SSS LISBON | Proceedings of the 11th Space Syntax Symposium

#147

THE SUM OF THE PARTS IS GREATER THAN THE WHOLE:

Multi-scalar socio-spatial definitions of identity in Karachi's *Muhajir* majority areas.

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ABSTRACT

Notions of identity and community like space consist of varying scales of definition and interaction ranging from concepts of nationhood and nationality through to local solidarities and affiliations of religion, trade, caste etc. Space Syntax research suggests that most people belong to communities that are both spatial and transpatial in nature where inhabitants of an area are bound not only to the people and spaces they physically inhabit but are simultaneously part of a larger transpatial community independent of the immediate physical context. In the context of Karachi's *Muhajir* community, an ethno-political entity that has evolved through spatio-political constraints applied to an amalgam of assorted post-Partition urban minority groups, these socio-spatial variations in definition of identity can be studied across the changing scale of the city. Using space syntax methodologies, this paper examines the spatial definitions of identity, i.e. how affiliations and solidarities vary across the changing scales of the city and, how the use and positioning of communal tools of identification organize and articulate spatial clusters.

This study used a range of sources to map religious and political institutions as well as on-site documentation of political propaganda and related the location of these features to space syntax models of the city and four case study settlements. The intention was to analyse the accessibility and clustering of various communal spaces, how spatial configuration defines the social role communal spaces play within the community and how they may define the spatial limits of sub-clusters and internal social hierarchies of the community.

This multi-scalar analysis will show that not only does the nature of the *muhajir* cluster change across the various scales of the city, the nature and scale of the interface between the community and the city changes too. At the city scale communal institutions articulate broad residential clusters often synonymous with political territories, indicative of spaces of dispute, at the scale of the settlement, the configuration of communal spaces describes and dictates the manner in which these communities interact, organize and define themselves internally. Identity is therefore multi-scalar; a group may present as one ethno-political entity at the scale of the city, it may simultaneously exist as multiple ethno-religious groups at the scale of the settlement. Whilst neither definition negates the other, analysis shows that broad political definitions hide richer, more nuanced definitions of identity that persist at the scale of the settlement.

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KEYWORDS

Communal institutions, Spatial Clusters, Identity, *Muhajir*, Multi-scalar.

1. INTRODUCTION

Karachi today is one of many post-colonial megacities dealing with populations that are ethnically and politically diverse and not necessarily native to the city. As migrant populations outnumber the native populace issues of belonging, ownership and control of space, infrastructure and political capital become key points in the power politics and development of a city. As Simone states 'For territory is the creation of space as a locus through which authority is exercised, an arena of command' (Simone, 2013, p.274) hence it is through space that both identity and power are manifest.

In cities like Karachi, Jakarta, and Mumbai, major economic hubs in developing countries that attract considerable domestic in-migration, the urban middle class is comprised of a diverse array of communities. It is from this heterogeneous 'in-between' of varying occupations, incomes, religious affiliations and histories that often a lowest common denominator is sought out, highlighted and exploited thereby formulating a political majority (Simone and Rao, 2011). So whilst in urban environments socially similar communities often cluster in close proximity, distant commonalities are drawn upon to sculpt new, broader, often more powerful identities.

This manner of viewing and building affiliations and solidarities in many post-colonial megacities suggests that identity is multi-scalar where notions of identity and community relate to the local/neighbourhood scale, social networks tied to and the product of the immediate spatial environment, as well as having a *transpatial* element, whereby social affiliations "overcome spatial separation" (Hanson and Hillier, 1987. p.264). This particular paper tracks these shifting ethno-political definitions of identity and space through the *Muhajir* community in Karachi, Pakistan. It suggests that whilst broad ethno-political definitions serve a purpose at both city and national scales, the story told at the scale of the settlement is one that reflects the far more nuanced and persistent patchwork like nature of ethno-religious affiliations in the city.

The *Muhajir* community of Karachi is in essence an amalgam of smaller ethno-religious communities that migrated from various Northern Indian cities to Karachi shortly after the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947. For the purposes of paperwork regarding registration and rehabilitation, these refugees/migrants were all categorised as *Muhajir* – the Urdu term for *refugee* – a label that spoke of how they were perceived by the State as opposed to who they were and where they had come from. Subsequent state-sponsored settlement and rehabilitation projects ensured that many of these new refugee communities were housed together in peripheral areas of the city and infill and vacant sites in inner city areas (Hasan, 1999). As ethnic and religious affiliations coloured national politics, the various elements of the *Muhajir* community felt disenfranchised and marginalised resulting in political mobilisation and the eventual emergence of the *Muttahaida Quami Movement* (MQM) as the dominant political voice of the *Muhajir* community.

This process of migration, settlement, marginalisation and eventual political mobilisation is not by any means unique to the *Muhajir* community, in fact Vertovec argues that the establishment of the Indian community in the Caribbean went through a similar four phase process of "social and cultural development", these were; (i) migration and settlement, (ii) the establishment of ethnic/religious institutions, (iii) the crystallisation of their aspirations in party politics and finally, (iv) after a period of decline, the identity went through a phase of rejuvenation (Vertovec, 1995). Similarly Coakley claims that most ethno-nationalistic movements go through three phases, i) asking for the rights of the individual 'other', ii) official acknowledgement of the distinctiveness of the group from the majority and finally, iii) the right to territory (Coakley, 2003).

Using the tangible elements of these processes of migration, cultural re-establishment and political awakening, this paper seeks to present a multi-scalar analysis of the multi-facetted nature of identity in space in one of South Asia's largest post-colonial cities. The analysis here is divided into two parts; the first section focuses on how an overarching ethno-political identity

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presents itself at a city scale whilst the second section focuses on the catchment, accessibility and role played by communal institutions in building and maintaining internal socio-spatial identities within two case study settlements in the city.

2. DATASETS AND METHODS

Pakistan is a difficult research environment where there is a dearth of up-to-date ethno-political data hence alternative and innovative means of mapping community presence had to be devised for this study. Waterman and Kosmin (1987) note that in the case of the migration of the Jewish community to north London, whilst the presence of a synagogue may not have been the initial catalyst for the emergence of a community cluster, once a critical mass was established, the presence of a synagogue, speciality food stores etc., became an eventuality and motivation for subsequent migration to the area and hence a means of locating a Jewish cluster. Keeping in mind both the processes of migration and resettlement outlined by Vertovec and Coakley previously and these documented observations, methods devised for this study resulted in the identification and mapping of communal institutions – specifically religious and political institutions serving the *Muhajir* community. These institutions included religious buildings related to the Barelvi and Shi'a sects of Islam (mosques and *imambargahs* respectively), and the various neighbourhood and regional scale offices of the MQM – the dominant political voice of the *Muhajir* community in Karachi today. These types of communal institutions were identified as particular to the community through literature documenting the migration of various communities from India and the subsequent evolution of the *Muhajir* political identity.

The political institutions mapped were MQM Sector and Unit offices; the former consists of 26 offices distributed city-wide, a regional scale complaint centre of sorts overseeing eight to ten Unit offices and reporting to MQM headquarters known as Nine Zero. The latter is a neighbourhood scale office, manned by young men resident locally and established to both disseminate the party agenda at the grassroots level whilst relaying neighbourhood information to the centre. Additionally Barelvi mosques and Shi'a *imambargahs* were identified and mapped. A significant proportion of practitioners of both the Barelvi and Shi'a schools of theological thought may be categorised as *Muhajir*s as sizable Barelvi and Shi'a communities migrated from the cities of origin of the *Muhajir* community. Using Google Earth, Wikimapia, municipal maps and on-site observations, the locations of these four kinds of communal institutions were mapped on a spatial network model of the city of Karachi in a geographical information system software.

This process of mapping allowed for two subsequent processes, firstly that the location of each individual feature could be related to the space syntax model thereby giving each feature the syntax values of the closest street segment to its location and enabling a comparative spatial analysis between communal institutions at both city and settlement scales. Secondly, by using the heatmap tool that allowed for the analysis of the density of features within multiple specified radii, it was possible to highlight clusters of mosques, *imambargahs* and political offices within these radii. It should be noted that these specified distances in the case of this part of the study were *as the crow flies* as opposed to network distances. The raster image produced through the heatmap analysis showed that where clusters appeared to be denser, hotspots or brighter areas appeared. These raster images were then converted into contour maps as a means of geographically visualising communal institution densities and thereby generating a mappable boundary to *muhajir* majority areas within the city today.

3. AN ETHNO-POLITICAL IDENTITY AND THE CITY

As stated earlier, the *Muhajir* identity as it is seen today is an urban middle-class identity that has developed through processes of shared socio-political and spatial experiences that span the city's history since the Partition of the Indian Sub-continent in 1947. Through a process of tracking the city's various spatial developments which included infrastructure development, transport networks and housing, as well as political events that have had an impact on the manner in which both space and identity in the city have evolved, it has been possible to

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identify five broad phases of socio-political and spatial transformation to ultimately take the form it does today.

The first phase included the arrival of Indian Muslim refugees in the city, their domination of early post-Partition civil services and their initial spatial clustering as a by-product of the refugee rehabilitation process. This was followed by a period of socio-political and spatial marginalization of these refugee/migrant communities firstly through the relocation of the federal capital away from Karachi to the purpose-built northern city of Islamabad thereby diminishing the migrants' political reach. This was followed by the decantation of migrants still resident in the city centre to industrial satellite settlements 20km away from the city centre and the city's primary economic hub. This systematic state-led spatio-political marginalization led to an ethno-political re-awakening first in the form of a *Muhajir* students' union that later evolved into a political party, the evolution of the latter was further aided by the residential spatial proximity of its founding members in high density, middle-income neighbourhoods of the city. This led to spatial expansion into adjacent and proximate areas as the community's numbers grew. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan led to an influx of Afghan refugees and readily available arms that, in conjunction with the emergence of the MQM as a significant political player, resulted in growing ethnic tensions in the city. This led to a phase of state-led political suppression, socio-political militarization and spatial fortification of the *Muhajir* community and their spaces. 2002 onwards, the MQM finally found favourable backing from the federal government, in more recent times the *Muhajireen* have enjoyed a period of political control and spatial dominance.

This brief history of the community highlights both the need and the processes that led to the emergence of a broad *Muhajir* political identity in Karachi. In this case, by going back to the idea of varied 'urban in-between' formulating new and more powerful identities, it could be argued that various elements that are representative of the composite nature of the *Muhajir* identity could be mapped and correlated to describe this minority to majority transformation. These include language in the form of 'mother tongue' spoken by a household[1], the location and number of religious and political institutional buildings and electoral results[2].

Using the heatmap feature in a GIS it was possible to identify the clustering of communal institutions. Heatmap analysis was run across multiple local radii (500-2000m) on both religious and political features independently – all *imambargahs*, Barelvi mosques, and MQM Unit and Sector Offices. It was found that in the case of religious institutions several dense clusters across the city were identified at a radius of 800m. These clusters often coincided with historically *Muhajir* settlements such as Golimaar/Gulbahar, Liaquatabad, PIB Colony, and Martin Quarters, Shah Faisal Colony and Malir Colony (Jaffar Tayyar Society), and inner city areas like Soldier Bazaar, Kharadar and Lines Area (Figure 01). A distance of 800m in the Pakistani context is significant as mosques are generally located within a walkable distance of ones place of work or residence due to the frequency of use – up to five times a day.

A similar cluster analysis of MQM Unit offices showed that at a radius of 1500m, the clusters formed continuous district-wide contours that appear to incorporate most sector offices. This clustering is significant as the party structure encourages a direct link between the Sector office and the units under it with limited lateral interaction between units in the same sector. Therefore proximity of the unit offices to their area Sector office is important for operational purposes (Figure 02).

Whilst this process seems to begin to intimate that the two sets of features – religious and political – function independently at different local scales, as stated earlier the *Muhajir* identity in essence is a composite entity consisting of both religious and political elements. Hence the same analysis was run after combining both religious and political features thereby defining the community by both its religious and political affiliations, the subsequent feature generated was a large continuous boundary (Figure 03) that appeared to incorporate all the localities that are regularly referenced in literature and newspaper reports as centres of *Muhajir*/MQM presence and activity at a radius of 1000m. An earlier study has shown that occupation of these areas by

1   http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/
2   http://www.ecp.gov.pk/

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the *Muhajir* community has persisted since their earliest establishment in the city in the 1950s and this occupation has expanded to incorporate adjacent localities today as the community has grown (Sultan Khan and Karimi, 2015).

The *Muhajir* community is often colloquially known as Urdu-speaking, this nickname seems to imply a linguistic solidarity amongst its members. Additionally it should be noted that political affiliations in the city are often governed by such ethno-linguistic solidarities. Thus Urdu-speakers vote primarily for the MQM, Punjabi-speakers often vote for the Pakistan Muslim League, Sindhi and Balochi speakers in the city vote primarily for the Pakistan Peoples Party and Pashto-speakers have voted, until recently, for the Awami National Party (Hasan, 2005, Gazdar and Mallah, 2013). Hence to further corroborate these findings, the additional layers of language and recent electoral results was added.
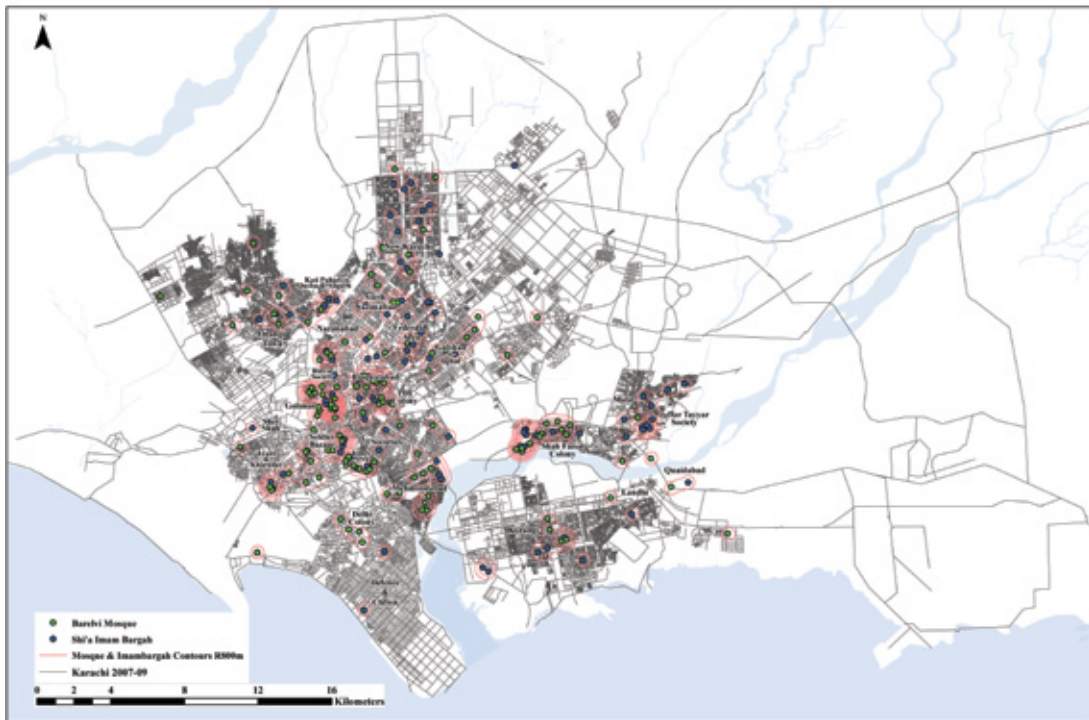

Figure 01 - Contour map at R800m identifying high densities of Barelvi and Shi'a religious building clusters in Karachi.

At the time this study was carried out, Karachi was divided into 5 large administrative districts. If these are overlaid on the *Muhajir* majority areas defined by communal institution clustering and then data added pertaining to linguistics – specifically Urdu, the *Muhajir* 'mother-tongue' – it was found that language and the heatmap analysis begins to identify spatial overlaps. Similarly, by adding electoral results for 2002 and 2008, a similar spatial correlation appears; the city's eastern and central districts showed concentrations of all *Muhajir* identity markers; linguistic affiliation, political presence and activity and religious congregations.

The use and correlation of multiple identity-markers to identify the spatial clustering of the ethno-political entity known as the *Muhajir* community seems to suggest that the making of a political majority lies in the piecing together of minority elements. This socio-spatial manifestation of majority political identity pieced together from multiple minority groupings has had significant impact on the infrastructure development of the city. Political power and majority presence has assisted in the sanctioning and execution of numerous transport and commercialisation projects that appear to facilitate movement and business between and for *Muhajir* majority areas of the city (Sultan Khan and Karimi, 2015). Additionally, this spatial and political control has impacted where, how and with whom inter-ethnic tensions play out in the city (Sultan Khan, Karimi and Vaughan, 2017).

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Whilst this composite form relates to the ethno-political identity of the community at the scale of the city and projects a monolithic politically *Muhajir* spatial presence, the need to combine multiple elements to articulate a community's presence seems to imply that perhaps internal sub-divisions persist at the local scale. This has been hinted at by the heatmap analysis of individual institution types where political and religious institutions appear to have different density areas; 800m for religious institutions, 1500m for Unit offices and 3000m for Sector offices. This variation in functional scale can be further explored through syntax analysis of the location and accessibility of political institutions city-wide. By assigning each Sector and Unit office the syntax values of the nearest street segment it was seen that of the 115 MQM Unit offices mapped, 40% were located on the top 15% of NACH_R1800m street segments whilst 14 of the 26 MQM Sector offices occupied the top 15% of NACH_R3000m street segments. This difference in the catchment and accessibility of communal institutions is perhaps indicative of the role these institutions play within the community they serve and the scales at which these various aspects of identity and community, i.e. religious and political, manifest themselves.
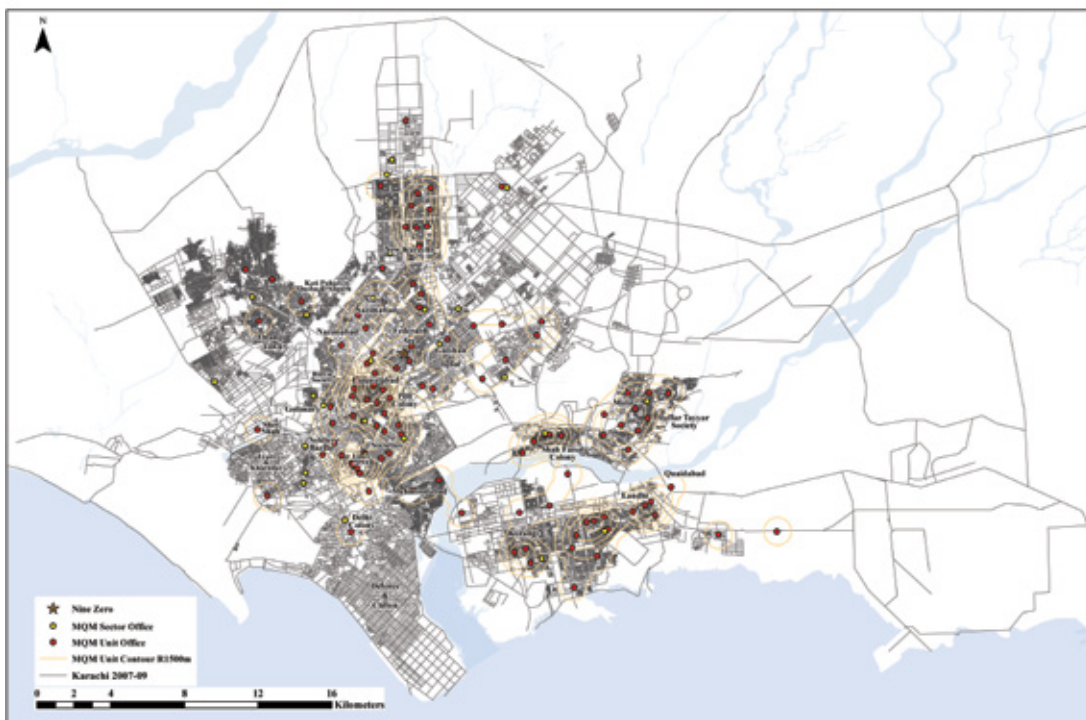

Figure 02 - Contour map at R1500m identifying high densities of MQM Units clusters in Karachi, Pakistan.

4. ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BOUNDARIES AND THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE SETTLEMENT

When addressing the issue of *Muhajir* identity at the scale of the settlement, one should recap that upon their arrival in Karachi in 1947, the *Muhajir* community was in essence multiple smaller urban North Indian Muslim communities from diverse geo-linguistic backgrounds with a shared religious and political belief that motivated their migration to Pakistan. Simultaneously it should be noted that prior to the *Muhajir* exodus to Karachi, the city was a small cosmopolitan colonial port, home to a number of communities organised in residential clusters in the old city determined by ethnicity, religion and/or trade. And whilst the city has grown exponentially since in terms of population and area, it was into this existing socio-spatial environment that the *Muhajireen* had to adjust themselves.

Much of the earliest *Muhajir* settlement depended upon where they found vacant land or property, a lot of subsequent settlement was driven by locational solidarities or place based communities in that families from the same cities or localities in Pre-Partition India tended to
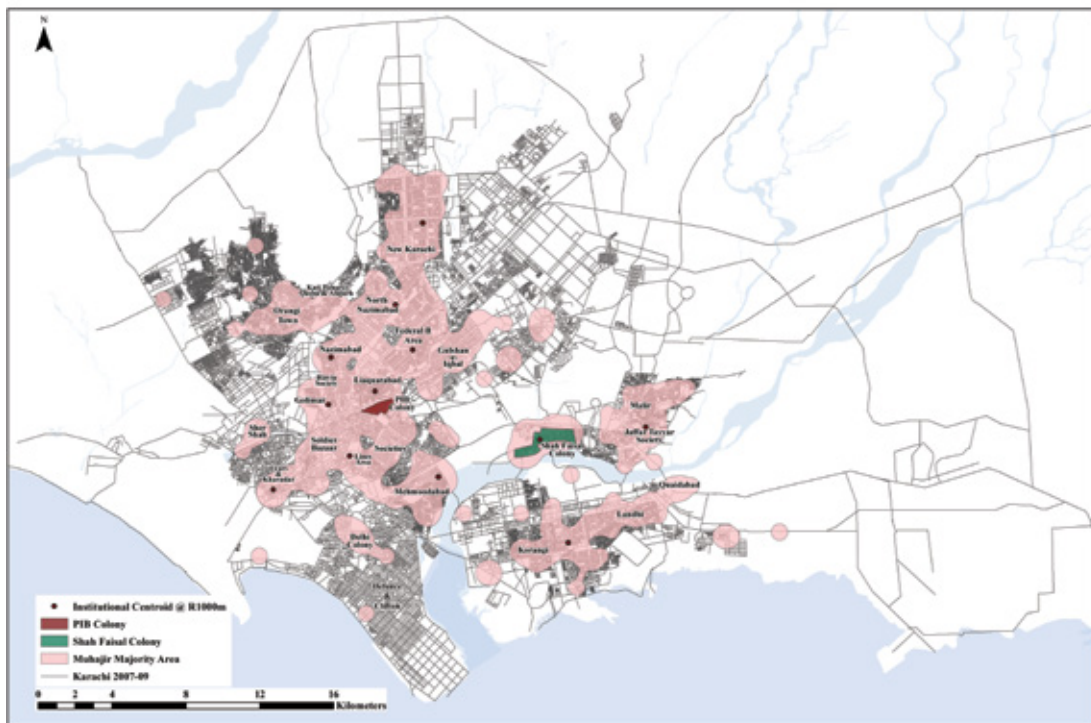
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Figure 03 - *Muhajir* majority areas identified through high density clustering of *Muhajir* communal institutions.

cluster. The wealthier of these communities established co-operative housing societies, whilst the economically less fortunate set up informal settlements often named after the city, town or village they had left behind. Thus in Karachi today we see the proliferation of neighbourhoods named after places in Pre-Partition India such as CP & Berar Society, Delhi Colony, Hyderabad Colony, Shah Jahanabad, and Sikanderabad (Ansari, 2005).

Alongside the existing pre-Partition communities, planned state-sponsored housing schemes and community sponsored housing societies established to resettle migrants of means in the 1950s and 60s, approximately 50% of Karachi's population today lives in informal settlements (Hasan and Mohib, 2003). These have developed along major thoroughfares, as infills to the city's planned areas and as large slum settlements at the city's peripheries. This tight clustering of communities of native residents, economic migrants and refugee has meant that Karachi spatially is an ethno-religious and political patchwork of communities.

Although the settlements identified and studied for the purposes of this project are located in *Muhajir* majority areas as defined earlier and vote primarily for the MQM, upon closer analysis they appear to be far more socio-spatially complex than this broad ethno-political definition suggests. Due to the manner in which the city has grown, the sub-groups that make up the *Muhajir* community and multiple waves of post-Partition in-migration, the settlement too in essence is often a microcosm of the city's diverse ethno-political composition.

Using information taken from on-site interviews with local residents and municipal maps of the areas, an in-depth socio-spatial analysis was carried out on two settlements located within the *Muhajir* majority boundary defined earlier. These settlements were Pir Elahi Bux Colony (PIB Colony), one of the oldest purpose-built *Muhajir* settlements in the city, located close to the old city centre, and Shah Faisal Colony, a later addition located in the city's eastern district (see Figure 03 for case study locations). Figures 04 and 05 show the presence of a combination of place-based *Muhajir* sub-clusters (e.g. 'N' Block and 'J' Block in PIB Colony named after Nagpur and Jabalpur respectively, both Indian cities), faith-based residential clusters (the Shi'a and Ismaili residential areas of Plot 14, Pak Sadat Colony and Amynabad), and ethnically non-*Muhajir* residential clusters (e.g. Nishtar Basti, Baloch Para and Green Town) all within the municipal boundaries of each settlement.

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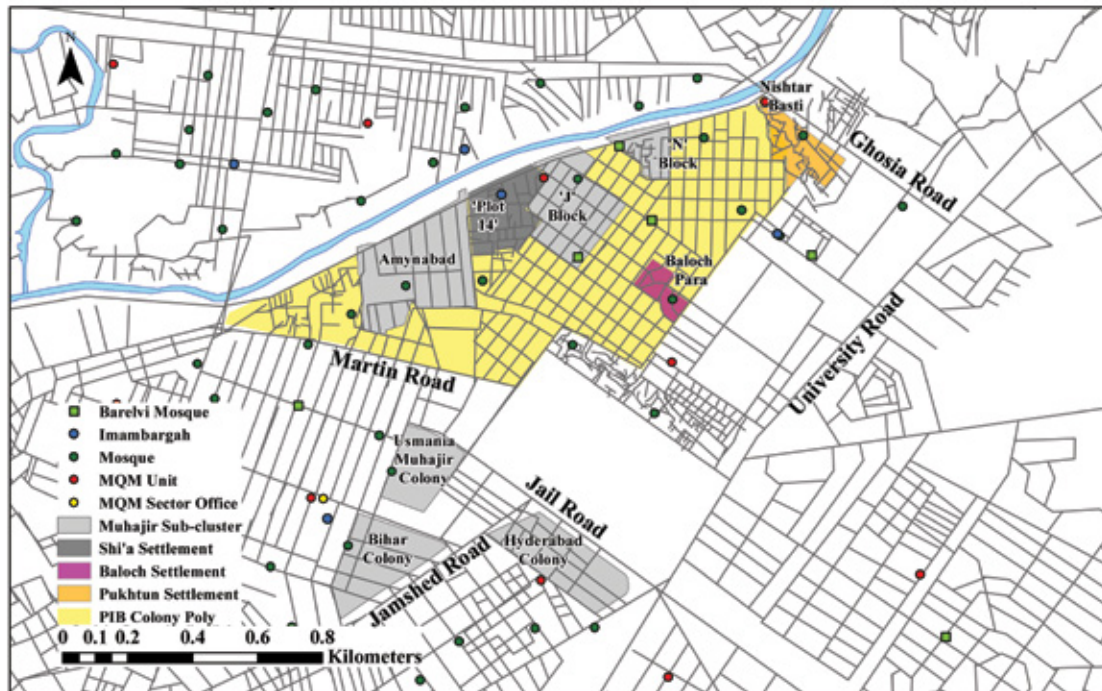
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Figure 4 - Location of sub-community clusters and places of worship, PIB Colony, Karachi.

Here space syntax analysis has been used to measure the accessibility (NAIN) and location of the various sub-group clusters outlined above in both cases. By overlaying these known community clusters on to normalised Integration syntax models of PIB Colony and Shah Faisal Colony at radii of 2500m and 3000m respectively (Figures 06 and 07), it can be seen that in both cases, the Shi'a and Pakhtun communities are the most segregated amongst the various sub-communities. Additionally, these particular sub-groups occupy peripheral locations and the sub-clusters appear to be unplanned as opposed to the gridded planned nature of the main settlement presenting almost as infills to the main settlement. Other communities seem to be located in more accessible locations within the settlement. This perhaps suggests some kind of internal socio-spatial hierarchy.

By incorporating the various communal institutions used thus far as shown in Figures 04 and 05, it can be seen that there is at least one, if not more, religious institutions embedded within each residential sub-cluster whilst Unit offices are located much further apart. This perhaps says something about the role and catchment of both religious and political institutions within Pakistani society; i.e. the fact that religious institutions serve a small walkable neighbourhood radius (e.g.800m) and become local loci whilst political institutions serve a wider area
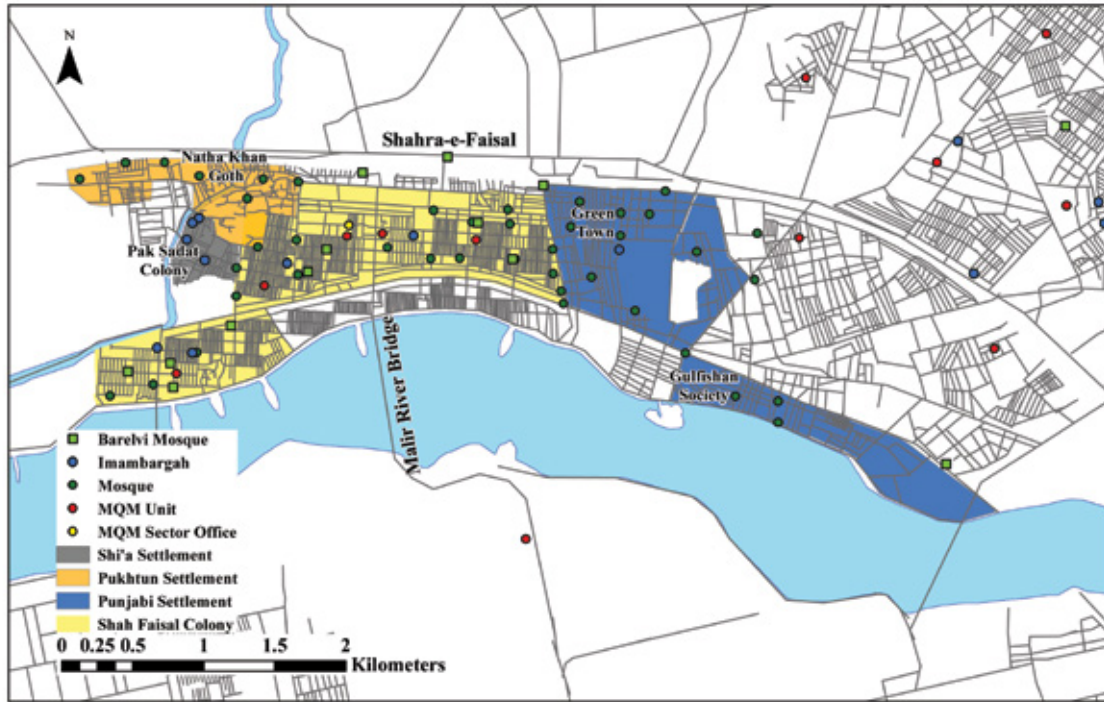
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Figure 5 - Sub-community clusters and places of worship, Shah Faisal Colony, Karachi.
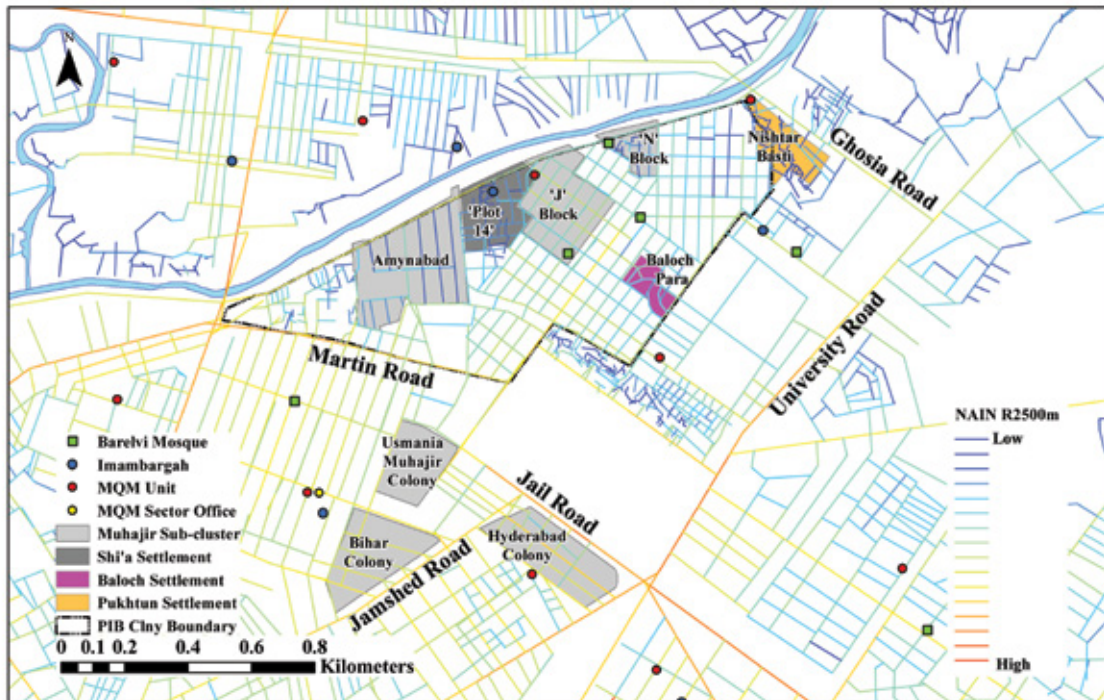
Figure 6 - Sub-community clusters overlaid on NAIN_R2500m, PIB Colony.

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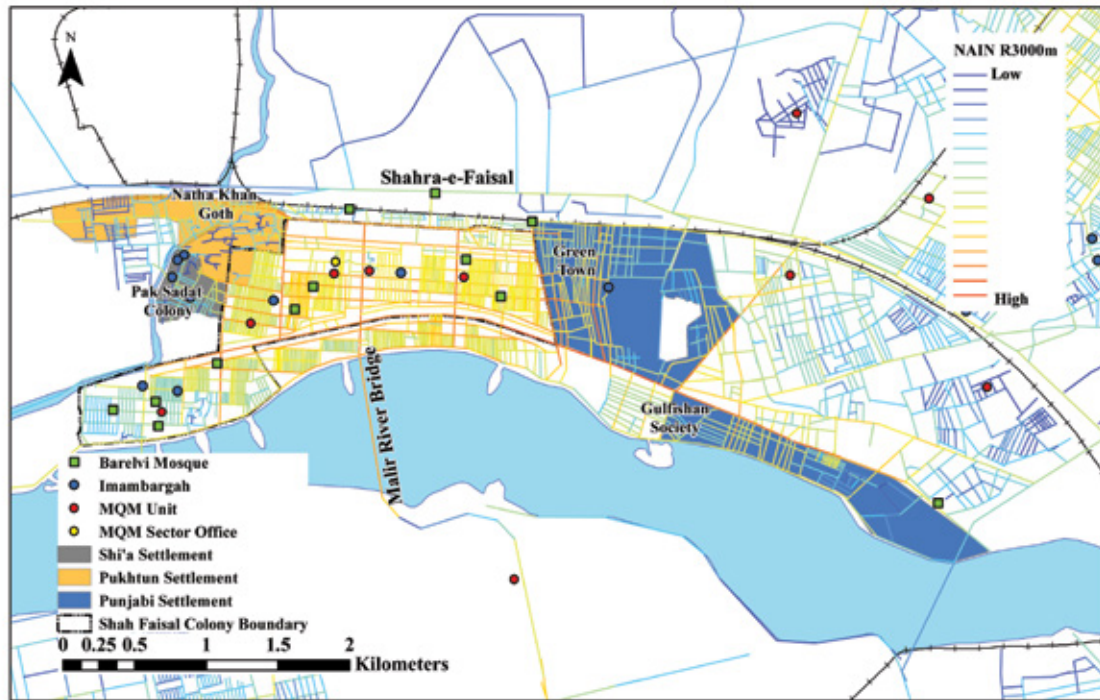Multi-scalar socio-spatial definitions of identity in Karachi's Muhajir majority areas.

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Figure 7 - Sub-community clusters overlaid on NAIN_R3000m, Shah Faisal Colony.

Although on the whole neighbourhood mosques are quite generic in their appearance, in the case of the Barelvi and Shi'a sects these buildings have a distinctive appearance; green domes for the former and a black pennant known as an *alam* seen atop the latter, making them easily identifiable within the urban fabric of the settlement. By isolating only Barelvi mosques and Shi'a *imambargahs* in these two case areas, we see that there is a high presence of both elements in the two study areas and that both features appear to be clustering potentially suggesting the clustering of multiple faith-based communities within the settlement. In both settlements, the Shi'a residential cluster (Plot 14 and Pak Sadat Colony) not only have names identifying them as neighbourhoods but also a distinctive spatial morphology as described earlier, that makes it possible to define neighbourhood boundaries.

By assigning each institution the NACH values of the street segment on to which their entrances face, and averaging these values for each institution type per settlement, it can be seen in Graphs 01a and 01b that there are patterns pertaining to the manner in which these institutions situate themselves within the settlement. Most notably Barelvi mosques seem to be located on street segments in most cases with higher NACH values than all other mosques present and *imambargahs* consistently show that they are situated on street segments with the lowest NACH values of the three religious institution types. This finding in conjunction with where certain sub-groups are located within the settlement perhaps is indicative of the manner in which communities and their religious institutions are situated within the larger settlement most particularly the Barelvi and Shi'a sects. Whilst Barelvi mosques are often located on high choice and therefore highly accessible street segments with the potential for high footfall, the Shi'a community is located within very segregated parts of the settlement with their religious institution embedded deep within the settlement as opposed to being located on major thoroughfares as seen in Figures 06 and 07.

The spatial segregation of the Shi'a sub-settlement and the introverted nature of the imambargah can perhaps be contextualized by the social space the community has occupied in Pakistan. The Shi'a community has been persecuted as a by-product of State sponsored Islamisation since the 1970s. This initially took the form of target killings of the community's intelligentsia and well placed individuals and more recently has manifested in the form of bombings of *imambargahs* and public religious events and processions. This kind of persecution

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has potentially led to the preference of this community to cluster in segregated, defensible localities with their religious institutions set deep within the settlement thus having limited accessibility to outsiders. Conversely, as the religious right becomes more vocal and popular, the Barelvi community – a right-wing Sunni group - becomes more confident in both their religious and political agendas, potentially influencing the choice of location and subsequent accessibility of their religious institutions.

By similarly comparing the NACH values of these religious institutions and their political counterparts for both settlements another interesting pattern begins to appear (Graphs 01a and 01b). For this analysis, the local commercial area for each settlement has been included as a point of reference as in both cases commercial streets exhibit higher NACH values than their surrounding areas. In this comparative study it can be seen that yet again the *imambargahs* have the lowest Choice values, where Barelvi mosques perform better than *imambargahs* and not as well as the commercial streets in the area. Units show higher choice values at larger radii. In the case of PIB Colony, the Sector office performs as one would expect it to; as the public face of the political party in the area, it seems logical for it to occupy street segments with a higher choice value.

This process of analysis brings the discussion back to the notion that the broad scale politics of a community often fashions the global identity downplaying internal sub-divisions for the purposes of defining a majority. On the other hand, local scale identities are often governed and managed by much smaller, more specific social affiliations like religious and place-based solidarities.
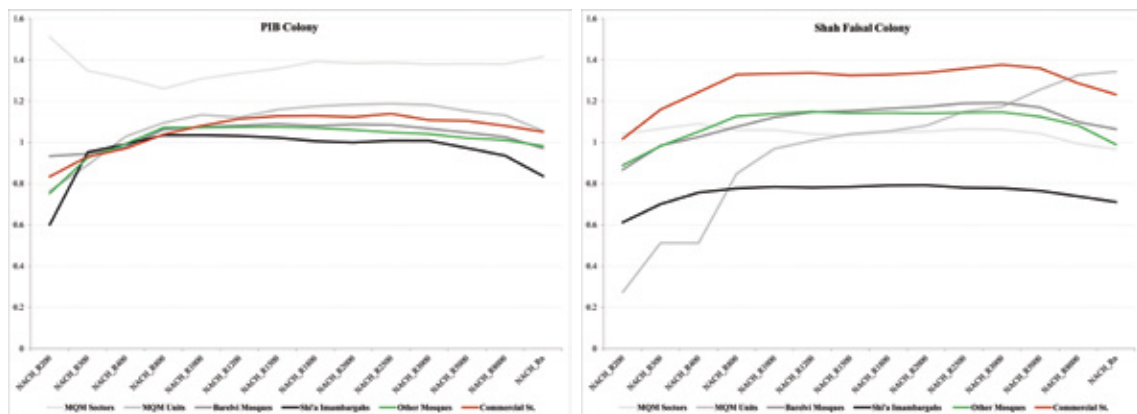
Graph 01a - NACH values for communal institutions in PIB Colony, Karachi.

Graph 01b - NACH values for communal institutions in Shah Faisal Colony, Karachi.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that although, through a process of identifying social similarities amongst the various entities that comprise the urban 'in-between' and utilising spatial proximity, minority identities can be consolidated and mobilised into an overarching political majority. These majority affiliations do not always override or wholistically replace prior ethno-religious solidarities. Whilst this very public, homogenous political identity appears to dominate and control both the physical space of the city and social perceptions of the urban other by those outside the group, upon closer investigation, it appears that finer grain socio-spatial solidarities persist at the scale of the settlement.

The analysis in this paper has shown that despite what appears to be a monolithic ethno-political entity, investigation of the everyday spaces of the community show that the *Muhajir* settlement is in fact a microcosm of the city where *Muhajir*, post-Partition non-*Muhajir* economic migrants, and pre-Partition native communities all live in close proximity to one another. Analysis of where these communities choose to locate themselves within the settlement is potentially indicative of internal communal hierarchies. The Barelvi community for example is more visible and

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accessible where their communal spaces are located on main thoroughfares and high choice street segments. On the other hand, minority groups like the Shi'a and Ismaili communities occupy highly segregated, peripheral areas of the settlements where their communal spaces are embedded deep within the sub-cluster, entrances often protected and turned away from main roads to limit accessibility to non-members.

The clustering and proliferation of religious institutions within the settlement and the fact that each sub-group cluster has at least one place of worship of its own seems to suggest that religious institutions play a key role in community life and the way people identify themselves at the scale of the settlement. These appear to be the institutions that assist in building and maintaining community identities rather than political institutions which serve to identify the community at a wider scale, that of the city.

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