is gained through various means<sup>4</sup>. The history of the subcontinent has witnessed that partitionism has been followed to sustain the power over the subjects(now citizen). It assisted the subcontinent rulers either from the slave dynasty or British colonialists to rule as long as subjects depended upon them. According to Nicole Machiavelli “A wise prince will think of ways to keep his citizens of every sort and under every circumstance dependent on the state and him: and they then will always be trustworthy”<sup>5</sup>. They used it differently but with the same spirit of divide and rule. United India under the British Raj had been governed according to the dubious method of

<sup>3</sup> Dirks, Nicholas B. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001. P. 233-234.

<sup>4</sup> Faiz, A. *In Search of Lost Glory: Sindhi Nationalism in Pakistan*: London; Oxford University Press, 2021 p, 25

<sup>5</sup> Machiavelli, N. *The prince*. Harmondsworth, Eng. ; New York, N.Y: Penguin Books, 1981. 1469-1527.

partitionism, where most of the population was divided on the communal line. British triggered a sense of distinct indigenous culturalism among the communities. However, Muslims and Hindus have taken this project to aggravate the distinction effectively. The two communities who had been living together for centuries came to the brink of clashes. The Hindi-Urdu controversy in 1867 and the separate electorate in the 1880s were two events out of the manifold. Considerably, the communal divide was penetrated in the sub-continent. As far as Sindh is concerned, the rulers began grassroots changes through their imperialism and colonialism to power their rule. Asma Faiz argued in his book that Charles Napier's victory over Sindh started policy changes in language, culture, education, and administration.<sup>6</sup> These fundamental changes brought identity consciousness and escalated tension between Hindus and Muslims in Sindhi society. Furthermore, the scale of the division had been imbibed in the society but now it took an ethnic shape and triggered just after the partition when tens of millions of Urdu-speaking migrated from India to Pakistan. They came to Sindh in massive numbers, around more than 8 million. This paper on account of oral history from migrated people and Sindhis traces the answer of violence and tension between them and how politics evolved around it. A large portion of these migrants came from the Eastern part of the Punjab and settled in the Pakistani part of that province where they quickly assimilated and were no longer recognized as migrants. While those who settled in Sindh from the northern part of India such as migrated from Uttar Pradesh, India to Hyderabad, Sindh did not observe in Sindh as part of its traditional society.

### **The Post-Partition Policy of Pakistan and the Ethnic Divide**

Pakistan was born as a highly diversified country with reference to language, ethnicity, and religion in the world on 14 August 1947. It has multiple ethnic groups which have started their politics on ethnic lines. Stephen P. Cohen makes the pertinent observation that "Pakistan is one of the world's most ethnically and linguistically complex states."<sup>7</sup> When Pakistan emerged, there were five main ethnic groups that made up its population. There

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<sup>6</sup> Faiz, A. *In Search of Lost Glory: Sindhi Nationalism in Pakistan*. Oxford Academic Press, 2021, p,38.

<sup>7</sup> Cohen, Stephen P. *The idea of Pakistan*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2004. P, 201

were Bengalis, Punjabis, Pathans, Sindhis, and Balochs but only the Bengalis lived in East Pakistan, where they held a complete majority.

Much of Pakistan's ethno-national conflicts are rooted in the mismatch between its diversity and its political institutions. The powerful ruling elite of Pakistan remained reluctant to accept the plural composition of society. They refused to share power with any minority and, in the case of Bengal, majority groups as well. It eventually became the first post-colonial state that experienced a successful secessionist movement resulting in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971.<sup>8</sup> During the pre-independence period, the Muslim League leaders grossly underestimated the potency of regional and linguistic loyalties. Very soon after the birth of Pakistan, the unifying agent of the Muslim nation dissolved, giving rise to ethnic, sectarian, and other groups, which demanded recognition and accommodation in the constitutional and political arrangements.<sup>9</sup> Here the arguments of Sindhu Desh and Muttahida Qomi Movement that they were struggling for ethnic identity because Sindhi nationalists complained that the state did not recognize them as having a separate identity: Sindhi, by changing demography of Sindh. MQM considered to lead the Mohajir community otherwise its Mohajir politics as ethnonational politics would end by state policies.

The Pakistani elite suppressed provincial autonomy demands from various ethnic groups in the name of national unity because they saw federalism as a step toward secession. As a result, Pakistan's political class failed to incorporate these emerging sub-national identities based on ethnicity into the state framework.

'The political design of the state and nation-building process placed greater faith and powers with the federal structure than the provinces, even neglecting their real identity, economic and political concerns,' according to one historian.<sup>10</sup> The centralization of power, far from creating any genuine integration, instead alienated the provinces and led to conflicts that involved the use of force. Pakistan's religious elite disapproves of ethnic diversity, leading to domestic unrest and dissatisfaction among smaller ethnic groups like

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<sup>8</sup> . Mushtaq, M. "Managing Ethnic Diversity and Federalism in Pakistan." *European Journal of Scientific Research* 33, no. 2 (2009): 279-294, P. 280.

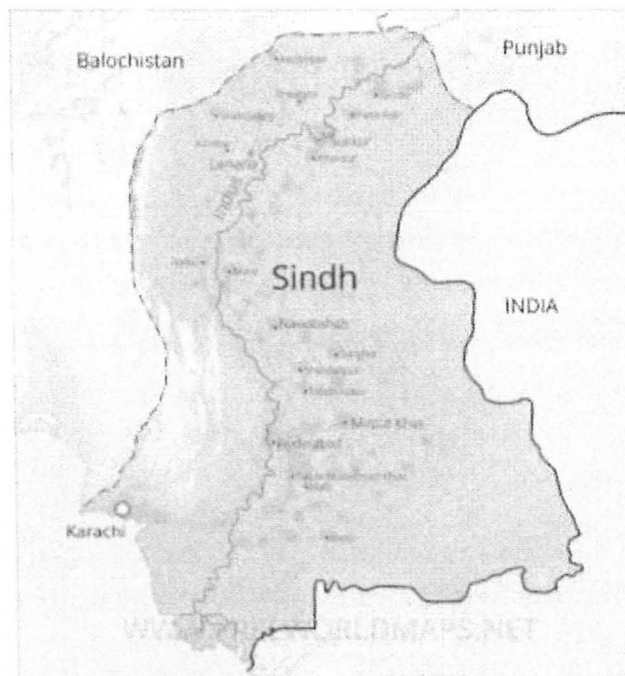
<sup>9</sup> Muntzra, N. "Federalism In Pakistan: 1947-58." PhD diss, University of the Punjab, 2001, P. 111.

<sup>10</sup> Rais, R B. "The Balochistan Package; Redefining Federalism in Pakistan." *Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, LUMS, Lahore, 2012.P. 4.*

Baluchis, Pathans, Sindhis, and Mohajirs. Contemporary armed insurgency in Baluchistan challenges the ruling stakeholders to integrate diverse communities into a nation.

### Hyderabad, Sindh

It was a historical city; it has been traced back to the ancient period. Archaeologists and anthropologists found evidence of settlement around the Hyderabad region. i.e., Indus Valley Civilization (around 2600-1900 BCE). The area was decisively situated along significant shipping lanes, adding to its importance. Hyderabad was a part of several empires and dynasties during the Middle Ages, notably the Arab Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. The Delhi Sultanate, the Ghori, and the Ghaznavids were additional influences city and served as a center for trade and culture. Impact of the Mughals: Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro, who founded Hyderabad, ruled over it in the 17th century, during which time the city rose to prominence. Hyderabad served as the capital of the Kalhor dynasty, which controlled Sindh.



Courtesy by map Quora

The Mughal Empire also had a significant impact, and Mughal aesthetics influenced the city's architecture and culture. In the early 19th century, the Baloch dynasty known as the Talpur Mirs overthrew the Kalhoras and established their authority over Sindh. Under their support, Hyderabad kept thriving. Talpurs contributed significantly to the city's architecture by erecting numerous noteworthy buildings and constructions. When the British started annexation to the sub-continent, the British East India Company defeated Talpur in 1843 and Sindh was annexed. British ruled over it as the sub-region of the Bombay presidency. It was separated from Bombay Presidency in 1936. Since then it is part of Pakistani federation. Many missionaries' schools were established in it. Among them St Mary High School for Girls and St. Bona Venture high school at Tilak Chari Hyderabad. Vis-à-vis Hyderabad printing press was founded and different bridges over the Indus River were constructed. They introduced modern education, administration, and irrigation which created new arenas of competition between Hindus and Muslims<sup>11</sup>

### **Migration in Sindh is a trigger of Sindhi Identity.**

Sara Ansari traces that migration and demographic change shaped Sindhi identity, with colonial states facilitating Punjabis' settlement in cities and villages. The perception of a Punjabi invasion remains a driving force in nationalist narratives. Punjabis have been part of Sindhi demographics since the late 1800s, despite their socioeconomic advantage. Napier's annexation transformed Sindh's Muslim majority into a provincial minority.<sup>12</sup> Highlighting the country's importance as a crossroads society in global commerce networks. The perception of a refugee (Mohajir) takeover of Sindh remains one of the long-running components of the nationalist narrative that survives to this day. The 'outsider'<sup>13</sup> factor has

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<sup>11</sup> Gankovsky argues that towards the end of the nineteenth century, a Sindhi capitalist class began to emerge. This proto-bourgeoisie was in the main Hindu. The period also saw the rise of the first generation of a Sindhi intelligentsia consisting of landlords, primarily Muslims, who had suffered a financial and social decline as a result of the colonial state's taxation policies. Having endured such a decline, the members of this class pursued English education to gain employment in the bureaucracy. Though the size of this group was extremely small, this intelligentsia later became the vanguard of Sindhi ethnic nationalism and came to be at the forefront of the Sindh province movement.

<sup>12</sup> 23 Ansari, S. "Political Legacies of Pre-1947 Sindh." In *The Political Inheritance of Pakistan*, pp. 173-193. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1991, P. 185.

<sup>13</sup> Faiz, A. In *Search of Lost Glory: Sindhi Nationalism in Pakistan*, London; Oxford University Press, 2021 P.42.

been one of the driving forces of Sindhi nationalism. Asma Faiz stated that During the British period, Sindhi Hindus were perceived as the dominant outsider generating resentment among local Muslims. After Partition, Mohajirs played the role of overbearing outsiders. Post-partition, Hyderabad was a part of Sindh province. From 1947 to 1951 a total of 7.25 million<sup>14</sup> Muslim refugees came to Pakistan.

### **Ethnic Composition of Sindh, 1981**

Province: Population 19.029 million; 8.24 million Urban

TOTAL	Urban	Rural		
<b>Mohajir</b>	<b>24.1</b>	<b>54.4</b>	<b>2.2</b>	
<b>Sindhi</b>	<b>55.7</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>81.5</b>	
<b>Punjabi</b>	<b>10.6</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>8.2</b>	
<b>Pushtoon</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>0.5</b>	
<b>Baloch</b>	<b>6.0</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>7.6</b>	

<sup>14</sup> Waseem, M. Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan: The Case of MQM. *The Pakistan Development Review*, (1996), 35(4), 617-629. P.620.

Hyderabad Division: Population 7.093 million; 1.67 million Urban

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	
<b>Mohajir</b>	<b>12.9</b>	<b>49.3</b>	<b>2.7</b>	
<b>Sindhi</b>	<b>74.9</b>	<b>36.3</b>	<b>85.6</b>	
<b>Punjabi</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>7.2</b>	
<b>Pushtoon</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>0.6</b>	
<b>Baloch</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>3.8</b>	

SOURCE: Adapted from GOP, population and Census Organization, Statistics Division, .Census report of Sindh 1981(Islamabad: Population Census Organization, 1984)

Reluctantly, one of the reasons for the strong reaction from the local community in Sindh was the prevalence of refugees in cities. Around 70% of the refugees that arrived in Sindh settled in Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukkur. The Mohajir presence in various cities was significant as they made up 38.7 percent, 86.16 percent, and 71 percent of Karachi, Hyderabad, and Sukkur's population, respectively<sup>15</sup> In addition, it got extraordinary importance due to Karachi which was the capital of Pakistan at that time and a coastal city. Mohajireen who were brought to run government machinery settled in Karachi and Hyderabad because they were educated and salaried<sup>16</sup>. Hamza Alavi stated that The bureaucracy, with its important Mohajir component, used to be presided over by the tightly organized CSP, the Civil Service of Pakistan, successor to the colonial ICS, the so-called 'Steel Frame' of colonial rule. For two and a half decades after independence, it was the senior partner in the bureaucratic-military oligarchy that ruled Pakistan. They were considered outsiders in Sindh. Evacuation of the property was a bone of contention between the local

<sup>15</sup> Faiz, A. In Search of Lost Glory: Sindhi Nationalism in Pakistan: London; Oxford University Press, 2021, p.74.

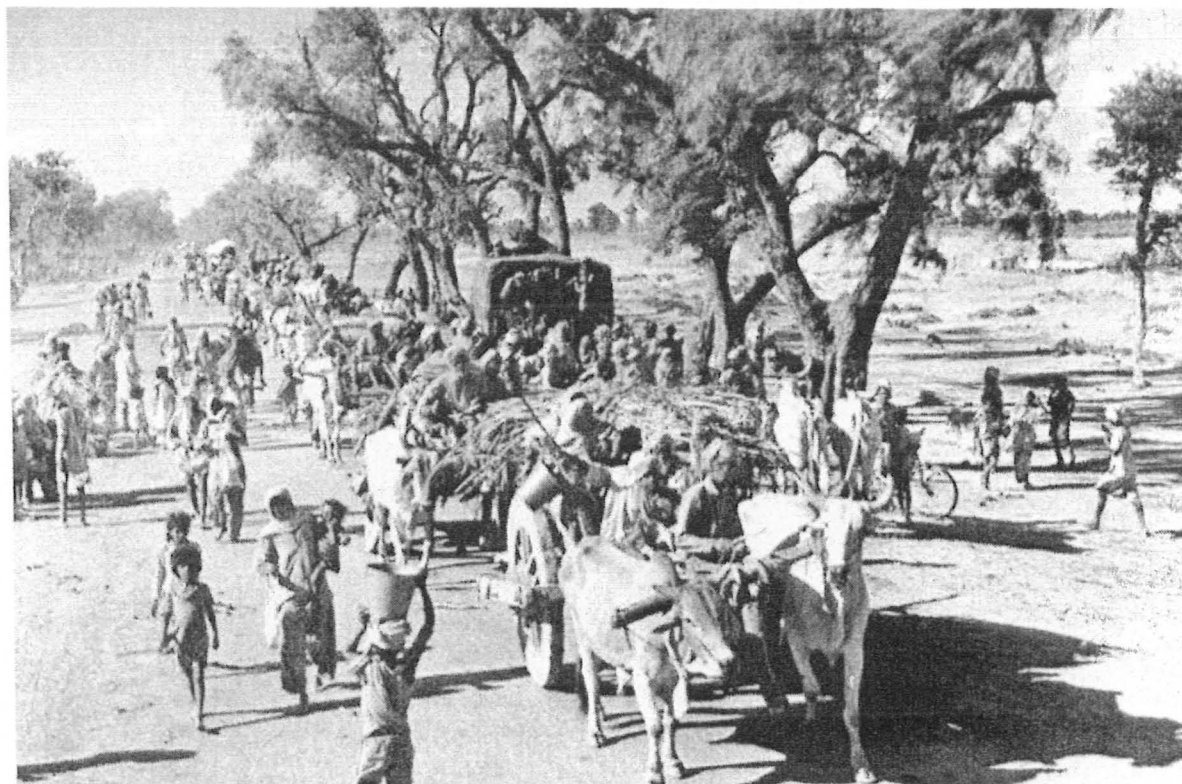
<sup>16</sup> Alavi, Hamza. "Nationhood and the Nationalities in Pakistan." *Economic and Political Weekly* 24, no. 27 (1989): 1527–34, P.31.



and central governments of Pakistan. Specifically, Hyderabad had faced a Hindu exodus from old Hyderabad which is known as Hyderabad City. Undoubtedly it was a great refugee camp for Mohajireen in the early history of Pakistan. Around eight million people in 1947, Urdu-speaking people came to Sindh. It was difficult to figure out how many were settled in Hyderabad. The demography of the Hyderabad region has been reviewed by Sindhi and Mohajireen receptively. The ethnic history of Hyderabad is brutal on account of clashes between Mohajir and Sindhi-speaking. This paper follows the oral history of Hyderabad from 1985 to 1999. Pakistan has been dealing with the issues of ethnic identity politics since its inception, which has sowed in its roots in the fact that the majority of the demand for Pakistan came from Muslim-minority provinces in British India, even though it was the provinces with a Muslim majority that would ultimately create the new nation-state of Pakistan.

### **Aftermath of Partition: State vs. Community**

Three points are grave concern about the aftermath of partition one is people are still in trauma of partition that they did not have got due share which were promised by Muslim Leaguer, second people faced humiliation from others either it was form of ethnic or rehabilitation policy differences between state and Sindhi community, and third last identity of refugees was bone of contention for provincial government of Sindh in the context of nationalism.



The book 'Aftermath of Partition: Vulnerabilities, Remembrance, and Fractured Identities' analyses the issues of the refugees in the aftermath situation of the partition of the Indian sub-continent. The book shows how the narratives of the refugees, and their issues of belongingness were altered and ignored by the state to enable the process of smoothing out the edges of dissent. The idea of Partition refugees, "citizen refugees", and illegal migrants were tactfully mixed, which eventually jeopardized many lives even after 75 years of "Azadi" of India. As the aftermath of Partition affected both the geopolitics of the Indian subcontinent and permanently changed the psychological and cultural matrix of the partitioned states. Major issues faced by those people who were living in such lands which were partitioned. Rehabilitation, relations with local communities, lingual and cultural differences, national identity, citizenship, and belonging are the main challenges faced by refugees in their displaced area. The 1947 India-Pakistan partitioned and the 1971 West Pakistan and East Pakistan, Bangladesh Partition witnessed alarming problems for the migrants and refugees in both cases respectively. The idea of a citizen and a doubtful citizen clarifies the difference between refugees and native nationals. Refugees' settlement and giving a citizenship has always remained a big issue for any state in the world. It shows how

territoriality creates different aspirations among people suffering from a shared event with multiple layers attached to it.

Just demarcation of the boundary between Muslim-dominated areas and Hindu-dominated areas did not solve the communal problem. Two states emerged after 14 August 1947 one was created and got independence from British Raj: Pakistan while India got independence only. Pakistani state has been created and "official nationalism"<sup>17</sup> was imposed by in-powers. Sub-nations have not got due recognition from the state and its founder. Therefore, Urdu-Bengali language issue arose just after 1 years of creation of Pakistan, and it was tried to avert by force but it failed and ethno-national movement succeeded in 1971 when East Pakistan separated and became Bangladesh as independent state. Main argument here is that state did not recognize sub-nations of Pakistan. Resultantly, sub-nations demonstrated for political space and constitutional right as the state promised to acknowledge them and had to announce legal rights for them. While state failed to do so and imposed one unit formula to control the ethnic political demand from federating units. The son of soil and migrants suffered from state's official nationalism.

Mohajirs community was not accommodated properly by state irrespective of its claim, hence, Mohajir who had capital they purchased property for themselves. The State did not facilitate them anyway. According to a Mohajir respondent, he cried that he and his family were still living in a satellite town somewhere in Hyderabad. It is poor place of the city where we lived for years my ancestors lived and died here. There is no sanitation facilities and no proper toilets. Many of the elderly and children poo in open air around *Kachra Kondi*. This community is called "Odd". My research assistant confirmed that Hyderabad Hali Road has some families who lived in extreme misery while they were not identified as Urdu-speaking. Rehabilitation process of Migrant has not completed yet nor they have got due rights as every citizen has. Critically, one dispersed family is not included as whole sample of Mohajir society in Hyderabad in the argument that every family lived in misery. So, this *Oth para* has no one family but multiple family living in one household.

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<sup>17</sup> Alvi, p, 1527

## Ethnic Divide in Hyderabad during 1985-1999

Ethnic division in society is a phenomenon, especially in the context of the sub-continent. It has remained a bone of contention amongst the interest groups and political parties. However, its unending domino effects have fallen prey to common people's lives in Hyderabad. Pre 1985 Sindhi and Mohajir often had intra-marriages, with no- ethnic tension in the city, and did not have ideological boundaries which is explained in the next chapter. An event was identified as a cause of triggering ethnic violence and tension in Hyderabad. Despite the *Nara (slogan)* of Sindhu Desh by a prominent nationalist of Sindh; G.M Syed in post-partition of East-Pakistan (now Bangladesh) from West Pakistan (now Pakistan), Sindhi and Mohajir lived peacefully in localities of Hyderabad. The question of grave concern here is why G.M. Syed opted this Nara just after the separation of East Pakistan while he was the presenter of the Pakistan resolution in the Sindh Assembly in the late 1940s. Asma Fai explained the narrative of G.M. Syed that he wrote in his writing on this demand of Sindhu Desh, "in his writings Syed offers a perspective on the workings of the Pakistani political system. He vehemently rejected the Pakistani brand of democracy by declaring it rule by 'repressive racial regimes based on domination, usurpation, and exploitation', with Sindh especially singled out".<sup>18</sup> Syed's description of his political rivals in Sindh is equally damning: his Sindhi opponents are to him as much enemies of Sindh as Punjabis and Mohajirs. In one stroke G. M. Syed describes Sindhi socialists, with reference to the likes of Bhutto and Rasul Baksh Palijo, as 'agents of the common enemy of Sindh' who 'aim their guns against their own kith and kin' in the name of class struggle.<sup>19</sup> It was the background of the ethnonational movement which later became ethno-political parties and the All-Pakistan Mohajir Student Organization (APMSO). From 1985 to 1999 ethnic political movements converted into formal political parties: MQM, JSQM, JEAYE SINDH, and their factions. In addition, the next paragraph follows the written literature on the nationalism of Mohajir and Sindh.

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<sup>18</sup> Faiz, A. In Search of Lost Glory: Sindhi Nationalism in Pakistan: London; Oxford University Press, 2021, p.160

<sup>19</sup> G. M. Syed, The Case of Sindh: C. M. Syed's Depositions for the Court, Lahore: Fiction House, 2012, p, 084.

## **Mohajir Nationalism in Hyderabad**

The Islamic Democratic Alliance, which was ranked second, is nothing more than a flimsy coalition of nine parties that were put together under pressure to provide a viable alternative to the PPP, whereas the MQM has grown through the 1988 elections to become the second-largest party in the country. Historically, the emergence of Mohajir as a community has come into being after the partition. They remained prominent in this socio-political setup of the state by declaring themselves different from the natives. As time passed, they claimed to have a due share in politics, which they brought themselves from India.

According to Muhammad Waseem that in the context of ethnic conflict, Mohajir nationalism is a paradox. Unlike the nationalist movements of Bengali, Sindhi, Pakhtun, and Baloch, which represented rather well-defined historical communities connected with their particular geographical areas, the Mohajir ethnicity is still in its infancy. The fact that this migrant community has created its sons of the soil movement provides a clue to Mohajir nationalism. This movement will be examined in terms of the development of a migratory community into a self-conscious community.<sup>20</sup>

Mohajirs' rehabilitation has not been completed yet most of them are still living in *kachi abdis* and some have shifted to foreign countries. Many of the educated class of Mohajir preferred to leave the country for a better lifestyle and identity. Latifabad and Hyderabad city are Urdu-speaking areas while Qasimabad is having dominant Sindhi population.

### **Muttehda Qomi Movement previously known as Mohajir Qomi Movement (MQM)**

The emergence of MQM on 18 March 1984 was unexpected as an ethnic political party because ethnic political mobilization was not seen before. It has middle-educated Mohajir. Initially, MQM claimed that it would represent Mohajirs who came to Pakistan after

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<sup>20</sup> Waseem, M. Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan: The Case of MQM. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 35(4), 617–629. (1996). P. 618.

partition for their due share and glorify the Mohajir community through this platform. It narrated that Mohajir was the fifth sub-nation of Pakistan.<sup>21</sup> The idea of fifth sub-nation is objected because every sub-nation in Pakistan belong to a territory and historical claim on that place. Mohajir had no historical claim on territory. They struggled in Pakistan movement. Mohajir who left their household in India and migrated to Pakistan forced to absolve in Sindhi community (As new Sindhis). The identity of Mohajir remained important in the history of Pakistan because they were part and parcel of Pakistani movement, they absolved their identity for the time being in Pakistan movement in favor of a broader Muslim Pakistani identity. Mohajir were encouraged to call themselves different from others to be identified as Mohajir. It was pronounced that Mohajir community would follow its ethnic identity.

Retrospectively, MQM addressed relative deprivation. Early 1950s Punjabi and Urdu-speaking had great share in civil and government offices. As one source stated that 18 out of 27 significant positions were occupied by both of them. However, decline in the share of bureaucracy was leaning toward Urdu-speaking during Ayub Khan Regime when he began to reduce Mohajir stake in political arena. MQM claims that Ayub Khan government was guilty of systematic discrimination against the Mohajir in Urban Sindh. It highlighted the shifting of capital from Karachi to Islamabad as one of them.

During 1960 – 1980s, Urdu-speaking criticized quota system and Sindhi Language Bill in context of education and job opportunities. MQM explained that objection to quota system is obvious because it reduces meritocracy in society. Point to be noted here is that quota system was practiced since 1950s, but it was limited to federal territory. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto spread it to Sindh and other provinces as well. Mohajir alienated from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regime and supported an alliance named Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) against his rule for the election in 1977.

Initially, Zia ul Haq had a great constituency in Mohajir dominated region of Sindh. Mohajir supported Zia ul Haq regime. Later Pashtoon became important for Zia ul Haq and the share of Mohajir shrieked further. At the same time, urban centers: Karachi and Hyderabad of

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<sup>21</sup> Haq, F. Rise of the MQM in Pakistan: Politics of Ethnic Mobilization. *Asian Survey*, 35(11), 990–1004, . (1995). p.990.

Sindh was magnet for migrants throughout Pakistan. Pathan and Punjabi migrants has added to the Mohajir perception of becoming marginalized. As MQM announced to become reality of Pakistani politics, it demanded 26 points in the Charter of Resolution 1988. However, half of the 26 points were concerned with the population issues. Interestingly, MQM has remained out-spoken on the case of population census. Its reservation with the population census has never been sort out. It has remained a bone of contention between Pakistani state and Mohajir community till today.

Another element to highlight MQM's role in Sindh is soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979. Influx of Afghan Migrants in Karachi competed the ratio of Mohajir Urdu-speaking in the city. Ethni riots took place in the city. One major popular case in this contest is the Bushra Zaidi accident. A minibus hit a female student around University road in Karachi. Bushra was Mohajir, and the suspected driver was Pathan. MQM narrated that Pathan was responsible of Bushra Zaidi killing. It added to the fuel when MQM claimed that arm culture and drug mafia spread in Karachi due to Pathan.

In the emergence of MQM, the above-mentioned elements are contributors. Critics argued that Mohajir claim to have less representation in government department is bogus. They have over-represented share in government stake and bureaucracy.<sup>22</sup>

### **Sindhi Nationalism in Hyderabad**

Identity consciousness emerges when some other political and cultural forces come into the political arena. People of any particular land do not accept the emergence of another political and social group to claim power or share their power. They draw a sort of paradigm in which other than them are considered outsiders. Retrospectively, people of Sindh had no sense of identity e.g., Sindhi and Refugee. Benedict Anderson developed the concept of imagined communities in his book "Imagined Communities" in 1983 to analyze nationalism. Anderson depicts a nation as a socially constructed community imagined by people who identify themselves with a group. In the context of Sindh, it has been traced to the Indus

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<sup>22</sup> Haq, F. Rise of the MQM in Pakistan: Politics of Ethnic Mobilization. *Asian Survey*, 35(11), 990–1004, . (1995). p.993.

Valley civilization by discoveries of Mohen-jo-Daro artifacts in Larkana. Many traders used to come to Sindh to trade their products and it was a great source of earnings because the Sindhu Darya (Indus River) was famous and important due to the fisheries and tourism industry. Interestingly, the boundaries of Sindh were not fixed till the Kalhorro period.

British rule began in 1843, with Charles Napier's victory at the Battle of Miani (near Hyderabad). British derived identity consciousness but they merged Sindh into Bombay-presidency for about 90 years from 1847-1937. A point of grave importance is that the British was the main actor in the history of Sindh not only for boundary demarcation but also for Sindhi nationalism.

Asma Faiz argued that identity politics in modern Sindh cannot be imagined without the input of the colonial state which created the cultural, economic, and administrative variables central to the rise of Sindhi nationalism. The colonial state, thus, emerges as the significant factor in this fascinating process of modern identity formation in Sindh. Furthermore, the parallel agency of ethnic elites emerged as champion of provincial autonomy in the 1920s.<sup>23</sup>

Progressively, when the Mohajireen refugee camp was established around Hyderabad, Sindhi nationalism emerged, and ethnic elites demonstrated against it. It is important to note that even today the residents of Pakka Qila are convinced that the police operation was aimed at driving Mohajirs out of the city of Hyderabad. It is said that the Sindhi-dominated PPP administration refused to allow Mohajirs to remain in Sindh and instead forced them to relocate to Karachi. Oscar Verkaaik noted in his book that Mohajirs would eventually be denied the right to dwell in Hyderabad peacefully: Statements by Sindhi politicians that Mohajirs had to become "new Sindhis" added fuel to such fears<sup>24</sup> Some radical Sindhi politicians, sensing that Mohajirs were not willing to do that, went so far as to say that there was no place for Mohajirs in Sindh. Verkaaik explained that Immediately after the violence in May 1990, for instance, Federal Minister Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah threatened to demolish the settlements within Pakka Qila in order to put an end to the

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<sup>23</sup> Faiz, A. In Search of Lost Glory: Sindhi Nationalism in Pakistan: London; Oxford University Press, 2021, p.36.

<sup>24</sup> Verkaaik O.(2004). Migrants and militants: Fun and urban violence in Pakistan. Princeton University Press p-157



violence and to end the Mohajir occupation of the former royal palace of Sindh."<sup>25</sup> My argument is that Mohajir and Sindhis, who were living in Hyderabad prior to the violence, were affected by ethnic riots by parties and interest groups, the police operation for militants specifically in Pakka Qila and its localities, and their ethnic divide made them bound in their ethnic community.

Though the provincial and central governments of Pakistan in the early period of history disagreed on the settlement of refugees around Sindh, local people welcomed Mohajireen (refugees) in their neighbors. Intra-marriages and residences were at the same place. As time passed, Sindh witnessed ethnic violence between two communities and a bloodbath. The next chapter of this paper will document the history through the oral account of the affected of the partition, violence, distances between two ethnic communities, and grievances of Mohajir and Sindhis during 1988-1999. Respectively, collecting information on this topic via oral history is uncommon in the context of Hyderabad. Local people have rarely come to the studies with their real words so this paper will consider them a source of real information in this account.

Oscar Verkaaik wrote in his book "*Migrants and Militants*" that Mohajir nationalism in Karachi had a different meaning than it had in Hyderabad. In Hyderabad, the term *Mohajir* connoted ethnic elusion much earlier than it did in Karachi. Studies on Mohajir and the MQM have thus far focused on Karachi only. These studies tend to deny the differences in the position of several regional branches of the MQM and fail to see the many local variations that Mohajir Nationalism may take.

### **Jeay Sindh Qomi Mahaz (JSQM)**

JSQM was formed officially in 1995 just after the death of Gulam Murtaza Syed who was advocate of Sindhu Desh idea in 1970s. It is a nationalist party in Sindh. It pronounces Sindhi nationalism and want to see independence of Sindh from the dominion of Pakistan. It was a merger of Sindhi nationalist movements throughout the Sindh. Later nationalists were eager to work collectively in favor of Sindh and avert the Mohajir dominance in Sindh

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid p-157

politics especially Urban Sindh. Abdul Wahid Aresar, Bashir Ahmed Qureshi and Shafi Muhammad Burfat

JSQM continued the legacy of G. M Syed. It began agitation against the national integration of Pakistan. It claimed that we are Sindhis from ancient time. We have a long history in Sindh. They affiliated themselves with the Indus Valley Civilization. They detested the identity as being Pakistani. Their manifestation as party followed.

- 1) Due share of water for Sindh under the 1945 agreement of Sindh-Punjab
- 2) Ban on the arrival of immigrants to Sindh and their settlement in Sindh
- 3) Opposition to the establishment of Army Cantonments in Sindh
- 4) Guarantee for the survival of the Sindhi language and culture
- 5) Return of the control of Sindh's resources to Sindhis
- 6) Opposition to the construction of the Motorway on the Superhighway.<sup>26</sup>

G.M Syed was an ideological founder of JSQM. He projected the Sindhi nationalism name in Sindhu Desh Tehreek. He is still an important figure in local Sindh. Son of Soil acknowledged his struggle to fight for their identity.

Sindhi and Urdu-speaking Mohajir have suffered from ethnic clashes. They did not have words to explain who was responsible for it because on the oral account, they responded that *WO aye or hum par goliyan Chala kr chale Gaye*, (they came, fired on us, and ran away. Osar Verkaaik described it as ethnic cleansing in Hyderabad. It has gone through brutal ethnic cleansing operations in Hyderabad for years. They seem tired of pointing out one another as responsible for ethnic violence during my interviews. They question who has paid attention to solving our basic problem since 1947. We had sacrificed for our community but still, we are in jeopardy. Though the Urdu-speaking-dominated region of the city has poor infrastructure and a lack of sanitation facilities, no one is interested in sorting

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<sup>26</sup> Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Pakistan: The Jeay Sindh Qomi Mahaz (JSQM, Long Live Sindh National Movement) and its student wing, the Jeay Sindh Students Federation (JSSF), 1 June 2000, PAK34465.E, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad7058.html> [accessed 6 September 2023]

out such issues. They have little concern for the state and its so-called institutions. They demand peace and the basic necessities of life. Though Sindhi-led political parties are not in favor of ethnic clashes because of business and education shutdowns, they do not accept the Mohajir constituency in Hyderabad for sharing power with them. According to some Hyderabad-based journalists, the summer of 1990's ethnic violence was distinct from previous outbreaks. It was no longer carried out solely by militants of ethnic organizations. The so-called Jang, or "small war," that had been raging in Hyderabad since 1987, was mostly a confrontation between armed activists from opposing organizations. Weapons and ammunition were now available to a far wider number of people. Dealers with connections in Hyderabad's underworld stated that demand surged so quickly that ammunition prices skyrocketed. As a result, when a riot broke out, those who had never touched a weapon engaged in the conflict.

## CHAPTER 3

### HYDERABAD UNDER SIEGE: MILITARY OPERATIONS AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE FROM 1985 TO 1999

This chapter documents the history of ethnonational movements, ethnic violence, and firsthand reports of killing from police actions, and military operations from 1985 to 1999 in Hyderabad, Sindh. Hyderabad witnessed ethnic violence and clashes for relative political gains.<sup>27</sup> I have contributed through this chapter that extreme violence between two communities; Sindhi and Urdu-speaking has not been documented on the account of Hyderabad from 1985 to 1999. It is an important phase of history that is documented through in-person and unstructured interviews when Sindhi and Urdu-speaking got against each other, and historic operations were launched in Hyderabad to settle the ethnic issues. Prior to this period, intra-community marriages, and residences were observed at the same place. In the late 1980s, ethnic violence was at its peak in Hyderabad. Scholarship on this topic is scant so this chapter is a significant addition to the academic research of Hyderabad. Asma Faiz claimed that over this period of Sindh has been home to some of the worst instances of ethnic violence since partition.<sup>28</sup> Residents of Hyderabad faced the terrible murder of their relatives before their eyes. Oscar Verkaaik called it ethnic cleansing<sup>29</sup> in Hyderabad. She explained further in the words that the ossification of the Sindhi-Mohajir conflict has produced segregated, ethnically concentrated neighborhoods and housing societies.<sup>30</sup> Sindhi-speaking shifted to Qasimabad and Urdu-speaking shifted to Latifabad.

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<sup>27</sup> the idea that states or other actors in international relations may be more concerned with the relative advantage they have over others than with the absolute gains they make.

<sup>28</sup> Faiz, A. In *Search of Lost Glory: Sindhi Nationalism in Pakistan*: London; Oxford University Press, 2021, p.211.

<sup>29</sup> Verkaaik, O p.186. Large-scale killing, however, seemed to require a different kind of mood. However difficult it is to reconstruct such incidents; I have focused extensively on the weeks of ongoing ethnic cleansing in Hyderabad in the summer of 1990. I have tried to demonstrate that for the residents of Pakka Qila, this episode constituted a clear break from the excitement and euphoria of their earlier MQM experiences. A major difference was that they found themselves under the attack of hostile state forces.

<sup>30</sup> Faiz, p.196.

Pakka Qila and its localities were mainly targeted for ethnic violence. 'Hyderabad City' was seen as a no-go area, many police and military operations were launched in Hyderabad and killed tens of hundreds of Mohajirs.<sup>31</sup> The climax came when the Establishment<sup>32</sup> pushed Altaf Hussain to do national politics and he agreed.<sup>33</sup> In addition, the Afghan war in 1979 and the USA invasion of Afghanistan after 9/11 left five million refugees in Pakistan.<sup>34</sup> According to one estimate in 2015, 65000 Afghan refugees lived in Karachi<sup>35</sup>. The war economy, which flowed out of the Afghanistan crisis, had a trickle-down effect on Karachi by making it a key market for drugs and arms.<sup>36</sup>

On account of the oral history, the Sindhi and Mohajir interviewees briefed the researcher about their personal experiences, memories, and narratives of individuals who have witnessed or participated in significant events. Retrospectively, Hyderabad welcomed tens of thousands of migrants while the majority of Hindu *baniya* (merchants) were living in Hyderabad city (Hyderabad is divided into three main areas: Latifabad, Qasimabad, and Hyderabad city). Evidently, this site of Hyderabad had tens of Hindu temples around it. The exact number of temples is not sure. This division was administrative and political. Farhan Hanif Siddiqui stated that the Sindhi nationalist movement of Sindhu-Desh was started by G.M Syed just after the separation of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in 1972 in Karachi.<sup>37</sup> After some time, the Mohajir ethnic political movement from APMSO (All Pakistan Mohajir Student Organization) emerged from Karachi and gained popularity. Policy orientation in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime led to ethnic violence in Sindh. Bhutto opted quota system for the first time in the history of Pakistan. He was looking for a constituency in the rural area of Sindh. Departing Hindus. Mohajirs favored an open system of recruitment to educational institutions, jobs, and businesses through competition based on merit. Sindhis wanted

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<sup>31</sup> Faiz, p.212.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p.28.

<sup>33</sup> BBC report Karachi operation 1990.

<sup>34</sup> Zia-ur-Rehman, 'Karachi: A Pashtun City', in Nichola Khan, ed., *Cityscapes of Violence in Karachi: Publics and Counterpublics*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017, 73.

<sup>35</sup> Faiz, p.237.

<sup>36</sup> Faiz, p.237.

<sup>37</sup> Siddiqui, F.H 2012 p. 88 "The Politics of Ethnicity in Pakistan: The Baloch, Sindhi, and Mohajir Ethnic Movements".

protection through a fixed quota for jobs and services<sup>38</sup> Moreover, He divided Sindh into two main divisions: Urban-Sindh and Rural-Sindh. Urdu-speaking considered Bhutto's government responsible for ethnic violence. They argued that the strict policy guide of Bhutto against the salaried and Urdu-speaking class were not negotiable. Surprisingly, Mohajirs do not consider military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq responsible for the ethnic divide in Sindh, while the role of Zia in this tenure is that he struggled to get a constituency for the 1985 election. They explain the causes of their poorness and deprivation in 2023 were due to the victimization of Urdu-speaking and Mohajir in the 1970s when actual political and constitutional development was started.

### **30 September 1988**

On September 30, 1988, after sunset, unidentified armed gangs opened fire on individuals in the streets, killing roughly 300 people, most of whom were Mohajirs. Remarkably, no law enforcement agency, including police, intervened, and all of the perpetrators escaped; not a single killing vehicle was captured. Eventually, the next day, a few Sindhis were killed in Karachi. Washington Post reported this incident in such a way that on 30 September Gangs of gunmen fired on bazaars, bus stops, and wedding halls around the southern Pakistani city of Hyderabad last night, killing at least 65 persons and wounding 200 in the worst such massacre in the country's history, police and hospital sources said.<sup>39</sup> It was the first horrific attack on the locals of Hyderabad. Several dead bodies lay on the street and an indefinite number of injuries were reported by the hospitals. Curfew was enforced for an indefinite time. MQM blamed Sindhi extremists for this massacre. No inquiry has been done on it while the names that were declared suspected in FIR in this tragic massacre were acquitted after 2years. Mohajir accused Dry Ab Nadir Magi.

Respondents about the 30 September 1988 massacre: Hyderabad city and Latifabad residents' respondents grieved at that incident. These areas were targeted so I considered it

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<sup>38</sup> Waseem, Mohammad. "Ethnic Conflict in Pakistan: The Case of MQM." *The Pakistan Development Review* 35, no. 4 (1996): 617–29. P.623.

<sup>39</sup> Washington post "GUNMEN OPEN FIRE ON CROWDS IN PAKISTAN, KILLING DOZENS" by Kamran khan.

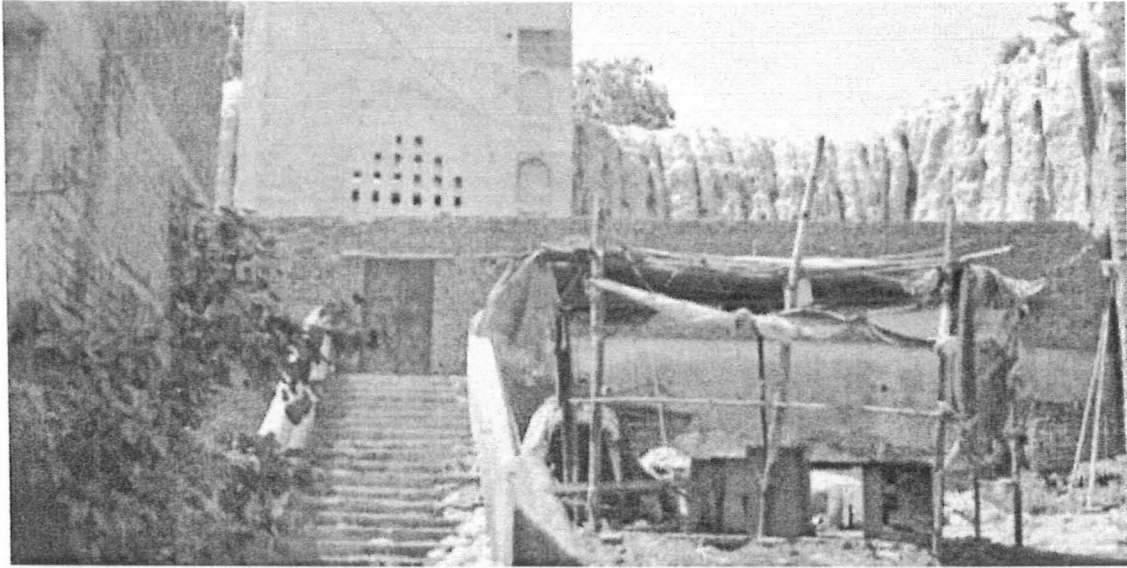
important to ask their residents about those incidents. It is significant to mention here that the voices of the victims have not been documented in academic research on Hyderabad. I document it through the oral accounts. Mohajirs uttered that they had seen Karbala in the 21<sup>st</sup> century on 30 September 1988. The interviewee informed me as follows Hyderabad was a bloodbath. Glias and chows (Streets and roundabouts) across Hyderabad were bleeding. The mayor and deputy mayor tried to contact with commissioner and police officers, but no higher authority had come to control the massacre, and Dehshatgardi carried out firing for half an hour around the city. An anonymous eyewitness stated that a car moved in and out from the street and its windows carried automatic heavy weapons, Ak-47, and Kalashnikov. It was nonstop and straight-firing on each and everything. I lost my relatives in it. It was *dehshatgardi* (terrorism) against the Mohajir of Hyderabad. I can tell you who is responsible for this Dehshatgardi they were all the Sindhi political elite. They were either in power or they had an interest in the mass killing of Mohajir. we are still considered outsiders in Sindh and no justice has prevailed to that day. However, it happened about 34 years ago, justice has not been done yet.

### **The Police Operation of Pakka Qila on 26 May 1990**

“On May 26, 1990, the fort faced trouble as there was a bloodbath and more than 200 people were killed, allegedly due to fake information given to the police regarding terrorists’ hideout. This heightened tensions between the Sindhis and the Mohajirs, and to date is referred to as Black Friday”.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> The NEWS “The remains of Pakka Qilla” 3October2021.



Altaf Hussain the leader of MQM asked for some *mutalbat*s (demands) with the provincial and central government while MQM was in coalition with the ppp-led government. Benazir Bhutto's PPP-led government at the center did not pay attention. Eventually, the MQM left the coalition from the provincial government. Simultaneously, the Benazir government was facing a no-confidence motion in the national assembly and MQM was on hard line with PPP. It was reported anonymously that Operation Jackal was also launched by Chief of Army Staff General Aslam Baig and President Gulam Ishaq Khan for a succession of the motion of no-confidence against the Benazir government through horse-trading. Operation Jackal was disclosed by Intelligence Bureau chief Masood Khan Khattak by secret recording of military officers who were allegedly responsible for this operation. Ultimately, General Aslam Baig acted and retired them in the punishment. During these days violence in Hyderabad was at its peak, The Syed Sadat Ali Shah IG of Sindh police began an operation in Pakka Qila against the miscreant. Initially, Police cordoned off the area, and cut off the electricity, and gas connection in that area.





26، 27، 28 مئی 1990ء کو میڈر آباد کے پکا قلعہ میں کئے جانے والے ریاستی آپریشن کے دوران مساجد خواتین عظیم اور بیت کے خلاف احتجاج کر رہی ہیں۔

Common people of Pakka Qila including women, children, and the old protested against the *zulm o iyati* (subjugation) state forces on the Pakka Qila streets. Police began straight firing on the protestor. It left more than 50 deceased and 150 people injured including women and children. In one of the interviews with Benazir, she denied the massacre. The Army

intervened and the operation was finished. It is discussed further in detail in the interview of Mohajir of Hyderabad.

In 1989-90, the MQM played the local bully for a national-level political alliance, with a larger political objective of destabilizing the PPP government. Again in 1994- 95, the MQM's strategy focused on destabilizing the PPP government by exposing its inability to control street violence.<sup>41</sup>

"Unfortunately, since the great divide of 1988-90 when the people of the city witnessed unprecedented ethnic riots, the elections in the city are fought, whether one likes it or not, on an ethnic basis. The massacre of over 250 innocent people on September 30, 1988, in Hyderabad and Latifabad and the retaliation in Karachi, the following day, and the Pakka Silla operation in May 1990 added fuel to the fire".<sup>42</sup>

## **Interview with Urdu-speaking**

### **1<sup>st</sup> Respondent**

The pseudonym of the interviewee is Nabeel who is 86 years old and lives in Hyderabad and is also a religious scholar, described to me his partition violence, exasperation, trauma, and distance appeared between two communities during 1985-1999 in the following way:

We are Syeds and our ancestors came from Iran. My father was born in Alwar in British India. It was a very hard time for our family in India because India was ruled by the British and the communal violence was at its peak. As time passed, we came to Delhi, India where my father and elder brother were preaching Islam and they established different madrassas in India.

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<sup>41</sup> Waseem, p.627.

<sup>42</sup> Dawn news "Hyderabad: MQM's Pucca Qila" 21 December 2007.

## Migration in 1947

Partition took place and we migrated to Lahore in 1947, though our saints (peers) went to Hyderabad. Thus, we came to Hyderabad on a call from our religious leaders and settled here in 1948. We settled around Hyderabad city because the majority of Urdu-speaking classes had been accommodated there. We built a little mosque just on the left side of our home. I devoted my ten to fifteen years to the management of Dargah Syed Abdul Wahab Shah Jilani popularly known as Wahab Sahab Dargah which is very near to Pakka Qila therefore I have noticed all the brutal incidents, or it might be right to say that it was نسل کشی (genocide) of Mohajir.

## Ethni Violence

I witnessed the brutal incident of clashes between Mohajir and Sindhi-speaking communities. Once upon a time in 1988, I was around *Faqeer ka Pir*<sup>43</sup> when two men on a motorcycle were going through the main road, and they were firing straight on local passers. I was saved by some Urdu-speaking, and I was shocked to notice what was happening at that time. This brutal firing incident left seventy people deceased and hundreds of people injured in the clash. It was speculation that they were JSQM (Jeay Sindh Qomi Mahaz) target killers, but no inquiry has been done on it. We are still waiting for justice in this case. The peace saboteur did not leave any important event to disgruntle the Mohajir community from MQM support.

## Grievances

Pakka Qila police operation in May 1990 was a catastrophic massacre that traumatized the whole Mohajir community. It was the last nail in the coffin when Mohajir and Sindhi do not come close to each other. Now fear is ahead to Mohajir about when, who, and why abduct them in any unidentified charge. They fear speaking in a PPP government that they will not want any more abductions and losing their relatives in the ethnic point of difference. The

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<sup>43</sup> Faqir Ka Pir is situated nearby to the localities of Pakka Qila and Shahi Bazar.

matter of grave concern is that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's tenure in the corridor of power did not favor Mohajir. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto triggered the clashes and drew up a divide-and-rule strategy to enhance the constituency. He introduced the quota system in 1974 and created a constituency for himself in the rural area of Sindh. Respectively, it has damaged the Mohajir politics in Sindh. Bhutto has done wrong to the educated middle class by introducing a quota system in it. Similarly, Bhutto allowed political union in university institutions hence the top schools of Hyderabad i.e., Seth Kamaluddin School, Mirza Qaleech Baig High School, Muslim High School, and City College where the great length of Sindhi and Urdu-speaking got education before the 1970s. There was no clash at all among the communities of Sindh. Bhutto sowed the seeds of ethnic violence in people. When Bhutto came into power the above-mentioned schools became political grounds where ethnic violence was common. Due to the Quota system, Eligible and intelligent Urdu-speaking was deprived of education and job opportunity by design. According to some journalists working in Hyderabad, the violence of the summer of 1990 differed from earlier ethnic violence. It was no longer conducted by militants of ethnic organizations alone. The so-called Jang or little war, which had been ongoing in Hyderabad since 1987, was mainly a clash of armed activists of rival organizations. Now a much larger number of people managed to obtain weapons and ammunition. Traders with links in the underworld of Hyderabad reported that the demand increased so rapidly that the price of ammunition skyrocketed. As a result, people who had never touched a weapon joined in the fray whenever a riot broke out.

**Asma Faiz stated on this account:**

"PPP's six-year tenure (1971-77) in power is an important milestone in the evolution of Sindhi nationalism (JSQM). Bhutto responded to his Sindhi constituency through various policy decisions. Thereby generating immense resentment amongst the Mohajirs and inevitably laying the foundations of future ethnic conflicts".<sup>44</sup>

Oscar Verkaaik explained Pakka Qila Operation 1990 in the following way.

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<sup>44</sup> Faiz, p.126.

“Police operation which we called *Police Gardi* in Pakka Qila premises killed tens of people in Mohajir. In May 1990 police operation against illegally held weapons in Pakka Qila lead to a siege of the area, police violence against demonstrating civilians, and weeks of ethnic cleansing in Hyderabad and other towns and villages in Sindh”.<sup>45</sup>

### **Distance appeared between Sindhi and Mohajir community.**

Muhajireen did not demand the partition of Sindh it was the demand of Sindhi nationalists (Sindhi themselves). They were asking to dismember Sindh from Pakistan. The different nationalist organization played their role in it firstly G.M Syed (Sindhu-Desh).

Farhan Hanif Siddiqi argued that the concept of the separated identity of Sindh emerged just after the partition of East and West Pakistan. G.M Syed projected the idea of an independent nation-state for the Sindhis by the name of Sindhu Desh in 1972.<sup>46</sup>

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto destroyed Mohajir politics while Mohajirs were developing the Hyderabad and Karachi regions in their constituency. Evidently, in 1987 they won the local bodies election with a clear majority, and they won one after another poll from Karachi and Hyderabad. The constituency was the main point of conflict between Mohajir and Sindhi. People of the urban centers were happy with Mohajir's politics. Therefore, when MQM (Previously known as Mohajir Qomi Movement) was established by Dr. Imran Farooq and Zaeem Ahmed Tariq in Karachi. Mohajir was happy and motivated to have a platform in politics. Though the emergence of MQM was supported by President General Muhammad Zia ul Haq, Urdu-speaking distributed sweets among the common public on that day. The military establishment was pro-Mohajir, so the PPP did not touch Mohajir until Zia ul Haq was in power, he did it for his pros. He got a majority vote from urban Sindh. It was a bitter truth that Mohajir supported the military role in politics for our own cause. It is crystal clear that Mohajir did politics on the shoulder of the military establishment while just after Musharaf, the military was not in a good mood to support Mohajir. While Farhan Hanif

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<sup>45</sup> Verkaaik, P.97.

<sup>46</sup> Siddiqi, p.88.

claimed the military government was responsible for ethnic clashes in the country because it needed support from parties in order to civilianize itself.

On my question why did they not absorb in Sindhi culture? Actually, we were educated and civilianized so how did we absorb in their culture but in Punjab, Urdu-speaking became part of Punjabi culture because they were somewhat educated in different fields of life. In addition, geographically most of the exodus had been done from Uttar Pradesh, which is near Punjab and Rajasthan, therefore, our affiliation was more toward Punjabi rather than. We were mainly government-employed. Huma Alvi declared that the Urdu-speaking majority who were educated was salaried. He further argues that a sizable population was produced by the colonial state who relied on the state for subsistence in the form of monthly salaries. This class was the product of the colonial transformation of Indian social structure in the nineteenth century and it comprised those who had received an education that would equip them for employment in the expanding colonial state apparatus for scribes and functionaries, the men (for few women were so employed) whose instrument of production was the pen.<sup>47</sup>

## **2<sup>nd</sup> Respondent**

The pseudonym of the interviewee is Javed who is 61 years old and lives in Hyderabad and was a former karkun (supporter) of MQM, described to me his partition violence, exasperation, trauma, and distance appeared between Mohajir and Sindhi during 1985-1999 in the following way.

He was sector in charge somewhere in Hyderabad in the 1970s

### **Migration in 1947**

I am from Tilak Chari, Hyderabad. In 1947 when we came to Pakistan our ancestor was not well enough to acquire possible facilities for living their life smoothly. We struggled to get a

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<sup>47</sup> Alavi, H. Nationhood and the Nationalities in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 24(27), 1527–1534. p.1529.

government-allotted quarter but failed to get it. In 1985 we were affiliated with the *Mohajir Qomi Movement (MQM)* because it claimed that it would ensure Mohajir legal rights from the Sindhi power elite who were in power in the center. More of the above we wanted to continue our lineage and identity for generations different from Sindhis. Thus, we did not only join this ethnic group but also worked for it and Altaf Hussain was our godfather in all this mayhem.

### **Point of Difference**

On my question who is Altaf Hussain? He uttered grievances. He added that both Sindhis and Mohajirs coexisted peacefully in the early decades of partition. *Altaf bhai* wanted to keep Mohajirs in an identity matrix therefore, we worked hard to create a constituency among the public and campaign union to union and sector to sector. In the 1990s Sindhi-led government of Benazir Bhutto was in coalition with MQM in the center but provincial level both were rivals to each other. Altaf Hussain showed a green signal to military operation (blue focus) against the militant of Sindh, particularly Karachi. Relatively, Pakka Qila and Mohajir residences around Hyderabad City were also the main targets of the operation. During this period Major General Aslam Baig emphasized Altaf Hussain to do national politics rather than ethnic politics. Altaf Hussain asked for assets in return from General Aslam Baig. Thus, the name was changed from Mohajir Qomi Movement (MQM) to Muttahida Qomi Movement (MQM). Domino-effect of operation against Mohajir, Afaq Ahmed and Amir Khan who were left and right hands of Altaf Hussain in Mohajir politics in Karachi started distancing themselves from their leader because they believed that they were icons of Mohajir politics not of nationalist politics. Ultimately, MQM Haiti was founded by Afaq Ahmed. Hyderabad was the second important division of Sindh which had faced humiliation for being Mohajir's second residential city of Sindh. Altaf Hussain did wrong to us in that he left those supporters (*karkunan*) who bowed and cheered to Mohajir slogans in power dynamics. About the operation, he said police and army personnel raided our residences at midnight, and they misbehaved with ladies and woke us up for hours. It was not enough for them they searched our household and untied stuff and left the mess behind. The 1980s and 1990s period was catastrophic for the people of Hyderabad,

particularly the city. I spent some months behind bars until I had been convinced that I would leave MQM.

### **Grievances**

Mohajir politics is not working for the welfare of the Mohajir Community because all factions of MQM are either interested in showing their loyalty toward the national politics of the state or inclined toward the major political party (PPP and PML-N). The local Mohajir of Hyderabad does not get the basic necessity of life. Although, during military regimes, All MQMs remained prospered and proactive toward the Hyderabad people as you people can see the local bodies' election and performance of town councilors were remarkable. Kunwar Naveed Jamil was the mayor of Hyderabad from MQM from 2005 to 2010 and he improved the infrastructure of Hyderabad. At present MQM constituency in urban centers, peculiarly, in Hyderabad has become narrow and most of the Mohajir joined different other parties for politics and ethnic progression.

### **Trauma**

I cannot tell you my name and belongings because I fear being identified and murdered, I remember the massacre of 1988, a police operation in 1990, and a military operation in 1992. I lifted the dead bodies of my colleagues of sectors. I am still afraid to be killed due to my past affiliation. More of the above, the Military is no longer with us.

My 3<sup>RD</sup> Interviewee was very interesting because he left MQM and joined PPP in Hyderabad while he is an Urdu-speaking Mohajir. As a researcher, I documented his oral account in the following way.

### **3<sup>rd</sup> Respondent**

Anonymous is a Mohajir, but he has just joined Pakistan People's Party (PPP)



He said he has nothing to say anything against PPP neither in terms of ethnic clashes nor in terms of the Pakka Qila operation.

Ethnic violence erupted due to two major reasons one is Kolesnikova's culture just after the Soviet-Afghan war. During 1980s Migrants of Afghanistan came to Pakistan for asylum, and they moved toward Karachi. They became dominant on transportation of Karachi and the second is tit-for-tat killings.

### **Decline of Mohajir**

It is obvious that Mohajir is no longer interested in getting an education and that's the reason he is not in any major government post. Yes, it is true that they were educated and civilized but now the situation has changed. Very few of them are getting a higher education and the majority of them have committed to doing business for a living. On my question, who is responsible for bringing them (Mohajir) down? No one but Mohajirs themselves. How can you convince someone to study and get a government job? The quota system is not new in Pakistan. It has been practiced in one and other forms since the inception of Pakistan. Mohajir criticized the quota system because neither he studies, nor wants to become a Sindh government employee.

I have taken interviews with Sindhi locals in Hyderabad taking them on oral account to narrate their views about the Sindhi, Mohajir divide, ethnic clashes, and the state's role in the ethnic violence in Hyderabad during 1985-1999. Oscar Verkaaik has written a book on ethnic violence of Hyderabad, and he has interviewed local Mohajirs. I document the narration of Sindhi as well to know their side of the story in the academic paper.

### **MY Sindhi Interviewees**

#### **1<sup>st</sup> Respondent**

He is a schoolteacher in the Sindh Government Public School in Hyderabad.

### **Distance appeared between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking.**

It was a divide-and-rule policy of the establishment because they were beneficiaries in these clashes (Sindhi-Urdu-speaking). As you have noticed Mohajir and Sindhis were living peacefully except a few incidents that happened between them are not accounted held responsible for the violence to them (Sindhi and Mohajir). As far as ethnic clashes are concerned, so few miscreants were responsible for this violence. Sindhis had no interest in the violence between Mohajir and Sindhis. Reluctantly, a *khalai makhloq (UNIDENTIFIED)* was not in favor of the unity of Mohajireen and Sindhi. Similarly, the quota system was the need of the day to alleviate differences among the Sindhi nation. Although Bhutto brought political and constitutional reform in Sindh as well as in Pakistan, he was not Sindhi. Even though he was not from Pakistan, his father was a nawab of a princely state of British India. The point to be noted here is that Bhutto had no role in breaking off the Pakistani state in 1970 it was a military establishment that handed power to Bhutto. However, Shaikh Mujibur Rehman's party Awami League got a clear victory over Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party. The military coup of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq needed to have a civilianization face and he needed to win the referendum with a majority, so he followed an ethnic divide among the political groups and formally helped to establish the Mohajir Qomi Movement(MQM). It was also true that when Zia got due favor from MQM he left Altaf Hussain in a lurk and ethnic violence reached its peak therefore police operation and military operation had launched to bring the miscreant down. The Benazir government had little role in the operation against Mohajireen while Ms. Bhutto was in power. This was claimed by Sindh MI former chief Brigadier (R) Hamid Saeed Akhtar while talking to The News. "Rampant corruption, police operation of Pucca Qila, Karachi operation were the obvious reasons, but the slain PPP leader's government was dismissed by former president Ghulam Ishaq Khan on several other grounds which I cannot even mention," he informed.

### **The Term Mohajir for Urdu-speaking**

I believe that the "Mohajir" word must be dissociated from the large community of Sindh (Urdu-speaking) because it bifurcated Sindh into two communities. I personally wanted to abolish this term for Urdu-speaking migrants because *WO aye or yaha bas Gaye and ab WO*

*yaha se age ya wapis NH jayenga to ab kaise ya lafz Mazeed istimal Kiya ja Sakti hai.*  
(Translated as: They came and became residents of Sindh. They will not go back, nor will they move somewhere else). How it can be used now. It must be withered away. We (Sindhi and Mohajir) can deal with all the governance challenges mutually and can prosper our Sindh.

### **Grievances**

G.M Syed began to demand Sindhu Desh from the Pakistani state just after the separation of East Pakistan because the state was not eager to fulfill the promises of the Lahore Resolution 1940 till 1970. Hence, the reason East Pakistan asked for independence and got it. In 1970, Bhutto had the right to enhance provincial autonomy in the 1973 constitution. He promulgated a language policy by which the Sindhi language has become a compulsory subject in the Sindh syllabus. It was necessary because Sindhis of rural areas had a language barrier in getting an education. Neither school was there, nor was any job opportunity created till 1970. Afterward, Bhutto changed the rules of business, but it had no link with the manipulation of Mohajir's rights. It was the demands of local Sindhis. As per the question of the Bhutto constituency in Sindh, Bhutto contested for four seats from different areas and won all four seats in the 1970 election while he opted Lyari seat for his membership in the national assembly. He did not need further vote bank "If less is enough more is unnecessary" Sunder Banarje.

As far as the massacre of 1988, Operation 1990, and military operation in Hyderabad are concerned, my interviewee has not mentioned any of them as it is unimportant for them. They were not considered responsible for any Sindhi national political groups. However, he and some other Sindhis respondents pointed out that such incidents were caused to divide Sindhi and Mohajir.

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Respondent**

The pseudonym Akbar is a resident of Qasimabad. He is a shopkeeper.

### **Distance appeared between Sindhis and Mohajir community.**

Prior to the 1980s Mohajir came to our shop, and they behaved well. I liked to have an Urdu accent like them. Their fluency in Urdu was amazing. I knew a couple of Urdu-speaking who came very often at my shop for pan. My acquaintance made us very comfortable in gossip. I do not have a sense of ethnic distinction. Therefore, sometimes I usually behaved with them as my close friend. I have asked many times to teach me Urdu so I will pass the exam and become an officer. Though one of them was my age, was not educated, I was inspired by his well-mannered behavior. In the 1980 firing incidents were reported. During these periods, I was usually forced by two to three motorcyclists' riders to shut down the pan shop and they had guns with them. The question of their identity is unknown. Until I did not the ethnic clashes in the city. Even I do not know whether they were Mohajir or Sindhi because I did not know the difference.

As time passed, very few of the Mohajir rarely came to my pan shop. I have not seen my acquainted Mohajir since then. Although there was no barrier around either side of the road, no-Mohajir entered our streets. My pan shop was affected financially with it. Group of Sindhis people started to roam around the streets and asked me to do another business. Then the shutter down strike was normal for the market, and I had to go back to my Goth. But due to no work at all around Goth I came back after 7years and shifted our pan khoka to extreme inside of Qasimabad. I usually think that Mohajir and Sindhi would do work with each other for Sindh only. Honestly, I have not known about 30september 1988 incident as you mentioned. Nor I exactly remember that day.

### **The Term Mohajir for Urdu-speaking**

I never called any Mohajir by his ethnicity. I do not have any problem with this word. They behave well and they give me due respect. It is enough that I expected my customers. I have not considered them others however their dressing pent shirt or Kurta somewhat different with us and Sindhis of my shop stared them as they were alien. If you ask me so I

can tell you that their identity as Mohajir is not understandable to me personally because this word has some historic connotation. They use this title to determine what sort of relation they want to develop in today's society. I do not know what happened these days.

### **Grievances**

I lost my Mohajir friends. Now a days I switch on TV and KTN reporters give me sense of son of soil identity which push me to bring some gap between two communities. My Sindhi family did not understand that Mohajir as a whole community is not full of bad people. They emphasized me to stay away from the politics of ethnicity. I am supporter of Sindhi-Urdu *itehad*. My trauma is that society has been polarized. I have been victim of ethnic clashes that my pan shop was not enough to earn for living. I had to spend 7years at home to find other work.

### **3rd Respondent**

The pseudonym Shoaib Ahmed is a resident of Latifabad. He is a student.

### **Distance appeared between Sindhi and Mohajir Community**

In University of Sindh, majority of students are Sindhis. I observed that very few of the Mohajir got admission to Sindh University. In spite of university claimed that it is pluralistic education institution irrespective of ethnicity, religion, color, caste, and race, medium of instruction is practiced in departments is Sindhi. I have noticed that few Mohajir usually raised voice against the Sindhi as medium of instruction during lecture. Teacher switched language for a while then deliver remaining lecture in Sindhi. Many of the Mohajir raised eyebrows to teachers biased behavior in education institution. While they do not have the option to change university. Sindh University is the only Government University around Hyderabad division. There is no public university for social sciences other than Sindh University. Distance is getting deep in education institutions between two communities.

### **The term Mohajir for Urdu-speaking**

As being a student, I disagree with this term because Pakistan has been created since seventy-six years ago and they are still called themselves Mohajir. It is true that they do not have recognition from the state as fifth sub-nation but their share in government institution is still higher than Sindhis. So, it is prejudiced to say that Mohajir word has no support any way. I suggest sitting together to make rules of business in order to favor Sindh as a whole.

### **Grievances**

We (Sindhi and Mohajir) apart with each other on some bone of contention issues without looking at the cause of their point of disagreement. Son of soil did not struggle to integrate Sindhi society into a larger picture of Pakistani identity. G.M Syed disintegrated Sindhis from whole Pakistani community by projecting the concept of *Sindhu Desh*, though he was in contact with power elites of that time. Poor and lower-class Sindhis have been subjugated by law enforcement agencies because they uttered what they were fed by their leader. My grievances are with the state that it has failed to protect its citizens. No one is safe in the Pak land. Polarization must be stopped right away otherwise it would become a cycle. It means when Mohajir comes in government, it will announce perk and privileges for their own community and when PPP come in power it will do the same. Ordinary people suffered a lot by the leaders' policies.

Ethnicity is no less than a constructive phenomenon in society, but it has been used by instrumentalists for their interest, and commons are affected by it largely. Evidently, ethnic violence in Hyderabad left hundreds of deceased and infinite injured. Even though it has not stopped yet. Ethnicity studies often overlook the decline of ethno nationalism, as most movements occurred during the postwar era. This trend is unlikely to reverse in the future,

particularly in Pakhtun, Baloch, and Sindhi languages. Pakistan's political system has limited nationalist movements, and the Mohajir movement may focus on constitutional fights or parliamentary approaches to strike ethnic bargains with other groups. The *raison d'etre* is power sharing and resource distribution which were the main impediments in the solution of ethnic problems in Sindh. Changing loyalties toward "to be" in power is a common phenomenon in Sindh politics but by design Mohair's politics were distorted by power elites to emerge in power in Karachi. Out of several Mohajir-Urdu-speaking, many joined the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in Hyderabad, and they are now not eager to comment on the Sindhi-Mohajir long-lasting ethnic clashes. Humza Alvi has shown hopefulness that Sindhi-Mohajir ethnic violence would decline in the future because of the positive response of Sindhi Qomi Mahaz against the rival Mohajir community.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **VICTIMS WHO SUSTAINED HEAVY DAMAGES IN THE VIOLATION OF HYDERABAD**

This chapter contains documentation of the oral history of the victims of ethnic violence of Hyderabad through in-person interviews in the localities of Hyderabad. I have opted for this chapter to record losses in business, and the effects on daily life of the common people of Hyderabad after the ethnic riots and Dehshatgardi (terrorism) of 1988. This chapter adds to the academic writing on Hyderabad on account of people's lives during and afterward of ethnic clashes in Hyderabad through their own words. Supportive questions: How they were affected by the ethnic violence in Hyderabad? What were the causal effects of clashes in their walk of life? Why and when Qasimabad was inevitable for the people of Hyderabad? In the course of discussion with the ethnic claimant of Hyderabad, the Pakka Qila police operation was repeatedly described as catastrophic. This chapter is based on people's narration of past events. In the previous chapter, we discussed events and people's connection with the police and the military operations.

#### **Interviews with Mohajir of Hyderabad**

##### **1<sup>st</sup> Interviewee**

The pseudonym name of the interviewee is Mr. Inayatullah.:

He was the advocate of Mohajir nationalism. When MQM emerged in the politics of Pakistan, Azeem Ahmed Tariq, Altaf Hussain, and Dr. Imran Farooq led the Mohajir community in Sindh for their due rights.



How were they affected by the ethnic violence in Hyderabad?

He informed. Although the Pakka Qila operation was launched by Sindh police, it killed 250 civilians and hundreds of injured including women and children, The Army intervened and forced police to leave the area. People welcomed the army, put army chief banners over their heads, and abused the PPP-Center-led government. One thing which I do not forget is the mass killing of Mohajir on 30 September 1988. We released all Khidmate Khalq Foundation (KKF) ambulances on the road because we received nonstop calls throughout Hyderabad. Dead bodies were lying across the streets and firing continued for two hours. From 1988 to 1999 It was difficult to keep relations with the provincial government during the 1990s because to and fro government formation by Benazir and Nawaz. I

#### **Did the locals of Hyderabad support ethnic movements in Hyderabad?**

I always led a group of *karkunan*<sup>48</sup> on the call of the shutter-down strike to get ensure shutter-down hartal (strike). I kept a pistol in my hand when I came to force the people to shut down their shops and vendors. I was doing this voluntary job and was supposed to get a reward and job from the reference of the *Bhai*<sup>49</sup> in government. I have served ten years in MQM as union in-charge. I was deprived of my own people because I had not been offered a job while his own-age class fellows and other town mates got jobs in government sectors. I have no concern with the Bhutto policy and Zia Ul Haq's intervention in political affairs. He commented on my topic of research that this is not a relevant topic to discuss at a time when Mohajir and Sindhi are coming close to each other and ignoring points of difference. He did not answer my questions and he was interested in telling his grievances and reservations about the party and its people's role and responsibility. He was a witness to violence in the 1980s and 1990s because he was a *karkun* of MQM at that time. However, he claimed that he is Urdu-speaking Sindhi because he belongs to this region. When the question asks how you be identify as Sindhi in another province, you do not wear *ajrek* nor do you speak Sindhi. He has no straight answer right away. He perturbed the contemporary leadership of MQM because it was in favor of the accumulation of wealth for their future generation therefore their vote bank decreased. He added it is true that the USSR's forced

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<sup>48</sup> Supporter of Altaf Hussain and MQM, it is still in practice in MQM-Pakistan.

<sup>49</sup> Altaf Hussain founder of MQM.

intervention in Afghanistan has brought Kalashnikov culture to Sindh because the majority of Afghani came settled around Sohrab Goth<sup>50</sup> and Orangi town<sup>51</sup>. I wish the people of Sindh would live peacefully from now on.

### **Why and when Qasimabad was inevitable for Hyderabad?**

According to old residents of the city, pre-1988 violence, Sindhis and Mohajirs lived in mixed neighborhoods. Intermarrying was common between the two communities. All of this was withered away by the surge of violence in post-1988. Anonymous, an educationist, disclosed to me that Qasimabad has been developed and has been infra-structured on a priority basis just thirty years ago. When riots erupted between Sindhi and Mohajir, Sindhi families fled from Latifabad and settled in Qasimabad. This area was expensive for the middle class because it was a noncommercial area. Urdu-speaking elites bought plots there before the 1980s. They were forced to leave Qasimabad, and some were beaten by the Sindhi Mob. Fortunately, there was no killing as per my information. We were involved forcefully in the mass mobilization of the city because we were respectable in our residential area.

In comparison to Latifabad, one of my Sindhi interviewees told me that Qasimabad is a noncommercial and beautiful part of the city that is close to the national highway on the outskirts of Hyderabad. Notably, Hyderabad city<sup>52</sup> was less important for Sindhis. Qasimabad and Latifabad reflect two distinct worlds. Graffiti and scribbles on signboards illustrate the extent of polarization. The walls of Qasimabad are splattered with slogans in support of the JSQM, JSMM, Sindhu Desh, and Jeay Sind. In contrast, Latifabad is a microcosm of the Mohajir society, with posters, graffiti, and chants supporting the MQM.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Gateway of Karachi is an entry point to Karachi from the rest of Pakistan.

<sup>51</sup> lies in the northwestern part of the city that was named after the sprawling municipality of Orangi.

<sup>52</sup> Third division of Hyderabad.

<sup>53</sup> Faiz, p.197.

## **2nd Interviewee**

The pseudonym Ms. Shahida is living in Islamabad. She is a teacher and 65 years old. She was a student in university when ethnic riots were at its peak in Hyderabad.

### **How was she affected by the ethnic violence in Hyderabad?**

As being a student and female, I usually wished to have no hurdle in reaching university safely, my mother is a single parent initially she was not in favor of my education because she scared by the reporting in the news channel. While I did not let myself bound around char diwari. News channels often reported 10 dead bodies found in 10 bories around Karachi city. I have completed my BSc degree from university in strike and shutter down days. Academic studies in formal education institution were difficult because ethnic division nailed down deep in them. The teacher favored politically affiliated students because they scared to be abducted or punished by them. Many of my seniors' fellows left incomplete degrees during their last semester. They did not get permission to continue their studies when ethnic violence erupted on the university's main campus. Gun culture has become common in university. More of the above police did not intervene in ethnic fighting. Thus, I have remained safe in all these years.

### **Did the locals of Hyderabad support ethnic movements in Hyderabad?**

I have noticed that 20 to 30 years old young boys were active in ethnic movement. MQM sectors around our society were always full of people. It became an important place for society. All complaints were listened to and then solved there. Youngster were active in stalking someone. They investigate who is new in society and what sort of work the suspect do for a living.

### **Why and when Qasimabad was inevitable for Hyderabad?**

I do not know very much about it but when our university point passed through the superhighway. There was a large society which was in developing phases. Many of the students were far more interested in looking at that society because it was around the outskirts of Hyderabad. Majority of Sindhi speaking got on point from that society.

### **Interviews with Sindhis**

#### **1<sup>st</sup> Interviewee**

**Aijaz is the pseudonym.** He was a government employee and posted in Tando Jam in the late 1980s. He and his family shifted to somewhere in Latifabad after retirement.

#### **How were they affected by the ethnic violence in Hyderabad?**

The Pakka Qila operation was started by the police, the water line was cut off for residents of Pakka Qila and some sources said that police were called from interior Sindh: Rohri, Sukkur, and Larkana. The operation was plotted, it was not the water issue only. It does not come as a surprise, then, that the women were later portrayed as desperate mothers no longer able to take care of their children. Not only the MQM but the public at large, ranging from Islamabad-based journalists to the inhabitants of Pakka Qila, condemned the police for taking on defenseless women. However, it also appears that the marching women were more than just caring mothers. The water supply is often cut off to the poorer areas of Pakistani cities, occasionally for weeks, and although this sometimes leads to petitions and other means of protest, prolonged lack of water rarely results in a women's demonstration. It is most likely that the women and other partakers had several motives for taking part in the demonstration. Anger and frustration about the lack of water may have been one of them, but they had probably also been informed about the battle in Pakka Qila. They had no

doubt heard about the shooting. It is possible that MQM activists were also taking part in the protest march. Several militants from Pakka Qila had managed to escape. Came from the citadel and had met up with their comrades from other parts of the city. These activists were determined to take back the citadel in order not to lose their arms supplies. They were also concerned about their friends and families. In short, there were several possible reasons to organize and take part in the demonstration, but they all found a mutual target in the water tank of Pakka Qila.<sup>54</sup>

### **Did the locals of Hyderabad support ethnic movements in Hyderabad?**

Initially, he did not notice any killing among Mohajirs and Sindhis on the issue of violence while rallying and mass mobilization were seen. As time passed, Hyderabad was divided into the Mohajir-controlled area and the Sindhi-controlled area. The border<sup>55</sup> was a railway track that passed from downtown Hyderabad. The common slogan was *hum idhar tum udhar*. He did not allow his children to go anywhere in Hyderabad because Urdu-speaking merchants of Tower market were forced to sell their lands in the localities of Qasimabad and many Urdu-speaking were beaten by Sindhi around the border. We cannot move around the city easily. Fear of abduction, kidnap, and torture to death are general fears of our minds. More of the above, military operations were always launched at midnight, and we were woken up by shouting and roaring of gunfire, but no one was abducted as per my knowledge. I advised my children, who were students of different levels of education, to stay away from any kind of rally, political debate, and argument.

### **Why and when Qasimabad was inevitable for Hyderabad?**

In the early 1990s, Qasimabad started to develop because en-mass intra-city<sup>56</sup> migration began in Hyderabad. He emphasized to note that until Zia-ul-Haq was president, they

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<sup>54</sup> Verkaaik, p 150-151.

<sup>55</sup> Intangible and ideological border.

<sup>56</sup> refers to the sequence of residential movements made by a household within a single urban area.

hardly noticed any ethnic clashes. PPP fuels the ethnic violence in the city because it all started in the civilian government.

.According to popular accounts, in Qasimabad, the issue of language and signboards produced protests and violence in which local Pakhtun businessmen were targeted by mobs. It was heard that one of the ice cream vendors, who was Pakhtun, was beaten by a mob due to arguing about differences in the Urdu-Sindhi signboard. Many non-Sindhis dealt with ethnic clashes daily. However, they were locals of Hyderabad.

## **2<sup>nd</sup> Interviewee**

**The pseudonym Mrs. Anjum is Sindhi**

**How were their family affected by the ethnic violence in Hyderabad?**

Anonymously, a family told me a story of the Pakka Qila operation. They remembered the day because they had had a gathering at home on that day. The house was full of guests who came from throughout Hyderabad. Large pots (دیگیں) of food were prepared to serve to our guests. Suddenly Hyderabad was shut down and the police force came to our home to ask us to put pots inside and remove the tent. The house had no space, and a curfew was imposed. Extreme firing sound kept us in unending trauma. Since then, every morning our roof has had useless pieces of bullets. We accommodated all of the guests for 2 days and then requested a friend of the police to give our guests a way out to go their home. The city was cordoned off for 1 week. During this week Father went to work in the army vehicles. Police were not allowed to go through the Pakka Qila road. We did not know what had happened to the city. Post Pakka Qila operation, triggered ethnic tension in Hyderabad. We were usually woken by the military vehicles and their loud knocking on the door. They asked us to get out of the home and then search for it thoroughly. They checked Identity cards and asked a few irrelevant questions. They asked our males to take off their shirts and blindfolded their eyes with them. Such incidents happen once a week or sometimes a couple of times in the same week. We were psychologically tortured by them. This uncertainty always left us in jeopardy. Though no one in our household was interested in

politics, our house was usually targeted for searches. Probably the reason was that our house was 2700 sq. ft. and we lived in a combined family.

When the women started, they raised slogans reminiscent of Karbala as moral arguments to present their case to the audience and mobilize others. The simple demand for water symbolically accused the state forces of violating moral norms. At that moment when the women reached the red line, police started straight firing at the demonstrator. Ali Hassan reported in his report.

### **Why and when Qasimabad was inevitable for Hyderabad?**

My Sindhi anonymous respondent expresses that the relationship between Mohajir and Sindhi was iconic. While Hyderabad is a divided city, racial hate has decreased, and interpersonal interactions between ethnic groups have improved dramatically over the last decade. Naseem recalls a time before 1988 when Sindhis and Mohajirs had friendly personal relationships. She estimated that up to 35% of marriages in Hyderabad were inter-ethnic, with Sindhi boys marrying Mohajir girls. Sindhi men preferred Urdu-speaking women because they were 'educated, and open-minded.'<sup>57</sup> However, this trend declined after the ethnic killings of 1988. According to my informants, there is a long way to go in reducing the Sindhi-Mohajir friction despite some families' resumption of inter-ethnic marriages.

### **Scholars' Argument on ethnic violence**

Sara Ansari argued that points of disagreement on Karachi's status was one of main challenge between state and community in early history of Pakistan because Sindhi political elites were not obliged to follow the center policy regarding Karachi. It took place because refugees were outsiders for the nationalist and son of soil. The state forced to impose its policy and remove the impediment to refugees' settlement in Karachi and Hyderabad. Thus, Ayub Khoro was dismissed by Jinnah. He faced the Public Representative Office Disqualification Act (PRODA). There was not much

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<sup>57</sup> Faiz, p.197.

sympathy for him from the thousands of migrants who were still waiting to be settled.<sup>58</sup>

Oscar Verkaaik stated that at this point, the other policemen on the scene also opened discriminated fire, pointing their guns directly at the processions. A terrible stampede ensues as everyone attempts to run for shelter. Screaming women rush into the shrine of Abdul Wahab Shah Jilani, located nearby, and take refuge there. The men, meanwhile, continue to spray bullets in all directions while chasing the protestors. "They are prostitutes," screams one policeman hysterically. "Don't allow them to get away alive." Within no time, the crowd has disappeared from the scene, leaving the injured screaming for help. In the stampede, many of the injured and dead are trampled under the boots of the policemen. "Let's teach them a lesson," screams a policeman who comes close to me. "Look, I'm a journalist," I tell him before he can open fire. "Who asked these people to come here?" he asks me. "They only came here to urge the authorities to restore the water supply in the fort area," I inform him. "I haven't eaten either since last night," says the policeman. Suddenly a policeman hurls abuse at me and tells a colleague to hit me. But we are interrupted by the appearance of an old man from a hut nearby. "Who are you? What do you want?" shouts a policeman. The man refuses to answer and remains silent.<sup>59</sup>

Asma Faiz argued that the bloodbath of September 1988 resonates deeply with residents of Hyderabad. Amar Sindhu believes Hyderabad became a 'dead city after the 1988 ethnic riots'. Naseem Jalbani feels that the 1988 ethnic riots had an unintended and indirect effect on the Sindhi population. Earlier, there were very few commercial centers in the province. Shahi Bazar, an old shopping area in the city located on the Mohajir side of the town, where the businesses have been run by Mohajirs-was the favorite shopping location for weddings and parties. People from all over Sindh shopped there. After the riots, the Sindhis were unable or unwilling to

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<sup>58</sup> Ansari p.63.

<sup>59</sup> Verkaaik, p.150.



visit Shahi Bazar. The new reality forced them to manage their businesses and set up Shahi Bazaar-like places in Hyderabad and other cities of the province.<sup>60</sup>

Farhan Hanif Siddiqui argued on violence that firstly, to clarify that ethnicity is not a natural phenomenon. It is constructed to segregate society. Secondly, look at the ethnic violence to see whether it was taken place by the people grievances among themselves, or it was organized by power elite. Only ordinary people suffered with clashes. Thus, it is plotted by instrumentalists.

Hyderabad's bifurcation and division along lines of ethnicity is painfully obvious. The neat division into the Sindhi locality of Qasimabad and the Mohajir area of Latifabad, the signboards and graffiti, and cultural activities, all reflect the deep gulf that divides the city. Amar Sindhu says Hyderabad has paid a heavy price for the Sindhi-Mohajir conflict<sup>61</sup> following the 1988 riots, it was almost completely deserted. Unlike in Karachi, where differences are tolerated, the ethnic riots in 1988 drew a line in the sand. Sindhis had relocated to Qasimabad. Mohajirs have had no cultural presence in Hyderabad since the riots. In terms of Mohajir culture, it's a wasteland.

Amar Sindhu and her friends hope that through these efforts the Sindhi-Mohajir conflict will gradually diminish. Naseem Jalbani described how she had attempted to organize events at Mehran Arts Council, a cultural forum for Mohajirs located in Latifabad. But despite numerous efforts, her events did not generate enthusiasm among Mohajir writers and poets. In her assessment, the cultural life of the Urdu-speaking community has suffered in Hyderabad and other major cities of Sindh. In the past, Hyderabad, Kotri, and Mirpurkhas had Urdu-language publications; now, Karachi is the only city where Mohajir culture is alive. For Amar, Haseen, and Naseem the politics of the MQM has 'destroyed the cultural life of Mohajirs'.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Faiz, p.197.

<sup>61</sup> Faiz, p.197.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. p. 197

My argument here is that Qasimabad and its residents started playing their role to normalize the relationship between the two communities. They held an open discussion among the professors at the university around Nasim-Nagar and Mehran art council. One of the main places is Café Khanabadosh which has played a significant role in bringing Sindhi-Mohajir close to each other. It is trying to overcome this cultural chasm. The café has held a few Urdu mushairas (poetry recitals). Sindhi Adabi Sangat Society which created content to promote harmony between them.

**Asma Faiz** interviewed her respondents that the second arena for my observations, Sindh University Jamshoro, is a far less contested place. Amar Sindhu, who teaches philosophy at Sindh University, believes there is no ethnic prejudice in her institution. She described the situation at Sindh University:

There is no ethnic divide at Sindh University. Within the faculty and administration, there is no Sindhi-Mohajir divide. When the MQM was campaigning in favor of a separate province a few years back, the Sindhi nationalists sent (a) a message that Mohajir students were not allowed in Sindh University. But we went into action, and we stood up against this kind of politics. Students have no ethnicity and there should be no discrimination on this basis. On the other hand, at Karachi University, Sindhi students are still unwelcome. At Sindh University, at the student and faculty level, there is no ethnic divide or discrimination. Based on my interactions with students of the mass communications department, I felt the level of ethnic tension on the campus was not excessive. One burqa-clad girl complained that, given her Mohajir background, everyone assumed her political affiliation was with the MQM; she felt there was a certain stereotyping of Mohajirs. In brief, my interactions in Hyderabad showed a divided city that seems to have endured an abysmally dark period of ethnic confrontation and alienation and is currently attempting to revive its peace and prosperity.

It was very difficult to document the voices of the people because every individual narrates their own story about the incident and past events. More of the above, People have their prejudices to explain the events. I have recorded fifteen interviews from Sindhi and Mohajir

of Hyderabad to conclude the scholarly arguments that state, and instrumentalists use ethno nationalism to come into power and manipulate the common masses for their political gain. Scholar Farhan Hanif Siddiqui wrote a paper on the topic of ethno nationalism, and he studied and reached to the point that ethnic communities are not fighting for their cause although it was interest groups and pressure politics to create tussle between one another to decline one party vote bank and raise another one. When I questioned him why an operation was launched against the Mohajir community he replied that masculinity is the first and foremost issue to come in clash with others. MQM Karta dharta and other ethno-political elites have been questioned for it.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **POLITICAL NARRATIVE ON ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN HYDERABAD DURING 1985 -1999**

The chapter documents the narrative of MQM, PPP, and JSQM on ethnic violence in Hyderabad by previously recorded interviews of their leaders respectively. The political and constitutional development of Pakistan from 1985 to 1999 is another theme of this chapter to tie that bind with all the factor responsible in Hyderabad for ethnic clashes. It is significant to document a chapter on the broader political structure of that time to understand the causal effects of ethnic violence. It contributes to existing academic research and literature on ethnic clashes of Hyderabad. Prior to this chapter, major ethnic incidents as well as oral accounts of people on ethnic clashes between Mohajir and Sindhi communities have been documented.

#### **NARRATIVE**

##### **Mohajir Qomi Movement (MQM)**

MQM was the main stake holder in Sindh and Federal governments during 1980s and 1990s. It had a clear majority in Urban Sindh: Karachi, Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas. PPP did not afford to lose MQM support in its government. Hence the reason narrative of MQM on the account of ethnic clashes in Hyderabad during 1985 to 1999 is put on top of the list of narratives.

MQM accused the PPP government of ethnic operations against Mohajir of Hyderabad particularly. Its leaders argued that Benazir Bhutto was the Prime Minister and Gulam Ishaq Khan was the President of Pakistan. They had constitutional and legitimate right to get know the situation in the second largest city of Sindh. Mohajir of Hyderabad was targeted by militant of JSQM on 30 September 1988. It left more than 150 deceased and 250 injured. Hospitals were full of dead bodies and injured, though district commissioner and SSP police had abstained from that day. The mayor and deputy mayor told the reporters that they tried to contact the authorities but there was no response. Just after three years of massacre of Hyderabad Police operation against the Children, women, and old people of Pakka Qila was not less than a genocide of Mohajir Qom because Mohajir identity was a needle in the eye of Sindhi nationalism.<sup>63</sup>

The idea of separation of Sindh was not ours. It was demanded by Sindhi nationalist, Sindhu Desh. However, MQM demanded Mohajir province in Sindh for administrative purposes. One more thing is that MQM did not prevail in ethnic provincial debate. It has been practiced since partition when nationalism belonged to specific region. Punjabi in Punjab province, Bengali in Bengal province, Pushtoon in Pakhtunkhwa province. They could change the ethnic name of provinces while they use it for politics.

Sindhi Nationalist criticized Mohajir identity because it demands due and legitimate rights which Sindhi nationalists do not ensure to their nation.

It was not enough for Benazir. During her second term of government at center from 1993 to 1996, she was hungry for power, and she killed her brother Murtaza Bhutto because he claimed the party leadership and he was supported by his mother Nusrat Bhutto. He remained imprisoned for months in her sister's government. He was encountered by police near his home in Karachi.

Question raised here who was responsible in ethnic clashes in Hyderabad while sitting government was pro-Sindhi nationalist. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto policies changed the ethnic Composition of Urban Sindh and demography of Hyderabad was altered by Benazir Bhutto government. It has been done to break the Mohajir vote bank from Karachi and Hyderabad.

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<sup>63</sup> Exclusive Interview with the Chairman of Mohajir Itehad Tehreek: Saleem Haider on Qomi Akhbar digital.

MQM claimed that its accusation is right against Benazir Bhutto government because she did not start judicial enquiry on the subject of Mohajir mass killing. Even though the registration of FIR on 30 September 1988 incident was not a very easy task. Benazir Government could have cleared her image by starting enquiry, but she did not follow the case and acquitted Qadir Magsi in that case. If the sitting government do not take responsibility of law and order, it will not have legitimate right to remain in power for one day.

### **Pakistan People's Party (PPP)**

PPP was in power and allegedly responsible for law and order in Hyderabad. While on the argument of 30 September 1988 Hyderabad massacre, Benazir Bhutto refused to say it massacre. She said it was an incident which left less than 50 people dead. Another argument is that PPP had not taken charge of the government at that time. It officially came to power in December 1988 after the Hyderabad massacre. She started inquiry but the prosecution failed to sue the case against Ab Qadir Magsi, and he was acquitted in it. She made policies to become voice of deprived Sindhi. Benazir Bhutto is still in debate of Sindhi women in rural areas. PPP gets vote on the name of *Bibi Shaheed*.

Pakistan people Party struggled to restore democracy in the country. Benazir did not come in clash with Zia ul Haq on her father's execution. However, Murtaza Bhutto brother of Benazir Bhutto wanted to take revenge with Zia ul Haq for his father. Bibi reiterated democracy is the best revenge. She did not have any role in the massacre in Hyderabad. Jeay Sindh Tehreek and extreme nationalist did not only threaten Urdu-speaking Mohajir but also took step to avert them from their "Mohjirstan" province.

PPP had suffered due to ethnic clashes in Hyderabad. MQM had left PPP in 1990 in vote of no-confidence motion and Benazir government could not have completed her term. It was a great loss for PPP. Thus, the PPP government has not taken any step intentionally to annoy MQM or Mohajir community in Hyderabad. It was undemocratic forces which were operating midnight jackal operation against Bibi government as Masood Khan Chief of IB reported to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

Benazir Bhutto admitted that she understood the importance of relation with three significant office bearers: General Aslam Baig as Army Chief, General Hameed Gul as Chief of ISI, and President Gulam Ishaq Khan. She had built good relationship with army and president, but ISI Chief Hameed Gul was not on one page with Benazir Bhutto. She appointed him as core commander Multan after siege from ISI chief. The military establishment was interested in dismissal of Benazir government from the center therefore they purchased MQM vote against the PPP.

PPP cashed Sindhi nationalism narrative by mainstream political struggle it was not responsible for ethnic clashes in Hyderabad.

### **Jeay Sindh Qomi Mahaz (JSQM)**

It explains the overall narrative of Sindhi Nationalist in this section collectively. Sindh has multiple Sindhi nationalist Tehreeks (movement) that are difficult to account individually.

MQM was responsible to kill their own people during 1980s and 1990s, while Urdu-speaking are our brother, and they have equal share in Sindh. MQM used Mohajir ethnic identity to get vote bank and exploit Sindhis right in Karachi. Mohajir has to become new Sindhis in Sindh. They have to absolve in Sindhi culture. As emergence of MQM in Karachi as ethnic violence erupted in Sindh. Nationalist narrative that they were against the subjugation of Son of soil because Sindh resources are for Sindhis. Resources of Sindh must be used in Sindh province only. Punjabi and Urdu-speaking dominance in multiple sectors of government is not accepted to Sindhi leader.

Bhutto politics in mainstream was successful because OF G.M Syed mobilization of masses on narrative of Sindhi nationalism. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was not succeeded unless he used the existing Sindhi nationalism. The works of Syed offer understanding of Pakistan's political structure. He was vehemently opposed to Pakistan's form of democracy and singled out Sindh as being governed by "repressive racial regimes predicated on control, usurpation, and exploitation." Syed's appraisal of his political rivals in Sindh is equally damning: to him, Punjabis, Muhajirs, and Sindhis are all enemies of Sindh. Bhutto and Rasul Baksh Paliyo are

two examples of the Sindhi socialists who, according to G. M. Syed, "aim their rifles against their own kith and kin" in the cause of the class struggle.

Bashir Khan Qureshi and Dr Qadir Magsi had no share in ethnic clashes of Hyderabad. Fake cases against them were registered while Sindh High court acquitted them in ethnic cases of Hyderabad.

### **Political and constitutional development of Pakistan during 1988 – 1999**

Pakistan's political and constitutional history witnessed several changes during 1988 to 1999. Two consecutive times Benazir Bhutto became Prime Minister of Pakistan, and two times Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister of Pakistan. It was pronounced that Change of Pakistani prime minister is so sharp than the changes of shawani of Indian Prime Minister.

General Zia ul Haq was ruler of Pakistan when his C-130 exploded in the air of Bahawalpur on 16 August 1988. His government iconic features were strict Islamization policies and destroyed democratic institution.

#### **Election in 1988**

Post Zia ul Haq regime, Pakistan held general election in November 1988. Pakistan people's party won majority seats in national assembly against Islami Jamhori Ittehad (IJI); an alliance of nine political parties, formed government. It was a remarkable signal of Pakistan that it restored to democracy. Benazir took oath on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1988 as first Muslim female Prime Minister of Pakistan

#### **Benazir Bhutto's First Term (1988-1990)**

She was motivated but crises and multi-lateral challenges were severed in Pakistan during her first term. Moreover, Islami Jamhori Ittehad did not accept the government of Benazir in the country. Though she was inexperienced as prime minister, she did not touch the core issues of state such as foreign policy, Defense, and economy of the country. Sindh was



burning in ethnic riots and its effects that central government was weakened. Political instability and ethnic violence in Sindh especially, Karachi and Hyderabad had become a charge sheet against Ms. Bhutto government. Eventually the president Gulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the government of Benazir Bhutto in August 1990.

### **Nawaz Sharif's First term (1990-1993)**

Nawaz Sharif's was second popular leader of the country at that time and military establishment was meharban on him. He and his party won election in 1990 and he became Prime Minister of Pakistan. He brought security and economic reforms to the country by initiating operations on large scale against militants and miscreants. Gulam Ishaq Khan as president used his power and dismissed Nawaz Sharif's government and dissolved national Assembly while Supreme Court declared dissolution of assembly was unlawful and restored him as Prime Minister. However, he resigned as Prime Minister just after eight weeks, and a general election was announced.

### **Benazir Bhutto's Second Term (1993-1996)**

Benazir Bhutto became prime minister for another term in 1993. She was dealing with the same issues again but this time she had been facing her brother Murtaza Bhutto accusation charges. Her brother was imprisoned for months when he came back from exile. This time President Farooq Laghari who was President of PPP, used 58(2b) against the Benazir government and dismissed her from premiership. He charged her that she failed to manage law and order in Karachi, and she was considered a beneficiary in Murtaza Bhutto encountered case by Karachi police.

### **Nawaz Sharif's Second Term (1997-1999)**

Nawaz Sharif was re-elected in 1997 for premiership. It was his second term. He took the stern constitutional decision to curtail the president's power over the Prime Minister. He

tabled the 13th amendment in the 1973 constitution which was passed by majority vote in the national assembly. He has done his job to keep the president out of bounds from executive power. He began many economic development and infrastructure projects in the country. Siachen breach the gap between military and civilian politicians. As a result, Musharaf took over the power and became chief martial law administrator of Pakistan.

Pakistan experienced significant political, economic, and social changes during this period, with the alternating civilian and military rulers leading to varying difficulties and accomplishments. Political uncertainty and economic recession at the national level are causal factors in the weakening of democracy. This period was significant important in the history of Pakistan as well as world history because world was facing ethnic and communal tension at international level. For instance, the United Soviet Social Republic broke into fifteen more than state. Russia emerged after it each state has its own ethnic values over other. In this time development of geo-strategic was main discourse international politics. Overall, the 1990s were a challenging decade for handling wars and humanitarian crises in a shifting international political landscape, ethnic and communal tension in Islamic countries, marked by the end of the Cold War, the creation of new power relations, and the obstacles of doing so.

## CONCLUSION

Instead of policy-oriented individuals, value-oriented individuals in Pakistani politics are immediate sources of ethnic political movement. People are not fighting with each other it is ethno-instrumentalists who used this narration to come to the surface of politics. Secondly, People do not know the cause of the fighting, but they fight for their leader's call. As far as Pakistani politics is concerned so think tanks argue that it is a person-centered politics in Pakistan. For instance, Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI), Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), Muttehdha Qomi Movement (MQM): Before 22 August 2016 when Altaf Hussain hated speech split MQM into MQM (Pakistan) and MQM (London), Jeaye Sindh Qomi Mahaz (JSQM) all political parties' heads are spirit and soul for the party, critically, the intra-party election has not been transparent so far. Bhutto lineage is still followed in PPP, PML (N) is led by the Nawaz family. Thus, dynastical politics is the one ionic feature in the constitutional and political development of Pakistan.

Political scientist Nicole Machiavelli and Hans Morgenthau expressed neo-realism in national and international politics. They argue that political parties if they are on national level they struggle for survival in political space, exist in power and try to come in power. They do politics on nationalism which is rooted out in nation-state system. On the context of Pakistan, the nation state system is debatable irrespective of this claim, Academic scholars have studied and written on nationalism. I review ethnicity without group by Rodger Brubaker and imagined community by Benedict Anderson to support the argument of people that people did not know who were terrorist on 30 September 1988 and responsible of Pakka Qila operation while sitting government of Benazir Bhutto of that time denied all charges against her government and reiterated that it was not massacre. She claimed that it was fifty people died.

Sara Ansari, Oscar Verkaaik, Muhammad Waseem, and Farhan Hanif Siddiqui have interviewed and documented the voices of political elites and common people throughout the Sindh, especially, Karachi, they got to know the ordinary people suffered and they did not know who were responsible in it. Majorly, the concept of responsibility behind the clashes is not main argument of my thesis, people of Hyderabad suffered and their painful stories which has not been documented is the main theme which have been done

irrespective of caste, color, and creed. To conclude, people grieved about the aftermath of partition. They are not emotionally fit enough to talk about the massacre of Hyderabad and political subjugation out of them bound to openly talk about it.

## GLOSSARY

<b>Karkunan</b>	<b>Supporter of MQM and follower of Altaf Hussain</b>
<b>Bania</b>	<b>Hindu traders, and merchants; often associated with money lending</b>
<b>Bhai</b>	<b>Altaf Hussain; often a supporter of Mohajir</b>
<b>Nasal Khushi</b>	<b>Genocide</b>
<b>Hijrat</b>	<b>Migration, especially to a Muslim country from enemy territory</b>
<b>Ansar</b>	<b>Helper, refer to people of Medina who welcomed the Prophet(PBUH)</b>
<b>Mohajir</b>	<b>Urdu-speaking Muslim who</b>

	<b>migrated to Pakistan after the partition in 1947</b>
Sangat	Friends, company

Galiyan	Streets, common road
Chowk	<b>Roundabout</b>
Dehshatgardi	<b>Terrorism</b>
Mutalbat	<b>Demands</b>
Zulm o Ziyati	<b>Subjugation and injustice</b>
Jeay	<b>A slogan to glorify</b>
Police Gardi	<b>Atrocities by Police</b>
Khalai Makhloq	<b>Unidentified, often it refers to the military establishment</b>
Karta Dharta	<b>Responsible</b>

Kachhi Abadi	Poor local areas usually unregistered households
Kachra Kondi	Dumpsite

<b>Etihad</b>	<b>Alliance</b>
<b>Goth</b>	<b>Village</b>
<b>Kurta</b>	<b>Long shirt. Mohajir cultural dress</b>
<b>Khoka</b>	<b>Small shops usually for cigarettes and Paan</b>
<b>Char diwari</b>	<b>Home</b>

<b>Bori</b>	<b>A large beg for flour or peas</b>
<b>Paan</b>	<b>A souvenir_for_Mohajir</b>





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