"The historical, structural and interactional dynamics of slums of Peshawar"

**By**

Aziz Khan

Department of Development Studies

Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled: *"The Historical, Structural and Interactional Dynamics of Slums of Peshawar"* submitted by Aziz Khan is accepted in its present form by the Department of Development Studies, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad as satisfying the requirements for partial fulfillment of the degree in Master of Philosophy in Development Studies.

Supervisor:

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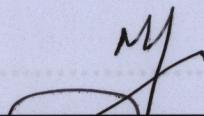
Dr. Muhammad Jehangir Khan
Assistant Professor
Department of Development Studies
Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
Islamabad

External Examiner:

_____
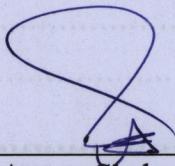
Dr. Anwar Shah
Assistant Professor
School of Economics
Quaid-i-Azam University
Islamabad

Head,
Department of Development Studies:

_____
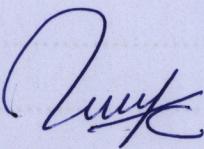
Dr. Zulfiqar Ali
Assistant Professor
Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
Islamabad

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Acronyms

IDP   Internally Displaced Person

MNA   Member of National Assembly

MPA   Member of Provincial Assembly

NIC   National Identity Card

Kp   Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

FATA   Federally Administered Tribal Areas

UNO   United Nations Organization

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Aziz Khan

Dedication

To love, family, friends and the absurdity of life.

Abstract

The social interaction has its positive consequences in the form of creating strong social networks within the slums and with the outer society. These social networks help to create social capital for the slum dwellers which is further capitalized for the opportunities like job in both formal and informal sector. These social networks are also exploited by the slum dwellers to influence local police and officials of local government to draw civic and political benefits. However, these benefits are very differential and play out differently for different tribes and identities within the slums. Afghan refugees within these slums while benefiting from low cost housing had to face several challenges on social and psychological levels. IDPs too are prone to some of these challenges and find it hard to draw benefits like locals. Furthermore, both the slums under study have been found similar on the grounds of infrastructure and civic amenities but there have also been stark differences such as social mobility and political rights. Taj Abad which is mainly populated by the Afghan refugees and IDPs while socially more mobile than Shaheed Abad lacks right to political participation and are coerced by the local police for the different reasons. While Shaheed Abad enjoys political rights for being populated by the locals who have registered voting rights and voice in the affairs of their locale. However, they are not as socially mobile as Taj Abad's slum dwellers.

Keywords: *Interactional Dynamics, Kacchi Abadi, Slum Dwellers, Slums, Structural Dynamics,*

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction:

The emergence of slums in developing world is attributed to three main reasons: rapid urban growth, colonial way of governance in postcolonial societies and political instability. Political and ethnic violence displaces people who take refuge in slums. Colonial settlements and its legacy are important factors that lead to slum incidence. As postcolonial regimes continued the colonial policies in the newly independent states, it resulted in economic disparities and poor urban planning. Economic disparities and poor urban planning in turn lead to an increase of slums in the developing world (Fox 2008).

Un-Habitat (2004) report informs us that the world is faced with the question and the reality of slums which are becoming critical phenomena in both large and small cities of the developing world. To understand the reality of slums, we need a definition to help us in recognizing slums beyond a simple definition that slums area type of dwelling in low lying areas. The UNESCO document (as cited in Govindaraju2012, p.1) defines slum as a group of buildings or areas that are overcrowded, deteriorated and have unsanitary conditions or have an absence of civic amenities. The report goes on to show that the lack of civic amenities and prevalence of unsanitary conditions in the slums pose a threat to the health and moral well-being of the community. In addition to that the Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums 1972(as cited in Govindaraju2012, p.1) describes slums as areas that lack open spaces, parks, playgrounds or any combination of these factors that results in failure to satisfy the needs of health and psychological well-being of the community. People living in these locations have limited or no access to public utilities and face constant threats of eviction. Despite some variations in the structures of the houses and demographic profiles, these settlements are sufficiently similar so that the people of the west consider them "abject living conditions" (Diener and Diener 2001).

Ooi and Phua (2010) assert that on a global level slum incidence is a phenomenon of developing world especially of South Asia and Africa. A fleeting look at the statistics of slum settlements in South Asia reveals a gloomy scenario. In South Asia, slum and squatter populations are estimated to be 58% of the total urban population compared to 36.4% in East Asia and 28% in Southeast Asia. The estimates are that more than 60% of the increase in the

world's urban population over the next three decades will be in Asia, mostly in China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Nine out of 23 cities of the world with populations of more than 10 million people are already in Asia. Similarly, Asia will have many cities with a population of more than a million people each. Thus this information indicates that the urban population in the world is rising and so are the urban slums.

Keeping in line with the above discussion, Pakistan also faces the problem of slums. Pakistan is a country that is 6[th]largest population wise and has a sizeable proportion of its urban poor living either in slums or shanty settlements in urban areas (Desk 2013). The North Western province of Pakistan known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa[1] is faced with a mounting issue of urbanization resulting from rural-urban migration. Most of these migrants include internally displaced people (IDP) from Tribal belt (FATA[2]) due to military operations and Afghan refugees who are settled in Peshawar, *Nowshera and Charsadda*. This situation affirms Fox's (2008) assertion that political instability and rural-urban migration causes slum incidence.

The IDP and the Afghan refugees who came to Peshawar and its surrounding towns have settled in makeshift housing, this in turn has exacerbated the situation of illegal settlements. According to the local officials, 60-70 percent of the total land of Peshawar is occupied by illegal settlements (Khan 2014). This has increased the demand for land in the city, and as asserted by Ooi and Phua (2010) with the surge in competitive demands for land in the city, the urban poor are pushed to more marginalization and this leads to an increased slum incidence. We see the same results in the city of Peshawar as Consultants (2012) in a study[3] have identified 18such slums in the city of Peshawar. According to this study, the population of Peshawar is increasing at per year growth rate of 3.29%.The total estimated population of Peshawar is 3.3 million. This increase is burdening the whole scenario immensely.

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[1]Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is abbreviated as KP. KP is one of the province among the four provinces of Pakistan. Geographically it is located in the north-western part of the country. (http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/)

[2] Federally Administered Tribal Areas which is administered under Frontier Crimes Regulation. (https://fata.gov.pk/)

[3] This study was conducted by Cynosure Consultants (Pvt.) Ltd which worked with UN-Habitat to collect information on Slums located in Peshawar, KP. In fact, it was UN-Habitat which sponsored and commissioned this study after coordinating and collaborating with the UPU (Urban policy Unit) of KPK Government. After its completion it was submitted to United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat).

Nonetheless, the situation of one or a few slums can be generalized at the global level. The Un-Habitat (2004) report on "the challenge of slums", asserts that there are vast differences in cultural, geographic, economic and social institutions among different cities of the world butthe slums in these cities exhibit numerous commonalities. The question then for the current study is that: Is the marginalization and social exclusion in the slums of the rest of the world and Peshawar the same?

The answer to this question can be found in the work of Kahneman and Schkade (1997) (as cited in Diener and Diener 2001, p.25) who proposed the idea of the "focusing illusion". They defined focusing illusion as a strategy adopted by some western scholars of poverty who look at it as an economic phenomenon only. They assert that this economic definition of poverty has come about because these scholars perceive and judge the standards of the lives of others based on certain focal characteristics. They argue that if poverty is to be understood in terms of non-monetary aspects of the lives of the poor it would take up a different form. Thus, the author suggests that there is more to the story than meets the eye. Hence, the Western conception and stereotype of poverty and their generalization of slums as bleak places might not hold true for other cultures. Therefore, cultural contextualism as well as cultural fairness needs to be employed by researchers of slums to gain a more thorough understanding of local cultural norms and ideals relevant to the research.

However, marginalization as an experience in slums cannot be denied, as Kagan *et al.* (2010) have suggested that marginalization faced by the people in slums of Kolkata have multiple facets. They assert that the slum dwellers of Kolkata very often face economic, political, technological and intellectual marginalization. Another study of Teresia (2011) reveals marginalization in the form of social exclusion. The study suggests that youth who pass their time in the streets and vicinity of the slums of sub-Saharan Africa are faced with the burden of poverty, lack of family support as well as infectious and chronic diseases. Much of these issues also result from social exclusion. Building on the preceding argument D'souza (1979)asserts that the poor and slum dwellers are also marginalized due to the social hierarchy, in the larger society within which they occupy the lowest places. Their low status is perpetuated through social inheritance across generations. The study has also pointed out that there is an intimate

relationship between the ecological structure of a city and its social structure. This proposition emphasizes the fact that the ecological structure of a city is a spatial representation of its social structure. For instance, different social groups in a city tend to segregate themselves in different localities and enjoy differential advantages of their spatial locations.

While discussing the economic structure of a city Mitra (1990) argues that it is common observation that slum dwellers seek employment opportunities for upward mobility. He further argues that the employment structure of the cities is dominated by the existence of informal sector which in turn is dominated by unorganized trade and service activities. The informal sector contains bulk of the urban poor and slum dwellers who are primarily engaged in informal sector.

Besides economic gains, slum dwellers also seek social status, as Link (2009) has pointed out that social status results from social interaction which affects group and social identity. This is essentially the same argument as the one made by Matous (2007) who asserts that slum dwellers and migrants in slums attain social capital by developing social networks and interactions inside and outside the slums. The slum dwellers development works of personal relationships within the slum that play a significant role in their survival. As it is widely known that slums do not have enough civic amenities thus many slum dwellers meet their basic human needs through informal personal connections outside the slums.

The idea of social network building presented above is similar to the Bourdieu (2011) concept of social capital. He defined social capital at the levels of an 'individual' as the value of social capital possessed by an individual. The amount of social capital possessed by an individual depends on the size of the network of connections that one can effectively mobilize. Also relevant here is the volume of capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic) possessed by each of those to whom one is connected. An example of social capital can be seen in the study of AREU (2006), this study reveals that Afghans in the slums of Peshawar relied on social networks across borders to guide them to locations where they can be safe and could have sustenance. The study also shows that due to their social capital, Afghan refugees have become upwardly mobile too.

Thus social interaction for the slums dwellers in Peshawar[4] remains important in both economic and non-economic sense. Further research might reveal a more thorough understanding of this whole phenomenon.

1.2 Statement of the Problem:

Different scholars have written about the history and origin of slums. The various studies on slums suggest that rapid urban growth, colonial way of governance in postcolonial societies and political instability are the main causes of the slum incidence in the developing world. Another group of scholars such as Kelly and D'souza have written about social formation and structures of slums.

A work of Petr Matous on social capital in slums suggests that people in slums can satisfy their basic human needs only through informal personal interactions. These interactions help slum dwellers generate social capital which in turn helps them to attain upward social mobility. However, the underlying structures of social formations also dictate the rules of social mobility. The discourse of social formations is also closely linked with the history of those social formations.

The interactionist Scholarship suggest, that interaction occur under shared social meanings and meaning exist in a triadic[5] relationship. It is also suggested that when anindividual appears before others, he/she will have many motives for trying to create an image that serves his/her ends. This implies that social interaction is a way of presentation of self to others and it also leads to group formations. Social psychology has tried to explain groups in both natural situations and artificially generated ones. However, so far it has never come to grips with its empirical configuration. Social groups by definition are a conglomerate of individuals who have shared interests, vision and goals. This being the case, members of a social group have a collective consciousness based on values that would allow them to achieve their collective goals. This however should not be understood as saying that there is no individual variation within the

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[4]Peshawar is the capital of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. It stretches from 33º44´ to 34º15´ north latitudes and 71º22´ to 71º45´ east longitudes, covering an area of about 1267 km2 .It is bounded in the north by Charsadda and in the east by Nowshera districts respectively. The Khyber Agency is on the west. Mohmand Agency is in the northwest, while Frontier Region of Kohat is in the south(Samiullah 2013).
[5]Mead's social theory and functional theory of mind by William Lewis Troyer.

group. Based on the above discussion, I have narrowed down my broad area of interest to the following problem for the current research.

1.2.1 Research problem:

"The structural and interactional dynamics of slums of Peshawar"

Since I cannot look at all of the slums in Peshawar due to cost, limited time and physical availability, I have selected two slums, Tajabad and Shaheedabad. I have operationalized my topic into following questions.

1.3 Key Terms

Illegal settlements and slums

The term 'informal settlement' according to Un-Habitat (2004) report refers to illegal or semi-legal urban phenomena, or unsanctioned subdivisions of land at the (then) urban periphery where land encroachments have taken place often by squatters. Those squatters then erected makeshift houses without asking for formal permission from the government or land owner. They build their houses with substandard materials. Thus such type of slum is usually referred to as a shanty, or squatter settlement. Such sites are mainly observed around canal sides or city peripheries. Local authorities document them as slum or illegal settlements. For the purpose of the current research, I am using the same definition for illegal settlement.

Social Interaction

Link (2011) has defined social interaction as an interchangeable sequence of dynamic social exchanges with which individuals can attach meaning, can interpret, and respond to. I am using Link's definition in my research.

Related to the term social interaction are the concepts of social mobility, social capital, social status, and social class. They are defined as follows.

Social Mobility

Link (2011) defines social mobility as the potential of people who can break through the boundaries of social classes.

Social capital

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) conception of social capital is that this form of capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

Social status

Link (2011) defines Social status as the rank or placement of an individual in society.

Social Class:

A social class is based on hierarchies which allow mobility for generations and individuals (Link 2011).

I am adopting the above mentioned definitions.

Culture

Culture comprises shared learned behavior, language, values and traditions followed by the members of the community (Hofstede 1983; Naylor 1998).

Social Group

Social group is a collection of individuals who are interdependent by means of a task. Who are connected by the responsibility of achieving one or more goals, who also share a sense of togetherness as a coherent social entity of a larger organization (Farmer and Roth 1998).

Group Interaction

The interpersonal activities that take place within a group and influence the group outcomes. Group outcomes are the product of the interpersonal activities of the group members, such as formal or informal interaction between them (Hopkins and Hopkins 2002).

Group composition

Group composition refers to two types of settings: individuals sharing the same culture are homogeneous groups and those who share different cultures are heterogeneous. Group

composition also depends upon the span of time and the stability of interactions among the group members (Arrow and McGrath's 1995).

Slum dwellers

Slum dwellers are people who are living permanently, in an identified slum area foran extended period of time. The current research uses the same definition.

Non-slum dwellers

Non-slum dwellers are people who are living in the state allowed legally owned or rented houses outside the slums with some of whom the slum dwellers have some kind of interactions.

Sustenance

By sustenance, I am referring to the material as well as socio-psychological resources required for healthy survival of human beings.

Social, political, and psychological Consequences

By social consequences I mean the chances of social mobility or social constrains that hinders social mobility. By psychological consequences I mean the construction of the identity[6]as used by (Link 2011) and Micro-invalidations[7]as used by (Sue *et al*. 2007). By political consequences I mean the power structures in which the slum dwellers exist and the consequences of the dynamics of such structures.

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[6]Link (2011) asserts that social identity theory teaches us that an individual try to maintain a positive social identity, which in turn leads to positive evaluations of the self.
[7]Micro-invalidations are characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person (Sue *et al*. 2007).

1.4 Research Questions:

1. What are the socio-cultural and political consequences of interaction within the slums, among the slums dwellers?

2. What are the social, economic and psychological consequences of slum dwellers interaction with non-slums dwellers in the two locales of this research?

1.5 Objective of the Study:

- To study the socio-cultural and political effects and ramifications of interaction within the slums, among the slums dwellers.
- To understand socio-political and psychological outcomes of interaction of slum dwellers with each-other and outsiders.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This work will make a contribution towards providing a more detailed insight into the social lives of the slum dwellers. Thus it would open a window on to the experiential aspect of their lives as compared to the privileged class in the larger society. This study would create an understanding among the researchers working on slums as to how social capital and social interaction plays out for the marginalized section of our society. It would also delineate forces and factors that keep the slum dwellers away from attaining a better life. This study would also be a significant addition to already existing body of knowledge on urban poverty and provide an in-depth insight into the problems of slum dwellers to the devolvement study students of Pakistan.

Chapter 2

2.1 Review of the Literature

The literature review has been distributed into five major domains keeping in view the research questions and its Objectives.

The *First domain* deals with the nature of the slums incidence in the context of the subcontinent, Thomas (1999) argues that the word slum can be seen as a generic term pointing to a situation where lower class people live in settlement which is officially delineated as a bustee (slum). Slums in some cases have inadequate utility services (water, electricity etc.) and are often constructed of stable materials such as concrete. A squatter settlement is also a type of slum, but it is different from a (Bustee) in that the houses here are constructed of kutcha (crude) materials such as bamboo, thatch, or mud brick. The UNESCO document (as cited in Govindaraju 2012, p.1) however does not differentiate between a (bustee) and a squatter settlement. It refers to both of these settlements types as slums and elaborates upon it as a group of buildings or areas that are overcrowded, deteriorated, have unsanitary conditions and lack civic amenities. People living in these locations have limited or no access to public utilities and face constant threats of eviction. Despite some variations in the structures of the houses and demographic profiles, these settlements are sufficiently similar so that the people of the west consider them "abject living conditions (Diener and Diener 2001).

The *second domain* deals with the social structure and infrastructure of slums. Hunter (1964) while writing about these issues asserts that the problem of slums at the very core is a problem of the attitudes and behavior of people. This attitude he writes, stems from the indifference of the larger community towards the neglect and victimization of the underprivileged and marginalized people living in slums. The work of Kagan *et al.* (2002) has explicated Hunter's remarks regarding slums. They have explained marginalization of slum dwellers in social and psychological sense. While discussing the socio-psychological aspects of marginalization incidents in slums, they point out that slum dwellers are born into marginality are further excluded and victimized by the fact that they are cut off from their social networks. They further point out that since slums are considered to be places where drug addicts and criminals live the slum dwellers are socially avoided by those who live outside the slums.

D'souza (1979) however explains the causes underlying the marginalization of slum dwellers' in a different way. He asserts that the slum dwellers are marginalized because they occupy the lowest socio-economic rungs in the ladder of the socio-economic stratification in the larger society. He goes on to argue that this marginalized and low status is perpetuated across generations. While discussing the negativity attached with slums Teresia (2011) suggests that slums have always been labeled and understood as spaces of deviance and criminal behavior. She points out that despite this labeling there has been no attempt on part of the larger society to actually understand the deviance and criminality in slums and to locate the same within the power and social structures of the larger social formation.

My stance therefore is that in order to understand slums in relation to power structure and social formation, the work of Althusser in Craib (2015) can be immensely helpful. Althusser[8]asserts that the social structures influence an individual's actions. Individual's action in turn works to perpetuate and sustain those structures thus man ends up as a puppet of those structures which determine his fate.

While discussing the issue of how the socio-economic structures of slums affect the life of individual actions, Kelly (1968) comes up with an explanation based on the coercion theory of society. He presents social structure as a form of organization held together by force and constrains that maintains the status quo of power relations. The slums too, according to the author, are bound in those power relations. In one way, they become the 'internal other' of the city or 'subjects' of the economic constrains. Kelly argues that the industrial centers become wage earning opportunities for slum dwellers that end up being a continuous source of unskilled low wage industrial workers. Kelly's argument here is same as that of Marx regarding class dialectics in a capitalist society. Kelly further suggests that slum dwellers are exploited by the interplay of all three structures namely economic, political and ideological. The *economic* exploitation of slum dwellers occurs through the contradiction between labor and capital. At the *political* level, those living in slums are exploited by the dominant narratives of legality and illegality of slums, while at the *ideological* level they (slum dwellers) are divided by different factors to include race, religion, color and ideologies that provide an impetus to false

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[8]Structuralist Marxism: the world as a puppet theatre by Louis Pierre Althusser.

consciousness. The author points out that those living in the slums do not confront the elite of the larger society in a direct fashion instead they try to achieve upward social mobility while remain within the hierarchical structures of the society. This in turn not only hampers the realization of their total potential but it also makes them instruments of the elites in service of status quo.

As far as the physical infrastructure and its relationship to socio-economic aspects of slums is concerned, the work of Gulyani *et al* (2010) reveals that within each city, and even within a given slum, infrastructural heterogeneity is a marked feature. The argument here is that not all slum households are poor thus slum residents have heterogeneous living conditions, depending on their varying economic status and on the neighborhood in which they live. In the process of comparing the poor and non-poor slum residents within a given city, the authors assert that the poor often lag behind their non-poor neighbors in access to some basic infrastructure. However, the study of Consultant (2013) on the slums of Peshawar does not reveal any stark heterogeneity as suggested by (Gulyani *et al* 2010). In this study which was conducted in 18 slums of Peshawar, almost all the slums were reported to have the same infrastructural issues and living conditions. The condition of health, utilities, road, transportation, education, skills, employment and income levels were found to be almost the same in all slums (consultant 2013). Nevertheless, infrastructure of the slums in Peshawar corresponds more to the description of Thomas (1999) work on slums of the subcontinents as quoted above. Thomas work is confirmed by the findings of the AREU (2006) research which points out that the dwellings in the slums of Peshawar are more like (katche) structures with predominantly Afghan refugees and IDP's. Their social life, it is argued, is based on social networks of various types to include kinship, ethnicity, economic relations, faith and party politics. As the host population is also ethnically Pashtun thus these refugees are well absorbed within the slums and they achieve upward social mobility easily.

The *third domain* deals with the causes of emergence and perpetuation of slums in contemporary times. The study of Ooi and Phua (2010) traces the trajectory of the growing incidence of the slums globally. In this study they assert that the focus and activities of economic development in a few cities of the developing world and especially in the metropolis have resulted in a population boom. One of the most visible outcomes of the population boom is the rapid urbanization which has resulted in the persistence and incidence of slums. The preceding

argument is corroborated by the study of Gulyani *et al.* (2010). They assert that in contemporary times more than half of the world's population lives in urban areas. This is the result of rapid urbanization in the developing world where rural-urban migration has occurred on an unprecedented rate. The rural population in search of wage labour and other menial jobs moves to the cities and ends up in slums. It is also pointed out by the authors that the overall situation has become worse due to the lack of expertise in the developing world to cope with it. This in turn has become a cause of expansion of slums in the lesser developed parts of the world. Owing to this situation, academic scholarship often refers to developing countries as "emerging planets of slums".

Un-Habitat (2004) report on the contemporary slum incidence suggests four primary causes for the emergence of slums namely (a) rapid urban population expansion resulting from rural–urban migration, (b) natural growth and big projects that result in eviction of population in the metropolis, (c) combinations of natural and migratory growth; and (d) population displacement due the armed conflicts or internal strife and violence. The trajectory of slum incidence as shown by Un-Habitat (2004) exists in the North Western province of Pakistan known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. A mounting issue of urbanization, resulting from rural-urban migration, IDP's from Tribal belt and the influx of Afghan refugees has resulted in slum incidence in Peshawar. Thus, most of these people coming to the urban centre in search of job and shelter end up in slums (Khan 2014).

The question of perpetuation of slums has been dealt with by Stokes (1962) in his theory on slums. While explicating the slums of hope[9], he alludes to the question as to why slums persist and perpetuate themselves. He answers this question by putting forth three main reason for this phenomenon. First, the persistence of slums of hope depends upon *Acculturation* which plays a vital role in the in-migrants social class mobility. The slower the rate of migrants absorption, the faster the rate of slum formation. Second, the rate of in-migration in relation to the growth of economy plays a vital role. If the economic growth is slow, the job opportunities will be less thus slums will remain in the city as slums dwellers (in-migrants) will stay in hope of finding jobs for betterment of their lives. Third, the city job market has divided its job

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[9] The slums of hope is means a slum area where people had come with the hope of betterment of life and class mobility (Stokes 1962).

opportunities into two categories. The one category permits those who retain the jobs to move up the social scale. The other category includes those jobs whose retention does not necessarily permit such escalation thus people pursuing such jobs remain in slums and consequently slums persist.

The *fourth domain* deals with interactional dynamics and its consequences for the slum dwellers. In his work on social groups and their interaction, Rosenthal (1973) has asserted that prescriptive theory provides tools to analyze the language of social group-work. He recommends that the researchers should study the lexicon which is developed by social group workers that characterizes the special ways in which they regard, understand, and interact with outsiders and each-other. However, Hopkins and Hopkins (2002) have argued that group members from different cultures have distinct cultural ways and worldviews. These differential world views have unique consequences for group interactions. They further argue that these unique consequences originate from mental processes of categorization that occur when group membership is composed of individuals from diverse cultures. Thus, group members from diverse cultures have difficulty in interacting with each-other. This is because the members from different cultures are conceptualized as others. Nevertheless, demographic differences do not cause much trouble in interaction process when the group members share the same language and values. Hence, lingual distinction and different cultural values can prove to be significant factors that can disrupt interactions (Hopkins and Hopkins 2002).

This interactional dynamics is approached by Link (2011) in a different way. He asserts that social identity theory reveals that an individual tries to maintain a positive social identity, which in turn leads to positive evaluations of the self. Similarly, Nezlek and Smith (2005) have argued that in a given society some people are born with higher social status which puts them in a better social position while others attain such social status by actively seeking it through interacting with powerful individuals, clubs and political organizations. Hence, social status results from interactions which create an individual's social identity. In connection to slum settings, Matous (2010) opined that most of the slum dwellers satisfy their basic human needs through informal personal interaction within and outside the slums. This argument of Matous (2010) is connected to Mitra (1990)'s argument who asserts that slum workers and migrants primarily seek jobs in the informal sector thus such networks come handy in finding them jobs.

Therefore, the positive consequence of social interactions of the slum dwellers (both inside and outside the slums) is the creation of social capital.

According to Matous (2010) social capital results from all types of informal interactions of slum dwellers. Social capital as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) define it is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that are at the disposal of an individual or a group due to maintaining a durable network of informal or formal relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Another study of Diener and Diener, (2001) gives a similar view and argues that the slum dwellers are generally socially satisfied because of the strong prevalence of social relationships and the satisfaction derived from them. A similar interactional pattern has been a marked feature of the slums in Peshawar as AREU (2006) revealed that the Afghans in the slums of Peshawar rely on social networks and linkages across borders to guide them to locations where they can be safe and sustain their livelihood.

However, there is also a negative consequence of social interaction of different classes which is racial micro-aggression as coined by (Sue *et al*. 2007). They have explained it as verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities. They argue that these indignities may be intentional or unintentional but they tend to communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insult towards people of color or lower classes and caste. Moreover, they argue that almost all interracial encounters are prone to micro-aggressions. Kagan *et al*. (2002) support this argument and assert that slums are often condemned and that slum dwellers experience micro-aggressions due to this contemptuous behavior of the larger society.

The *fifth domain* deals with the theoretical perspectives on slums. D'souza (1979) in his theory on urban slums and poverty in India has asserted that the slum dwellers occupy the lowest places in the social hierarchies in the larger society due to which they are marginalized. This marginalized and low status is perpetuated across generations. There is an intimate relationship between the ecological structure of a city and its social structure. The different social groups in a city tend to segregate themselves in different localities and enjoy differential advantages of their spatial locations. The poor and the slum-dwellers happen to be more or less the same people in the urban setting.

Another work of Stokes (1962) who developed a theory of slums provided a conceptual framework to comprehend slums. He has categorized slums horizontally as slums of "hope" and slums of "despair," and vertically as slums having escalator and non-escalator classes. The psychological distinction between "hope" and "despair" may readily be converted into a distinction between the employable and the non-employable. An escalator class is a group of people who can be expected, except for unusual factors, to move up through the class structure. A non-escalator class is one which is denied in some way the privilege of escalation and such class includes people of lower castes and disabled.

Hunter (1964) has opined that the problem of slums at the very core is a problem of the attitudes and behavior of people. Thus in studying slums one must understand human behavior that results from human existence in a culture and social setting. As we know from the work of Manis and Meltzer (1978) that Meaning exists around human beings in a triadic relation. Hence, one is in need of a social theory that can help one in deciphering 'meaning' in socio-cultural context. In this regard the work of Levi Strauss[10] on Structural theory in social anthropology can help us understand society in that relation. According to him meaning is produced and reproduced within a culture and that a specific domain of culture may be understood by means of a structure, modeled on language, which is distinct both from the organization of reality and those of ideas or imagination (Giddens 1987).

2.2 Conceptual Framework

This study addresses two main questions regarding the slums in Peshawar. Thus this research intends to use theoretical concepts borrowed from literature to be used as analytical tools. They are Rosenthal (1973) work on Social group-work theory, Hopkins and Hopkins (2002) theory of effects of cultural re-composition on group worker, Bourdieu's (2011) work on social capital, Sue *et al*. (2007) work on racial micro-aggression and Nezlek and Smith's (2005) theory of social identity.

As far as the rules underlying consequences of social interaction and its effects in the slums are concerned, I intend to employ the concept of language use and lexicon from Rosenthal's (1973) prescriptive theory and his concept of empirical gestalt from the descriptive

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[10]Social theory today: Structuralism, post-structuralism and the production of culture (Giddens 1987).

theory. He argues that in order to understand the dynamics of inter and intra group interactions one has to understand social group work theory which comprises prescriptive as well as descriptive aspects. He has suggests that the researchers should study the lexicon which is developed by social group workers that characterize the special ways in which they regard, understand, and interact with outsiders and each-other. He further suggests that in order to gain a firm grasp over group interactions the researcher also needs to investigate the empirical gestalt of the group/s being studied. Social groups are composed of certain people who possess agency and are thus capable of collecting individuals and forming a group. The members of a social group have a special relationship with this agent-leader and this aspect needs to be accounted for while studying social group interaction.

Another concept that I intend using in my analysis is drawn from part framework (Hopkins and Hopkins 2002). I am here referring to their concept of differential cultural way and world views. They argue that group members from different cultures have distinct cultural ways and worldviews. These differential worldviews have unique consequences for group interactions. They further argue that these unique consequences originate from mental processes of categorization that occurs when group membership is composed of individuals from diverse cultures. Thus, group members from diverse cultures have difficulty in interacting with each other as these members are conceptualized as others. They point out, however, that varying demographic origins do not cause much trouble in interaction process if the group members share the same language and values. Hence, lingual distinction and different cultural values can prove to be significant factors that can disrupt interactions (Hopkins and Hopkins 2002).

For understanding the concerns that deal with the socio-political and psychological consequences of interaction of the slum dwellers, I will use the concepts of (Bourdieu 2011), (Sue *et al*. 2007) and (Nezlek and Smith 2005). Bourdieu (2011) argues that social connections help to create social capital which depends upon the size of one's social network. One can effectively mobilize that capital when needed. He further argues that the volume and value of this capital can be both cultural and symbolic and are possessed in one's own right by each of those to whom one is connected. I will also incorporate the concept of social identity as put forth by Nezlek and Smith (2005). Their argument is that social identity and implicitly alludes to

social grouping. They also argue that in a given society some people are born with higher social status which put them in a better social position, while others attain social status by actively seeking it through interaction with powerful individuals, clubs and political organizations.

The concept of racial micro-aggression as coined by Chester M. Pierce and elaborated by Sue *et al.* (2007) will be used for thoroughly studying the interactional dynamics of slums. They have explained it as verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities. They argue that these indignities may be intentional or unintentional but they tend to communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insult towards people of color or lower classes and caste. They further argue that almost all interracial encounters are prone to micro-aggressions. Similarly, the work of Kagan *et al.* (2002) point out that slums are often condemned and that slum dwellers experience micro-aggressions due to this contemptuous behavior of the larger society. Thus, I will also look into this particular aspect as to whether the slum dwellers in Peshawar experience micro-aggressions.

Study of Slums in Peshawar

Major Concerns of the Study

- Social Inteaction within the Slums
  - Analytical Tool 1: language use and lexicon of the Group.
  - Analytical tool 2: Empirical Gestalt of Groups.
  - Analytical Tool 3: Role of differential cultural ways and world views on groups and creation of the 'Other'.
- Interactional Dynamics with non Slums dwellers
  - Analytical Tool 4: Bourdieu's Social Capital
  - Analytical Tool 5: Work on Social Identity
  - Analytical Tool 6: Racial Micro-aggression

This diagrammatic exposition of conceptual framework represents the way this study will analyse the data. It contains two main boxes beneath the heading of major concerns of the study in the first row indicating the two major concerns of the current research. Those major concerns are further subdivided into six analytical tools represented by six boxes. The first major concern as represented by the first box in the second row is social interaction within the slums. It has been sub-divided into an analytical tool 1, 2 and 3 represented by separate boxes. These boxes specify the work of Rosenthal's (1973) and Hopkins and Hopkins (2002). The second major concern represented by a box in the figure is about interactional dynamics with non-slum dwellers .It is also subdivided into three more boxes as analytical tool 4, 5 and 6 marking the work of Bourdieu's (2012) Social Capital, Nezlek and Smith's (2005) Social Identity and Sue *et al.* (2007) work on Racial Micro-aggression.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of four parts. Firstly, research methodology and research design are explained and justified in details. Secondly, it contains explanation and justification of research tools for data collection, units of data collection and procedure of data collection. In third part of the chapter, sampling framework and sampling methods are discussed. Finally, qualitative analysis and the stages of framework analysis are defined and explained.

3.2 Research Methodology

Research methodology is a process to solve research problem systematically. It can also be claimed as a science of studying how research is conducted scientifically (Kothari, 2004). Kothari (2004) further explains research methodology in a way that *"when we talk of research methodology we not only talk of the research methods but also consider the logic behind the methods we use in the context of our research study and explain why we are using a particular method or technique and why we are not using others so that research results are capable of being evaluated either by the researcher himself or by others"*. However, research methods and design concerned with my research work have been explained, step by step, below.

3.3 Research Design

Over the past two decades, use of qualitative research methods for data collection and analysis has increased rapidly (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2008) qualitative researchers deal with socially constructed reality and they also unearth the way in which social experiences are created and given meaning. Heppner, Kivlighan and Wampold (1999) state that contrary to the quantitative research methods which represent the world numerically, the way of qualitative research methods to represent the world is chiefly linguistic. According to Bryman and Bell (2015) qualitative research methods pertain to case studies where information is collected by studying few objects. Moreover, qualitative methods accentuate observation, interpretation and understanding in natural context (Ghauri et al., 1995).

The selection of research approach depends on what type of studies would be conducted. In this sense, Walliman (2010) while describing the benefits of qualitative method states that this method takes into account the overall phenomenon thoroughly and comprehensively. However, a qualitative approach was more suitable to my work because it was to research that what kinds of social factors influence interaction within and outside slums.

Social research offers several research designs and generally three designs, Exploratory, descriptive and explanatory, are common to deal with a research problem (Babbie, 2013). Firstly, many research studies are designed to explore a topic which makes a researcher familiarized with the topic. This kind of research designs is known as exploratory (Babbie, 2013). This research design is typically adopted when the researcher wants to study a new interest or phenomenon (Babbie, 2013). Secondly, some research studies are about describing an event or situation. In such kind of studies, the researcher observes a particular phenomenon and then he describes what he observed. All this is done in a design known as descriptive studies (Babbie, 2013). Finally, explanatory research design is about the question of "why". The researcher, generally, adopts this kind of research design when he wants to explain why a particular situation or phenomenon is occurring (Babbie, 2013).

Furthermore, Walliman (2010) defines research design as a framework that allows the researcher to "answer two basic questions (a) does the research provide answers to the basic research objectives and (b) if yes how well it does so" (Walliman2010). He asserts that in order to answer these questions adequately a researcher must insure that he is using the correct strategy of investigation and he/she is planning and structuring his/her research in a fashion that the two questions presented above are answered as precisely and accurately as possible. The sum total of the strategy, plan and structure of any research project is its research design.

Given my research questions, I intend using descriptive research design. A descriptive research design allows a researcher to "obtain a precise and accurate description of the characteristics of the phenomena, or a particular social group being studied to determine the frequency with which some events or characteristics occur in the population or sample of the study and the associations that exist among them. A descriptive research design also allows investigation of some social and psychological aspects of a group or people of a community" (Walliman2010).

I have decided to use a descriptive research design for my research because as indicated by my research questions and objectives. I intend to understand the structure and interactional dynamics of the two selected slums in Peshawar. Under the rubric of the term structure and dynamics, I aim at understanding the principals underlying group formation in the slums, the normative behavior constituting the inter group relationships within the slums, and describing the infrastructural trajectory of the selected slums. My study questions and objectives also demand that I describe the various dimensions of the interaction between the slum dwellers and the outsiders and explicate the socio-political and psychological consequences of the interaction of slum dwellers with each-other and outsiders. Another dimension of my research is to reconstruct and describe the history of the two selected slums. All this can be best done through using a descriptive research design and thus the decision.

3.4 Epistemological Position

This research intends to study the interactional and structural aspects of the slums of Peshawar. The research aims to includes different elements which are influenced by human beings (e.g. *human relations and their interests*). 'Interpretivism' is an appropriate epistemological position in this context of picking human knowledge (e.g. urban slums population). Walliman (2010) said of interpretivism; *"it is conceived in reaction to the effort to develop a natural science of the social. Its foil is largely logical empiricist methodology and bid to apply that framework to human enquiry."*

Justification for this decision was provided by (Bryman and Bell (2007). In their discussion about the differences between interpretivism and positivism, they mentioned that *"social reality is something is constructed and interpreted bypeople rather than something that exists objectively out there."* For instance, some of the objectives of this research were to know the interactional pattern and the social capital of slums dwellers, and to investigate current key issues facing slums dwellers. These objectives reflected the need to investigate the social reality. To achieve these objectives and the main aim, an interpretivism theoretical perspective was applied. Moreover, this research adopts 'constructionism' as its ontological perspective which is seen to be consistent with the research nature and its aim and objectives. This study gives a critical review of the given phenomenon. This research did not just describe what is found as

would be consistent with objectivism and did not create something out of nothing as would be done in subjectivism (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

3.5 Data Collection Methods

Research methods refer to all those methods by which the research is conducted. In other words, all those methods the researcher uses while studying his research problem (Kothari, 2004).

3.6 Units of Data Collection

A unit is a segment of the given phenomenon about which the data is collected. According to Beukenhorst, Dirkjan and Kerssemakers (2012), the units can be individuals, households or organizations etc. Units of data collection for my study are:

- **Slum Dwellers:**
  People living inside the two slums under study who have documents of their dwellings (rented or owned), ration cards, ID cards or are enlisted with the provincial election commission in their voting list of the area.

- **Non slum Dwellers:**

  People living outside the slums with whom the slum dwellers interact for employment and other social reasons.

- **Government Officials:**

  Government officials who directly or indirectly deal with the slum or slum dwellers.

- **Documents on Slums of Peshawar:**

  Documents on the history of slums or any written material that provides information related to slums generally or those being studied particularly. It may include books/academic reports/newspaper articles/ journals etc.

- **Local Police:**

  The functionaries of the local police stations.

- **NGO's functionaries:**

Functionaries of NGO who are working on the issues of slums or marginalized people's rights.

- **Oral Historians:**

This unit includes senior (old) citizens of these two slums.

- **Local Politicians (from both areas):**

This unit includes those MPAs, chairman, vice chairman and councilors who are in office. One respondent from politicians who was the former MPA.

3.7 Procedure of Data Collection

In initial phase, I targeted and identified my respondents, with the help of those friends who have relatives or former employees or who had labored for daily wages for them. I started conducting interviews on November, 2016 from those respondents inside slums. I was already known to some of the key people inside slums like local Imam, dispenser and two shopkeepers and their relatives living inside slums. I made acquaintance with both the internally displaced people and Afghan refugees there. Therefore, I started conducting, semi-structured and unstructured interviews respectively both from the key people mentioned above and their relatives who were living inside these slums. The duration of interviews was one hour and above. For the narrative interviews, two respondents stayed in touch with me throughout the period of field study. Then I coordinated with *non-slums dwellers* via those slum dwellers for whom they have worked in different capacities (daily wage labour, gardening, gatekeepers, vendors and taxi drivers). I conducted unstructured (informal) interviews from *the non-slum dwellers*. The duration of one interview was 2 hours and the other two consisted of one hour and above. The interviews I used for oral historians were semi structured with duration of almost one hour. I also used semi structured interviews for *the local police and officials of local government* with the duration of 30 or 45 minutes. The interviews for local politicians and ordinary political workers were semi structured some consisted of one hour while some of 30 to 40 minutes. From the city, it was easy for me to approach all respondents because I had got their phone numbers to coordinate with them before I left home. The other important thing was the consent of respondents in the slums. Before I started interview, I told them details of the topic of interview. On the other hand, in non-slum dwellers, I could not do so because of the lack of time with my respondents. When they

asked me the objective of discussions, I just told them that I was writing an article on slums of Peshawar. Moreover, inside slums, I faced many problems while approaching *slums dwellers* and local politicians. It was simmering season of June and July and I had to wait long for *my respondents and sit in their non-electric guestrooms.* In the Taj Abad slum, the respondents hesitated while answering my questions because of their illegal settlements and political opinion regarding the afghan refugees and in the Shaheed Abad, the respondents replied with vim and vigor because they are Pakistanis. It was easy to approach *slum dwellers of Shaheed Abad* and ordinary non-slum dwellers associated with them from the city. Some ordinary slum dwellers were always available at the *local mosque and shops*, and in the Hujra of slum councilor.

3.8 Data Collection

According to Ghauri et al. (1995) collecting data may be of secondary or primary type while using a particular technique for data collection. Bryman and Bell (2015) further explain that primary data is information that the researchers collect using questionnaires, interviews and tests while the secondary comprises the documents, reports, research articles conducted by other individuals. This research work involves both the primary and secondary data. The secondary data has been gathered from research articles, books, internet and newspapers. On the other hand, the primary data has been collected by using qualitative research methods such as semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews and participant observation which are explained below.

3.8.1 Rapport Building

Rapport building is an essential part of qualitative research because it enables the researcher to get accepted by the community as one of them. While building rapport the researcher explains his/her project to the community members and answers all their queries about the same in a fashion that is culturally appropriate and acceptable. While building the rapport the researcher also tries to do social networking in the community so that he/she creates a niche for him/her-self. During the period of rapport building the researcher uses unstructured interviews and informal exchange of information with the locals. The researcher also makes sure that in his/her behavior there is nothing that would alienate or offend the members of the community. Rapport building was used in the initial phases of research for UDC like slum dwellers and NGO's

workers. My rapport with some participants was already built. I built rapport with more participants via my friends and family members.

3.8.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation is a popular method for data collection especially in behavioral sciences (Kothari, 2004). In observation method, the information is gathered by the researcher's direct observation without asking any question from the respondents. I have also observed deeply the phenomenon of how the slum dwellers interact within the slums and with the non- slum dwellers of the larger society. In this regard, we know from the studies on research methodology of Kothari (2004) that the vital benefit of participant observation is the identification and harmonization of subjective bias. Secondly, as the information which is gained through participant observation method is related to currently occurring phenomenon thus this method becomes independent of the willingness of the interviewee to answer the questions.

Participant observation is a technique where the researchers observe the researched by becoming "members of the group they are supposed to study". In Participant observation, the observer observes from inside the group. It involves the following characteristics (a) a commitment to study everyday life events, which are studied the way they are experienced and understood by the locals. (b) A perception of reality as constructed through interaction and communication of the locals. (c) Performance of the study in the natural environment of the locals without changing it in any way and (d) perception of reality in an interpretive manner" (Bryman 2015).

This technique was used throughout my field work. It would allow me to get information about those parts of the lives of slum dwellers that they would not normally talk about in an interview.

For instance, there were the phenomena of drug trafficking on the small scale in both of these slums. Some of the young boys had connection with them, who can be seen buying and doing it at various isolated spots in these slums. They would brush aside, deny or ignore questions regarding the use and sale of drugs inside slums. However, one would easily uncover this activity in both of these slums as I observed.

Similarly, Bryman (2015) has explained that the aim of participant observation is not just the observation of the locale and people. In fact the researcher has to collect documents and chose potential interviewee. Thus, my role was both as partially participating observer and rapport builder. Partially participating observer is in fact do the same duties as participating observer however, the observation alone is not used for collecting data. Interviews and documents are also as useful as the observation is (Bryman, 2015). I have conducted some interviews from some people (men and women) who are deeply involved in the given phenomenon. I have also collected some documents related to my study. Before I started my research work

3.8.3 Key Informant

Key informant for a researcher is a population which he/she intends to explore and find out. The researcher tries to establish a reliable interactive channels with them because they are ingrained in the culture of the locale or population the researcher is studying.

Marshall (1996) defines key informant in a way that "*a key informant is an expert source of information. The key informant technique is an ethnographic research method which was originally used in the field of cultural anthropology and is now being used more widely in other branches of social science investigation*". My key informants were Unit of Data Collection slums dwellers, UDC councilor and a former MPA, some relatives of the said UDC and UDC oral historians who are living inside slums from the past ten years or so. They provided me extensive knowledge about the slums under study.

3.8.4 Interviews

Qualitative interview was one of my tools to collect primary data. Qualitative interviewing is largely different from quantitative interviewing; it is because the qualitative interviews are generally less structured than quantitative interviews (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Moreover, qualitative interview allows the respondents to be free to answer comprehensively, new questions may arise and the answers are rich suited to the questions (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

The qualitative interviews are divided and categorized into two in-depth interview approaches such as unstructured and semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2015). While unstructured interviews are characterized by conversation with a question and then listening and

taking of notes carefully of the answers from the respondents, the semi-structured interview is presented and administered in the form of checklist of problems and queries which the researchers want to cover during the conversation (Bryman and Bell 2015). The logic that dictate semi-structured and unstructured interview is that the interviewees have relative freedom of revealing their inherent opinions, feeling and perceptions regarding the slums under study. In addition, qualitative interviews offer a wholesome idea and details regarding the phenomenon understudy in a flexible manner, by allowing more space of expression to the respondent in compression with stricter interview formats and surveys (Bryman, 2015).

Therefore, in above mentioned manner, semi-structured, unstructured interviews and narrative interviews with open-ended questions have been used as the tools for data collection in this research work. All the interviews which were conducted were properly recorded. I have also extensively taken notes. Sometimes this was written during the interviews and sometimes right after I finished each interview.

3.9 Sampling

Bryman (2015) argues that it is prudent to use sampling procedures that correspond with the philosophy of the type of research, a researcher is conducting. I will for the purposes of the current research employ multiple sampling procedures. The sampling procedures to be used in this research will be a combination of probability and non-probability sampling methods. Sampling done in qualitative research has no strict or agreed rules however it is guided by theory and research requirements. It is not geared towards selecting a large number of respondents and although, it has no strictly defined sample size but the number of respondents is adjusted as the researcher goes along making room for suitability. The size of qualitative research samples is determined by the response rate. If response rate is large, the sample usually is small and vice versa (Bryman 2015).

In the current research, I have used stratified random sampling method and purposive sampling.

3.9.1 Stratified Random Sampling:

It is a probability sampling method defined by Sarantakos (2012) as "a form of simple or systematic random sampling, in which the population is divided into several strata and a sample is drawn from each strata. These sub-samples make up the final sample of the study".

I have this method with UDC slum, and non-slums dwellers given in the table below. In slums, I have used this method while administering semi structured and narrative interviews. While, using it in UDC slums, I have stratified the slum dwellers along the axis of age, occupation and caste/biradiri for rapport building. For semi-structured interviews the stratification has been along the axis of length of residence, level of political participation, level of education, and age and gender. In UDC non-slum dwellers, the stratification has been done along the axis of ranks, jurisdiction and position in social hierarchy.

3.9.2 Purposive sampling:

Purposive sampling is non-probability sampling method. In this method "the researchers purposively chose subjects who in their opinion are thought to be relevant to the research issue. In this case, the judgment of the investigator is more important than obtaining a probability sampling" (Sarantakos2012). Newman (year), defines purposive non-probability sampling method as one that "enables you to use your judgment to select cases that best enables you to answer your research question and to meet your objectives. This form of sample is often used when working with very small population and when you wish to select cases that are particularly informative" (as cited in Saunders 2011, p. 193).

I have used this method with UDC government officials, NGOS workers, local council members and to talk to key informants with grasp over history of the slums (oral historians). This method will also be used with the same UDC for slum members who have history of political participation. In UDC government officials I used this method to select Government functionaries who have researched on the problems of the slums and the problems created by the slums dwellers. I have also used this method UDC local police official (SHO Board area and Ring road). I have employed this method to select people from the local police station to get details of the cases of slums delinquency and who have history of implementing law on delinquent slum dwellers.

Table 3.1 Number of Respondents

UDCs	Taj Abad	Shaheed Abad
Slums dwellers	4	5
Non-slum dwellers	2	4
Local police officials	3	2
NGOS workers	2	4
Oral historians	2	3
Local politicians	Former MPA, 1 Chairmen, 1 Vice chairmen, 1 Councilors, 2	Chairmen, 1 Vice chairmen, 1 Councilors, 1
Local mosque Imam	1	0
Shop keepers	3	1

The difference between the numbers of respondents in these two slums is owing to the difference in population in these two slums. In shaheedabad the Imam refuses to give any response of any question. There are different number of respondents in different slums because I have chosen them purposively and only those who were relevant to my work. While I have stratified the sample, the rest of respondents were used purposively using non probability sampling.

3.10 Data Analysis

Qualitative analysis contains exploring the meanings of people's word, actions and trying to explicit the knowledge hidden in them (Ryan, 2006). Sometimes, this knowledge is overt and sometimes the researchers have to reveal to the readers (Ryan, 2006). Ryan (2006) further explains that analysis is a process of coming up with findings from the data. The whole process of qualitative analysis needs data to be organized, scrutinized, selected, described, interpreted, theorized, discussed and reported (Ryan, 2006).

3.10.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is the approach I have chosen for analysis of data. Thematic analysis is widely used in qualitative research (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis helps to identify, describe, analyse and report themes and patterns in rich details within a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). There are two fundamental ways to analyse data thematically: the inductive way and the theoretical deductive way. In the former way, the researcher gives codes to the data without trying to fit it into a pre-established coding frame or the researcher's analytic preconceptions. In this way, thematic analysis gives a rich description of the data suited to the broad research questions, making the specific research questions able to evolve through the process of coding (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In the latter way, the analysis is more analyst-driven explicitly. This type of thematic analysis provides a less rich description of the data overall and instead of focusing on a more detailed and rich analysis of some aspects of the data, coding for a specific research question (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In general, thematic analysis provides an interpretation and description of themes, often relevant to the previous studies which are reported in the review of literature (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3.10.2 Framework Analysis

For qualitative data analysis different tools of analysis can employed along thematic analysis. For instance, Content Analysis, Framework Analysis and Grounded Theory Method (GTM) can be employed as analysis tools. For my own research work, I have employed and extensively used Framework Analysis which is a comprehensive procedural way of generating themes. They are explained below in a step wise manner.

3.10.3 Transcription

The conversion of behaviourial language and spoken words into textual and written form is defined as Transcription (Mayring, 2014). There are a number of techniques of transcribing data which is further differentiated and catergorised along the axis of transcription conventions or stylistic notes as administered and followed in various data analysis tools. For the sake of my research work, I have employed transcription conventions which is defined as smooth and clean verbatim transcript (Mayring 2014)

Generally, convention transcription is done word for word however expressions which is also called false starts such as utterances (hmm or ahs), decorating words (right, you know or yeah), (which includes confused set of words), voice pitch and frequency, emphasis or stress and bodily expressions or emotional overtones are left out. The main focus of my work was to generate a coherent and lucid text representative and opinions of the views of respondents in simple and original wording which should be free from situational complexities (non-vocal discourse and other dialectic formulations).

3.10.4 Familiarisation

Qualitative data is compiled in various forms and sources such as verbatim transcript, interviews. Tape recordings, discussions, observational note, documents etc. Once data is gathered in the described forms I then used to read transcripts and field notes. I also carefully listen to phone recordings as suggested by Pope, Ziebland and Mays (2000). To familiarize myself with the data, I have read transcripts (of interviews) in detail, matching them with recordings to be sure. In order to absorb and understand meaning and patterns in the gathered data, the data is read and watched cautiously.

During the course of this step, I have also reviewed and reread literature in a detailed manner. It was done so to aware and sensitize myself to the potential meanings and themes that cannot be identified and known without the relevant literature.

3.10.5 Indexing and Coding

In Framework Analysis, we assign codes to the data in the next step. This process of assigning or tagging data with initial codes is known as indexing. This process is then invariably applied to all the textual data; for instance assigning codes to the transcript of interviews by annotating them with color codes or numerical data. Codes are in fact a kind of labels which lends conceptual meaning to the data (Boyatzis, 1998).

This process of assigning codes to the data is considered the first and foremost analytical step because by this way, the gathered data is organised into meaningful, decipherable conceptual groups (Braun and Clarke, 2006). However, this is done after ample familirisation with the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It is also to be noted that coding depends on whether the themes are

drawn and generated from the data or theory and whether it is entirely coding is done keeping the content of entire data or just particular parts of the collected data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This process can be done both manually or using software programs. However, for the purpose of my own research, I have done it manually.

For my own work, I employed line-by-line coding. In line-by-line coding procedure, each phrase, sentence or a line of a gathered data is assigned one code. By doing so, a careful and a detailed emphasis are given to each line with the transcript. As Braun and Clarke (2006) has suggested, the various data segments are highlighted with different colours.

3.10.6 Memo Writing

An additional to coding phase a researcher can also employ memo writing. During this process, it is prudently recommended to write one's own thoughts during the process of coding and developing themes. Memo writing is both a kind of pre-writing and free writing. It includes taking a group of assigned and then categorizing and dividing them into their constituents parts and then encouraging the researchers to start probing into unstated, implicit, and condensed meaning (Strauss, 1987). For my work, I had begun to write memos from the very start of re-reading the transcripts of interviews to the end of identifying the themes.

3.10.7 Identifying and Characterizing Themes

A theme in qualitative research is considered an idea which is used to articulate important aspects of the data which is related to the research question (Braun and Clarke 2006). A recurring function of theme is to represent a meaning or patterns within the assembled data. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) have suggested that it should not be related to the importance of a theme to quantification, rather the emphasis should be that how it relates to the research questions. For my own research, this process of identification and characterization of themes started early on and continued until the end. The potential themes were noted and worked out during first reading and coding of the transcript, for the sake of producing the final report. Thus, I have assigned codes to the transcript of interviews and often identified data by tagging them with more than one code. An individual and separate thematic chart was made for each code and each chart then constituted a main code and sub code while arranging them in separate columns. The transcribed data from each interview was presented in correspondence with these columns.

The next step involved the condensation of data from each column to keywords as a data reduction technique. These keywords were generated to give a lucid and detailed understanding of the given data which ultimately helped me to generate thematic categories for this research. Therefore, in following the above mentioned way potential thematic categorized were marked out and identified, and then codes were assigned in an organised way to present the themes in a more suitable style. After the steps of identification, coding and classification of themes they were described. Hence the themes written in this study were selected from the above mentioned thematic structure and are presented here in detail in the chapters dealing with findings and discussion section.

3.11 Data Verification

Data verification in qualitative research is a non-linear process, meaning it is not quantified but questioned, discussed and debated. There are various techniques to verify qualitative data the most important being triangulation in which data on same social phenomena, experiences, or events is extracted by using different techniques. In this research, I have cross-checked data by triangulation as I have collected data through interviews, participant observation and informal discussions. The use of observational techniques, in particular, helped in observing naturally occurring data in natural settings. The data collected in these settings helped me in bridging the missing links which were the result of use of conversational styles of data elicitation. A little example is that I observed in natural settings all what the dwellers of Taj Abad told me during informal discussions (interviews). Almost every slum dweller of Taj Abad, I met, talked about the economic and political dominance a nearby posh area Hayatabad. I myself observed this when during LG Polls of 2016; I went to guest house of former MPA whose family member was contesting for councilor to attend a meeting in which the former *MPA* declared that he was not going to let anybody contest, from Taj Abad, over the seat of Chairman and Vice Chairman of board and Hayatabad. Likewise, there were numbers of example, during fieldwork, which gave credentials to different data.

Chapter 4

Locale of the Study

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is comprised of two parts. In the first part, a brief description about the location of various slums is given. The second part illustrates the two slums Shaheed Abad and Taj Abad which are the main focus of this study.

4.2 Peshawar District

Peshawar is the capital of the Pakistani province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is abbreviated as KP. KP is one of the provinces among the four provinces of Pakistan. Geographically it is situated in the north-western part of the country. Federally Administered Tribal Areas which is administered under Frontier Crimes Regulation. It also serves as the administrative center and economic hub for the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Situated in a broad valley near the eastern end of the historic Khyber Pass, close to the border with Afghanistan, Peshawar's recorded history dates back to at least 539 B.C.E., making it the oldest city in Pakistan and one of the oldest in South Asia. Peshawar is the largest city of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. According to the last census, it is also the ninth-largest city of Pakistan.

Figure 4.1 Peshawar

Source: (The Government of Khyberpakhtunkhwa. *Peshawar Map*: retrieved, June 10, 2015, from http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/)

The total area of the district is 1257 Sq. Kms. Peshawar district has one cantonment and a total of 92 union councils. According to 1998 census its population is over 2 million however this number has increased 3 folds in the last two decades with an average household size of 8.6 per person. The literacy rate of the district is 41.9 percent (Desk 2011).

Moreover, Peshawar has hosted Afghan refugees since the start of the Afghan civil war in 1978, though the rate of migration drastically increased following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. By 1980, 100,000 refugees a month were entering the province,[1] with 25% of all refugees living in Peshawar district in 1981. The arrival of large numbers of Afghan refugees strained Peshawar's infrastructure, and drastically altered the city's demography. During the 1988 national elections, an estimated 100,000 Afghans refugees were illegally registered to vote in Peshawar (khan 2010).

Figure 4.2 Slums

World largest refugee camp, Jalozai camp,

Source: (The Government of Khyberpakhtunkhwa. *Peshawar Map*: retrieved, June 10, 2015, from http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/)

With the influx of Afghan refugees into Peshawar, the city became a hub for Afghan musicians and artists. Some Afghan refugees have established successful businesses in Peshawar, and play an important role in the city's economy.

Figure 4.3 Peshawar Central City
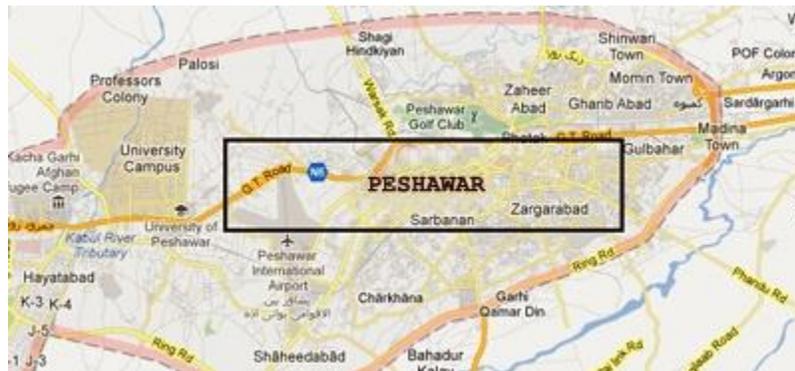
Source: (The Government of Khyber pakhtunkhwa. *Peshawar Map*: retrieved, June 10, 2015, from http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/

In recent years, Peshawar district hosts up to 20% of all Afghan refugees in Pakistan. In 2005, Peshawar district was home to 611,501 Afghan refugees — who constitute 19.7% of the district's total population. Peshawar's immediate environs were home to large Afghan refugee camps, with Jalozai camp hosting up to 300,000 refugees in 2001 – making it the largest refugee camp in Asia. The influx of fist Afghan refugees and then IDPs have resulted in bulging of the size and number of slums incidence in Peshawar district.

4.3 Slums of Peshawar:

The total number of slums that were identified by the UN-Habitat in the city is 18. Most populated and prominent among these slums are the 4 slums are Shaheedabad, Tajabad, Changarabad, and Gujjar Camp.

With the yearly growth rate of 3.29%, Peshawar is a rapidly growing city with the total estimated population of 3.3 million (Consultant 2013). Afghan Refugees and Internally Displaced People (IDPs) are considered to be the major factors of rapid urbanization in Peshawar however; rural populations migrating to cities is also a taken as significant cause of growing urbanization in the city. Those refugees and IDPs who arrive with limited means often choose to live in low income urban settlements, thereby constituting a major proportion of the slums.

Figure 4.4Shaheedabad Area

Source: Field Work

Due to high population densities and absence of proper hygiene and sanitation mechanisms, these four slums are prone to high incidence of diseases and health related problems. According to UN-Habitat (2012), 74% of these slums dwellers reported occurrence of various diseases during the last two years. When seeking medical assistance, 84% of the residents seek public health facilities, especially large government hospitals such as Khyber Teaching Hospital and LRH, while 30% also use private facilities. The average cost per visit to a health facility for 85% respondents ranges from Rs. 10 to Rs. 100. While the remaining 15% pay as high as Rs. 500 and above, mostly representing the cost of visiting private clinics".

Similarly, According to UN-Habitat (2012) in the local socio-economic context, men are the primary bread winners, while women take care of the house. Reflecting this reality, 62% men (aged 15 and above) are engaged in employment as compared to 4% women. Almost half of those employed (49%) are engaged in daily wage labour, while the remaining are split almost equally between salaried work and self-employment. Illiteracy, low education and skill levels (skills that would help one find a job) are the biggest problems in seeking decent work.

4.4 Illegal Settlements

The city of Peshawar according to Desk (2013) is faced with two main issues: one, the illegal settlements and second the growing numbers of slums in Peshawar. During the course of three decades the afghan refugees have settled in a makeshift order in and around city. Then the recent militancy and military operations have resulted in an enormous number of internal refugees from the adjoining areas. Who have find refuge in the same unsettle settlements and slums, as Peshawar city lacks a planned and organized refugee camps inside its city's vicinity. Most importantly, the rural-urban migration where people in hope of better employment and education opportunities chooses cities as sign of hope and migrate.

The inability and lack of stewardship on the part of city administration, first their un-shrewd hibernation over the issue of illegal settlements let the people built homes on such areas and then those people were given certain rights which made them think of their homes as permanent. All this is made even worse by the collusion of land grabbing mafia and city administration, where the former find support and space for their illegal activities.

The exacerbation of the situation due to the recent military operations in the tribal belt and increase in rural to urban migration to build up his case for the deteriorating conditions of these illegal unplanned settlements and slums incidence in Peshawar.

4.5 Tajabad slums

Taj Abad is a slum area which is situated along the railway track in board area of Peshawar. It lies to the south of a posh and developed area Hayat Abad only separated by seasonal flood canal. According to the local council and Peshawar Development Authority officials, around 70 percent of this area is occupied by illegal settlers. The total registered population of Taj Abad according the local council officials is 23 thousand. Around above 60 percent of the slums dwellers of Taj Abad are Afghan refugees, more than 20 percent is IDPs and the rest are those doing menial jobs.

Figure 4.5Tajabad Slums Area

Source: Field Work

The houses of Tajabad have small doors, and the women folk have to fitch water from the nearby local council water pipeline.

Figure 4.6Tajabad Slums

Source: Field Work

It is surrounded on one side by a flood canal and Hayat Abad to its west and Board Bazar and university road lies towards its north which is separated by a railway line.

Figure 4.7Inside Areas of Slums

Source: Cynosure consultant's report

Tajabad Slum area has no government school and dispensary whatsoever, however, as it lies near to Hayat Abad medical complex thus people avails medical services from there. Children are sent to the local government schools situated nearby in Board and police colony areas.

4.6 Shaheed Abad:

Shaheed Abad slums area is located on the north bank of eastern ring road of Peshawar city. Shaheed Abad slum is characterized by congested houses of brick with depilated sewerage system and lacks clean drinking water. The main streets are paved and made of concrete but as one enters the inner streets, it becomes very narrow that it cannot be accessed through a vehicle.

Figure 4.8 Shaheedabad Slums

Source: Field Work

Shaheed Abad has two primary schools, one each for boys and girls and a high school. It has well-kept mosque. Government dispensary with a good small building is also easily seen when one enters this slum area.

Figure 4.9 Shaheedabad Slums

Source: personal camera of the researcher.

Total population in the Shaheedabad slums, according to the union council officials is 13 thousand. Almost 50 percent of the population is the local residents who have names on local voter list. About 30 percent of the population is composed of IDPs and the rest are Afghan refugees.

Chapter 5

Data analysis and discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter includes data analysis and discussion in the wake of findings. The following pages define the socio-cultural and political rules underlying the group formation, group diversity and their interactional dynamics. Moreover, social, political and psychological consequences of the slum dwellers' interaction with non-slums dwellers in the two locales of this research are also narrated.

5.2 Consequences of socio-cultural factors

Slum dwellers seek social status like any other resident of other places. We know that social status results from social interaction which affects group and social identity. Social interaction leads to social networking which helps to create social capital for the slums dwellers. Generally slum dwellers and migrants in slums attain social capital by developing social networks and interactions inside and outside the slums. The slum dwellers that develop networks of personal relationships within the slum that plays a significant role in their survival. As it is widely known that slums do not have enough civic amenities thus many slum dwellers meet their basic human needs through informal personal connections outside the slums. A slum dweller told me that;

We keep very cooperative relation with the folks of other tribes within the slums. Now that many IDP's have arrived here from Mohmand Agency (FATA) and Bajur Agency (FATA), the population here has increase significantly. We especially keep good relation with the member of the same tribe. We lend each-other in time of need. Who else can one depend when one need financial assistance or an extra hand.

The idea of social network building presented above is similar to the Bourdieu (2011) concept of social capital. He defined social capital at the levels of an 'individual' as the value of social capital possessed by an individual. The amount of social capital possessed by an individual depends on the size of the network of connections that one can effectively mobilize. Also relevant here is the volume of capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic) possessed by each

of those to whom one is connected. An example of social capital can be seen in the study of AREU (2006), this study reveals that Afghans in the slums of Peshawar relied on social networks across borders to guide them to locations where they can be safe and could have sustenance. The study also shows that due to their social capital, Afghan refugees have become upwardly mobile too. These Afghans lived and are living in the slums under my study. Thus, social interaction for the slums dwellers in Peshawar[11] remains important in both economic and non-economic sense. In the socio-cultural sense, it remains important because social interaction and group formation results in the symbiotic relationship inside slums which sustain the slums household. An Afghan living in the slum told me;

We have been living here for at least two decades. We have intermittently changed locations. The government last time uprooted the refugee camp, and we have nowhere else to go. One of our relative who was already living here, help us find a place here and he also help us find good daily wages.

5.3 Political Consequences

It is almost an understood and accepted generalization regarding slums that slum dwellers face and experiences marginalization at all levels of social and economic interaction. Marginalization is almost considered an invariable experience in slums life. Marginalization as an experience in slums cannot be denied, as Kagan *et al.* (2010) have suggested that marginalization faced by the people in slums have multiple facets. They assert that the slum dwellers very often face economic, political, technological and intellectual marginalization. As for my research data, it has revealed that marginalization in the slums of Peshawar exists in the form of social exclusion. For instance youth who mostly passes their time in the streets and vicinity of the slums are faced with the burden of poverty, lack of family support as well as infectious diseases. They are also understandably prone to drug addiction. Much of these issues result from social exclusion. A young boy of Shaheed Abad slum remarked;

Most of the young men are hardworking, who labour all day to meet their needs and their families. Some of them are vendors and carpenters as well. In the spare time, we go to the local

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[11]Peshawar is the capital of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. It stretches from 33º44´ to 34º15´ north latitudes and 71º22´ to 71º45´ east longitudes, covering an area of about 1267 km2 .It is bounded in the north by Charsadda and in the east by Nowshera districts respectively. The Khyber Agency is on the west. Mohmand Agency is in the northwest, while Frontier Region of Kohat is in the south(Samiullah 2013).

snooker club. However, some of the boys are given to smoking habits and some use local 'chars' easily getable from the area. These boys are bringing bad names for our locality.

Another young boy of 19 years of age told me that since being Afghans and poor, they are not allowed to get membership of local gymnasium, most of the young boys while away their time either in low cost gyms or smoke by the railway track.

Building on the preceding argument the data also reveals that the poor and slum dwellers are also marginalized due to the social hierarchy, in the larger society within which they occupy the lowest places. This leads to exclusion from the political life. This is also to be remembered that most of the slums dwellers are either IDP's or Afghan refugees, thus they are excluded from political life due to unregistered status on the voting list in the locale. One of Taj Abad Slum dweller told that,

We had no local election system in FATA. Now that we have been displaced due to military operations, we have found a home here in Taj Abad. Here too, we have no say in the local politics and area. We cannot vote. Only the residents of board area and Hayat Abad can cast vote and thus have influence over local politicians and administrations.

Then further, their low status is perpetuated through social inheritance across generations. The data also pointed out that there is an intimate relationship between the ecological structure of a city and its political structure. This proposition emphasizes the fact that the ecological structure of a city is a spatial representation of its social and political structure. For instance, different social groups in a city tend to segregate themselves in different localities and enjoy differential advantages of their spatial locations. For instance Taj Abad being near to Hayatabad is in stark contrast in terms of civic amenities and recreational facilities and the same goes for Shaheed Abad area in comparison with well-kept street of its neighboring locale. This differential treatment of two areas within the same locale creates a strong sense of political marginalization. The dwellers of posh or well-kept area being registered on electoral registers give them edge and ability to dictate and fight for civic amenities and their rights while on the other hand, the slums mentioned lack that political strength to assert their rights.

5.4 The social and economic consequences of the interaction of slum dwellers with non-slums dwellers

The data from the field work has revealed that it is common practice that the slum dwellers seek employment opportunities for upward mobility. The employment structure of the Peshawar city is dominated by the existence of informal sector which in turn is dominated by unorganized trade and service activities. The informal sector contains bulk of the urban poor and slum dwellers who are primarily engaged in informal sector. The slums dwellers from both Shaheed Abad and Taj Abad increasingly seek jobs and livelihood activities outside their slums. For this purpose, they maintain close and dependent relationships with the non-slum dwellers of the near and far areas. As a slum dwellers of Shaheeb Abad said that,

First I was employed by a local bank as a security guard. Although, I had no experience or requisite education for that job but I got employed because my father's old friend who is rich has influence on the manager and officials of that bank.

Another Slum dweller from Taj Abad stated that he started selling fruit in Board bazar because one of his friend's brothers is a constable in board Police station and with the help of that constable hegot a No Objection Certificate and work permit from local authorities. As he is an Afghan, this has been a total blessing in a time when Afghan refugees are facing various issues like harassment by local police and authorities. Thus Afghans increasingly find it default to find work in Peshawar

However, often these slums dwellers in search of menial jobs are exploited by the non-slums dwellers for the lack proper documentation. This is more often the case with the afghan slums dwellers of these two slums. The local IDP's has also complaints of being given below market labour rates and are often hoodwinked by the non-slum dwellers. As one respondent from Taj Abad did mention a story of being exploited by a resident of Hayat Abad, when he moans their garden and paid very meagerly. When he complains he was threat to be given to local police and extradited to Afghanistan.

Thus to avoid being exploited, the slum dwellers seeks concrete social links and interaction with the non-slums dwellers. Besides economic gains, slum dwellers also wants to seek social status, as social status results from social interaction which affects group and social

identity. Slum dwellers and migrants in these two slums attain social capital by developing social networks and interactions outside the slums. This interaction helps the slums dwellers to materialize opportunities for finding job and daily wages. However, this interaction also reinforces their sense of social and economic marginalization of the slum dwellers.

5.5 Psychological Consequences

Studying the Slums life, a researcher is dawned upon that the problem of slums at the very core is a problem of the attitudes and behavior of people. This attitude stems from the indifference of the larger community towards the neglect and victimization of the underprivileged and marginalized people living in slums. Marginalization of slum dwellers in social and psychological sense starts at the very beginning, slum dwellers that are born into marginality are further excluded and victimized by the fact that they are cut off from their original social networks. While slums are considered to be places of drug addicts and criminals, the slum dwellers are socially avoided by those who live outside the slums. A police Constable opined,

Some of these slums lads are pickpockets and drug addicts. Most of them are addicted to opium. They are not only a security liability but also social.

However, an NGO employee who works for UN-Habitat remarked that,

Slum dwellers have been stereotyped. The police must know that the ring leaders who supply those drugs are living in posh areas. Their criminality is an induced criminality owing to their economic condition which is in turn exploited by white color criminals of the posh areas again.

The slum dwellers are marginalized because they occupy the lowest socio-economic rungs in the ladder of the socio-economic stratification in the larger society. Further the data suggests that these slums have always been labeled and understood as spaces of deviance and criminal behavior. The slum dwellers live with this stigma that their living areas are considered places of deviances. The slum dwellers also believe that despite this labeling there has been no attempt on part of the larger society to actually understand the deviance and criminality in slums and to locate the same within the power and social structures of the larger social formation. A resident of Shaheed Abad, who is bachelor level student at a local college, told that;

The fact that our street has the worst sewerage condition makes me sick. It is too hard to be living near to this smell. But one gets used to it, what we can do. I am also disgusted when I am asked the name of my town and I tell them the name of Shaheed Abad and they start looking at me suspiciously. Our area is famous for mobile snatchers. I want to shift from here. I will never want my children to live here, If I married.

Social stigmatization affects psychological wellbeing of the slum dwellers. And this has been also observed in the slums of Peshawar. The slums dwellers, especially the youth faces verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities. These indignities as the data has revealed, may be intentional or unintentional but they have tended to communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insult towards people lower economic classes and alien tribes. Thus majority of the interactions with the non-slums dwellers have been marked by micro-aggressions. A slum dweller of Taj Abad told said that,

I have worked as a daily wage earner in Hayatabad for two years. I have worked on construction sites and well as toilet cleaner at homes. I have always felt a kind of sorry feeling for the way I am talked to by my employer. When I am served dinner or tea, they ask to take the plates. Which makes me feel like, now these plates are dirty forever and only I can use it.

Another slum dweller from Tajabad told that,

Even when they give me my salary, they act as if they are doing me a favour and totally disregard my hard work. They sound like I am taking more money that I deserve for my work let alone respecting my work.

5.7 Discussions:

Pakistan is faced with the problem of growing number of slums incidence. Pakistan is a country that is 6th largest population wise and has a sizeable proportion of its urban poor living either in slums or shanty settlements in urban areas. The North Western province of Pakistan known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa[12] is faced with a mounting issue of urbanization resulting from rural-urban migration. Most of these migrants include internally displaced people (IDP) from Tribal belt

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[12]Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is abbreviated as KP. KP is one of the province among the four provinces of Pakistan. Geographically it is located in the north-western part of the country. (http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/)

(FATA[13]) due to military operations and Afghan refugees who are settled in Peshawar, Nowshera and Charsadda.

The IDP and the Afghan refugees who came to Peshawar and its surrounding towns have settled in makeshift housing, this in turn has exacerbated the situation of illegal settlements. According to the local officials, 60-70 percent of the total land of Peshawar is occupied by illegal settlements. My observation and data has also revealed that has increased the demand for land in the city, with the surge in competitive demands for land in the city, the urban poor are pushed to more marginalization and this leads to an increased slum incidence.

5.7.1 Social interaction with the non-slum dwellers and intra slums social interaction

The interactionist Scholarship suggest, that interaction occur under shared social meanings and meaning exist in a triadic[14] relationship. It is also suggested that when anindividual appears before others, he/she will have many motives for trying to create an image that serves his/her ends. This implies that social interaction is a way of presentation of self to others and it also leads to group formations. Social psychology has tried to explain groups in both natural situations and artificially generated ones. However, so far it has never come to grips with its empirical configuration. Social groups by definition are a conglomerate of individuals who have shared interests, vision and goals. This being the case, members of a social group have a collective consciousness based on values that would allow them to achieve their collective goals. This however should not be understood as saying that there is no individual variation within the group.

Social interactions in the slums of Peshawar have positive bearings. While it is characterized by tribal affiliations, it also cut through shared political and economic interests. This research has revealed that both IDP's and Afghan refugees depended on social networks to first find a place in these two slums and then capitalize that social capital for finding jobs. Some of these slum dwellers have become upwardly mobile owing to these social networks. Thus social interaction for the slums in Peshawar remains important in both economic and non-economic sense. This can be revealed from the narration of a slum dweller in Taj Abad,

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[13] Federally Administered Tribal Areas which is administered under Frontier Crimes Regulation. (https://fata.gov.pk/)
[14]Mead's social theory and functional theory of mind by William Lewis Troyer.

We migrated from Waziristan before the military operation. We gauged and sensed the worsening of situation. We were lucky to have left our home town just a month before the military operation. Prior to coming to Peshawar, we have no relative or close acquaintance to have helped us settled here. We were in search of a low cost home so that my children can find a home. We find a house in Tajabad which was shabby and torn but that was what we can afford at the time. The first days were tough for us. There were no work and thus no financial resources to sustain us. Then I discovered that many of my tribal folks have already came here. They started helping me as soon as I got acquainted to them. One of my tribal elder helped me get a job on local construction site. He also assisted me in finding another job as a gate keeper in a residential plaza. There I came in interaction with a young officer of Excise department who helped my son find jobs in Hayatabad. We started earning enough money to rent a home in a more decent place. So we rented the lower portion of a 5 marla home near police colony. Now I am better off even more than I was in my home town before operations.

Nevertheless, as I observed infrastructure of the slums in Peshawar corresponds more to the description of Thomas (1999) work on slums of the subcontinents which points out that the dwellings in the slums of Peshawar are more like (katche) structures with predominantly Afghan refugees and IDP's. Their social life is based on social networks of various types to include kinship, ethnicity, economic relations, faith and party politics. As the host population is also ethnically Pashtun thus these refugees are well absorbed within the slums and they achieve upward social mobility easily.

5.7.2 The economic and social conditions of these two slums

My observation revealed that not all slum households are poor thus slum residents have heterogeneous living conditions, depending on their varying economic status and on the neighborhood in which they live. In the process of comparing the poor and non-poor slum residents within the slums of Taj Abad and Shaheed Abad, I have observed that the poor often lag behind their non-poor neighbors in access to some basic infrastructure. However, these two slums in terms of availability of civic and infrastructural amenities do not reveal any stark heterogeneity. I have observed that almost both the slums have the same infrastructural issues and living conditions. The only difference is that the Taj Abad slums have more mud houses and unpaved streets with pen sewerage system while Shaheed Abad have brick houses paved street

but even worse sewerage system. Nonetheless, the condition of health, utilities, road, transportation, education, skills, employment and income levels were found to be almost the same in these slums.

Another difference between the two slums however is that the residents of Shaheed Abad are mainly Pakistani citizens and thus more politically and economically empowered and better off, while the residents of Taj Abad due to their Afghan citizenship and identity faces various hurdles when dealing the local administration and officials. As was told me by a dweller of Taj Abad slum.

The local officials and especially police of Hayatabad and board area far from helping to do some better work for us, demands bribes instead. If we try to resist, they have the power to either extradite or make fake cases. To be a citizen of Afghanistan has become an unbearable liability for us. A few years ago we were happy here but now as the two countries often fight over the border, we are made scapegoats.

5.7.3 Social mobility

Social mobility as Link (2011) has defined is the potential of people who can break through the boundaries of social classes. Bearing this definition in mind, I have observed a very interesting phenomenon while studying these two slums. Slum dwellers that have no permanent dwellings and live either on rent or as tenants have been found more socially mobile. As soon as they find better jobs with good pay, they rent a house in more well-kept towns and residential areas. Interestingly, it has been found that the slum dwellers of Taj Abad despite the fact that majority of them are non-citizen Afgahns in origin are more mobile. As soon as they get hands on ample sum of money, they shift either to Hayatabad or GulBahar area. While on the other hand the dwellers of the Shaheed Abad who for the most part own their dwellings or even those living on rent are less socially mobile. As a respondent in Shaheed Abad remarked,

We have been living here for 7 years. We bought this piece of land and then build a small home here. Although, this place has many issues like depilated sewerage system and lack of clean drinking water but this is our home, we own it. Many people here are living in rented home and we are at least better off in that way.

5.7.4 Psychological reading of the two slums

As we have learned from the studies of Sue *et al*. (2007) that there is also a negative consequence of social interaction of different classes which is racial micro-aggression. They have explained it as verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities. They argue that these indignities may be intentional or unintentional but they tend to communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insult towards people of color or lower classes and caste. Moreover, they argue that almost all interracial and inter-tribal encounters are prone to micro-aggressions. We also know that the work of Kagan *et al*. (2002) has support this argument and assert that slums are often condemned and that slum dwellers experience micro-aggressions due to this contemptuous behavior of the larger society.

It is observed that the slum dwellers of both areas faced Micro-invalidations[15]. As they work outside their slums area for their livelihood as daily wage labourer/informal sector or even in more regular basis as monthly salaried person, they experience micro-invalidation. Their jobs and work are considered menial and of no importance by the non-slum dwellers. Or the outer society show complete indifference to their work and efforts instead of appreciation. As one respondent of Shaheed Abad responds,

I use to work for a man in his house and he sometimes when his younger son will try to talk to me, his father would tell him to go to his room. I would find it very sad. Then at the time of giving me my wage, he would behave as if he is doing me a great favor instead of acknowledging my long hours work

Similarly, it is to be pointed out that the IDP's and especially Afghan refugees experience micro-invalidation inside the slums as well from their slum neighborhood. Their culture and unique way of living is seen as alien and downplayed by those who have spent more years inside these slums and the locals. One IDP from South Waziristan (FATA) responded that,

Our dialect is little understood here, and often they belittle our way of speaking Pashto.

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[15]Micro-invalidations are characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person (Sue *et al*. 2007).

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

A slum incidence in south East Asia presents a dismal picture. In South Asia, slum and squatter populations are estimated to be 58% of the total urban population compared to 36.4% in East Asia and 28% in Southeast Asia. The estimates are that more than 60% of the increase in the world's urban population over the next three decades will be in Asia, mostly in China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Nine out of 23 cities of the world with populations of more than 10 million people are already in Asia. Similarly, Asia will have many cities with a population of more than a million people each. Thus this information indicates that the urban population in the world is rising and so are the urban slums.

Pakistan is also faced with the problem of slums. Pakistan is a country that is 6[th]largest population wise and has a sizeable proportion of its urban poor living either in slums or shanty settlements in urban areas (Desk 2013). The North Western province of Pakistan known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa[16] is faced with a mounting issue of urbanization resulting from rural-urban migration. Most of these migrants include internally displaced people (IDP) from Tribal belt (FATA[17]) due to military operations and Afghan refugees who are settled in Peshawar, *Nowshera and Charsadda*. This situation affirms Fox's (2008) assertion that political instability and rural-urban migration causes slum incidence.

The IDP and the Afghan refugees who came to Peshawar and its surrounding towns have settled in makeshift housing, this in turn has exacerbated the situation of illegal settlements. According to the local officials, 60-70 percent of the total land of Peshawar is occupied by illegal settlements (Khan 2014). This has increased the demand for land in the city, and as asserted by Ooi and Phua (2010) with the surge in competitive demands for land in the city, the urban poor are pushed to more marginalization and this leads to an increased slum incidence. We see the

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[16]Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is abbreviated as KP. KP is one of the province among the four provinces of Pakistan. Geographically it is located in the north-western part of the country. (http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/)

[17] Federally Administered Tribal Areas which is administered under Frontier Crimes Regulation. (https://fata.gov.pk/)

same results in the city of Peshawar as Consultants(2012) in a study[18] have identified 18such slums in the city of Peshawar. According to this study, the population of Peshawar is increasing at per year growth rate of 3.29%.The total estimated population of Peshawar is 3.3 million. This increase is burdening the whole scenario immensely.

In the light of findings from this research, this chapter includes some conclusions and roadmap for future research works on the same themes. Slums of Peshawar have cultural roots to the towns, villages and native places from where these slum dwellers came and influenced the Pakistani society especially the urban spaces. Some urban areas cannot escape the influence of these slums despite recurring efforts of rehabilitation and town planning. However, there is a dire need of civic measures to provide basic amenities to them. In this regard the following roadmap can be adopted.

6.2 Full-hearted Political Reforms

This may include documentation of slum areas in Peshawar and census to determine the composition of IDP's, Afghans refugees and locals in these slums. It will help to formulate and evolve future town/slum planning for these slums areas. A study[19]has identified 18such slums in the city of Peshawar. According to this study, the population of Peshawar is increasing at per year growth rate of 3.29%.The total estimated population of Peshawar is 3.3 million. This increase is burdening the whole scenario immensely. Thus political reforms for the slums have become all the more important to formulate both demographic and populations policies.

A more vital step should be to register IDP's on voting registers so that they can dictate their political right and raise their concern with the local administration. Registering Afghans and giving them work permits would encourage them to pay service and other taxes to the local administration which would be more beneficial to the state than bribing local officials which

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[18] This study was conducted by Cynosure Consultants (Pvt.) Ltd which worked with UN-Habitat to collect information on Slums located in Peshawar, KP. In fact, it was UN-Habitat which sponsored and commissioned this study after coordinating and collaborating with the UPU (Urban policy Unit) of KPK Government. After its completion it was submitted to United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat).

negatively affect the state. This will also stop the exploitation of IDP, s and Afghan refugees in these slums while bringing benefits for both local and state government.

6.3 Full-hearted educational reforms

Establishing education facilities and institute will first lessen the rate of crimes and bring positive change to the well-being of slums children. Secondly, if skill development and vocational institutes are opened, it will help to create skill labours which will not only be beneficial for local state revenue but for the whole economy.

6.4 Civic Amenities:

Paving off the streets, constructing sewerage line and management will improve the pollution ranking of the Peshawar city. As we know that Peshawar has a dire pollution problem, providing basic amenities to the slum areas would help to mitigate this situation. Nonetheless, it is also the responsibility of the state to provide its citizen the basic health and civic amenities.

.6.5 Role of Media

Media can play a decisive role to educate people regarding the rights of IDP,s and refugees. They can help mitigate and educate people regarding the effects of micro-aggression which is faced by the slum dwellers in general and Afghan refugees and IDP,s in particular.

6.6 Conclusion

The social interaction has its positive consequences in the form of creating strong social networks within the slums and with the outer society. These social network help to create social capital for the slum dwellers which is further capitalized for the opportunities like job in both formal and informal sector. These social networks are also exploited by the slum dwellers to influence local police and officials of local government to draw civic and political benefits. However, these benefits are very differential and play out differently for different tribes and identities with the slums. Afghan refugees within these slums while benefiting low cost housing also had to face several challenges on social and psychological levels, while IDPs too are prone to some of these challenges and find it hard to draw benefits like locals do.

Furthermore, both the slums under study have been found similar on the grounds of difficulty but there have also been stark differences such as social mobility and political rights have been found different at the two slums. Taj Abad which is mainly populated by the Afghan refugees and IDPs while socially more mobile than Shaheed Abad is lacks political rights of voting and are coerced by the local police for the different reasons. While Shaheed Abad enjoys political rights for being populated by the locals who have registered voting rights and voice in the affairs of their locale. However, they are not as socially mobile as Taj Abad's slum dwellers.

6.7 Area for Future Investigation

Lately in the 20th century the need for research on urban poverty and human relations in urban areas has been greatly realised and a growing number of researchers are studying urban poverty and especially slums in urban areas under the realm of anthropology. The main area of concern for researching slums has been that whether slum is a product of urbanisation or not, what kind of relationship exists between it and the bigger society? It is worth inquiring to study what makes a slum the breeding place of criminality, immorality, and other forms of social problems? And, is it possible to deconstruct, isolate, and examine some of these variables associated with slum life? No matter how much these questions elicit researcher's interest, still the first question in relation to urban slums that arises is: If one wants to conduct research in a slum neighborhood, what are the key challenges faced by the researchers?

Moreover, urban anthropologists have learnt that the theories developed in experimental laboratories and then translated into human strategy for research or data collection proves inadequate in the field. There is also a difference in theory and what one practically experiences on the ground. Thus the academic ideals of many students working in fields alter when one comes in direct contact with the slum dwellers, and as a result one becomes a pragmatist just like other slum dwellers.

Despite all odds anthropological research on urban slums has been contributory in producing context-specific knowledge. This knowledge is differentiated along the axis of spatial, experiential and temporal narratives. These narratives have helped highlight issues such as ecological imbalances, structural inequality, social poverty, inter- and intra-household hierarchies, ethnic conflict and lack of state intervention, changing societal order and aggrandising criminalities. These areas of thematic focus could not have been explored had

anthropologists not faced the difficulties of field research in urban slum settings. Variant theoretical, methodological and analytical frameworks have been employed as well as devised by anthropologists along the way, which has helped in producing alternative knowledge on slum life. Anthropological contribution to this knowledge production is revelatory yet marked with field related issues which if dealt with care and sensitivity can produce context bound research on urban slums. Therefore, there is a growing need of context specific research on urban slums of Peshawar.

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Appendix 1

Interview

Administered from slum dwellers

Name:_____

Occupation:_____

Age: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Guide Questions for Semi-structured Interview

1. From how long, you have been living here?
2. What circumstances lead to your living/renting home here?
3. How do you find this place in terms of facilities drinking water, roads and rent?
4. Are you satisfied about the living condition here?
5. If your income increases, where would you buy/rent home?
6. Did you have any relative in this slum prior to settling here, how do you find this place?
7. Do you have any relatives in the city, do they visit you here and what is their behavior with you?
8. Does your relatives help you in finding job or financially?
9. Do you have any friends in the city, do they visit you here and what is their behavior with you?
10. How are your friend who lives in the city helpful in your life?
11. How do you find your work in the city, How do you find the attitude of your employer?
12. If you have any issue in this place who do you go for amelioration?
13. Do people seek the help of People or local Jirga in case of any issue?
14. Do your tribal kin help you in daily chores?
15. Do your tribal kin assist you when in need of finances?
16. Does the local Administration help you in regard to your sanitation and clean drinking water issues?
17. Do you have any concern and apprehension regarding the growing drug addiction in the area?
18. Had any NGOs or social workers helped you?
19. How often the child vaccination and polio workers visit here?
20. Had you any hope from the local or provincial government that they would provide basic amenities to your area?

Appendix 2

Interview

Administered from an NGO workers

Name:_____

Occupation:_____

Age: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Guide Questions for Semi-structured Interview

1. How your organisation helps the slums dwellers?
2. Had you personally visited Tajabad and Shaheedabad areas?
3. How did you contributed to their welfare?
4. How the funds from the NGOs helped those areas?
5. Did you find the slums dwellers participative?
6. Did the slum dwellers provide you the requisite information and data?
7. How do you find the attitude of larger society with the slums dwellers?
8. How do you see the future of these two slums?

Appendix 3

Interview

Administered from local council board members political elders of the area

Name:_____

Occupation:_____

Age: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Guide Questions for Semi-structured Interview

1. What is the total population of this area?
2. How do these slums developed over time?
3. Do you get regular funding for this slums area?
4. How is it spent for the betterment of the locals?
5. What is the future of this area, will there be eviction or they would be registered?
6. Do the local slums elders regularly communicate their concerns to you?
7. Do they get any kind of immediate financial help from your office?
8. When they had issues with police or land grabbing mafia, do the slum dwellers come here for help?
9. What will your office do for the severe sanitation issues there?
10. Do you have any future policy regarding these slums?
11. How do you find the people in general with comparison with the other well-kept places?

Appendix 4

Interview

Administered from the official of local police station

Name:_____

Occupation:_____

Age: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Guide Questions for Semi-structured Interview

1. For how long you have posted here near this area?
2. How do you find these slum areas with comparison with other places in terms of crime rate?
3. Does this area need more surveillance and patrolling than other areas?
4. Do you easily find informers inside the slums?
5. Do the people of this area have more or less respect for police authority in comparison with the other places?
6. What do you think is the real reason behind crimes in this area?
7. Do the convicts once they complete/pay their sentence/fine become better?
8. What in your opinion will bring betterment to their situation?

Appendix 5

Interview

Administered from dwellers of non-slums areas

Name:_____

Occupation:_____

Age: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Guide Questions for Semi-structured Interview

1. Do you have any friend/relative in that area?
2. How do you find these slums near your areas?
3. What should be done so that their issues can be resolved?
4. Do you think education and jobs will bring any change in their life?
5. Do you think that the whole society has a responsibility towards the downtrodden of the slums areas?
6. How do you find your employees/wage labourer from slums?
7. Do you pay them equally in comparison with the workers from other areas?
8. How do you find their work?
9. How do you find their behavior at work in comparison with the workers from other areas?
10. Do you prefer Afgahns, IDPs or locals when employing them for work?
11. Who are more handworkers among the three?
12. Do they demand market set wage rates or more than they work?