

Civil Society in a Heterogeneous Milieu: A Case-Study of Karachi in Historical Perspective

Meri ta'meer mein muzmir hai ek surat kharabi ki
(‘Inherent in my creation is the seed of my destruction’ – Ghalib)

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Abstract

Heterogeneity is the hall mark of Pakistan in general but its largest city Karachi in particular. Around twenty million Karachiites are profusely divided on linguistic, religious and class bases. On the other hand Karachi is also known to host a large number and variety of civil society organizations since the pre-independence period. This fact prompts the researcher to seek a theoretical relationship between the existence of heterogeneity and the size and scope of civil society in a particular region taking into consideration the case of Karachi. This is the major purpose of present paper.

In this context, the basic conceptual framework is premised on the Heterogeneity Theory as developed by Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier for the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (JHCNP) in 1996. Adapted from the classical economic theory (Weisbrod 1977) the

Heterogeneity Theory tends to reconcile the existence and role of civil society with the state and the business sectors within a heterogeneous society. The paper particularly focuses on the question whether and to what extent the existing heterogeneity has influenced the prospects for civil society in Karachi.

For the sake of clarity the paper is organized into three major sections: the first establishes the conceptual framework highlighting the definitional and theoretical perspectives of the topic; the second explores the extent of heterogeneity in Karachi while the third section investigates the influence of heterogeneity on the development and growth of civil society in the mega-city. The paper mainly adopts a qualitative and explorative methodology and is completed after a broad survey of available data and interviews with the relevant government officials, scholars and civil society personnel.

Key Words: Civil Society, Karachi, Heterogeneity, Nonprofit Sector, Social Origins, Government and Market Failure

Much has been written in the recent past on the size and heterogeneity of the largest city of Pakistan – Karachi. Most of these works are focused on the negative aspects particularly the prevalence of violence in the city. Laurent Gayer’s recent work, for instance, has tremendously elaborated the ongoing political struggle for the political ownership of the city leading it to an ‘ordered disorder’ syndrome. (Laurent Gayer, 2014) The ethno-linguistic and religious cleavages have undoubtedly divided the city into distinct localities with distinct voting patterns which at times turn into bloody battle fields for confronting groups. On the other hand the megacity is also known for harboring tremendous social capital with the largest numbers of civil society organizations in Pakistan. The connection between the degree of heterogeneity and the size and scope of civil society (or nonprofit) sector in Karachi has yet to be traced. Anderson and Paskeviciute assert that heterogeneity can have both positive and negative impacts on the civil society as reflected in the citizenship behavior ‘measured by cognitive and interpersonal engagement about politics, membership in voluntary associations and inter-personal trust’ (Anderson & Paskeviciute, 2006). The present paper attempts to define this connection in case of Karachi.

Section 1: Heterogeneity Theory – A Conceptual Framework

According to the Dictionary of Civil Society, the term refers to the set of institutions, organizations and behaviors situated between the state, the business world and the family. This would include voluntary organizations of many different kinds, philanthropic institutions, social, cultural and political movements and dimensions of the public sphere, forms of social capital, political participation and social engagement, and the values and behavioral patterns associated with them.

The heterogeneity theory explains the large size of civil society sector in countries with heterogeneous populations where diverse demands cannot be satisfied alone by the governmental efforts.

(Richard Steinberg, 2006) It views the achievements of the state, the business and the nonprofit sectors as reciprocal responses to the inherent limitations of each other. In this context the problems resulting due to the state-failure and the business-failure are addressed by the civil society or nonprofit sector which in turn exhibits its own failures and hence the cycle goes on. Burton Weisbrod in 1975 asserted that in a mixed economy where the above mentioned trichotomy exists, each sector, responds to failures of the other two sectors “to deliver the appropriate quantity or quality of services or to make those services available to appropriate constituencies”. (Richard Steinberg, 2006)

One central concept of classical economics is that of ‘public goods’ or collective consumption goods “which all enjoy in the sense that each individual's consumption of such a good leads to no subtractions from any other individual's consumption of that good...” (Samuelson) In other words, it is a commodity or a service that is provided without profit to all members of a society, either by the government or by a private individual or organization. Since the market sector is profit oriented, it is not expected to produce public goods for the consumption of all people at affordable prices. Though, presently many business organizations have philanthropic policies known as ‘corporate philanthropy’, majority and the variety of people in a country remain outside their social network. Further due to the economic recession and ever-increasing demands of ‘do more’, corporate philanthropy is towards a decline in many parts of the world. For instance, by the beginning of 21st century, the charitable contributions by US companies fell up to 14.5% while the corporate giving as the share of profits declined by 50% (Porter & Kramer, 2002). On the other hand the corporative philanthropy in Pakistan has increased during these years though the impact of international recession seems to trickle down here to a slowing of the phenomenon. This is what Weisbrod calls the ‘market failure’. This failure justifies the presence of a government, a ‘necessary evil’ in the words of the Enlightenment thinkers. The government in a democratic system enters into a social contract with the citizens wherein the latter surrender their

freedom to the former in order to get the socio- economic and political benefits from the former i.e. government. Conversely, the government is limited in its choices by the majority vote. Hence on a large part, it can produce or provide only those goods which are demanded or required by the majority of the citizens. This handicap is even more severe in case of developing countries where the available resources are scarce and the governments often have to make hard choices on public goods. “Where considerable differences of opinion exist about which public goods to produce ... it may be difficult to generate such majority support and considerable unsatisfied demand for public goods may consequently persist” (Salamon & Anheier, 1996). This often leads to a non-fulfillment of demands from some sections of the population who then feel deprived or marginalized while the majority group appears privileged. Obviously, the more heterogeneous a society is, the greater is the possibility of diverse and even conflicting demands for the public goods making it almost impossible for the government to fulfill every demand. Under such conditions of ‘government failure’, the third sector or the civil society comes up with alternative solutions. People tend to look to the civil society for the supply of those public goods which could not be provided either by the market or the government sectors.

In this context, Salamon and Anheier present a number of hypotheses to clarify the relationship between the ethnic and religious diversity and the size of civil society in a region. This paper seeks to verify the following:

1. The greater the diversity of a population, the larger the nonprofit sector.
2. The greater the level of government social welfare spending, the smaller the nonprofit sector.
3. The greater the diversity of the population, the greater the reliance of nonprofit organizations on private giving as a source of support.

4. The greater the level of religious competition, the larger the nonprofit sector.

This paper will tend to study the validity of the above hypotheses in the case of Karachi. For this purpose the next section will explore the extent of heterogeneity in the megacity.

Section 2: Karachi – The Extent of Heterogeneity

According to the World Population Review Karachi is the ‘seventh largest urban agglomeration’ in the world. While archeologists talk about the Paleolithic origins of the area, historians trace the existence of the historical towns in the vicinity of present Karachi named as Krokola (4th century BCE), Barbarikon (1st Century BCE), and later Nawa Nar, Kolachi, Morontobara (perhaps the Manora island near Karachi), Banbhore, Debal (8th century CE), Karak Bander (17th cen.), Kolachi jo Goth (18th century) and Kurrachee (19th century). (Hughes, 1874) A small Baloch fishermen’s settlement in 18th century, Karachi grew into a coastal town of 15000 people by mid-19th century. (Newcombe, 1960) The earliest inhabitants were Baloch and Sindhi tribes such as the Johkio, Mallaah and Jat etc. professing Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. The town drew settlers from various parts and denominations of South Asia. The Muslims included the Gujrati community as one of the earliest settlers in the region, further divided into Memons, Chhipa, Ghanchi, Khoja, Bohra and Tai communities. In addition, Marwari, Marathi, Konkani, Rajhastani and Malabari Muslims (mostly from Bombay (present Mumbai, India) and other Maharashtra origins) as well as Parsis (Zoroastrians), Goan Catholics and Anglo Indian communities made Karachi their abode since the 19th century.

The independence of India and Pakistan (1947) as two separate successor states of the British Raj brought the largest migration of history wherein about 14.5 million people crossed borders within a few years of which about 7.226 million Muslims entered Pakistan.

(Census Report on India and Pakistan, 1951). The bulk of migration from the Muslim minority provinces and some princely states of British India aimed at Karachi, the capital city of nascent Pakistan. The city became more heterogeneous than ever with large numbers of immigrants from United Province (UP), Central Provinces (CP), Rajasthan, Junagarh, Bombay, Berar, Madras, Mysore, Bangalore and Hyderabad Deccan. These immigrants who were later called *Mohajirs* (immigrants in Urdu), though professed Islam and mostly spoke Urdu language, were equally diverse in their cultures, lifestyles and even thought patterns as they were different from the local Sindhi and Baloch residents of Karachi. (Hasan, 2016). This wave on the one hand sky-rocketed the population of Karachi (see fig. 1), and on the other hand it has transformed the ethnic balance of the city into a highly diverse complex.

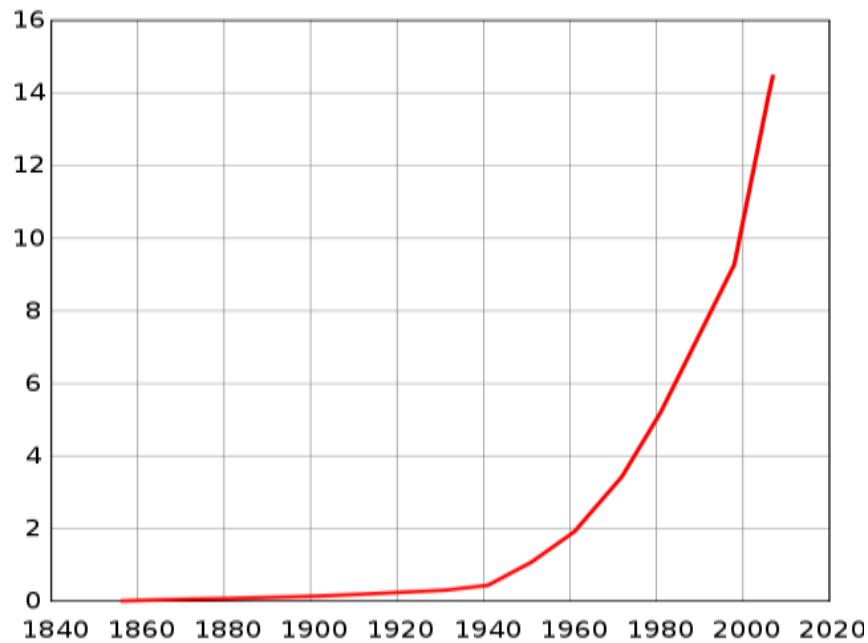


Fig. 1: The steep rise in the population of Karachi (in millions) from 1940s onwards

The euphoria of independence apparently subdued the inter-ethnic differences. While Karachi was separated from the Sind province as a Capital Territory, refugee camps emerged in the city to facilitate the gigantic influx. Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan and his wife were among the foremost in rehabilitation efforts. Many mohajirs were allocated the evacuee property left by the exodus of well-to-do Hindu families in the posh areas of Saddar, Soldier Bazar, Garden East and West etc. On the other hand new localities had to be built to rehabilitate about a million people pouring down to Karachi every year. (Census of Pakistan, Karachi, 1951, 1954) The quasi-planned localities of Liaqatabad, PIB Colony, Nazimabad, and later Korangi and Orangi emerged on the outskirts of the old city while the number of people living in the slums increased.

With the inception of One-Unit Plan in 1955 the four provinces of the western wing of Pakistan were merged to form a single unit called the West Pakistan. This accelerated the urbanization process with more people from relatively backward areas of the country coming down to Karachi for economic reasons. (Karachi Mega Cities Preparation Project, 2005) The influx of more people further confounded the confusion in the metropolis. The melting-pot now called 'a mini Pakistan' was more under pressure due to the formidable problems of settlement and employment. Further, the dismemberment of Pakistan and the separation of East Pakistan as the independent state of Bangladesh in 1971 caused another influx of immigrants this time the Biharis from Eastern wing who escaping persecution, refused to accept Bangladesh, preferred to migrate to the remaining Pakistan and seek settlement mainly in Karachi. This time some sections of the shrinking and alarmed Sindhi population raised the slogan of '*Bihari naa khappe*' (don't want Biharis). Yet Biharis had to be settled. Many settled in the suburban areas of Orangi, Shah Faisal Colony, Malir, Landhi, New and North Karachi etc. The ethnic time-bomb was all set.

With the beginning of the Afghan War in 1978-79, thousands of Afghan refugees started pouring down to Karachi. Encouraged to settle in the outskirts like Sohrab Goth, Orangi, Manghopir etc the

Afghan brought the so called Islamic jihad along with narcotics, weapons, smuggled items and crime to the hitherto liberal and peaceful city. The ethnic time-bomb started ticking. Hence, since the mid-80s worst forms of ethnic conflict emerged that mainly involved the Mohajir, Pashtun, Sindhi sections of the population now each represented by separate political parties and their militant wings with unscrupulous use of modern weapons. The city reflected the fortifications of a medieval town with gates and barricades separated the conflicting localities (See Figures 2 and 3). With the turn of the century, there was further destabilization as the ‘war on terror’ in Swat, Bajour and the South and North Waziristan Agencies displaced thousands of people, mainly Pashtun (many Afghans among them), many of whom took refuge in Karachi along with their families. With these groups, many Talibans had also settled and established their dens in the low income areas of Karachi. The sectarian and extremist groups held sway at least in some regions of the previously moderate Karachi. The floods of 2010-11 also brought many immigrants from rural Sindh and Saraiki belt of Punjab they are not likely to return to their original homes. Illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, Myanmar, etc. further complicated the demography. Hence, over the last seven decades Karachi has become not only a mini-Pakistan but a mini-South Asia. A smorgasbord which can (and does) burst into chaos anytime and a heterogeneity which cannot be controlled and taken care of solely by the public sector.

Ethnic groups in Karachi (according to 1998 census)

| | |
|---------|--------|
| Urdu | 48.52% |
| Punjabi | 13.94% |
| Pashto | 11.42% |
| Sindhi | 7.22% |

Nevertheless, the public sector has attempted to perform particularly in the way of building settlements and infrastructure to some extent. For instance, the Greater Karachi Development Plan

(GKDP – 1958) employed the Greek Planner Doxiadis to develop the localities of North Karachi and Landhi-Korangi (with about 200,000 houses) for the settlement of Mohajirs along with an Industrial area to provide them jobs. The industrial area could not develop soon and the long distances from the old commercial centers of the city repulsed the public interest in the scheme which was abandoned after the development of only 10,000 houses. (Hasan, Housing for the Poor, 2000) More or less similar was the fate of the Karachi Master Plan (1975-85) and the Karachi Development Plan (2000) and thus “the demand-supply gap in housing continued to grow” (Hasan, 2000).

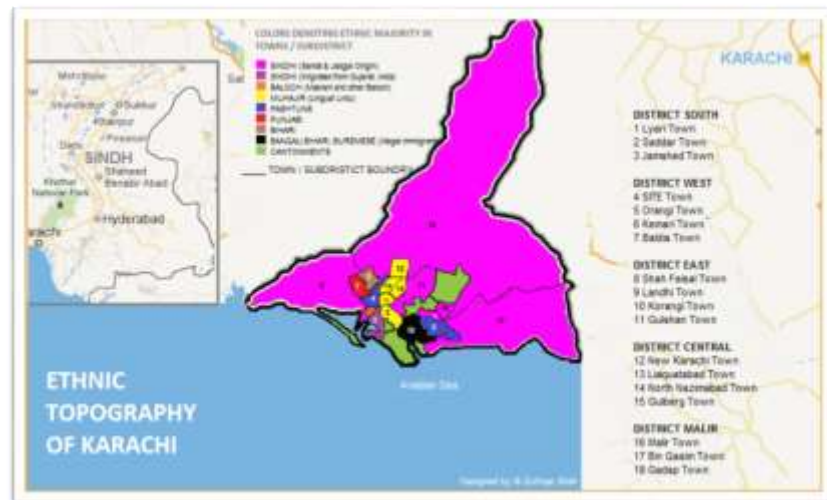


Figure2: https://shahzulf.wordpress.com/2012/10/19/political-and-ethnic-battles-turn-karachi-into-beirut-of-south-asia/1348459912441_ethnic-map-of-karachi/

Largest 10 Year Historical Growth Rates WORLD METROPOLITAN REGIONS

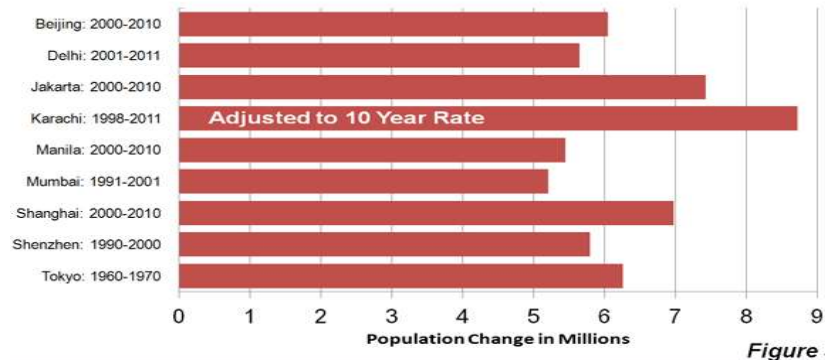


Figure 3: <http://www.newgeography.com/content/002940-pakistan-where-population-bomb-exploding>
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karachi_population.svg

Similarly, the provision of basic necessities of life to the maximum number of people also suffered due to the hydra-like expansion of the city and its heterogeneity. Education and health which were initially supposed to be the state responsibility no longer appear in its priority. The number of government-run primary, middle-level and high schools in the largest city of Pakistan is far from sufficient. Poor standards of education have further repulsed even the low income families from these schools and despite the rise in population there is a daunting drop of enrollment. For instance, the enrollment in primary schools declined from 30% in 1998 to only 9% in 2014-15. (HRCP Report on Government Schools in Karachi, 2015). This has created a kind of ‘educational apartheid’ where the basic education is denied to the less fortunate children while kids from well-to-do classes enjoy the luxury of good English-medium private education. Public Sector Health facilities show equally disappointing figures. For a city of twenty four millions, half of whom live in poverty in the slum areas (Karachi where the population bomb is exploding), there exist only 275 health facilities including 17 major hospitals, 89 devolved Sindh

Government dispensaries, 64 district council dispensaries and 44 maternity homes etc (KMC Report , 2005).

These figures only give a glimpse of the extent of public spending for the provision of basic needs of the Karachiites. Naturally a large number of the people are left outside this net. This is the point where the Heterogeneity Theory can be applied in the context of the Government-failure scenario.

Section 3: Heterogeneity-Civil Society Nexus in Karachi

The previous section highlighted the tremendous heterogeneity of Karachi population as a result of layers upon layers of immigration throughout history. Obviously the needs of the rising multitudes had to be fulfilled and the meek efforts of the succeeding governments were supported by the emerging business sector as well as the civil society. Since the British military occupation of Karachi in 1839 and the subsequent annexation of whole Sindh in 1943 the government's interest in Karachi as a potential port town and a business center enhanced. Development of Karachi Port, telegraphic and railway communications, necessary infrastructure and establishment of the Municipal Commission in 1852 attracted many entrepreneurs to the region. This led to a small but daring business class mainly from the Gujrati Muslim and Parsi families, to accept the commercial challenge in the small town. For instance, Haji Dossal and Sons; Mohamed Ali Alibhoy and Sons; Karimji and Sons; T. Corror and Co.; Edulji Dinshaw and Sons, Hormusji Rustomji and many others (Katrak, 2007). The establishment of Karachi Chamber of Commerce in 1860 further boosted the urbanization and the rise of a strong business class. Education, health, religious service and cultural activities were the requirements of the well-off whereas the poor fishermen and the labor class of the city remained on the fringes and backward lacking the basic needs. In the backdrop of the new legislations for the registration of religious and charitable endowments, trusts and

welfare, educational and socio-cultural organizations, the emergence of a vibrant civil society sector was the answer.

19th and early 20th Centuries – Emergence of Modern Civil Society in Karachi:

Apart from the individual philanthropists, the religious organizations come to the forefront to cater to the diverse needs of Karachiites. The establishment of first Parsi Temple (1849) opened new trends of religious philanthropy in the city. In 1859 Karachi Parsi Balak Shala (children's school was opened) which later became the famous BVS Parsi Boys School. Later the girls' section of the school was separated as the present Mama Parsi Girls School. The basic aim of the school was to impart Zoroastrian and Gujrati education to the Parsi children but after 1947 on the personal request of the founder of Pakistan, it was opened to non-Parsi children. In addition many homes for the poor and widows, charitable dispensaries, dharmshalas (sanctuaries for religious pilgrims), maternity homes, sports centers and youth clubs such as the Young Man's Zoroastrian Association (1910). The renowned Sind Arts College was established by Eduljee Dinshaw, H. J. Rusomji and J. H. Kothari. The tradition was continued with the establishment of Nadirshaw Edulji Dinshaw (NED) Engineering College which later was developed into a University named after its chief donor and benefactor. In 1888 a fund was established to support Iranian Zoroastrian refugees in Karachi. Lady Dufferin Hospital was established with major support of Sir Dinshaw in 1894. In early 20th century another philanthropist Dastur M.N. Dhalla started a religious and spiritual educational program for Parsees in Karachi while many affluent Parsis contributed to the development of housing and healthcare centers. The Bomanshaw Minocher Homji Medical Association famous as the Parsi General Hospital (1935), Ophthalmologist Dr. Kaikshrow Spencer's Spencer Eye Hospital (1940), the Parsi Gymkhana and the Banu Mandal (women's association) all show

the vibrant social service interest of the Parsi community which definitely exceeds their diminishing numbers in the city.

Similarly, the Christian community also contributed to the welfare and socio-cultural endeavors in the city. With the establishment of early churches such as St. Patrick's Cathedral (1845) and St. Andrew's Church (1868), the proselytizing as well as social welfare activities commenced.

Education and Health remained the highest priorities. The first Chaplain of Karachi (Anglican) founded the famous Anglo-Indian School (1847) later known as the famous Karachi Grammar. St. Patrick's High School (1861) and St. Joseph's Convent School (1862), Lady Dufferin Hospital (1894), the Holy Family Hospital and Nursing School (1948), and scores of dispensaries, orphanages and asylums had been run by one or the other church in Karachi. The Goan Catholics were among the early settlers of Karachi. Their contributions are numerous. Denso Hall was the first library to be constructed (1886) for natives of Karachi during the British era. Goa-Portuguese Association (1886) undertook health and charity work for poor Karachiites.

Hindu trader class was equally prosperous in Karachi by mid-19th century. The Seths promoted charity and many donated considerable amounts to social welfare initiatives. Many Hindu philanthropists and social activists played a large part in the development of Education and Health projects. The famous D.J. Sind Science College established by Dyaram Jethmal, for which many Hindus donated full month's salaries. Dyaram Giddumal, the district Session Judge established among many other organizations, the Mitharam Hospital in Karachi. Brahmo Samaj modernist movement initiated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal reached Karachi and its major proponents here were brothers Nol Rai and Hiranand. Their services include establishment of the first model school called N.H. School and a Brahmo Samaj Mandir (temple) and a hospital for lepers in Karachi. Meanwhile the Hindu

Gymkhana (1925) catered to promote socio-cultural activities among the Hindu upper classes in Karachi.

The Muslim community of Karachi was not far behind. Inspired by the Aligarh Movement, the long awaited renaissance finally arrived with a modern approach to voluntarism. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's mission in Karachi was carried out by leaders and philanthropists such as Hassan Ali Effendi who established the Sindh Madrassatul Islam in 1885. Among other Sindhi philanthropists are Abdullah Haroon; among other Muslims Memons have been great philanthropists in Karachi. They contributed generously particularly to the construction of mosques, orphanages and healthcare centers.

Post Partition Period: Civil Society with a new cause:

The new state of Pakistan facing the grave challenges of the largest migration in world history was looking for a partner to provide public goods to the incoming multitudes mostly destined to Karachi. As the renowned social worker Shireen Rehmatullah reports, "Refugees were pouring into Karachi at the estimated rate of 3000 per month, which in four years had swelled its population from 300,000 in 1947, to 1,300,000 by 1951. The ubiquitous growth of squatter settlements all over the refugee colonies created an ugly spectacle as the civic services meant for a population of 300,000 could not cope with the uncontrollable growth ten times its size." (Rehmatullah, 2002) At that moment civil society came up to rescue the government by its concerted efforts. The nonprofit organizations, though few and far between, already trained to some extent in the fields of education, healthcare and relief work willingly came out to share this responsibility with the state. Many well to do families, religious organizations and the traditional associations like village and mohalla (neighborhood) committees were involved in philanthropy and social work. The collective efforts undertaken by the civil society sector worked well despite the low number of voluntary organizations. There were only 156 voluntary organizations in all country out of which 100 were in

East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) (Pakistan, 1990). The main identified tasks were refugee rehabilitation, poverty alleviation, education, healthcare, relief for workers and peasants, population control and betterment of womenfolk as discussed ahead. It must also be noticed that at that early stage of the state's political organization, the distinction between welfare or service oriented and advocacy or rights oriented organizations was barely discernible. The euphoria of independence blurred the differences of opinion particularly between the modern and the traditional, the right and the left. Though these differences did exist and soon made their appearance, the cooperation seen was fundamentally to share the burden of nascent state and all initiatives were welcomed. In Karachi the situation was further aggravated by the exodus of Hindu families in the wake of the Partition. But the responsibility of rehabilitation was well taken by the remaining Karachiites. While the Government of Pakistan took several years to mobilize in this direction, sporadic relief work had already been started by the Muslim, Hindu, Christian and Parsi philanthropists and nonprofit organizations. It was only in 1951, when, realizing the grave issues of mass migration, as well as the problems posed by it, Dr. A. M Malik, the then Minister for Health, Labor and Works, requested the United Nations to send twenty seven experts to help the Government cope with the issue while the project only commenced in 1953. (Rehmatullah, 2002). According to Ms Gool Minwala (Ms. Minwala's personal interview with the researcher in 2002), Jamshed Nusravanji Mehta (the Parsi (Zoroastrian) President of Karachi Municipality since 1920), was already involved in extensive development and welfare work in Karachi, hence he readily accepted the post-partition responsibilities. In 1949, Karachi Social Work Group was initiated under his presidency. The quick construction of Jamshed Quarters (named after him) and some other new colonies were built to house the refugees. Many Muslims and others joined these efforts. Caste and creed became irrelevant. Various communities including Parsi, Hindu, Christian and among Muslims, Ismaili, Gujrati, Memon,

etc. also formed charities, dispensaries, hospitals and schools for the poor.

Similarly, Miss Fatima Jinnah's Muslim Women's Association (MWA), and Rana Liaqat's Women's Volunteer Service (WVS), were established to help the refugees. Calling upon the women of Pakistan to serve the nation Rana declared that "this is not the time for forty million women of Pakistan to sit quietly in their homes. They have to come out... to learn to work and then to teach others to do so." The WVS initiated endless efforts to supply food, medicine, and other services to the refugees. It also established an Employment Exchange Bureau, a Widow Home, a Marriage Bureau, a Lost and Found Bureau, and an Abducted Women's Home (About 60,000 women were said to be abducted during the partition upheavals) (Miles, 1963) The same year, Rana laid the foundation of All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) in order to continue this work on permanent and long term basis. "APWA proved to be a highly successful, popular and effective umbrella organization from which a number of sub-organizations sprang and serve till today in all parts of the country" (Iqbal, Khan, & Javed, 2004). Many other educated and devoted ladies were working in parallel with the above initiatives.

Pakistan Cottage Industry Association was established in 1948 to teach and help poor artisans to earn a living. Rana Liaqat Craftsman Colony was established to provide a good healthy living and working environment to the poor handicraft workers in Karachi. An Employment Exchange Bureau was established to provide suitable jobs. For women, Gul-e-Rana Nusrat Industrial Home was established in Karachi and similar institutes were opened in other cities where poor unskilled women learned various skills and vocations to earn money. Rana Liaqat was the main inspiration behind most of these efforts and the Prime Minister's House in Karachi became a center of social welfare activities (Miles, 1963). During the same period a number of industrial homes and free technical training institutes were established by

individual philanthropists and nonprofit organizations to assist the state in its welfare mission.

Government not having the capacity to deal with the challenge had to co-opt with the private philanthropy. The voluntary sector willingly filled this vacuum. Individual philanthropists were in the vanguard. Various communities including Parsi, Hindu, Christian and among Muslims, Ismaili, Gujrati, Memon, etc. also formed charities, dispensaries, hospitals and schools for the poor.

The education field offered a wide opportunity to the private sector. Many Christian, Parsi Hindu and Muslim reformist organizations were already in the field. Lately, the spread of Deobandi School had also its impact and like other parts of the country, Karachi also received its share when Jamia Ulum e Islamia was established by Allama Yusuf Binori in 1954. It must be noted that from the beginning education was accepted as a state responsibility but the pressing problems never let the state to perform this task with efficiency. Whereas a clear elite-mass divide existed even in the nonprofit schools. The Christian Mission Schools and Convents attracted the elite of the country. While Aligarh model institutions catered to the needs of the emerging middle classes. Unfortunately, the religious *Madrassahs* were left for the down-trodden and conservative sections of the society who either abhorred modern education as un-Islamic or could not afford it due to poverty. Objectively speaking, it was still a considerable service to at least 15% of the poor masses (Ahmed, 1997), particularly of rural origin who were at least being made literate apart from acquiring religious education, and gaining essential qualifications for employment as *pesh-imams* (prayer leaders). However, these *madrassahs* followed the '*Dars-e-Nizami*' (Ali, 1996), the curriculum prescribed by the Deoband stalwarts in 19th century, with little or no emphasis on the modern thought and sciences. This division, despite the euphoria and patriotism of the early days, created a dangerous dichotomy across the society not only between the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural, but

also between the liberal and the conservative, the enlightened and the obscurantist. The seeds of the conflict were laid which bore fruit by the turn of the century.

In health sector many new organizations were initiated. Muslim Women's Association, APWA, Pakistan Red Cross Society, Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, Ida Rieu Poor Welfare Association for the Blind and the Deaf, Karachi, YMCA and YWCA and numerous charitable endowments and trusts established by Muslim, Hindu, Christian and Parsi philanthropists, immediately started working in this sector mostly with the guidance of government's medical social workers. (Researcher's interview with Ms. Shirin Rehmatullah in March 2002). Thus, with the assistance and support of public sector, voluntary sector organizations were established and their staff was trained. Also, Tuberculosis Patients Welfare Associations established in 1954-55 in Karachi and Dhaka, for the rehabilitation of TB patients. Society for the Rehabilitation of Crippled Children was formed in 1955 at Karachi. Meanwhile the Poor Patients Welfare Association was established in Karachi with the support of Pakistan Medical Association. Pakistan Diabetic Association initiated in Dhaka later opened its branch in Karachi. In addition the existing civil society organizations were also mobilized to help the efforts in healthcare. Pakistan Red Cross Society, Rotary Club, Lions Club, Civil Defense Organization, etc. readily started supply of free medicines, blankets, clothes and equipment for paramedical staff, physiotherapists, surgeons, midwives, etc. (Rehmatullah, 2002)

Some international organizations as well as others formed by foreigners in Pakistan also filled in the gap. For instance, Cooperation of American Relief Everywhere (CARE) was actively working for the refugee relief and health care, while American Women's Club in Karachi performed tremendous service in fund-raising and relief work. "Many of them (American women), volunteered their services in the rehabilitation center for the disabled children. Some of them prepared milk from the milk

powder in their washing machines, and took it with them to feed the children in areas where TB was most prevalent." (Rehmatullah, 2002) Another unique but most needed service was started by an order of Catholic Nuns, Daughters of the Heart of Marry, who responding to an appeal from the Arch Bishop of Karachi in 1956 evolved a Leprosy Aid Program. In the post-independence years, a large number of leprosy patients were living in sub-human conditions in a Karachi slum. Overflowing gutters, stinking drains, and countless rats feasting on the limbs of the senseless lepers could not deter these selfless sisters from their service which eventually led to the foundation of Marie Adelaide Leprosy Center, under the leadership of Ruth Pfao, the dedicated German doctor associated with the Christian nonprofit, Daughters of the Heart of Marry. The Center not only provided pathological aid and medicines to the patients, but also helped in their rehabilitation through a number of projects.

By 1947-48 most of the pre-partition trade unions were virtually dead because of the exodus of many Hindu trade unionists to India. After independence, West Pakistan Labor Federation was established with its headquarters at Karachi. The Federation strengthened and united small unions eventually in the form of Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF) in 1948 but soon, due to internal cleavages, it disintegrated into a larger United Trade Union Federation, and a smaller All Pakistan Labor Confederation. Meanwhile, many localized unions like those of primary school teachers, post offices and bank employees, tram drivers, textile workers etc, emerged and carried on the progressive agenda according to their own perceptions, celebrating annual May Day, organizing meetings, rallies, walks, demonstrations and disseminating material (Sadiq, 1989).

In the same manner, the student unions were also dealt with. A wing of the Muslim League viz., Muslim Student Federation (MSF) had been in the fore front of the freedom movement. Democratic Students Federation (DSF) which challenged the MSF

in education institutions and led a protest movement in 1953 against government and bureaucracy's corruption and misuse of power and demanded for better educational facilities and job guarantees

A number of women's organizations had started working not only for the relief but also for the much needed empowerment through social reform. For instance, All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) starting with basic health, education and relief services soon extended its activities to social welfare, human rights, status of women, and training for citizenship. Rana Liaqat founded the much criticized Pakistan Women's National Guards (PWNG) and Pakistan Women's Naval Reserves (PWNR). Through endless debates, protests and demonstrations, this struggle bore fruit with the enactment of two important legislations: First, the recognition of women's right to inherit property (including agricultural property) and equality of status, opportunity and remuneration (The West Punjab Muslim Personal Law (shariat) Application Act (IX of 1948) and 'Muslim Personal Law (Sindh) Amendment Act, 1950); and second, acceptance of 3% quota for women in legislatures. Meanwhile, the first constitution of Pakistan was in the making and the APWA was actively advocating for women's rights and liberties. As early as 1955, APWA started a campaign against the system of polygamy and easy divorce by men resulting in the Pakistan Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act, (1962). Acquisition of economic and social freedom was considered a direct challenge to the long established traditions and membership of these organizations remained limited due to family and societal pressures.

Civil Society under the Martial Law:

The imposition of martial rule (1958) brought to light some new questions regarding the role of civil society in general and nonprofit sector in particular: the question of a suitable modus

operandi to deal with a totally unrepresentative, highly centralized government; the question of affiliations with now defunct political parties; the question of fundamental human rights; and the question of keeping the public aware of their situation in the absence of a free media.

Under these conditions the major beneficiary within the nonprofit sector that managed to find ample space for its activities, was a group of urban welfare and service oriented organizations. In addition a number of newly registered organizations under the Voluntary Social Welfare Agencies Ordinance (1961) also received encouragement and substantial Grants-in-Aid. Some of such welfare organizations which were registered and patronized through the West Pakistan Council for Social Work, like the West Pakistan Society for the Welfare of the Crippled, Recreation Association for West Pakistan, Children's Home, Al Shifa Trust (1967) for the relief and rehabilitation of polio victims etc. (Abbas, 1969)

Meanwhile the service oriented women's organizations formed in the first decade continued to serve their particular target groups. APWA slowly expanded its welfare and educational activities including the APWA College for Women in Karachi. Begum S.A. Hafeez established the Sir Syed College for Women in Karachi.

The enthusiasm to educate the newly independent nation was still alive and along with the old ones new institutions and societies worked for this cause. Though many of these can be counted as faith-based organizations carrying Islamic nomenclature like '*millet*' (the Islamic nation), *Islamia* etc, and many concentrated on promoting Islamic values and education, there was a clear orientation towards modern education in at least some of such organizations. For instance *AlMarkaz-e-Islami Karachi*, which had established more than forty sub-organizations all over the world, particularly one of its sub-organization *Jamia Aleemia Karachi* (estb. 1958), catered for the Islamic and modern and vocational

education of its students. Its curriculum included Arabic and English learning and seminars, conferences and discussions were a regular part of it. Some of the guest speakers in those seminars included personalities like Justice Qadeeruddin, A.K. Brohi, I. H. Qureshi etc (Shahjahanpuri & Siddiqui, 1975)

Some Muslim ethnic communities like Memons, Gujratis, Bohris, Ismailis, Punjabis, and Kashmiris etc. also took substantial interest in social welfare. Services of many community based organizations like Ayesha Bawani Academy Waqf Karachi (1957-58), Rangoonwala Foundation (1967), Kathiawari and Memon Associations, Punjabi Sodagaran (Traders) Association etc for the welfare and relief of distressed people are also worth mentioning. The role played by the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF, 1967), in the promotion of education, health care and community development first in Karachi and later in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, The end of military rule led to a new rise in the number and activities of student organizations though marked with a higher level of politicization than ever before. All parties of right, left and center orientation had their student wings in the education institutions of the country. In addition to the old NSF, MSF, and IJT, the new People's Student Federation (PSF, established in 1972 by the ruling People's Party), and Anjuman-e-Talaba-e-Islam ATI of Jamiat-e-Ulama-Pakistan), along with many provincial and ethnic groups like the *Jiye Sind* Student Federation (JSSF), *Mahajir* Student Organization (MSO) representing the Urdu-speaking students), the Baluch Student Organization (BSO), the Pakhtun Student Federation (PkSF) etc, sprang up to claim much following among the educated youth. Yet, the differences between the progressive and the religious and rightist fronts remained unresolved.

In the wake of dismemberment of Pakistan hundreds of thousands of bihari immigrants from Bangladesh (previous East Pakistan) came to Karachi. Most of them settled in squatter settlements in satellite areas of the city. The Orangi Town, perhaps the largest slum of the world with about 2.5 million inhabitants became one

available abode for the incoming biharis. The swelling numbers magnified the problems of the slum and some small scale NGOs appeared to cater to the needs of the locality. On the other hand another shanty area, Lyari was also gaining importance as the abode of non-Urdu speaking populations including Baluch, Sindhi, Katchi Memons etc. A number of voluntary associations including child and youth welfare organizations, sports clubs particularly boxing and football associations, and health care units. In both the cases the government failure was painfully vivid and the civil society organizations particularly organized by local ethnic groups tried to help though with limited impact.

Civil Society under Zia ul Haq and later period

In the wake of the Afghan war and the incoming western aid and despite the military dictatorship of Zia, civil society in Pakistan witnessed tremendous growth. Hence, in Pakistan, all fields of nonprofit activity ranging from charitable endowments, individual philanthropy, religious and secular welfare services, and development oriented initiatives, to the human rights activism flourished in an unprecedented manner though for diverse reasons. Paradoxically, some organizations grew as a result of the state's patronage while others emerged and flourished simply in reaction to the state's policies. Moreover, the multi-ethnic configuration of cities and failure of the state to deliver justly and equitably to all sections of the population led to a proliferation of organizations catering to the needs of particular communities and localities. Memons and Ismailies were already in the field. Many new comers like Delhi Sodagaran (traders), Jaipur and Jodhpur Welfare Associations, Sindhiani Tehrik.

All over the country, localized welfare associations emerged in big and small districts. The aims of these organizations varied from promotion of literacy to provision of healthcare services, maternity homes and income generation for the poor etc. In urban areas, community or caste-based organizations (CBOs) emerged mostly

in slums and *mohallas* (urban localities). The failure of public sector as well as the municipal system (Jalal, 1995), led the communities to evolve their own pressure groups and self-help initiatives. Many groups came together to settle issues of land claims and settlement rights, others worked for provision of drinking water, sewage, health and education facilities and so on. Many such organizations in the process of time and experience developed a degree of militancy. Some were organized on ethnic bases. For example, the Mohajirs (Urdu-speaking immigrants from Indian provinces) perceived themselves as deprived, organized well-coordinated social service and student groups representing their large community in Karachi. Hence the Khidmat-e-Khalq Committee and All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization (APMSO) were established in 1978 approximately seven years before the foundation of Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) in 1985.

Slums in Orangi, Lyari, Manghopir, Malir and Korangi now became the abodes of new waves of immigrants particularly the Afghans displaced from the Afghan war. Heterogeneity came to its peak in Karachi. Orangi Pilot Project established by the renowned Akhtar Hameed Khan became a non-ethnic initiative following the organizational model for community development. The local residents were involved in community organizations to solve their own issues organizing for low-cost sanitation, health, housing and micro-finance facilities. The project works through three major organizations, OPP- RTI (Research and Training Institute) manages the program and provide training for onward dissemination. OPP- CHT (Orangi Charitable Trust) manages microcredit programs and OPP-KHASDA (Karachi Health and Social Development Association) works for health program.

The sectarian divide also rose in intensity during the Zia period. Many Shia, Sunni, Ismaili, Deobandi, Barelvi and Salafi organizations mushroomed; among many of which were purely

welfare and service oriented but a substantial number developed assertive and exclusivism in the eighties and the nineties.

It must be noted that all governments of Pakistan, right or left of the center have shown a tendency to accentuate the welfare role of the Pakistani state and tried to include considerable allocations on the welfare projects in their planning. However, due to various impediments such as poor governance, corruption, inflation, energy crisis and controversial policies, law and order problems, political tensions and terrorism it was never possible to accomplish those plans successfully. Pakistan's failure in public sector investment in social welfare has often been complained by the World Bank and IMF. (Watkins, 1995) Despite rhetoric, various governments of Pakistan have invested least in the education, health and other welfare fields thus resulting in world's worst indicators in these areas. Further, the already minimal allocations either go waste due to the above mentioned leakages or are often sacrificed on the pretext of some internal or external emergency such as natural or man-made disasters, a war, an economic urgency or an international crisis like 9/11. For instance, the post 9/11 years saw a visible decline in education spending from 2.3 to 1.7 percent of the GDP (Asghar, Azim, & Rehman, 2011). Similarly, the state-sponsored social security provisions also show pathetic results. In such cases of state failure and business failure, the civil society sector has to some extent ameliorated the demands for public goods particularly those of marginalized groups. Nevertheless, the civil society in Pakistan also shows signs of failure in many respects. The three failures are summarized in the conclusive section below.

Towards Conclusion:

In case of Pakistan, it becomes obvious from the available data that all the three failures mentioned above can be identified as discussed below:

1. The market failure:

It must be noted that after 65 years of its independence, Pakistan still does not have a viable economy. Shifts in economic orientation and paradigms over decades from blatant capitalism to ambitious socialism have affected the business sector by the sweeping policy changes. For instance, thanks to the close links of the government with the western capitalist block, and inspiration (actually dictation) from the recommendations of the Harvard group of economists, during the Ayub's 'decade (1958-68) of development' extra-ordinary state favors and incentives to a number of business families and a substantial investment in Karachi being the hub of commercial activity, led to a semblance of a thriving business sector. With an astonishing annual GDP growth rate of about 6-7% it seems that the country was rapidly moving towards a strong economic status among the community of nations. Four years later after its catastrophic dismemberment the country embarked upon so-called Islamic Socialist drive of Bhutto era (1974-77) characterized by wide ranging nationalizations. Karachi's business class suffered in turn. Yet, by 1980s another U-turn took the country back to the capitalist path but now with a so-called 'Islamic' tilt. Once again exponential growth rates gave the myth of development under which the business class flourished. 1990s and subsequent decade gave a neo-liberal tangent to the economic policy which continues up to date.

Ironically and contrary to the proclamations of the business sector, neither the 1960s' nor the 80s' economic growth resulted in a substantial human development in the city, though the high growth rates were more due to blind support from the West and starkly unequal development policies adopted by the military regimes. (Bengali, 2008) The incidence of poverty remained high and many regions faced severe shortages of basic necessities of life. Hence we can say that during the major part of the history of Pakistan and its most heterogeneous city Karachi in particular, a severe failure of the market or for-profit sector was evident.

This 'market failure' in Karachi is also due to several other 'inefficiencies': As the country still is more or less in a pre-industrial age, often the tribal and feudal elite comprise strong vested interests affecting the economic and political policies. Regardless of the variety of mobile phones in people's hands, the real fruits of industrialization are still far from the common people. Technological backwardness has retarded the growth process and a marked productive inefficiency is visible. This gap is often filled by the over dependence on imports. Moreover, there is also an 'allocative' inefficiency (Steinberg, 2006) due to the often faulty allocation of scarce resources on the production and import of luxury items rather than basic necessities of life which become increasingly dearer and out of reach of common people. Hence some important 'collective goods' remain unavailable to at least a section of the poorest population who are thus 'excluded' from the access of those goods and services.

Thus a substantial 'market failure' has existed which eventually left the gap to be filled by the government and the civil-society sectors.

2. The government failure:

However, the governments due to flawed economic policies, lack of resources and pressing problems within and outside the borders of the state often failed to fill this gap. A government is supposed to either provide for the basic necessities of life to the people or to contract private nonprofit agencies to do that on its behalf. Further, it is expected to provide a conducive environment with the development of basic infra-structure, law and order, general and social security and recreational facilities etc. for the smooth running of the business and the nonprofit sectors. Unfortunately, the consecutive governments of Pakistan, despite their claims to establish a welfare state, have failed to play this role in Karachi.

Some major causes of government failure here are:

- Over-expenditure on defense in the backdrop of national security paradigm enforced since the beginning by convincing the people that guns (or the nukes) are more essential for them than bread;
- Prevailing corruption, and lack of transparency in official procedures;
- Since the 80s the crises in Afghanistan had a devastating spill-over effect on Karachi. Hence deteriorating law and order, weaponization of the society and high crime-rate etc., which are themselves a sign of government's failure in establishing the rule of law;
- Limited tax base -No government in the country has ever succeeded in bringing a major part of the taxable population within the national tax net. Privilege and evasion both play a part in this failure. Karachi is the largest revenue generating city in Pakistan yet since 1990s there have been extensive drops and suspensions in funds allocations from the federal as well as provincial government for the development projects in Karachi due to which the common man's frustration increases while government's promises of social uplift remains unfulfilled.
- The failure of government to regulate the business or for-profit sector. Apart from the controversial nationalizations of 1970' Bhutto regime, all the governments of Pakistan tended to follow pro-market policies. However, rather more due to their own weaknesses than ideology, no government was able to check the irregularities and insidious profiteering of the business sector. As observed even in the western democratic societies that
"Government is impotent precisely when contract failure is at its worst. This problem affects government regulation of for-profit sales of goods and services to the public and also affects sales to the government, as when government contracts with for-profits to provide social services."

- Vested interests- Governments' economic and social policies are often influenced by strong concerns inside and outside the state who are either interested in retaining the status-quo or to propel changes for the sake of their petty interests.
- Last but not the least, heterogeneity. Diversity of opinions leads to unsatisfied demand for collective goods by both the 'high demanders' (those who would like to see the largest quantity or highest quality) as well as the marginalized sections (those who face a perennial deprivation due to either insufficient allocations or misappropriations). Hence a marked sense of deprivation exists in various regions of Karachi particularly Lyari, Orangi, Surjani, Khuda ki Basti and New Karachi

Consequently, the market failure could not be compensated by the state and hence the notion of 'government failure' or the twin failure of the market and the government is valid here.

3. The Civil Society's response:

This is the point of entry of the nonprofit or the voluntary sector. The CSOs tend to provide the collective goods and services which could not be satisfactorily provided either by the market or the government. Both 'high demanders' and the marginalized sections look towards the NPS for the fulfillment of their demands. Nonprofits because of their not-for-profit nature command a greater degree of trust thus receive ample philanthropic donations and since 1980s more governmental and international support.

Nevertheless, there are ample reasons to believe that in a particular setting, nonprofits may also fail to deliver the collective goods and services according to the expectations. Salamon has listed four common sources of nonprofit failure:

- Philanthropic insufficiency- i.e. lack of donations/ funds hence failure to deliver;
- Philanthropic particularism- i.e. focus of many CSOs on particular issues, fields, regions, ethnic or sectarian groups and

even ideologies at times which may lead to either duplication of services or gaps in them;

- Philanthropic paternalism- i.e. insistence of some CSOs on their own perceptions of problems and their solution rather than showing respect to the those of the target groups;
- Philanthropic amateurism- i.e. tendency to rely less on credentialed workers which may affect efficiency.

The western theorists have mentioned a number of possible causes of these shortcomings which might hamper the working of a nonprofit. However, particular to the Karachi setting, some observations are useful:

First, 'giving' is always a socially and religiously sanctioned idea and often the nonprofits find no dearth of local philanthropists provided they could establish a certain degree of trust. For instance organizations like Edhi Foundation which command so much respect and trust that donors are often seen standing in queues to make their contributions particularly in times of calamities.

Second, the general economic conditions and particularly the recession, unemployment, and price-hike have eroded the 'giving capacity' of the middle classes though they continue to donate in the form of *zakat*, *khairat* and *sadqat* as religious obligations. However, the exclusive beneficiaries of these donations are the welfare and service delivery CSOs either religious or secular.

Third, almost all major political parties in Karachi have their philanthropic wings which receive frequent donations from their voters.

Fourth, ethnic and religious heterogeneity has actually enlarged the philanthropic support base for respective community or caste or faith-based organizations.

Yet a degree of philanthropic insufficiency does exist because of the following reasons:

- Increasing incidence of poverty, unemployment and general deprivation in the society particularly in specific areas. Hence

greater the level of human deprivation, lesser the capacity to ameliorate it and hence larger donations are needed.

- Since 1980s the rising insecurity has brought more families down to the minimal subsistence levels. Ethnic and sectarian violence, targeted killings, abductions, and since the 9/11, the terrorist attacks often wreak havoc to families.
- Heterogeneity also divides the philanthropic endeavors and creates competition among the nonprofits for available donations.
- Sometimes it is argued that the philanthropic sufficiency of a CSO may and does lead to a withdrawal of support from the government.
- The most important asset of civil society organizations is the trust it generates due to non-distribution of profits. However, the civil society, despite its tremendous services has suffered from a serious trust deficit. Lack of transparency and embezzlement of grants and donor's funds by some new CSOs have been complained by some government officials while the advocacy and rights NPOs have often been blamed as 'anti-state'.
- Due to a number of reasons the civil society seems to fail to reach out to the majority of the poorest or the marginalized people. In Pakistan most of the nonprofits are concentrated in the urban areas, particularly in Karachi city while the poorest of the poor living in the suburbs are often ignored.

Hence it is clear that the heterogeneity theory is applicable to Karachi. As no single sector i.e. the market, the government or the civil society is without inherent shortcomings and hence failures, none of these can claim to be a substitute of the other. Accordingly, the notion that the civil society sector is or can be a substitute of the state is faulty. Similarly the argument of some scholars like Akbar Zaidi, for "going back to the state" also does not seem to be pragmatic in the backdrop of the failures of the state itself.

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