

A GEO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF SPATIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN KARACHI (1947-1969)

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ABSTRACT

Partition of British India has led to many demographic and geographic changes in the region. The most important demographic factor which totally changes the structure of population is migration. Migration in any country is driven by some political or natural factors. Natural calamities such as Floods, earthquakes, cyclone, volcanic eruption etc. count for natural factors. On the other hand, there are anthropogenic factors which lead to migration such as work, education, health facility, lifestyle etc. These human factors largely depend upon the political regimes and their policies. In Pakistan there have been constant and rapid changes in political regimes. The change of government mostly translated into complete transformation of policies implemented by previous regimes. A striking feature of all subsequent government has been the pace of achieving their desired political goals through their policies. Most of them preferred economy to resolve the problems faced by Pakistan. Such policies affected the demographic transformation of Karachi. In this paper an attempt has been made to analyze the prominent demographic changes as the result of the policies and political circumstances during various governments in Karachi.

Key words: Migration, Spatial transformation, implementation, population, demography, Karachi, politics

INTRODUCTION

Migration is one of the most ignored aspects of governance in Pakistan. The study on migration within the country has never been given its due importance. Today the magnitude of migration has compelled researchers and policy makers to embark upon the factors, causes, issues, impacts and mitigation of issues associated with migration. One of the study types of population changes which include migration is demographic transition. There are four major factors regarding demographic transition, birth, death, migration and marriage.

The main objective of this study is to explore, how the demographic transition in Karachi was influenced by political development, political decision-making and major national catastrophe? The research will discover various political regimes that took control of Pakistan and how their policies effected or triggered migration into Karachi. It will also focus upon major events that may be not directly connected with political policy decisions, however, contributed significantly towards the demographic

transition in Karachi.

This study is based upon literature review of original sources, such as, census reports, government documents, archived manuscripts and secondary sources problems. Migration is a phenomenon that has become an epicenter of academic debate in recent years. Researchers believe that today most of the issues faced by the world are because of migrations across the borders. That is why the Developed countries are framing stiffer policies to curb migration into their borders. On the national levels the same phenomenon has created havoc for developing and under developed countries. Due to internal migration Mega cities like Karachi have emerged mainly in developing countries.

These cities are the main bread earners for the whole country and their increasing population make it difficult for the authorities to administer the city effectively. On the other hand, uneven development in these countries cause multiple layers of social strata's and gulf between the rural and urban population.

OBJECTIVES

The main objectives of this study are to highlight the severity of the issues related to migration and propose a plausible method of embarking upon a research for finding its solutions. The study will encompass political dimensions and decisions triggering internal migration to Karachi. The focus has been laid upon the fact that various political and military regimes in ruling over Pakistan made many hasty and short-sighted policy measures to accommodate their rules, which resulted into long term socio-economic consequences.

MIGRATION AND POLITICAL DYNAMICS

1947 till 1958

The people who came to Karachi after independence till 1958 can be divided into two categories according to the nature and time of their arrival into Pakistan, e.g., the international refugees[i] and second is immigrants[ii]. There are many noticeable differences between these two categories, which led to varied policies.

The impact of early refugees and immigrants into Karachi was such that Mega City became the only city in whole Pakistan to have population over one million in 195 Census. Moreover, according to the census of 1961 the total population of Karachi almost got doubled to 1,912,598 (Pakistan, 1962) in ten years (1951 to 1961). In comparison there was no other city

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across Pakistan (East and West) to reach the one million mark for population except Lahore, whose population increased to 1,296,477 by 1961 (GoP,1962).

Refugees from India

In the early months after independence Pakistan received a large number of refugees. There were two types of refugees first, who wanted to leave India and faced violence on their way to Pakistan and second were those who might have stayed in India; however, the ethnic violence that had erupted in Punjab and some other areas compelled them to leave India in haste. Due to the complexities of ethnic violence and partition massacre the number of refugees got multiplied and the circumstances they were facing to reach Pakistan were getting more and more deplorable.

In the western part of Pakistan there were only two main cities that had been accommodating the rapid influx of refugee and migrants, i.e., Karachi and Lahore[i]. Both were provincial capitals of Sindh and Punjab respectively. Sindh received newcomers from two gate ways. First directly from India from eastern border of Sindh, via. *“KhokhraPar”* and second from Punjab through road link between Punjab and Sindh, e.g., *“KummoShaheed”*.

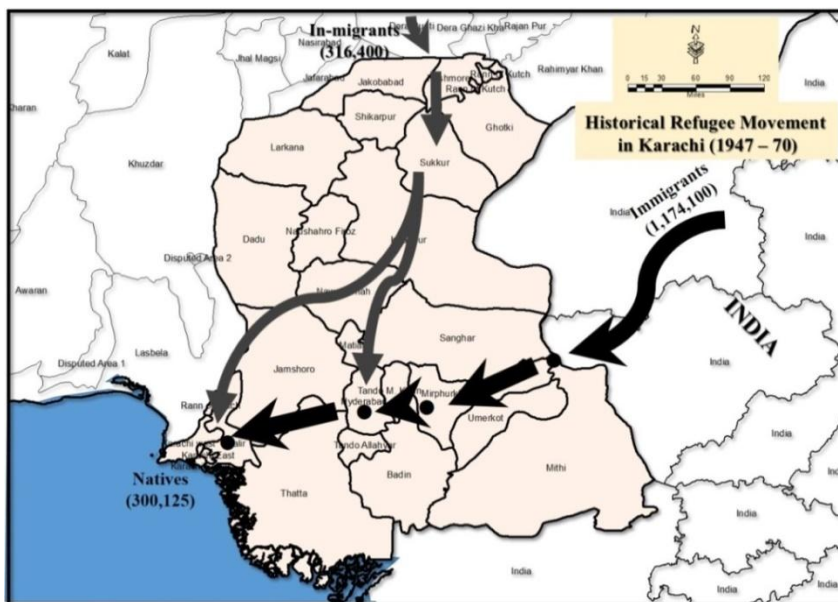


Figure 1: Influx of Refugees to Pakistan

The immediate destination of refugees, who were coming from eastern border of Sindh, was Khokra Par, which was considerably an undeveloped and backward area, therefore it lacked the capacity to settle a large

number of refugees. Consequently, majority of the newly arrived, moved southwards to comparatively better developed towns of *Mirpur Khas* (2 in map), *Hyderabad* (3 in map), *Kotri* and *Karachi* (4 in map).

Karachi did not receive refugees through land only. A considerable number of them came through sea as well. The Muslims who had money and could afford sea voyage, came from Bombay to Karachi. However, the status of these incomers of being refugees can be debated depending upon the time period they migrated. Many historians believe that their status should not be before refugees because they did not leave India in haste as compared to the people of East Punjab and their lives were not at stake.

In addition to that Sindh after Punjab had the largest number of evacuees who migrated due to the fear of retaliation from the people of Pakistan after witnessing the horrors of Punjab bloodshed. Though, Jinnah had guaranteed the safety of religious minorities in any circumstances, a large number of Hindu merchants of Sindh opted to move to India in the wake of communal violence. Karachi received a considerable number of refugees coming to South from Punjab. The administrative accommodative capacity of Lahore and rest of Punjab was exhausted by the exodus. Consequently, the government and refugees resolved to move to other provinces, specifically to Sindh.

Sindh in the beginning refused to accommodate more refugees from Punjab. The provincial ministry of Khurro came at logger's head with the central government over this issue and rejected the decisions made by Jinnah and central government related to Sindh and its territory. The first bone of contention was declaration of Karachi to be separated as the capital of newly born Pakistan. Later Jinnah dissolved the provincial assembly of Khurro on the charges of corruption. Finally, Sindh received a considerable number of refugees from Punjab. However, it was not as per the expectation of the central government for Sindh.

"Karachi in particular, as the capital and as an industrial center, attracted large number of refugees. Its population was about 350000 at the time of partition. Within five years the population went up five times. The strain on the city's resources of housing, water supply, electricity, and other services was very great. A number of colonies like *Lalukhet*, *Nazimabad*, *Landhi*, and others were constructed, but the supply always lagged the demand. Apart from the refugees, people from other parts of Pakistan came to Karachi looking for work and swelled its population" (Ali, 1973, p. 269) .

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The mass migration that took place during the partition of India and Pakistan was and is one of the bloodiest and largest cross border migrations that took place in the history of the world. Though, there are numerous political factors behind this mass hysteria created by the decision of dividing India and Pakistan within a short time period, only demographic realities would be discussed here. "In 1941 there were 94.5 million Muslims and 270.2 million Hindus in the subcontinent. The Muslims comprised 24.3 per cent of the total population, and the Hindus 69.5 per cent. No other religious group represented so much as 3.0 per cent of the population" (Davis, 1949, p. 257).

Kingsley Davis, a scholar contemporary to the period of refugee crisis of Pakistan, has rightly pointed out that, "Partition was possible only because of the uneven distribution of the Muslim minority within India. If the 94 million Muslims had been equally numerous everywhere-if they had constituted 24.3 per cent of the population in every district and province-they would have had real strength nowhere, and the concept of Pakistan would have been impractical. In fact, there was a high degree of concentration. Of a total of 435 districts or other comparable divisions in India in 1941 there were 76 whose population was more than half Muslim; these, representing only 17 per cent of all districts in India, contained 60 per cent of the entire Muslim population. There were 50 districts whose population was more than three-fourths Muslim; these, representing only 11 per cent of the districts, contained 33 per cent of all Indian Muslim" (Davis, 1949, p. 257).

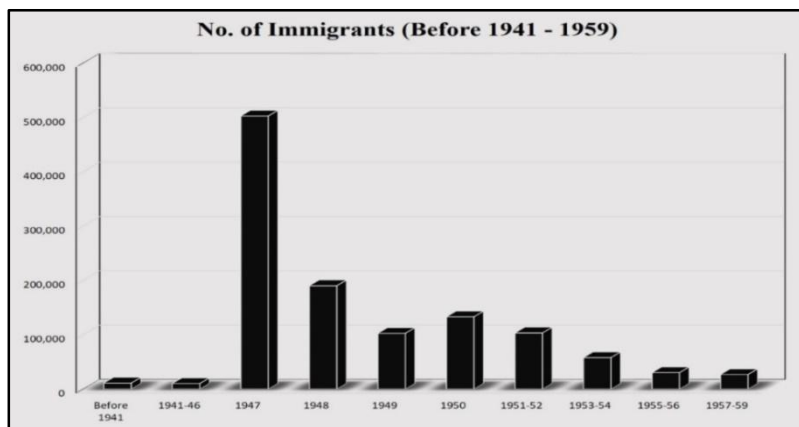


Figure 2: No. of Immigrants (Before 1941 - 1959), After Tahir (2010)

Immigrants from India till 1958

"In October, 1949, a new category of evacuees---"intending evacuees" --- was introduced by India. Muslims, declared to be, "intending evacuees",

were not only deprived of their property but of any possible means of livelihood in India, since they were officially declared to be potentially disloyal subjects. When a Muslim was thus driven out of his home to seek shelter in Pakistan, the Indian officials could triumphantly point to his departure in vindication of their unerring judgment in declaring him “an intending evacuee”. These actions led to a fresh exodus of Muslims from India. They entered Pakistan mostly on foot through the Sindh desert at the border station of Khokhra Par. By this route 264,899 refugees entered Pakistan during 1950, and the number ultimately rose to nearly 600,000” (Ali, 1973).

Most of these people came to Karachi. The reasons for their choice are rooted in the colonial period. These people were largely from urban areas of divided India, for example Bombay, Delhi, Hyderabad Deccan, Jaipur, Lukhnow, etc. Due to their association with these areas they were attached to urban means of livelihood. There was customarily skilled labor, clerks, officers etc. amongst these “intending evacuees”. “The Urdu and Gujerati speaking Muhajirin (refugees) who emigrated in millions (8 percent of the population by 1951) from India, mostly to the port city of Karachi, continued to share the rule politically and economically by reason of their high literacy (70 percent), relative modernity, and historic role in the Pakistan movement” (Jr., 1991, p. 300).

In this scenario, Karachi became host to those people who had capital, knowledge and experience of business, in a country like Pakistan which needed business and economic vibrancy for its survival. Karachi witnessed great deal of investment by these migrants from business families. Although, these investors fulfilled most of the demands of industries, however, labor was needed to fuel the newly established and going to be established factories. These laborers came from different parts of Pakistan, hence, contributed to the high rate population growth in Karachi.

Sindh on the contrary, was a territory which became a full separate province in 1937 when the Act of India 1935 was implemented (Coupland, 1944). Earlier it was a part of the Province of Bombay and in terms of development it received a small part in the budget out of Bombay. Even after achieving the status of full province, the pace of development was hindered by the start of Second World War. “Muslim Sindhis, however, were left at a disadvantage in their own province; only 10 percent were literate, compared to 70 percent of the newcomers” (Jr., 1991, p. 301.). This disparity was due to the British colonial legacy. They only provided infrastructure to those areas which were productive for them in term of extraction of raw material, taxation, recruits for army, agricultural produce

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and market for their products. Sindh, unfortunately, lacked in almost all departments, thus, did not receive any benefits of development by British.

In Sindh, only Karachi was favorable for British and therefore they did not only establish it they also took pains in developing it on the modern standards of the time.

Table 1: Karachi: Population by sex, economic categories and migrant status, 1959. (Farooq, 1966, p. 22)

	Economic categories	Both sexes	Male	Female
All Status	Total population	1,803,175	999,250	803,925
	Labour force	573,900	552,375	21,525
	Working labour force	554,750	533,425	21,325
	Unemployed	19,150	18,950	200
Natives	Total population	300,125	153,025	147,100
	Labour force	87,125	81,175	5,950
	Working labour force	83,825	77,925	5,900
	Unemployed	3,300	3,250	50
Migrants	Total population	1,490,500	834,550	655,950
	Labour force	475,300	460,125	15,175
	Working labour force	459,850	444,825	15,025
	Unemployed	15,450	15,300	150
In-migrants	Total population	316,400	206,150	110,250
	Labour force	146,050	142,575	3,475
	Working labour force	141,450	138,025	3,425
	Unemployed	4,600	4,550	50
Immigrants	Total population	1,174,100	628,400	545,700
	Labour force	329,250	317,550	11,700
	Working labour force	318,400	306,800	11,600
	Unemployed	10,850	10,750	100

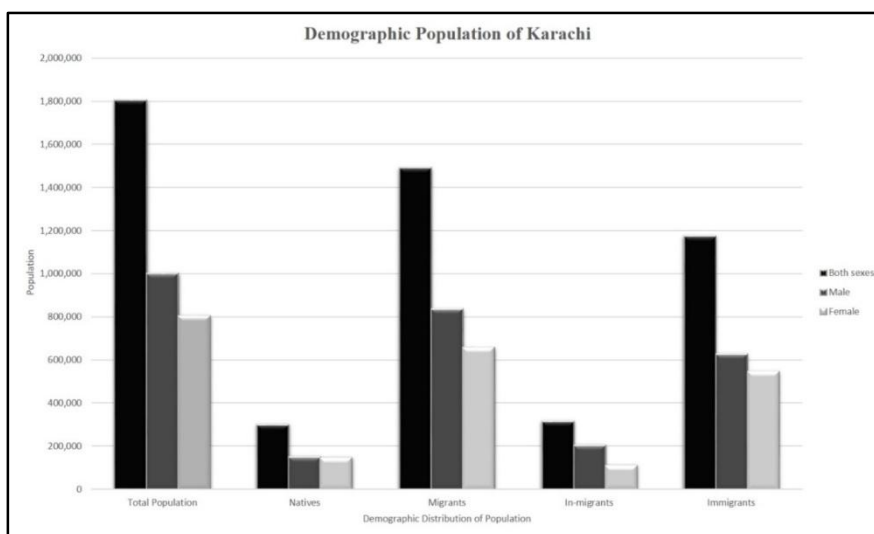


Figure 3: Demographic Population of Karachi

Internal migration in Karachi due to the status of Capital until 1956

After independence Karachi was chosen as the capital of the newly created country. The new status of Karachi acted as the strongest pull factor for population migration into the city. Karachi became headquarter of all government institutions and the private organizations followed the suit.

Lahore which had more population than Karachi at the time of independence was crossed over by Karachi by 1951 (see chart overleaf). The population increase in Lahore from 1941 to 1951 was 177,674 (Government of Pakistan, 1951), in Karachi during the same time it was 628,670 (Government of Pakistan, 1951). Almost the total population of Lahore was doubled in Karachi in lieu of the rapid migration after independence.

On the other hand, the population increase of Karachi from 1951 to 1961 was 848041 (Government of Pakistan, 1961). Again, for this period the total population of Karachi doubled. This time one of the major factors for this population increase was the status of Karachi as the capital of Pakistan.

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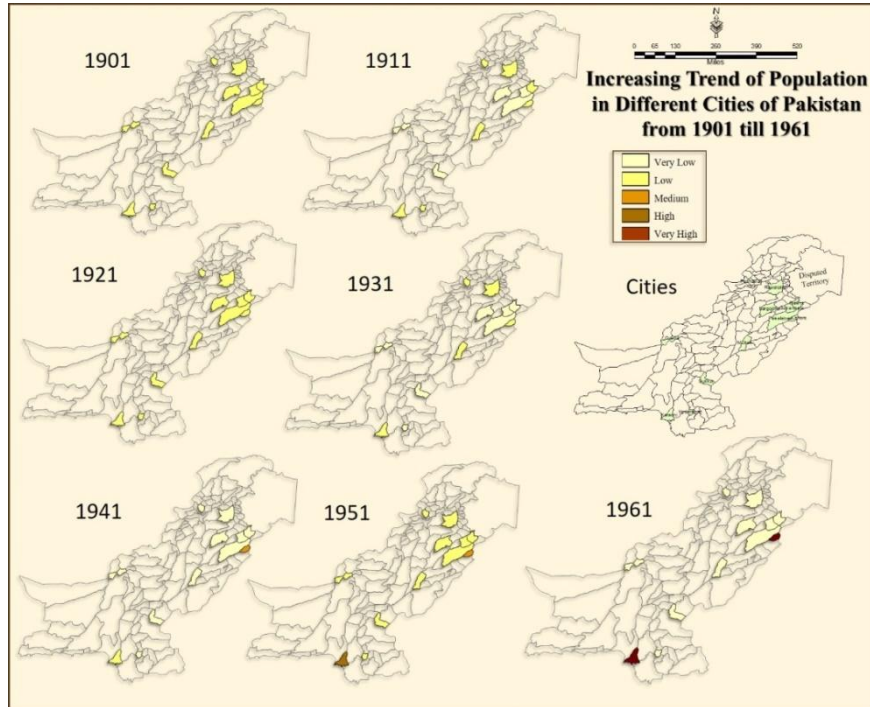


Figure 4: Increase of population in different cities from 1901 till 1961
(Source: GoP, 1951-1972)

1958 Till 1969

The Population influx into Karachi before 1958 was mostly due to the migration of Muslims wanting to leave India for Pakistan as discussed earlier. The population increase of Karachi after takeover of Ayub Khan in 1958 did not stabilize and did not only depend upon the natural birth and marriage factor. Throughout the reign of Ayub Khan, the people from outside Karachi continued entering Karachi in large numbers. However, this time the areas from which they were coming were different. Also, the reasons for their choice of making Karachi as their destination were different.

During the first eleven years, migrants to Karachi came from two routes. First from Punjab, and secondly the next wave of refugees or “intending evacuees” came from the Indian border of Sindh. After 1958, Karachi received majority of the migrants from N.W.F.P (now KPK) instead of India.

Like the time period before Ayub Khan's rule, the increase of population in Karachi was exponential that even a highly authoritarian government like Ayub Khan's, was unable to address the issues and more development programs needed were to cope up with the needs of the mega city.

For any sincere attempt to address the problems faced by Karachi caused by its population growth, the reasons for the growth need to be understood. The reasons and patterns have changed throughout time and administration.

The motives of migration of these migrants along with their nature were also very different from earlier ones. They were coming to Karachi in search of work instead of moving in the city for seeking refuge from Indians.

"Table (below) shows place of birth and place of initial employment of the workers interviewed. Only 5 per cent of the total workers in the survey were actually born in Karachi. The bulk of the workers (69 per cent) have immigrated from India. Other parts of Pakistan (excluding Karachi) have supplied 25 per cent of the total workers. The total male population of Karachi in 1959 consisted of 15 per cent natives, 21 per cent w-migrants and 63 per cent immigrants, and total male labour-force in Karachi was composed of 15 per cent natives, 26 per cent w-migrants and 57 per cent immigrants in the same year. Migrants (w-migrants as well as immigrants) form the major portion of the population (84 per cent), of total labour-force (83 per cent) and of industrial labour-force (94 per cent) in Karachi." (Khan, 1963, p. 596)

GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF KARACHI WORKERS

Table 2: Geographical Origin of Karachi Workers, Khan, 1963, p. 59

	Place	Born	Initially Employed
1	<i>Urban areas</i>	81	96
i	Karachi	5	50
ii	Urban Pakistan	16	13
iii	Urban India	59	32
iv	Foreign	1	1
2	<i>Rural areas</i>	19	3
i	Rural Pakistan	9	2
ii	Rural India	10	1

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Green Revolution's impact on Karachi-bound migration

Green revolution technology was introduced by Ayub Khan in Pakistan in 1960's. The basic feature of this technology is maximization of crop through different means. One major element of the technology is mechanization of agricultural activity. Mechanization leads to unemployment of the manual labor (Schwartzman, 1997).

It may sound simple and progressive that machines are being introduced to maximize the productivity; however, a deeper look into the matter reveals that there are multiple variables need to be taken care of. To start with, in a society like Pakistan where there were around 20% urban areas at the time of introduction of Green Revolution, the social scientists do not advise such technological leap in agriculture. "A number of empirical studies have investigated the relationship between labor utilization and agricultural mechanization. Though there are some conflicting results, empirical evidence suggests that use of tractors generally results in labor displacement" (Rhoda, 1983). The unemployment forced by mechanization in the fields always results into Rural-Urban migration. In such scenarios the urban areas must have industrial capacity to absorb the influx. Otherwise, more problems arise.

Pakistan suffered the same situation. During the period of Green Revolution, the rural labor force replaced by machines naturally looked towards cities to provide them with employment opportunities (Williamson, 2002). However, the options in front of these laborers were very limited, (e.g Karachi, Lahore, Dhaka etc.) (Eddison, 1961), and as a result most of them made Karachi their destination. As discussed earlier, Ayub regime facilitated industrialization, however this industrialization was mainly received by Karachi (Eddison, 1961). People from all parts of Pakistan constantly moved into Karachi throughout Ayub regime, due to the policy of Green Revolution introduced by him in rural areas.

In such economic and social conditions that prevail in Pakistan, social scientists are of the opinion that agricultural activity should be labor intensive. "Dorner, for example, in a book published in 1972, present an argument that hinges on the factor proportions in a capital scarce economy and the need to develop agriculture with as many labour-intensive methods as possible. He further argues that labor-intensive agricultural development was more likely to be achieved on small family-sized farms under good tenure conditions than large estates that emphasize the use of capital against labor, or under very insecure tenure as in the case of share-cropping" (Charles P. Oman and Ganeshan Wignaraja, 1991).

The indirect employment created due to farm mechanization further directed flow of population towards urban centers. The need for machines in the farms created a need for industries in the cities. According to a study, around 106,000 jobs were provided by farm equipment manufacturers by the end of Sixties.

Industrial development in Karachi

Amongst many other reasons for the migration of people of Pakistan into Karachi, one of the most important is the uneven, unplanned and unchecked industrial growth in Karachi. "The subject of industrial location, as an aspect of the economic development of the country, is one to which frequent references have been made in recent years by government officials and by the writers of newspaper editorials. During the period of the First Five Year Plan, the burden of such references was generally to the effect that further industrialization should be fostered in backward areas and that it should be discouraged or actually banned in Karachi, Lahore and other cities believed to be overcrowded or vulnerable from a defense point of view" (Eddison, 1961, p. 1).

There are voluminous evidences which show that the migration of population could have been controlled, however, the hasty nature of administrations to implement and achieve results in short time, resulted in further delay and far worst consequences.

Likewise, when Ayub Khan took charge of the country he was very enthusiastic to take Pakistan to next level and prove to the world and local population that his administration was better than the earlier ones (Khan M. A., 1967). The democratic political system was in doldrums since the birth of Pakistan and by the time Ayub Khan struck his final blow on the ailing democratic political system, many may agree that it was not a true democracy like in other countries.

Ayub Khan had to make Pakistan a better country than it was during the first eleven years. "Only a government able to effect a complete break with the past and plan anew for the future could put the country back on the road to solvency and restore the people's faith in the rule of law and efficacy of democratic institutions. Such a government could not emerge out of the general elections. The electorate had no option before it except to vote for the very same politicians who had driven the country to the edge of a precipice." (Ahmad, 1988, p. 175) In achieving the goals quickly, he thought, and implemented policies which were not properly debated and lacked implementation strategy. His green revolution technology, as discussed above and industrial development were like bubbles which were

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not sustainable and long lasting. Over the top of it, they created more new social, political and economic problems than it was initially aiming to solve (Hasan, 2000).

“In the earlier phase of industrialization, industries have tended to congregate near a few main towns such as Karachi, Lyallpur, Narayanganj, and Chittagong. This has been natural because of the facilities and economies available at such places. Karachi, in particular, has figured prominently, due to the advantages of the port, the special facilities of industrial estates, close proximity to the centers of administration and the presence of a large business class that settled there after migration from India. On purely economic grounds, new capacity should be installed where the costs of production and transport will be lowest. But location cannot be determined on economic grounds alone. In the interest of balanced regional development and social stability, it is desirable that industries should be more widely dispersed, to spread the benefits of employment and increased income over large areas. Dispersal will lessen the magnitude and intensity of the social problems created when populations are moved from rural to urban areas, inadequately provided with public facilities” (J. Roth, 1971).

“The statement called for the dispersion of industry from the larger urban centers, primarily to develop the more backward areas. Between 1957 and 1960, the establishment of new manufacturing establishments in Karachi was banned. After 1960, however, the rule was relaxed and licenses could once' again be obtained for some industries” (J. Roth, 1971, p. 572). As a result, thousands of new opportunities were created in Karachi. These were filled by rural urban migrants and also attracted thousands more who dreamt of moving into urban centers.

To prevent such magnetism in Karachi it was advised by policy makers to prohibit the installation of any new industry or manufacturing units. “Other methods such as the prohibition on new establishments in the Karachi area were designed to prevent the concentration of manufacturing in such areas. However, the government approved almost every manufacturing establishment wanting a license except those wishing to locate in the Karachi area, and there was no real effort made to control location. A manufacturing establishment which wanted to locate in Karachi could place a small operation fifty to one hundred miles outside of Karachi, and then through various means, such as bribes, gifts, favors, have the establishment's license moved to Karachi” (J. Roth, 1971, p. 579).

The initial industrial policy had the effects of over development in their minds that why they went for multiple industrial zones. The main aims

were to prevent over centralization of industries and secondly to provide equal opportunities to all people across the country. "The first three industrial estates were set up between 1953 and 1955 at Karachi and Hyderabad in West Pakistan, and at Tajgaon near Dacca in East Pakistan. The estates were near or in major urban centers and have been instrumental in concentrating industry. The Sindh Industrial Trading Estate at Karachi is spread over almost 4,000 acres and has some 500 manufacturing establishments with over 50,000 employees" (J. Roth, 1971, p. 575).

"Since 1958, licensing powers have been given to many government departments and agencies and there is no exercising of restrictive rules on location in the issuing of licenses. In 1963, licensing power was shifted to the provincial governments which have 'given the various government agencies the power to issue licenses. The provincial government makes no use of its own powers to control industrial location. Establishments having foreign participation are still required to take license clearance from the Central Investment Promotion and Coordination Committee" (J. Roth, 1971, p. 579).

"They (observers) argue that there was increased disparity in incomes across different regions. This was manifest in the concentration of economic prosperity in both the industrial and agricultural sectors in central Punjab, and in industry in Karachi. Critics of Ayub Khan's model of development point out that these two regions were permitted to grow at the expense of rest of the country, and the end result was the feeling on the part of East Pakistan of utter neglect and betrayal" (Zaidi, 2000).

Demographic maneuvering for electoral gains in Karachi

At the time of completion of his first term as president, Ayub Khan announced fresh elections were called in 1965. This time competitive electoral environment was provided by him. Opposition was unable to come up with a name that could pass through the EBDO test and compete against Ayub. Finally, it was decided that Fatima Jinnah would be persuaded to contest elections, because she had a very clean political past and being the sister of Quaid commanded respect in the hearts of people (Ziring, 1997). Ayub was surprised on this selection and tried every trick in the book to steal the elections.

In this scenario, Ayub very delicately worked out a plan to counter Ms. Fatima across the country and especially at places where she had strong support. It was clear that Karachi was in favor of Ms. Fatima Jinnah. Anticipating a defeat in Karachi, the most populated and important city of

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Pakistan, Ayub devised a strategy to gain support in Karachi. The existing population of Karachi was overwhelmingly Urdu speaking population who had left urban areas of India. Traditionally, these were the people who were the original supporters of Muslim League during pre-partition India. They were loyal to Jinnah and now they were loyal towards Ms. Fatima Jinnah too.

Performance of Muslim League in 1937 elections

Table 3: Performance of Muslim League in 1937 Election, (Singh, 2009)

Province	Total no. of seats allotted to Muslims in the legislative Assembly	Seats won by the Muslim League in the elections of 1937
Assam	34	9
Bengal	117	39
Bihar	39	--
Bombay	29	20
Central Province	14	--
Madras	28	10
N.W.F.P	36	--
Orissa	4	--
Punjab	84	1
Sindh	33	3
United Provinces	64	27

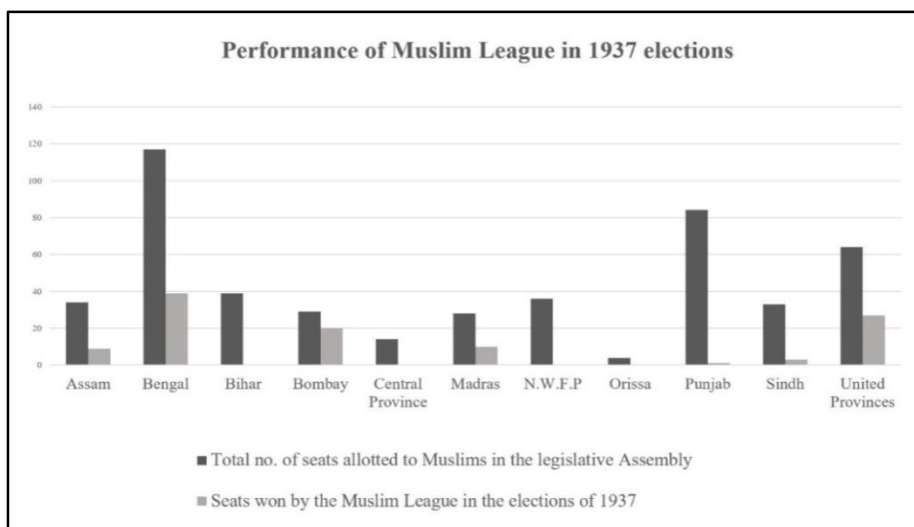


Figure 5: Performance of Muslim League in 1937 Election, (Singh, 2009)

Ayub Khan invited and sent scores of people from northern areas of Pakistan to Karachi. "Quite apart from the sense of antagonism between parties which led, when encouraged and fostered, to violence, the state of public order in Karachi was further endangered by the systematic import of men from Ayub Khan's own District of Hazara. Each train, coming from the north, brought with it a fresh contingent of these easily identifiable men in grey *mazri* shirt and pyjama with jacket for warmth. In the buttonhole, each wore a plastic rose, Ayub Khan's election symbol and the people of Karachi gazed askance at these surprisingly numerous visitors. Karachi did not know then that these were the storm-troopers with a part yet to be played" (Feldman, 1997). The loyalties of these people were with Ayub Khan because of two reasons, first, Ayub Khan himself was from northern Pakistan and secondly, they were never a supporter of Muslim League and had very low understanding of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his politics which would reflect upon Ms. Fatima Jinnah's voting.

The population that came as "storm troopers" in Karachi for electoral support of Ayub Khan, later stayed in Karachi for work. Although Ayub Khan's targets in Karachi were not achieved, however, a new dominant ethnic group was introduced in Karachi. Later, people originating from Khyber Pukhtoon Khawah (previously N.W.F.P) would constitute the second largest ethnic group to exist in Karachi.

Contribution of One Unit Plan

In 1955 after the failure of Bogra Formula or parity formula, which was presented by Muhammad Ali Bogra the then prime minister of Pakistan, to balance power between the two geographically and politically divided sides, a new plan to merge all provinces and territories of Western side of Pakistan was presented. In this plan it was proposed that all the areas of West Pakistan should be merged together to form a single province with single provincial assembly and administration. And the province of East Bengal of Pakistan should be named East Pakistan. Furthermore, both West and East Pakistan would be considered equal in terms of Population and equal number of seats would be given to both wings.

Although, this mutation of political system managed to lower the storms of differences between East and West Pakistan, it created numerous other problems of its own for the future. After the geographical amalgamation of three provinces (Sindh, N.W.F.P and Punjab) in the western Pakistan, it became almost impossible to track any in-country migration or to control it. As has been discussed earlier (iii. c), the economic development of Karachi continued unchecked resulting in the imbalance of opportunities for rural and urban population. On Unit Plan lasted from 1955 till 1970.

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After the takeover by General Yahya Khan in 1969, the new administration addressed the issues of differences between East and West Pakistan and attempted to go for solutions. As a result, Legal Framework Order was passed.

The most striking feature of One Unit Plan was the amalgamation of all western provinces and territories. It meant that there were no provincial boundaries between the mentioned zones. People could move from one place to another without any registration. Usually movement from one province to another was restricted to some extent through provincial quotas in education and employment. Customarily, inhabitants from any one province in any country prefer to move for work in the same country. However, during the days of One Unit, whole West Pakistan was one province and single administrative unit. Hence the doors for mobility were open for all. Karachi during the fifteen years of capacity served as the most developed and industrial town of West Pakistan instead of Sindh.

Some important elements of this order were,

- i. The One Unit Plan was abolished and Pakistan was divided into 5 provinces.
- ii. Each province would have a provincial assembly and a provincial capital. (This was a significant change because during the last setup of One Unit there were only two provincial capitals, now there would be five, other than the federal capital).
- iii. The seat allocation was also done on the basis of population distribution. In the four Western provinces, the number of seats was 138 and in east Bengal it was 162 (Siddiqi, 1981).

“Unfortunately, at the dissolution of the one-unit West Pakistan in 1970 by Ayub's successor, General Yahya Khan, Karachi was returned to Sindh as its provincial capital, leaving it with a built-in conflict between Sindhis, Muhajirs, and now some Punjabi officers who had come to Karachi in Ayub's time and also received substantial agricultural grants of newly irrigated land from him” (Jr., 1991).

CONCLUSION

The study reveals the fact the governments, provincial or federal, have ignored the long-term effects of their policies. Subsequent governments framed and implemented their policies without consulting experts. Today Pakistan has been deprived of multiple developed cities, such as Karachi, because of their shortsighted policies. Even for Karachi the development

has now become its main source of all the problems. In comparison to Karachi people of Pakistan do not have any other place to move to in the hope of a better life.

The most unfortunate finding is the fact that still governments have not learnt the lessons and the pace of expansion of Karachi has increased rather than coming under control. Expansion means more people need as labor and residents to occupy the housing projects. According to estimates, the population of Karachi will increase many folds in coming years.

The need of the time is to reassess the developmental and expansion programs in Karachi. Many cities in Pakistan need to be considered for development projects on equal footings to Karachi. Sukkur, Larkana, Hyderabad, Gawadar, Pasni, Ormara, Faisalabad, Multan, Peshawar, Mardan, Nowshera, Abbotabad etc. are such cities where industrial estates should be established to influence migration. Until multiple cities in Pakistan, equipped with same level of education, health, occupational opportunities as in Karachi, migration to Karachi cannot be stopped and controlled.

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