

Redefining Urban Slums: Changing Employment Trends and Lifestyles in

Abyssinia Lines, Karachi



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CERTIFICATE

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List of Acronyms:

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

EIU: Economist Intelligence Unit

SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals

ILO: International Labour Organisation

ISD: Informal Subdivisions of State Land

PECHS: Pakistan Employees Cooperative Housing Society

KMC: Karachi Metropolitan Corporation

CA: Chartered Accountant

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Abstract

This research focuses on understanding the changing aspects of slums in the light of rapid urbanisation. Rapid urbanisation in the developing world has led to a massive influx of rural population in urban centres, putting pressure on the urban infrastructure and services. This has led to the creation of widespread urban slums. However, today the nature of slums varies from that defined in modernisation theories. This research studies the varying nature of slums by firstly, investigating their changing employment trends (from informal to the formal sector) and secondly, by looking at their changing lifestyles (education patterns, use of technology and available government utilities). To this end, the research employs a qualitative approach by making use of semi-structured interviews to gauge an understanding of the chosen slum. The research found that the employment patterns in the chosen slum have changed over the generation and this change has also impacted their lifestyle; especially in terms of education, use of technology and availability of government utilities. Through this, the research aims to highlight the need to redefine urban slums in order to tackle the challenge of slums in the developing world.

Keywords: employment, slums, urban slums, urbanisation

CHAPTER 1

1.1) Introduction:

In the last few decades the world has entered in an inescapable phase of rapid urbanisation. In the 1800s, the population living in cities roughly equalled 3 percent of the total world population. In 2014, this number has increased to 54 percent (Global Health Observatory, 2015). The world urban population is predicted to grow at a rate of approximately 1.84 percent each year from 2015 to 2020 (Global Health Observatory, 2015). This indicates that more than three billion people today live in or around urban centres; the population growth is now being concentrated overwhelmingly within the urban centres and in their adjacent periphery contexts, which are slums.

Rapid urbanisation in concurrence with massive economic and structural changes, industrialisation, insufficient infrastructure and lack of employment in rural areas has led to mass scale rural to urban migrations. This is a common phenomenon particularly within the regions of Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and South East Asia (Muggah, 2012). However, the world cities are not able to absorb the tremendous influx of population while the housing and public goods have not been increasing at the same pace as the urban population. This leads to an inevitable increase in the levels of urban poverty. Urban poverty in itself is a multidimensional phenomenon. The urban poor survive under many deprivations; however, one of the most striking elements which define this circumstance is the inadequate, unhealthy and insecure housing or living situation. The result of such urban crowding has led to a drastic increase in the density of slums world over. Slums are the spatial and corporeal manifestation of urban poverty and within city inequality (Baker, 2008).

Modernisation theorists, such as Glaeser (2011), state that the growth of slums is an inevitable transitory phase in the process of modernisation and development. Within this framework, the popular discourse states that slums are a characteristic of fast growing economies and will eventually pave the way for formal developed settlements as the benefits of modernisation and a growing economy will trickle down (Einem, 2013). Moreover, the popular stance on the employment trends within slums has been that slum dwellers have predominantly involved themselves in the informal sector. These informal activities are either situated within or outside the slums (UNHABITAT, 2004).

However, latest developments in this field indicate that slums are here to stay. Around eight hundred and sixty million people worldwide reside in slums, and this number has been growing at a rate of six million per annum since 2000 to 2010 (UNHABITAT, 2013). Moreover, recent studies indicate that trends in employment of slum dwellers have also been changing from the informal to the formal sector. This places slums in a new light: they represent a new paradigm of human settlements. This research focuses on understanding these changing aspects of slums.

1.2) Background:

1.2.1) Urbanisation, Development and Slums:

Rapid rural to urban migrations and fast paced urbanisation have produced massive city slums throughout history. In these slums the urban poor find themselves living in substandard conditions. This phenomenon travelled across space and time creating a distinct form of socio-political enclave. Slums materialised and scattered all across Victorian London, Paris, in pre-war Boston, San Francisco and New York as the urban locus of the early developing nations went through the processes of industrialisation and modernisation (Cheng, 2015).

In the latter half of the 20th century, as the developing world began following the Western model for development, they too were confronted with similar incidences of spatial contestation and social disorder. Traditionally, urbanisation as a process has been associated with various economic and social changes which hold the potential to bring about better geographic mobility, longer life expectancy and lower fertility rates. Cities become the essential drivers for development and poverty alleviation, for both urban centres and rural areas, since they hold the reins of national economic activities, commerce, government and transportation to establish the required links to rural areas, inter and intra cities and even international borders. Urban life is envisioned to be characterised with better healthcare, higher literacy rates and access to quality education, access to social services and an enhanced opportunity for political and cultural participation. However, despite leading to economic growth, rapid rural to urban migrations also build up political and spatial contestation; from here substandard settlements, gang culture and persisting inequality have more than often manifested as by-products. Mumbai, Jakarta, Dhaka and Mexico City are distinctive instances of cities where shantytowns, ghettos or slums became questioned, even so remain permanent structures which have emerged, grown and diffused within the cities. This phenomenon, when put together with chaos and inequalities, is categorised as the flight towards “the planet of slums” by Mike Davis, and is identified as one of the most critical challenges for human development faced by the development nations in the 21st century by the UNHABITAT (UNHABITAT, 2003).

Developing nations in East Asia, which followed strict and repressive approaches towards unions and wages, managed to exhibit relative social equity while growing economically. However, they are not an exception to this phenomenon. Even though they demonstrate a unique record of economic growth, these countries were unable to escape from the growth of massive urban

slums, both during their initial growth periods and post the neoliberal turn. However, these states differentiated themselves not by impeding the formation of slums but by battling it. In South Korea, Japan and Taiwan the substandard and irregular migrant enclaves were cleared out consequently through large scale urban renewal projects. Similarly, in Singapore and Hong Kong all-inclusive housing schemes were used to effectively manage slums (Chiu & Tai-Lok, 2009).

This pattern of urbanisation and its transformations suggests that once the latter developing nations integrate themselves in the cycle of global capitalism, the concerns for equity will be preceded by the concerns over the control of production. Simply put, theoretically, as long as these migrant enclaves or slums cater to the industrial enhancement and urban development in the form of cheap labour, their poverty and social disorder will either be disregarded, or accepted as the inevitable externality of economic transition (Cheng, 2015).

Even though they have managed to achieve significant growth, South Asian nations continue to struggle in realising the full opportunity that urbanisation has given them to renovate their economies to be at par with the developed nations of the world both in terms of prosperity and liveability. The immense pressures that the rapidly growing urban populations exert on the infrastructure, land, basic services, housing and environment are the most daunting of the problems which reduces the overall liveability of the cities in the region. South Asia is home to two of the world's largest slums: Dharavi in Mumbai, India and Orangi Town in Karachi, Pakistan (Young, 2015).

The World Bank calls the urbanisation in the South Asian region “messy and hidden”. Messy urbanisation indicates the proliferation of urban slums whereas hidden refers to the concept where urbanisation is not fully captured in the official statistics. In the context of South Asia, one

of the biggest resulting failures is the failure to manage land, where cities are confronted with massive growth of slums and also the rapid growth of city peripheries (Elis & Roberts, 2016).

1.2.2) Urbanisation and Slums in Pakistan:

Pakistan is the fastest urbanising state in South Asia – with an urbanisation rate of 3 percent annually, where the urban population stood at 17 percent in 1951 and in 2015 this number has hiked to 38.8 percent of the total population. The United Nations Population Division project that by the year 2025, half of Pakistan’s population will be residing in cities. Other estimates which employ a different approach and also include the “peri- urban” areas which lie on the formal boundaries of the urban areas, state that Pakistan has already reached the 50 percent mark (Hussain, 2014).

Rural to urban migration and natural population growth are the two major drivers behind urbanisation in Pakistan. An important feature of urbanisation in Pakistan is that it is distributed in a highly uneven manner; segments of highly urbanised cities and very low urbanisation in other areas. Another important feature is the extraordinary growth of a handful of cities. Karachi, the business hub of the country, contributes 21.7 percent of the entire urban population of the country, where as Lahore contributes 12.7 percent. These two, along with the other seven biggest cities (Rawalpindi, Faisalabad, Multan, Hyderabad, Peshawar, Gujranwala and Quetta) comprise 54.6 percent of Pakistan’s total urban population (Jan, Iqbal, & Iftikharuddin, 2008).

Urban areas of Pakistan contribute a hefty 80 percent to the country’s GDP, almost the entire country’s tax revenues and employ almost 60 percent of the country’s labour force. In spite of these constructive outcomes, public policy towards the urban centres in Pakistan has been negligent with general lacking in terms of foundational stability, efficient planning and effective

execution. An estimated 35 to 50 percent of the urban population is said to be residing in *Katchi Abadis* (a local term for slums). Karachi is host to more than 600 of these informal and illegal settlements whereas in Lahore there are more than 300. Islamabad has been spared from the manifestation of such urban sprawl to a great extent as the Master Plan formulated for the city fifty years ago remains the primary instrument for guidance from which deviations are rare. Lahore thrived over the last fifteen years under the successive Chief Ministers who took a personal interest in the development of the city. Karachi, however, has witnessed the brunt of rapid urbanisation, urban sprawl and lack of policy and governance the most. According to activists, more than 60 percent of Karachi's entire population of 15 million continues to reside in slums (Saeed, 2016).

Karachi saw some improvement in the light of better governance when it had its own City District Government between 2002 and 2008. After 2008, the City District Government and the Town Council structures were put to an end without any alternative structure to lean on. Since then Karachi has been victimised by benign neglect. The urban sprawl along with various other socio- political as well as economic negative externalities has turned it into a greatly polarised, highly contested and an unliveable metropolis. According to the Pakistan Development Update 2016 by the World Bank, Karachi ranks 135 out of 140 cities of the world on the EIU Liveability Index (Elis & Roberts, 2016).

Understanding the haphazard nature of urbanisation in the biggest city of Pakistan, Karachi, this research aims to gauge the changing nature of one of the most prominent manifestation of urban poverty: slums. Slums are becoming a permanent component of cities like Karachi. Slums represent deprivation and inequality as well as poor governance. The United Nations in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aims to eradicate all slums by 2030. Pakistan, who is

party to these goals, needs to ensure that its cities are inclusive in nature (United Nations, 2015). This research allows for a better understanding of slums, in the way of battling the slum challenge, in the context of employment and lifestyle.

1.3) Statement of the Problem:

Life in the developing world is delimited by imbalances and inequalities on numerous levels. The concepts of growth, industrialisation, urbanisation and development are not alien to the developing world; however the manner in which they have occurred and have been put into operation by the authorities has also been victimised by these imbalances. Slums (unregistered and illegal settlements of the poor working class) are a manifestation of such inequalities. In the last few decades the developing world has experienced a spurt or rapid, and in most cases (like Pakistan), unplanned urbanisation (Marx, Stoker, & Suri, 2013). The growth of a few developed urban hubs saw the rise of urban population, urban poverty and illegal settlements. However, contrary to popular belief, slums in the developing South do not seem to be a temporary phase. They are growing rapidly and evolving to a great extent. This research aims to study the changing dynamics of urban slums whilst focusing on two dimensions. Firstly, it would establish how employment trends have altered amongst the slum dwellers. Secondly, it would focus on establishing how the lifestyles of the slum dwellers have evolved over time in terms of the facilities available within the walls of a slum settlement.

1.4) Key Terms:

In the following are mentioned the definitions of the key terms used in this research.

i. Modernisation:

Started as a movement in the 1950s and 1960s, modernisation is a theory of economics which is embedded in the concept of capitalism. It involves a complete transition and a severe transformation which a traditional society undergoes in order to become modern. Modernisation in the developing world means following the footprints of Europe in terms of growth and development. Modernity is often linked to enhancing the standards of living of the lower income strata of society. This is done by increasing economic productivity through the dissemination of knowledge and efficient tools and techniques. Modernisation is taken as an economic theory which primarily focuses on the way the economy of a country changes from the traditional to more mechanised and specialised ways to production (Charlton & Andras, 2003).

This research has employed modernisation as an economic theory; that is, it primarily focuses on the economic growth and industrialisation within a society.

ii. Urbanisation:

Urbanisation is an all-encompassing revolutionary change of the entire form of social life. It is an outcome of economic growth and technological developments but once it comes into existence, it affects all aspects of the society. During this process, the boundaries of urban centres are expanded and new urban centres are also formed (McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2014).

In this research, based on the definition above, urbanisation is considered as an upgraded version of modernisation. While modernisation is primarily about the growth and development in the

economic systems, the impacts of urbanisation surpass the economy and also influence the society and the lifestyle of the population.

iii. Informal Sector:

The informal sector is a feature of dualistic economies. This sector involves those activities which are neither monitored nor are they taxed by the government. Therefore, activities within the informal sector do not make any impact on the GDP of the country. Jobs in the informal sector are irregular, temporary and pay no fixed income. In the Fifteenth International Conference for Labour Statisticians held by the International Labour Organisation, a definition of the informal sector was established. According to the International Labour Organisation, such a sector will come to be formed due to the inadequacy of the process of economic development. Such an informal sector provides a safety net, on which the unskilled and semi-skilled migrants from the rural areas can fall back on as they look on for ways to earn a healthy livelihood (Bhowmik, 2010).

The research considers the informal sector as the irregular, volatile and unreliable source of income.

iv. Formal Sector:

Opposite of the informal sector, the formal sector holds all those activities and jobs which are regular in nature; they have fixed hours and regular incomes which makes the employed individuals liable to pay regular taxes to the government. The formal sector has organised systems with written rules and regulations regarding job responsibilities, retirement, incentives and perks (Henley, Arabsheibani, & Carneiro, 2006).

In this research, the formal sector is taken as involving those activities which can be considered as a regular income earning activity and officially includes the related individual in the total employment count of the country.

v. Slum:

Characterised by poor living conditions, slums are densely populated, illegally formed, urban areas. They usually lack adequate space, have poor quality housing, accommodate a large number of families and lack tenure security and rights (Marx et al., 2013).

According to the UNHABITAT (2003), any area, neighbourhood or even an entire city will qualify as a slum if at least half or more than half of the total households live in a combination of the following features: lack of clean water, inadequate living space, lack of improved sanitation, lack of good quality, lack of durable housing and tenure insecurity.

In this research, the primary element taken under consideration is the lack of adequate space and substandard quality of the structures/ home which are constituted as a slum.

vi. Lifestyle:

It is defined as an individual's, family's or a society's way of living, which is manifested in the way they cope with their economic, social, physical and psychological environments on a daily basis. Lifestyle is reflected in an individual's behaviour, opinion, interest, activities and the manner in which one allocates one's income. It is basically a composite of various needs, wants and motivations which are influenced by social class, reference groups, culture and family (Hollows & Bell, 2012).

This research has taken into account three factors to study the changing lifestyles of the slum dwellers. These include: education, use of technology and space and utilities provided by the government.

1.5) Research Questions:

The research seeks to answer the following questions:

- i. Are a majority of slum dwellers employed in the informal sector?
- ii. To what extent do they make use of modern technology and facilities?
- iii. Can the slum dwellers afford to move out of deprived living conditions?
- iv. Are they living in the slum settlement out of necessity or choice?
- v. Have slums become an alternative to expensive housing in the face of inflation?

1.6) Research Objectives:

The objectives of the research are:

- i. To study the changing employment patterns (from informal to formal) within the area under study;
- ii. to investigate the nature of the lifestyle of the slum dwellers and
- iii. to explore the extent to which the slum under study differs in relation to the modernisation theory

1.7) Limitations of the Study:

Due to the limitation of time, a complete sampling framework could not be created by carrying out a household survey of the entire slum's population. Qualitative sampling methods were employed which did suffice in fulfilling the aims of the research.

While being a part of the same ethnic and religious group was an added advantage for the researcher, the very same aspects also acted as a limitation. Firstly, the respondents were too eager to help and provide their contribution. However, keeping in mind the limitation of time not all of those individuals who wished to be a part of the research could be involved in it. Secondly, due to the prior rapport and the excellent relations of the key informant with the community, every respondent forced us to extend our stay at their residence; the time that could have been used interviewing these individuals was divided between tea sessions and pleasantries.

Finally, due to the homogeneity of the sample population, a lot of the data was overlapping. This is why stratified random sampling was employed.

1.8) Significance of the Study:

In the face of rapid urbanisation and the growing economic crisis, especially in the developing world, many dynamics of the urban sector is changing. Simultaneously, against previously conceived notions of modernisation, slums have started to become a permanent feature of urban cities. Hence it is highly significant to understand the changing nature of these significant spaces. This will allow us to build better cities whilst adjusting for the large influxes of rural populations in the urban centres.

Understanding the spatial and social composition, structural deprivations and the dynamics of modern day slums is highly crucial to improving the lives of the slum dwellers and to establish harmony in urban centres. Slums are not just marginalised neighbourhoods. They house a large population of the urban centres and are a massive part of the urban work force. Their increasing prevalence pushes us to study cities in a new light.

The challenge of slums prevails as one of the most daunting manifestations of poverty, deprivation and inequality in a large number of cities of the developing world. Slums are in reality the by-products of poor governance, failed policy, corruption, dysfunctional land markets, inappropriate regulation, inefficient financial systems and the absence of political will. Eradicating slums and improving the living standards of the slum dwellers have been identified as the most essential means of ending poverty globally. Upgrading these informal settlements allows the world to move towards a society which is based on rights through which cities will become safe, resilient, inclusive, prosperous and most importantly sustainable. Improving the standard of living of the slums is crucial in guaranteeing the urban poor full recognition as the rightful citizens of the country, to achieve their complete potential and to improve their prospects for development gains in the future.

Although, the number of urban population living in slums is lower today as compared to two decades ago, the absolute quantity of slum dwellers is continually increasing. This clearly signifies that the cities are failing to grow at the same pace as urbanisation. Presently, one in every eight people around the globe lives in slums. In the developing nations, the number of urban poor living in slums in 1990 was 689 million. This number stood at 881 million in 2014. In term of the absolute number of slum dwellers, this number shows an increase of 28 percent in the last 14 years.

Even though progress is being made to reduce the ratio of urban population living in slums, the time now is to deal with it as a priority; the Sustainable Development Goals 11:1 explicitly recognise this and state that by 2030 “*ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums*” (United Nations, 2015). Urbanisation is highly related with development and so slum dwellers will fall behind in the course, if their

apprehensions are continually ignored and not integrated in the planning, financing and urban legislation frameworks. If this present situation persists, then by 2030, the Agenda for Sustainable Development will not only be partially achieved, but in the process, millions of urban residents will be denied the benefits of urbanisation.

This research is a step towards understanding the nature of urban slums in the context of Pakistan. It allows us to look into the factors which are contributing in making these slums permanent and how their lives are being impacted by urbanisation. By understanding the nature of these slums in depth and on upgraded grounds, it will be possible to develop better policies through which the challenge of slums can be combated.

CHAPTER 2

2.1) Review of Literature:

Keeping in mind the objectives of this research, the following review of literature is directed towards understanding slums in the light of employment patterns. The review is organized thematically; each theme first addresses studies done in countries around the globe and then moves on to the studies conducted within Pakistan. It starts by firstly defining slums, the inclination of slum dwellers to engage in the informal sector of the economy and how slums have increased over the years. It moves on to assessing whether slums are transitory in nature; challenging the claim of the modernisation theory. Finally it covers the changing trends in the employment patterns of slum dwellers and how slums are becoming an alternative to cheap housing.

2.1.1) Defining Slums:

In existing literature, slums are defined as a physical manifestation or a reflection of urban poverty. Davis (2006) defines slums as a residential region developed without any legal permission from the relevant authority and/ or any legal claims from the people who reside there. Since they are illegal (or in some cases semi- legal) settlements, they usually lack infrastructure and basic public services. In the 2006- 2007 publication of the UNHABITAT, slums are essentially described as lacking three fundamental shelter needs which are: sanitation, adequate living space and permanent housing (UNHABITAT, 2007).

Slums are not only defined by the conditions of destitute living standards, but traditionally, the fundamental stance has been that the nature of employment within slum dwellers is informal. Slums were thus considered the spill over of rural poverty and the lack of employment

opportunities within the urban centres as rural to urban migration increased. The International Labour Organisation (ILO), in a study in Ghana regarding labour markets in urban centres, was the first to coin the name and develop the concept of the “informal sector” (Hart, 1973). This term, was brought into widespread use while addressing the issues of economic opportunity, equity and social development in, what are described as, dualistic economic systems which are most commonly found in developing countries. Dualistic economies, by definition, are composed of both a mainstream formal sector and an “off-the-record” or unofficial informal sector (within this sector the transactions take place outside the traditional economic channels and are said to provide explicit social and economic benefits). This concept has grown to include a variety of transactions, which are both cash and non-cash in nature, in both industrialised and developing economies. Such economic transactions advantage both the non-poor and poor strata of an economy (Losby et al., 2002).

In literature we find that there are three distinguished approaches most commonly used to address and analyse the dynamics of the informal sector. These three approaches are: dualist, structuralist and legalist. The International Labour Organisation is associated with the dualist approach. Earlier, the researches of such organisations projected the existence of an informal sector which was seen as autonomous from the modern, formal, capitalist sector. They explain that such a sector will come to be formed due to the inadequacy of the process of economic development. Such an informal sector provides a safety net, on which the unskilled and semi-skilled migrants from the rural areas can fall back on as they look on for ways to earn a healthy livelihood (Bhowmik, 2010). On the other hand, the structuralists build and stress on the linkages between the informal and formal sectors and argue that the former is subsumed and taken advantage of by the latter. They place their argument on the exploited informal wage

workers and their employers who avoid following the constituted labour laws, especially when it comes to setting the wage rates. Such wage workers are usually subcontracted or in some cases, informally hired by formal business organisations. The legalists view the informal sector as playing the role of a “hotbed” for upcoming entrepreneurs which is constrained due to the superfluous, unnecessary and biased legislation. They argue that within the informal sector, the people are in practice, rebelling against the bureaucratic structures which are forcefully enforced by the mercantilist state which is in favour of the elites. They advocate that counter hegemony is a characteristic of the informal sector (Wilson, 2011).

A majority of the workers in developing nations are involved in the informal sector for the purpose of earning their livelihoods. Developments in the official figures reveal that the informal sector is responsible for more than half of the total non-agriculture related employment in a majority of the regions. Statistics go on to reveal that as far as eighty two percent in South Asia and eighty percent in the majority of Sub Saharan Africa is engaged in the informal sector (ILO-WIEGO, 2013). There are a number of forces which drive the growth in the number of people engaging in the informal sector, however, the most prominent and imperative one is the macroeconomic pressure which prevails in the urban centres of the developing world. Naqeeb, Saigol and Azhar define inflation as the most overwhelming macroeconomic problem which impacts the lives of informal sector home based workers whom they interviewed for the purpose of their research study in Lahore. The increased prices of raw materials, transportation and the day to day consumer goods seemed to have a serious impact on the nature of their work along with their standards of familial health, food and nutrition, education as well as their interpersonal relationships (Naqeeb, Saigol, & Azhar, 2014).

Arimah and Branch, in their study of economic and social exclusion in the slums of Nairobi, state that rural to urban migration has been disproportionately categorised as the sole factor responsible for the propagation of slums. They point out that while the level of urbanisation and urban population increased, Africa also met with an increase in the level of urban poverty (Arimah & Branch, 2001). Desai studies the complex and dynamic relationship between the trends of migration and urbanisation in his study on slum dwellers in Bombay. He brings to light the concept of the “resource person”. According to the findings of his research, a massive number of slum residents who had migrated to the urban centres had done so due to the influence of their relatives or “being brought to the area by the relatives.” This means that it was the “resource person” who had hosted the migrant and had introduced him/ her to the environment. Hence, kinship or any kind of social relation proves to be a favourable cause for migration; the newcomer gets a comfortable support system which allows him/ her to fully adjust to the environment of the slum and its residents. According to this study, a majority of the slum dwellers had significant relations within the city, and most specifically the slum, they lived in (Desai, 1994). This phenomenon is highly prevalent in many developing countries especially Pakistan.

In the same vein, Chen and Ravallion (2007) point out that while the level of urban population increased in Africa, the level of urban poverty also magnified. This is prevalent to such an extent that the share of urban poverty is increasing at a faster pace than national poverty (Chen & Ravallion, 2007). This is what the UNHABITAT (2003) defines as the “urbanisation of poverty” where the locus of poverty is massively establishing itself in urban centres rather than rural areas.

In the context of Pakistan, Hasan and Mohib (2003) describe in detail the slums existing in the city of Karachi. According to their detailed study, one finds that the city is divided into both

planned and unplanned areas; the unplanned areas are better known as *katchi abadis* or non-permanent settlements. The *katchi abadis* are further divided into two areas:

- a. Settlements which came into being by the unorganised and illegal invasion of state land
- b. Informal Subdivisions of State land (ISD)

In addition to those mentioned above, there are also settlements which are called slums. Slums are also divided into two categories:

- a. Working class areas which have existed pre- independence within the main centres of the city which have overtime densified to such an extent that infrastructure and facilities within the area have collapsed and cannot serve the residents adequately.
- b. Old villages or *goths* which, due to the extension of the city, have become one with the urban sprawl.

Some of the areas which have existed within or around the city centres and have become a recognised part of the formal housing schemes are not considered slums anymore. However, there are a number of others which have not been included in the legal settlement category and continue to informally develop into high density, inadequately serviced, working class areas (Hasan & Mohib, 2002).

Hasan and Mohib (2002), while reporting on the case of slums in Karachi, point out that by the end of the 1980s, Pakistan went through severe structural changes as it failed to positively respond to the growing impacts of globalisation. Moreover, privatisation and the removal of health and education subsidies manifested in the growing divide between the rich and the poor as a result of which slums grew rapidly. Here light is also shed on the failure of governance and

policy planning to control the overwhelming number of informal settlements within Karachi (Hasan & Mohib, 2002).

2.1.2) Slums: A Transitory Phase?

Around 860 million people worldwide reside in slums, and this number has been growing at a rate of six million per annum since 2000 to 2010 (UNHABITAT, 2013). Economists like Glaeser (2011) have justified the growth of slums in their theory of “modernisation”. According to this school of thought, slums are an inevitable transitory phase, which is a characteristic of economies that are growing at a faster rate. They will eventually pave the way for developed formal settlements as the benefits of a growing economy trickle down. In this life cycle of modernity, slum dwellers or the generation of their off springs will eventually move out of this setting into a formal structure. Moreover, slums will over time integrate into the larger cities (Einem, 2013). However, much debate is rising on the validity of this approach.

Marx, Stroker and Suri (2013) argue that slums are no longer just a temporary stage in the process of rural urban migration and the growth of modernity. In a large number of cities in the developing world, slums have become an ever growing phenomenon which has been on the rise for decades, trapping generations of slum dwellers in the same impoverished conditions. They argue that slums today are reflecting problems of a varying nature; the existence of multiple markets, failed policy making, inefficient governance, lack of coordination in investment have converted slums into a poverty trap (Marx et al., 2013).

Furthermore, Hasan and Mohib’s (2002) study suggests that it is not necessary that slums eventually will disintegrate to become a part of the larger city networks. According to this study, in the case of Karachi, the situation was the other way around. Middle income areas within the

city transformed into slums over time. Since wholesale markets within the proximity of the middle income areas expanded, problems like traffic congestions and environmental degradation multiplied. As a result, middle income occupants of the surrounding areas moved out and were replaced by accommodation for daily wage laborers and warehousing (Hasan & Mohib, 2002).

2.1.3) Changing Employment Trends:

Keeping this view in mind we establish that slums have taken a permanent form within and around urban centres. So it is also safe to assume that they are in some way or the other contributing to the growing urbanisation. The question under study in this research is whether slum dwellers are primarily involved in the informal sector or has this trend changed over the decades?

Mitra (2006) points out that migrants are pushed from the agricultural sector to the urban centres as a result of the dropping land to man ratio. Since the urban centres, in many cases, fail to provide them with formal, high productive, industrial employment, the migrants are forced to opt for informal less productive jobs. However, the question he raises to answer is: why they continue to reside in slums when they cannot achieve high productive jobs? Through his study he analyses the rationale behind rural to urban migration: even the informal sector jobs provide the migrants with an upward mobility in terms of income. Based on the slum population of Delhi, Mitra concludes that despite being employed in the informal sector, a large majority of the slum dwellers experienced upward movements in the level of incomes along with inter and intra job-related changes (Mitra, 2006).

Risbud (2003), in her case for Mumbai, depicts an image which varies from the previously existing popular belief (slums are predominantly a home for the informal sector worker). Her

survey revealed that a significant amount of people in the slums of Mumbai were a part of the formal sector; as security guards, teachers, mechanics, clerks, drivers for commercial establishments. More so, some were even government employees. Only 17 percent of the total slum population were casual informal workers which mostly included maids and trash pickers (Risbud, 2003).

While, Kundu also points out that people living in slums are involved in formal organised work, in his case for Kolkata he brings forth the term of “mainstream informal sector”. This is described as the situation where the informal sector is so large and influential that it is considered as worthy of being a part of the formal one. In the case of Kolkata, mainstream informal sector consists of primarily service related jobs followed by jobs that are sales related. Kundu also reinforces the notion discussed previously (slums are no more transitory); since the slums have existed for many decades, men have used the contacts established by their fathers and grandfathers in order to gain employment. Out of the households surveyed, only 3.5 percent were those who living synonymous to absolute poverty which include domestic servants and rag pickers. Kundu also pointed out that 34 percent of the population in urban slums were active members of India’s work force, seeking jobs and were considered unemployed by the national survey (Kundu, 2003).

In contrast, Hassan and Mohib in their study of Karachi, state that while majority of the work force in the slums work in the informal sector, there is a significant amount whose employment can be categorized within the mainstream informal sector. These include informal activity related to the industries such as those of packaging, garments, dry fruits, leather, textile and even recycling waste and solid waste disposal (Hasan & Mohib, 2002).

2.1.4) Slums as an Alternative: Cheap Housing?

Ragragio (2003), in his case for Manila, discusses the concept of “professional squatters” in the context of slums. These are individuals or groups of individuals who earn adequate income to score legitimate housing; instead they occupy land illegally without the consent of the owners. This term also incorporates those who are awarded governmental housing and they sell or lease those settlements and go back to living in their previous area. Basic expense of housing is that of mortgages or rent. However, in the case of squatters, there is typically no regular expense being incurred for accommodation/ housing. The survey further reveals that Manila’s slums were long term settlements and where half of the population is involved in the formal sector. Moreover, majority of the slum dwellers have been living in the respective vicinities for more than two decades (Ragragio, 2003).

In the local context, Hasan discusses the case of “squatting” with reference to Khuda Ki Basti which was a project of incremental housing for the poor. The first phase of the project failed, as most of the people who applied for the plot allotments sold their plots to middlemen. Only two of the original 300 plots are inhabited by the original owners (Hasan, 1990). The fragmented literature poses a very significant question which calls for redefining slums as solutions for cheap housing rather than a mere transitory phase in the process of modernity.

Based on the researches mentioned, this research has explored the current nature of employment within the context of slums. It also studied the nature of the facilities available within the walls of the slums.

2.2) Conceptual Framework:

Keeping in mind the literature review, the study draws upon the concepts of modernisation, urbanisation and rural to urban migration. However, the primary focus of the study remains on the concept of employment. Following is the pictographic representation of the conceptual framework for this research:

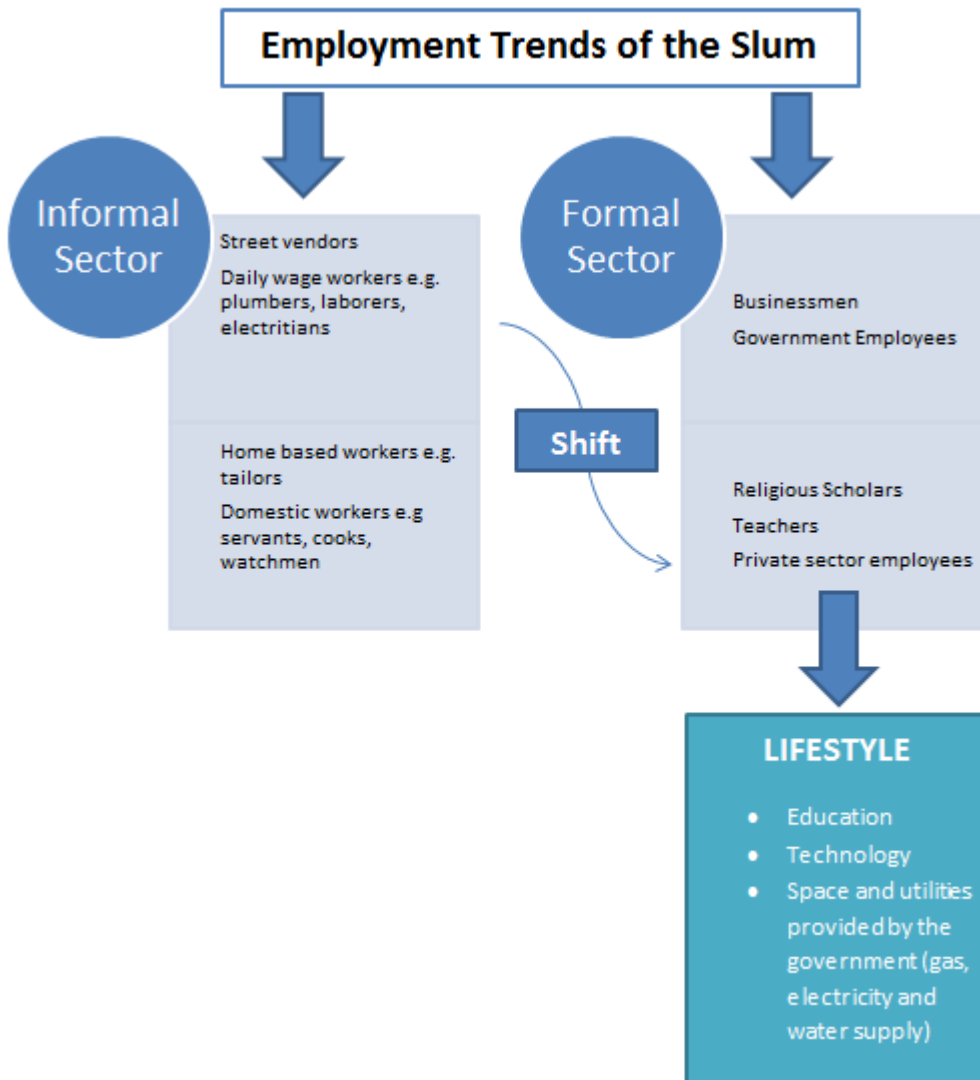


Figure 1

The study is focused on exploring if the residents of the chosen slum continue to work in the informal sector or has there been a shift in their employment patterns.

Previously, we established that due to the rapid modernisation and, later on, urbanisation, the rate of migration from rural to urban increased. People moved to the cities seeking better work opportunities and an easier lifestyle. However, the cities did not have the capacity to sustain the massively growing urban population. Hence, slums or illegal settlements became a reality and are considered an ugly reflection of urban poverty and the failure of local governments. While the modernisation theory calls slums an “inevitable transitory phase in the process of growth and development” (Einem, 2013), an understanding of cities such as that of Karachi, make us doubt this assumption.

Over time, as the city around the slum area has developed and urbanised formally, the chosen slum has also been altered in many ways but one. This change will be most effectively revealed in the newer generations of the slum dwellers. As the employment patterns shift from the informal to the formal sector, the study wishes to explore how the lifestyle of the slum dwellers has been impacted. The chosen indicators for studying these impacts are: education, technology, space and governmental utilities. The diagram illustrated previously depicts the said process.

The shift from the informal to the formal sector can be explained through the increasing interest of the newer generations to pursue higher education and their increased exposure to the changing world. They seek a more permanent and rewarding means of livelihood and hence they strive to become a part of the formal sector. If this shift is indeed taking place, then it will definitely be affecting the overall lifestyle of the slum dwellers. The chosen indicators helped us look at three different facets of their day to day life. Firstly, it helped us establish if the current generations are

going to public or private schools and if a majority of them are pursuing higher education. Secondly, do they make use of home appliances and other technological items to make their day to day lifestyle easier? Lastly, how much space do these households occupy and are they facilitated with governmental utilities such as water, gas and electricity supply.

CHAPTER 3

3.1) Research Methods and Methodology:

Before carrying out social research, it is highly imperative to distinguish between research methodology and research methods. Often confused as the same, research methodology conceptually is quite different from research methods. The term methodology comprises itself of two nouns: *method* and *ology* which makes it a branch of knowledge. Hence methodology is perceived as the standard principles which will fundamentally motivate the process of the creation of new knowledge; it deals with the rationale or the philosophical stance which the research will be based on. Put simply, it is the study of how the research will be carried out; how we investigate things and how knowledge is gained/ generated. The methodological principles guide the research practices being employed. Research methods on the other hand involve the specific tools which will be used in the process of investigation and the generation of new knowledge. While the former referred to the philosophy, the latter is referring to the processes, tools and techniques which will be employed in the research (Neuman, 2005).

3.1.1) Research Design:

This study has followed an explanatory research design. It has focused on gauging the changing definition of slums through a field study. It had explored these changes on two fundamental dimensions in order to establish the validity of the proposed questions whilst exploring the altering nature of slums. These two dimensions as mentioned above are: the changing trends in employment patterns and the changing nature of the lifestyles of the slum dwellers in terms of the available facilities, education and technology. An explanatory stance was selected as the area chosen for the study has never been explored theoretically; the selected slum has never been a part of any formal research.

3.1.2) Methods/ Tools of Data Collection:

Since the research is employing a qualitative approach, the basic tools of data collection were the key informant and semi- structured interviews with the locals of the chosen slum. The key informant is an individual who is selected as a guide on the basis of their compatibility, knowledge, age, reputation and experience; someone who has is an expert and has a complete know how of the area under study. The main purpose of the key informant is to provide information regarding their culture (Oregon State, 2012). A semi-structured interview is a qualitative method of inquiry that combines a pre-determined set of questions (questions that prompt discussion) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses further (Evaluation Toolbox, 2010). Moreover, interviews with the local authority were also conducted to gain an insight into the history and growth of the slum. The other tool of data collection was the field observations carried out by the researcher. The primary goal of the observations was to account for the material structures of the households: the number of rooms per house, the number of home appliances and the interior of the homes.

3.1.3) Pilot Study

To grasp a better idea of the validity of the research questions in the context of the chosen slum (Abyssinia Lines) I conducted a pilot study. The pilot study was conducted between a two week period: 27th December, 2015 till 10th January, 2016. In these two weeks, I made frequent visits to the slum and was accompanied by my key informant during these visits. Since I belong to the same ethnicity and religious sect as the residents of the slum, initial interactions were easy and basic information regarding the current employment status, constructed property, number of household members and available government utilities were easily collected and observed.

Since the area has no official government appointed authority, the local *Imam Bargah* acts as the community centre as well as the authoritative entity. The locals respect the decisions made by the religious scholars, who are known by the title of *Agha* by the locals out of respect. I got the chance to speak with one of the senior religious scholars and religious teachers. The *Agha* provided me with not only a detailed history of the slum but also gave me a complete insight into the homogeneity of the current population in terms of ethnicity and religious belief. The entire sample population belongs to the Baltistani ethnic group and are followers of the Twelver Shiite sect of Islam. The homogeneity of the population was also manifested in other observable factors. Firstly, the primary language being used by the entire slum community is Balti. Secondly, the manner in which their homes are constructed is architecturally similar. Moreover, the government utilities used by the entire slum include electricity and gas. Water remains a problem for the entire sample population as it is not provided by the government. The *Imambargah* takes on the role of providing clean drinking water to the entire slum. This contributes in creating a community which is homogenous in a multitude of ways. Keeping this in mind, the sampling techniques were selected.

3.1.4) Sampling:

i. Sampling Framework:

Keeping in mind the nature of the research, the researcher made use of qualitative sampling techniques to conduct the study. Since a formal sampling framework does not exist for the chosen area, the sampling framework was constructed using focused enumeration. Focused enumeration has been used for a number of popular surveys for example: the Health Survey of England and the British Crime Survey (Smith, Pickering, Williams, & Hay, 2010). This method is commonly used in studies which are conducted on densely populated ethnic areas as it relies

on the visibility of ethnic minorities. Keeping in mind the homogeneity of the population in the selected area (in terms of religious beliefs and ethnicity) focused enumeration was selected.

According to this method, the sample address will be questioned about the eligibility of the neighbouring houses. It is through the information given by the sample address that the interviewer selects the next sample address. Hence, there needs to be a selection criterion according to which the sample addresses are selected. The selection criterion for this research is mentioned in the following text.

ii. Sampling Technique:

The researcher aimed to answer the proposed research questions as best as possible, hence the selected sampling technique was stratified random sampling. Stratified random sampling is a method of sampling that involves the division of a population into smaller groups known as strata. In stratified random sampling, the strata are formed based on members' shared attributes or characteristics. The main advantage with stratified sampling is how it captures key population characteristics in the sample. This method of sampling produces characteristics in the sample that are proportional to the overall population (Marshall, 1996). This enabled the researcher to look into the particular characteristics of a population that are of interest, which best allowed the investigation of the research questions.

For the purpose of this research the following criteria was used:

- a. At least one member of the immediate family has been residing in the area for a decade. This is to ensure that they are fully aware of the various aspects of the area and can make insightful contributions to the study.

- b. At least one member of the family is involved in some kind of regular income earning activity. This will allow us to determine the employment patterns of the selected area.
- c. The household makes use of the available government facilities in the area such as electricity, gas and water supply.

3.1.5) Units of Data Collection:

The units of data collection include the dwellers of the chosen slum. They are the different types of respondents who were interviewed for the purpose of this research. These include: the religious scholars, business men, government employees and private sector employees who are residents of the chosen slum.

3.1.6) Data Collection Process:

The data collection process for this research involved a field study which took place over a time period of 4 weeks: from 11th July, 2016 to 8th August, 2016. Prior to the data collection field work, a pilot study had been conducted during which I had established an understanding with my key informant. Since I belong to the same ethnic group, I have had some contact with the residents of the slum dwellers prior to the research. Therefore, the key informant for this research was selected on the basis of previous familial and community relations. In the same vein, a rapport with the slum dwellers already existed which made it easier to explain the purpose of the research to them, hence facilitating the entire process.

The visits to the slum were made at different times of the day in order to better observe their day to day lives. The key informant was always accompanying me in these visits. The community itself was very helpful and enthusiastic to provide their input for the research. Using the semi-structured technique; thirty five interviews were conducted for the purpose of this research.

These interviews were conducted with the help of an interview guide. An interview guide is a list of questions which can be used to help the researcher direct the conversation toward the topics and issues he or she wants to learn about. Interview guides vary from highly scripted to relatively loose, but they all share certain features: They help the researcher know what to ask about, in what sequence and how to pose the questions. They provide guidance about what to do or say next, after the interviewee has answered the last question (Kennedy, 2006). The interview guide is attached in Appendix A. The interview guide was created on the semi-structure approach and included questions which addressed the research questions and the objectives of the research. The findings of the interviews along with the observations made in the field have been discussed in the later chapters.

Apart from this, a detailed sitting with a highly respected religious scholar, who himself is a resident of the slum, was conducted during which he dictated the entire history and evolution of the slum during the various governments over the years.

3.1.8) Tools of Data Analysis:

For the purpose of this research, framework analysis was employed when analysing the data. The tool of framework analysis was developed as a social policy research approach and is best employed when the objectives of the research are well defined, highly focused and the research work is guided by structured tools. In the analysis process, the framework approach uses five basic steps to sift, chart and sort the collected data based on key themes and issues. These steps include: transcription, familiarisation, indexing and coding, identifying a thematic framework and interpretation (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009).

For the purpose of this research I have employed the smooth verbatim transcript or the clean read method of transcription. Under this method, a word by word transcription is done leaving out the decorating words, utterances of sounds, frequency and pitch of voice, emotional overtones and bodily gestures. Since the focus of the research was to establish a comprehensive understanding of the proposed questions in a simple manner, emotional nuance and other expressive hints were left out.

Familiarisation involves the researcher becoming immersed in the transcripts and field notes from observations so as to gain a complete overview of the collected data. For this purpose I read and re read the transcripts, organising them in a table form based broad categories such as: household, employment and education.

Indexing and coding takes place once the data has been transcribed and organised. This process involved further categorising the data in order to sift through the relevant and irrelevant findings. For this purpose I created codes which addressed the research question and objectives, allowing me to organise and make use of the data that was relevant to answering them.

The next step is to create a framework of themes which will allow a complete discussion of the data with regard to the purpose of the research. These can be apriori, however it is imperative that the researcher discusses the new emerging themes from the data set as well. This is followed by an interpretation and analysis of the themes (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009).

3.1.9) Locale:

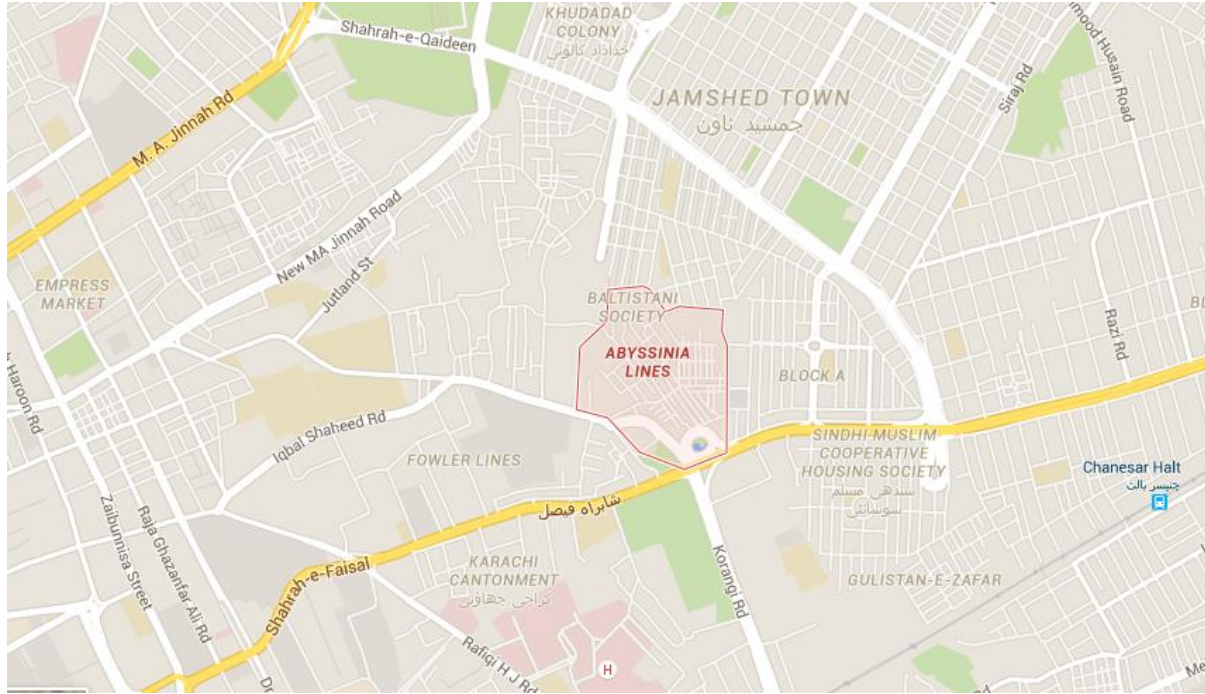


Figure 2 (Source: Google Maps).

The area selected for the purpose of this research is Abyssinia Lines in Karachi, Pakistan. Abyssinia Lines is one of the oldest standing slums or illegal settlements in Karachi. It is located right in the middle of the city centre and is surrounded by formal housing schemes and important roads. It directly touches Shahrah –e- Faisal, which is the most prominent boulevard of Karachi and runs through the city connecting all the major areas.

Abyssinia Lines, a sizable slum, came into existence before partition and since then has developed into a densely populated working class area. A large proportion of this slum is also known as the Baltistani Society, as the entire population’s ethnicity is Balti. The society is made up of approximately 350 households. This research focused on that chunk of the population. The dominant religion of this area is Muslims belonging to the Twelver Shiite sect.

The reason that this area was selected is firstly its location. It is located right in the middle of highly significant areas both in terms of business/ commerce and also housing schemes. It is surrounded by major formal settlements which include: Pakistan Employees Cooperative Housing Society (PECHS) Block 2, Block A and Jamshed Town. Yet it remains unrecognised and unregistered. Secondly, no proper authority or agency has worked on this area for the purpose of either research or development. Therefore, many aspects of that area remain unexplored, especially those being questioned by this study. Thirdly, the researcher also belongs to the same ethnic minority and religious sect.

The following details of the locale were revealed to the researcher in an interview with a highly respected religious scholar, who himself is a resident of this slum. The following paragraphs illustrated the evolution of the slum during the various different governments over the years.

This society came into existence since before the existence of Pakistan during the 1930s and 1940s. At that time Karachi was still called Mai Kolachi and Karachi's population extended from Manora to the Empress Market, Soldier Bazar to Ram Swami Market and Ranchor Line. In the beginning, the Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines was an almost empty barren land filled with wild trees and bushes. In between the wilderness stood a solid wall named *Chand Maari Dewar*. Till this day this wall stands behind the Punjistani Imambargah in the area. *Chand Maari* in Urdu translates to rifle range or firing; the British Army used to practice their aim on this wall.

The poor labours from Gilgit Baltistan migrated to this area in hopes of finding employment and better opportunities; most of them completed this journey on foot. When they got the chance they would go into the main city centres and sell their labour to earn money. Over time, many married

amongst one and other and that is how the area populated initially. On the other hand, the current area surrounding the tomb of Quaid- e - Azam was also an empty jungle. This slum eventually spread to reach the area surrounding the tomb. At that time this slum was called Quaidabad.

In the year 1947, when people migrated to Pakistan with Quaid- e - Azam, a lot of people belonging to the Balti ethnic group also migrated here from different regions of India; most of them migrated from Simla and Mansuri. These people also settled in the (then known as) Quaidabad slum with the Gilgit Baltistani community already residing there. Their structures at that time were created by cutting bushes and tying different pieces of cloth around them to create shelter.

On 11th September, 1948 when the Quaid died, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, asked the commissioner of Karachi, Hashim Raza, to select an area to construct a tomb for the Quaid. The commissioner toured the entire city and found the current location of the Tomb most suitable. He then approached the Baltistani Slum, and informed the people regarding the death of the Quaid and their plans to build a tomb for him for which purpose they would have to evacuate the area. The people agreed and evacuated the area, moving to the current location of Abyssinia Lines. The area was inhabited by both literate and illiterate people who worked together to build this slum. However at that time business, employment and job opportunities were very limited in Karachi. Nevertheless, these people engaged in manual labour work to survive and make ends meet for their families.

In the year 1952, Karachi's first housing scheme, Pakistan Employees Cooperative Housing Society (PECHS), announced. This was a government scheme and was for the government employees giving them tenure rights. During the construction phase and development of this

scheme, the Balti population took great part in the labour work and with the money they received, they built more permanent structures within the slum. Slowly and gradually, instead of the fragile wooden roofs, bricks and cemented structures came into being.

In 1980, Muhammad Khan Junejo, then Prime Minister of Pakistan, announced the Lines Area Project in a political rally held at Nishtar Park in Karachi. It was the biggest slum related project in Asia at that time. This project was aimed to be completed in 1985 with the coordination of the Asian Development Bank. Under this project, all barracks and quarters were to be broken and plots were to be made of categories A, B and C. People who had been residing in the area since before 1974 were to be allotted category A plots, those who moved to the area after 1974 were to be allotted category B plots and category C plots were commercial ones. The category A, B and C plots were of 60, 80 and 160 yards respectively. Initially, the Baltistani Society of Abyssinia Lines was also included in the project. However due to some political issues based on ethnic and religious grounds, they were removed from the Lines Area Project.

In order to establish, construct and formally recognise this slum, many city developers and high grade officials of the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) took steps. However their efforts were limited to the point of their personal gain and no sound or actual formalisation steps came into practice.

Many people of the Balti ethnicity were highly connected to Quaid- e- Azam; some of his personal body guards were also Balti. Ghulam Muhammad, a lawyer and a graduate of Aligarh University, worked side by side with the Quaid. He had a letter written from the Quaid himself in which it was stated and ordered that a place should be allotted to the people of Gilgit Baltistan,

wherever they wish to reside and populate in Karachi. However, the current location of this letter is unknown.

During Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime, the Sindh Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi announced in a political rally that the Baltistani area would be made into a permanent residency; a newspaper clipping of which is still intact. However, this claim did not see the light of the day.

During Zia's regime, Muhammad Khan Junejo also announced that the slum areas formed till 1980 would be made into permanent residencies. In the light of this announced, the name of the Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines, came into the list of the additional slum areas. A copy of this notification still exists. The Mayor of Karachi at that time, Farooq Sattar, also ordered to make Abyssinia Lines a permanent residency; this order also exists. In this regard, all official government letters and orders are also present with the Abyssinia management.

All government representatives over the years made many verbal as well as written promises to give this area an official legal status. But nothing ever came into practice as their main aim was to collect votes for the next election. Electricity, gas, water and sewerage lines were established by the locals on their own efforts over the years; the government did not cooperate or initiate any of these.

This helpless area, on which no government department or ministry has ever paid any attention, has developed into a model area; no crime record, no extremist behaviour, no association with any violent political or sectarian organisation. The people of Gilgit Baltistan in this area have worked hard primarily to provide their children with quality education. Many of them work in Government organisations today.

After the elections of 2008, the issue of legalising Abyssinia lines came to the limelight again. The Director and Deputy Director of KMC discussed the issue and after many meetings the Deputy Director came to visit the area. After the visit the Director of *katchi abadis* requested the Director of KMC officially in which he pleaded that the people of this area have themselves worked hard to establish gas, electricity and water provisions for themselves and have even planted trees in the area. He requested the Director to take notice of this and to officially lease the area as it would also benefit the government in the form of taxes which they residents of this area would pay over property. As usual, no serious thought was given to the issue by the officials.

CHAPTER 4

4.1) Findings and Discussion:

The following chapter will discuss the main findings of the research in accordance to the research questions. The chapter will firstly give an introduction into the household set up of the slum dwellers moving onto the employment trends, tenure security and government utilities, state of education, prevalence of technology and what are the motivations of the slum dwellers who continue to live in the slum

4.1.1) Household History and Details:

In seeking to investigate the changing employment trends and lifestyles of the dwellers of the chosen slum, we begin by looking at their basic household details. Here we look at the respondents' household structure including the structure and size of their family, the structure and size of their constructed property and the history of their family's migration to the slum will be discussed.

It was found that the popular family structure was the nuclear family setup. A majority of the respondents lived with their spouses and their children, that is, a two- parent traditional family. The next dominant family structure was the extended family setup with grandparents, that is, a couple living with their children and the husband's parents. A joint family setup, however not as popular as the previous two, was also revealed. This comprised two brothers living in the same house with their respective spouses and children, and at times, their living parent(s). The data also presented us with two special cases, where four generations of the same family were residing together at the same time (great grandparent, grandparent, parent and infant).

The average family size ranged between five to seven persons. The average size of the land each family occupied ranged between forty to eighty yards, with on average two to three rooms per house. The data revealed a dominant connection between the structure of the family and the structure of the constructed property. While most nuclear families resided in a single story structure, the families with more than one couple, or one couple with members of the extended family such as parents or siblings in law, resided in a double story house. The trend is to build a separate room for the couples above the already constructed property; as horizontal expansion isn't possible, families tend to expand vertically in order to continue living in close quarters.

Since the study is based on a slum which entirely comprises the Balti community, the data revealed migrations had taken place to the slum from the various localities within Baltistan, namely: Shigar, Kharmung, Skardu, Keris, Sernik and even divided Baltistan known as Ladakh.

There are two dominant migration patterns in the case of Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines. The first pattern involves the migrations that took place directly from Baltistan to Karachi. The second pattern starts from Baltistan, to India and then to Karachi. A large number of individuals from Baltistan had migrated to India during the British Raj, in search of employment or labour work. They had predominantly settled in two cities in India: Mussoorie and Shimla. After partition in 1947, these individuals migrated to Karachi and settled in Abyssinia Lines. The interviews revealed that those respondents who themselves migrated to Karachi, came directly from Baltistan. Those whose parents or grandparents were the ones to migrate, often recalled the story of their forefathers being in India and then migrating to Pakistan. Most migrations had taken place right after partition, and all the respondents had spent at least 25 years in Abyssinia, if not their entire life. Those whose parents were the ones to migrate were mostly either born in Karachi, or had been raised in Karachi.

These migrations had predominantly taken place on two grounds: either for the sake of finding employment or for the sake of pursuing education. This validates the primary assumption of rural to urban migration in the context of urbanisation: migrations done in the hopes of finding better employment opportunities and in the hopes of living a better life. The interviews also revealed the trend of seasonal migrations in the case of Baltistan. Many revealed that their elderly parents only came to live with them during the winter season; since Baltistan is located in the Northern region of Pakistan and is subject of harsh weather during the winter season. Their parents found the liveability conditions of Abyssinia better when compared to the extreme cold in their villages up North.

While investigating the migration patterns, the concept of a "resource person" also came to light. Desai (1994) discusses this concept in his study of slums in Bombay where he analyses the concept of kinship or any other social relation which proves to be a favourable cause for migration to the slum (Desai, 1994). Similar is the case for Abyssinia. Most migrations were done by the members of the family together (either brothers or first cousins) or by an individual. In both cases however the migrating individuals already knew someone in the slum. Hence the "resource person" was the source of the initial support for the newcomer. Not surprisingly, all respondents had acted as a resource person for various family members, inviting them from their villages to the city for the purpose of education or employment. Many of them had acted as hosts for their cousins, nieces and nephews who had come to the city to pursue higher education till they had completed their degrees.

It was witnessed that social relations and family played a vital role in the lives of the slum dwellers. Furthermore, social ties and kinship have led to the growth of the slum itself. Hossain (2011) discusses this in detail in his study of slums in Dhakka. Social networking, kinship and

community play an integral role in the integration of the slum dwellers in the urban lifestyle. This source of social capital acts as the foundation and encouragement for the rural population to migrate to the cities and to settle down in areas where the same kinship networks also exist (Hossain, 2011). This is clearly visible in the case of the Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines. For the newcomers, the pre-existing village network is the primary source of support. Hence we can observe that many a slum clusters, like Abyssinia Lines, have developed on the grounds of ethnic, regional and kinship identities and ties.

4.1.2) Employment Trends:

This research began with the aim to investigate the notion that a change has occurred in the trend of employment within urban slums from the informal sector of the economy to the formal one. Formal sector includes all those forms of employment which are regular in nature and in which the involved individuals are liable to pay regular taxes to the government (Henley, Arabsheibani, & Carneiro, 2006). Here the current and previous employment of the respondents, the history of employment of their family and the presence of foreign employment in their family will be discussed.

The respondents revealed a variety of professions in which they were involved both within the government and private sectors. The findings revealed that both the government and private sector employment were equally prevalent amongst the respondents. Government sector employees belonged to various governmental and semi- governmental organisations and institutions including the police department, health department, the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, governmental hospital and even the armed forces. The respondents involved in private services were employed in multinational firms, telecommunication companies, accounting firms, chemical and engineering companies

and trading firms. The data revealed that those who had been employed in the government sector in the last ten to twelve years were previously employed in the private sector. Each respondent had changed their occupation at least two times before their current employment, either within or outside of their field. The common practice, as mentioned by a majority of the respondents, was to accept any work they found early in their career. This was because most of them were studying and working side by side, hence in order to keep up with the expenses all forms of work were welcomed.

A significant number of the respondents had their own up and running businesses. These businesses ranged from exporting garments to catering kitchens, small scale restaurants, construction and photography. The findings exhibited a special case of an individual who started out his professional life as a religious scholar and teacher and now, due to his planning, savings and networking, has established his own business: a bakery in Tanzania, Africa. He belongs to Kharmung in Baltistan and moved to Karachi around twenty five years ago to pursue his education. He graduated from Madressatul Masoomen and also attained in degree from the University of Karachi in Islamiyat and Arabic. Since the past three years he has been involved in the baking field and has now managed to open his own bakery in Tanzania. He has not only employed people from the slum in Karachi but also people from Tanzania. As the respondent explained:

Today due to this channel, approximately eight to ten households in Pakistan and ten to twelve households in Africa are able and employed.

This case gives us a deeper insight in the two professions the respondents of the slums showed great inclination towards: one is the food and baking field and the other being religious scholars/

teachers. The community on a whole is widely involved in the food industry. Of the interviewed respondents, two are chefs in international hotel chains (namely Pearl Continental and Marriot), one serves as a chef in the Pakistan Navy, one has a catering business, whereas one owns a restaurant. Four of the respondents currently involved in white collar jobs were previously employed in a restaurant and fast food chains.

The Balti community on a whole is highly religious. Therefore religious teachers and religious scholars are well accepted, highly esteemed and prevalent profession within the community. Four of the respondents were involved in this profession part time, if not completely. Individuals from the community also travel to the acclaimed religious schools and universities of the Twelver Shiite sect in Iran and Iraq to pursue their education in this field. Representatives of these institutions have also opened their schools in both Karachi and Baltistan. Those involved in this profession teach in *Madressas* and give religious lectures etc.

The findings also revealed the case of two individuals within the Baltistani Society, who are involved in the profession of photography; this being a welcome change towards the creative side from the usual desk jobs. One owns and runs a photography business while the other practises it on a smaller level.

The findings also revealed that in a significant number of households, women were also active participants of the work force. The concept of both working parents was also popular and husbands disclosed that their wives were also employed when asked if any other member of the family was employed and helping manage the household finances. A respondent mentioned:

My wife works alongside me at the same company I work in.

Another also mentioned in his interview:

My wife recently started teaching at the Fatima School, at first she didn't work but now that our daughters are old she thought it right to work, the money isn't a lot but it is still what she wants to do.

Two cases of women heading the household were also disclosed by the data. The first case is of a widow, who by profession is a religious teacher, and has been living in the slum for thirty five years. She is a teacher at two *Madressas* located inside the slum where she teaches women and children Arabic and the Holy Quran. She has two sons, one of whom is employed in the government sector and the other in the private sector. The second case is of a school teacher whose husband is employed abroad. She lives alone with her daughter in Abyssinia and is a primary school teacher at a reputable private school in Karachi. Another interesting case the findings brought forth was of a widower father of five daughters. Three of his elder daughters are working at reputable organisations in Karachi; one was a doctor at the Civil Hospital, the second was employed at the research department of the Aga Khan University Hospital and the third was a teacher.

Foreign employment within the immediate family members of the chosen respondents was not common. A majority of the respondents did not have any immediate family members living abroad for the sake of employment. Those who did have a brother or a cousin employed in another country did not receive any financial support from them. A few cases involved family members settled abroad; those who went for employment purposes and over time received nationalities and are now permanently settled there. Those who lived here and were responsible

for their elderly parents and had a brother living and earning abroad stated that only their parents would receive some financial support from time to time.

Since the purpose of the research was to look at the changing trends, the employment of the respondents' fathers or forefathers also had to be looked into. The interviews revealed that a majority of the respondents' fathers were involved in the informal economy. Their employment activities ranged between various forms of manual labour such as plumbing, construction work and delivery and transport. Those respondents who were the first ones to migrate to the city revealed that their fathers were small scale land owners in their own villages, and managed their land involved in agricultural activities as a form of employment. Most of them practised subsistence farming. A few respondents stated that their fathers had been employed in a government sector or were involved in private services on a small scale. Two respondents stated that their fathers owned a business: one ran a small scale restaurant and the other owned and managed a garment business.

The overall patterns of employment clearly indicated a shift in the employment trends within the slum under study from the informal to the formal sector. This shift has taken place over a generation and can be attributed to better exposure within the urban life and a higher inclination towards education and securing a formal and regular job. There is also the aspect of sending back stories of success and achievement to the relatives and social relations back in the villages. Hossain (2011) also discusses this facet of social integration of slum dwellers in the urban life in his study of slums in Dhaka; the slum dwellers often visit their home villages and inform their kinsmen of what they have achieved living within urban contexts. This also acts as a source of motivation for many slum dwellers to strive for better employment opportunities.

4.1.3) Tenure Security and Government Utilities:

Tenure security denotes the right held by an individual or groups of individuals to official protection by the government against any forced evictions. Tenure security is essentially an aspect of property rights, that is, the right held by an individual or groups of individuals to remain on their land and use it to make profit in a manner which will benefit that individual or group as long as it does not harm anyone else. In an urban context, tenure insecurity is often faced by slum dwellers or the poor. In such a circumstance, they are under a constant threat of being evicted from their residence (UNHABITAT, 2007).

Here the research addresses the matters of ownership of property within the slum, the available government utilities and the types of bills and taxes paid by the inhabitants of the chosen slum. Government utilities were taken as an indicator for investigating the lifestyle of the slum dwellers.

When it came to the ownership of property within the slum, it was found that an overwhelming majority of the respondents claimed that they owned the land of their current constructed property within the slum. A few respondents stated that they paid rent for their residence which was owned by someone from within the community itself. However, they had no legal documentation that is a lease, to prove that this land was in fact their property. As a respondent, associated with the area since the 1950s mentioned:

There has been no official allotment of land for this area by the government, it is unauthorised. We therefore have no lease and no governmental papers. We only have the ration card which shows that such and such piece of land belongs to such and such person. The ration card is considered legal here.

During the 1970s, the government allotted the residents of Abyssinia Lines with ration cards according to their house number. These ration cards were later used by the government for the allotment of land in the Lines Area Project initiated in the 1980s. However, no formal allotment took place thereafter, but the ration card is considered an authorised document by the community as proof of one's ownership of a property. However, not all possess this ration card. For example as one respondent mentioned:

Not all have a ration card, some do some don't. For example my brother and I used to live in the same house together, but after our marriages we divided the property to establish two separate quarters. In this case I ended up with the ration card where as he had to get an affidavit made which stated that this land was his property. Many just get it written on a blank paper with a court's letterhead. As such there is no foolproof document.

Some respondents stated that they have sale deeds mentioning the purchase of the land, some have an affidavit or a simple stamp paper showing their agreement whereas a few stated they have no documents which can prove their ownership. As a respondent clarified:

No we don't have any documents. Except that we receive our utility bills and we have this address on our national identity cards.

When it comes to the availability of government utilities (electricity, gas and water), the case of the entire slum is the same. The entire slum has electricity and gas lines and receives it in the same manner as any legal housing society does, with similar instances of load shedding as faced by the entire city of Karachi. Water, on the other hand is not available in a regular manner. Some have established direct lines to their houses from the nearby water ground where as a few have installed a water boring machine to meet their water needs. However, this water is not drinking

water or as locally called meetha pani (sweet water). The local *Imambargah* has taken up the role of providing the community with drinking water; they have installed water filters which are used by the slum dwellers to meet their drinking water needs.

Much like any other housing society in Karachi, the entire slum receives electricity and gas bills on a monthly basis. When asked about the payment of these bills, all the respondents stated that they pay these bills monthly without any delay. The interview also inquired if they pay any form of taxes apart from the utility bills, to which it was found that apart from the General Sales Tax (GST) paid on all forms of consumption, the respondents paid no other forms of tax. When looked at from a technical perspective, a majority of the slum dwellers are not liable to pay any other forms of tax. As an interviewee clarifies:

No I don't pay any other form of tax. It is not like I own any property to pay property taxes. When this area is legalised and we all receive a lease, then I will be happy to pay my property tax.

Another respondent stated:

We don't have to pay any tax as such apart from the GST. And of course the income tax that is if anyone here earns as much to make it to the category which makes one liable to pay it.

It was found that despite paying for the available government utilities regularly, all residents of the Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines lack tenure security. Tenure insecurity is a major feature of most slums in the developing world and is one of the fundamental issues impeding the development process within these settlements. It is generally accepted that a secure tenure is in fact representing a collection of rights associated with various other significant issues. A study argues that by providing secure tenure and tenure rights the government is in practise mobilising

a catalyst for individual investments and economic growth and development (UNHABITAT, 2003). Land ownership is a significant source of capital and leads to investments and transfer of wealth to future generations, creating a social safety net. Access to land and a secure tenure are imperative for development and allow communities to exit the vicious cycle of poverty. Without it, communities are faced with a constant threat of being evicted which impacts their enjoyment of various other human rights including security and protection, housing, water and equal opportunities for work and various other political and civil rights (Wickeri & Kalhan, 2010).

4.1.4) Education:

In order to study the lifestyle of the slum dwellers, the research took education as the second indicator. In the following paragraphs the current education trends within the slum will be illustrated: whether the school going children go to private or public schools and their inclination to pursue higher education.

It was found that a majority of the respondents had school going children within their household. On average each household's school going children ranged from 2 to 4 children. Upon inquiring about the schools being public or private, all respondents stated that their household's children attended registered private schools. It is also important to mention that during observations it was found that the formal settlements surrounding the slum had various branches of well-known private schools. Upon further inquiry, another important connection was established. In the recent past, a handful of well acclaimed private schools in the country launched a more affordable version of their schooling system. Many children in the slum attended these school systems. Furthermore, many small scale private schools were also host to these children. It was also found that those students who were at their Matriculation or Intermediate level attended a

government school/ college but went to a private academy for tuitions and preparations for their board exams.

Those respondents with youngsters in their household revealed them to be pursuing higher education. These youngsters were indulged in degrees of various fields including medicine, engineering, political science, business, management and accounting. They were attending universities all over the city including: the University of Karachi, NED University, Jinnah Medical University etc. It was also found that a few of the respondents had cousins or relatives from a distance who were living with them in order to pursue their higher education. As an interviewee stated:

Yes, my cousin is living with us, he is doing his PhD at the moment.

Another stated:

There was my wife's younger brother, he moved back to the village a while ago. He was here to do his MPhil.

The patterns of kinship, social relations, and community support and resource person were manifested here as well.

Another finding worth mentioning is that an overwhelming number of respondents revealed that the women in their household are currently pursuing higher education. The respondents who had daughters or sisters living with them revealed them to be involved in higher education. Education did not come off as a gendered experience in the slum. All children and young adults despite their gender were receiving education. It was observed that their parents mentioned this with pride.

As an interviewee revealed:

Yes, my eldest daughter, Mashallah, is doing her CA at the moment. The younger one is in her second year.

For the entire community, education is seen as a fundamental necessity for which they must strive. A lot of the respondents who were parents revealed that they themselves were also pursuing their education; they claimed that it was the need of the hour. Education was seen as a tool which allowed them to fairly compete for opportunities which will allow them to lead a better life. One of the respondents had recently gotten married to a girl from his village. He revealed in his interview:

I recently got married, so I have no children. But my wife is studying. She just gave her intermediate exams. Now she will apply for universities.

The importance of education for the slum dwellers is also manifested in the fact that the entire area is surrounded by school: primary, secondary and also montessoris.

4.1.5) Prevalence of Technology:

The third indicator selected to investigate the lifestyle of the dwellers of the chosen slum was technology. The following paragraphs will look into the basic technology related aspects within the slum: firstly, the various kinds of day to day home appliances used by the slum dwellers and the prevalence of smart phones in the slum.

Home appliances are a significant attribute of the urban standard of living. They make it easier to manage tasks in a timely manner in one's day to day life hence facilitating the urban lifestyle. It was therefore, imperative to investigate the chosen slum in a technological context. It was found

that each and every one the respondents made use of the following home appliances: Television, fridge, freezer, a water geezer and a washing machine. A majority also used a microwave oven. Apart from these, every household had at least one computer or laptop and a majority also had an internet connection as well as cable TV. All these items were considered necessities by the slum dwellers given the day and age. A respondent explained:

These are all necessities nowadays, these all are now requirements of daily life; especially the TV. Even those which you consider poor will have a TV. Consider the TV a fundamental necessity of the people now.

The air conditioner however is a rarity in the slum. It is considered a luxury mostly because they lead to an increased use of electricity which massively amplifies the electricity bills. Apart from the air condition, it was found that in the context of home appliances and basic household technology, the slum households are at par with any in a formal housing society.

The second aspect of this theme was to investigate the prevalence of smart phones in the chosen slum settlement. The research discovered a widespread presence of smart phones amongst the slum dwellers. Each and every respondent had at least one smart phone in their household. In most households with parents and young adults of the second and third generations of the families inhabiting the slums, had as many smart phones as members of the household. During the interviews and field visits it was observed that all the youngsters in the slum were making use of a touch phone or a smart phone; this has been made easier with the advent of affordable android technology in the Third World. Pakistan is the sixth most growing smart phone market and has witnessed a decline of more than 50 percent in the prices of smart phones in the last two years (Ahmed, 2016).

The prevalence of smart phones also unraveled the widespread presence of WiFi and mobile internet (3G) technology. As an interviewee mentioned:

We have five smart phones in our house; we are five family members and we have five phones. We also use the WiFi USB.

All the respondents who had an internet connection had also installed the WiFi technology. Those who mentioned not having an internet connection immediately added that they used the 3G technology on their phone instead.

Consequently it was established that, keeping in mind their levels of income, the inhabitants of Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines were technologically progressive and in this regard were keeping up with the urban way of life.

4.1.6) Motivations to Stay:

For any society to foster and grow it requires its residents to continue wanting to live there. For a society such as the one under study, where the third and fourth generations of the same families are continuing to reside despite the better employment opportunities over the years, the residents must have some motivating factors. The following paragraphs will portray: if the respondents have had any opportunities to leave the slum, what are their motivations to continue living here and what are their future hopes regarding the slum.

When asked if the respondents ever had the opportunity to move out of the slum or if they had actively tried to move, it was found that half the respondents had tried to move whereas the other half had not made the effort. However, the interesting discovery was that all those that had moved out eventually came back to the slum. There were various factors that acted as their motivation to stay in Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines. Firstly, they are highly community

bound. Therefore, living in a locality with people from their own ethnic and religious group gives them a strong sense of security and protection. As an interviewee explained:

As you know this area is community based, so we feel safe. You must very well know the conditions of our country and especially Karachi. When we go to work we know that our families, our children are looked after, that the community is watching over them. So everyone thinks in this direction; that the environment is good, it is tried and tested, that we are well aware of it. We are conscious of this.

Having that sense of security is important to them. Another important factor that many mentioned was the fact that the slum is situated right in the middle of the city, which gives the slum dwellers easy mobility and quick access to places as well as goods and services. A respondent who is a government servant revealed:

I can easily go and live in a government flat, but I chose to live here, with my community. Firstly, as compared to the rest of the city, this area's environment is more peaceful. We have no crime rate here and we live peacefully. Secondly, this is the city centre which makes our day to day life easier.

Another respondent who is a school teacher mentioned:

You see, we are living down town. Everything is close by. All the public busses' routes pass by here so all the areas, be it University, Gulshan, Nazimabad, all are accessible with ease. As in all the facilities that are part of the city life are within our reach. Good schools and hospitals are present in the surrounding areas. Easy access is a big relief for us.

Another prominent factor which a majority of respondents mentioned was the fact that they had grown used to living here; they mentioned developing an emotional attachment with the slum as it was the place of their fathers and forefathers. Those who were living with their parents revealed that moving out of the slum was against the desires of their parents. A respondent mentioned:

This is our birth place so we have developed a habit of living in this environment. Two of our generations have already lived and past from here. Now that our parents are old, they do not wish to move from here. Neither do we. We are comfortable here.

Respondents also mentioned their peace of mind as a motivating factor to continue living here. Prioritising their peace of mind above other facilities is what contributes to their will to stay; knowing the entire community, having a strong bond of trust amongst the community members, keeping the bonds of kinship and social relations back from one's village intact and living in close quarters contributes in giving the slum dwellers a strong sense of belonging and peace of mind. As a respondent explained:

It is the nature of every human, that were he will find mental peace and support he will desire to live there and will strive to live there. That is the right of every human. If God wants, and if we find the same environment and support system elsewhere, then we will live there.

Another overwhelming factor and perhaps one of the biggest sources of motivation for all the respondents is the religious support and freedom they enjoy living in the slum. As mentioned earlier, the entire community living in Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines belongs to the Twelver Shia sect of Islam. Given this, the slum has two highly active *Imambargahs* and various religious scholars and teachers are themselves part of the slum. This aspect was mentioned by almost each

and every respondent, establishing that religion plays a vital part in the social fabric of the slum. Moreover, keeping in mind the instances of sectarian violence in the country, the slum dwellers find it safe practising their religion in the slum. A respondent informed:

The most delightful thing is that our entire community belongs to the Twelver Shia sect so there are no restrictions with regards to religion. We have our mosques where well acclaimed scholars visit every year, not just in the holy months of Muharram and Ramzan, but all year round. We have well organised religious programmes and since our imambargahs are within the community we can easily attend them.

One of the research questions was to establish if the residents continue living in the slum out of necessity or out of choice. The interviews revealed that while choice is a massive and a highly apparent aspect of the slum dwellers' motivation to stay, for some of them there was also a hint of necessity. The element of necessity was mostly mentioned by those who were living in the slum on rent. The fact that the area is not authorised plus the highly strong bonds of community and brotherhood, the rent paid by these respondents was well affordable, keeping in mind the safety and security as well as other perks they were receiving.

When it comes to the future hopes of the respondents regarding the slum, they all wish the slum would become an authorised and formally accepted locality; meaning they receive a legal lease for their land. As mentioned in the locality chapter, in the past various efforts have been made by the community to legalise the settlement. However, due to various political issues and negligence of the government towards the issue at large, these efforts could not be materialised. When asked if the respondents wished that the settlement would receive an official governmental status, each and every one of the respondents wished it to be true. Moreover, they also agreed to pay the

additional taxes and cooperate with the government in whatever way deemed necessary to make Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines a legal settlement. Furthermore, they also mentioned that they are under constant threat and are faced with a sense of insecurity. As a respondent explained:

If this settlement is demolished then many people will be facing problems. First we heard that the government is removing this slum. Then a few years back we heard that the government is building a new network of roads which will pass through the area and so we will be moved and relocated somewhere very far. Our location is ideal, but we never know when the government feels like it and they will come and remove us because we have no lease. You can see now that many people have built their homes here. They are proper homes now, with two and three floors. If the government removes us from here then what will we do?

Hence, they collectively wish to receive a formal allotment for the area so that they can continue living here in a legal manner. This desire is also manifested in the various collective efforts they have made to make this settlement a formal one.

4.2) Discussion:

The overall picture illustrated by the findings reveals that the lifestyle of the residents of the slum under study is not as different to those living formal settlements; especially with regard to government utilities, education and technology. A shift has taken place in the employment trends of the slum from the informal to the formal sector. This shift has taken place over a generation and is apparent now with the prevalence of government employees, business men, teachers, professional chefs as well as other forms of private sector employment. In relation to this, the lifestyle of the slum dwellers has also evolved. Firstly, education in private schools is a major

indicator of a lifestyle change. Secondly, the widespread use of home appliances and smart phones as well as the familiarisation with technology, advocates an impact of employment on lifestyle. Thirdly, the fact that now the slum dwellers have access to and can afford to pay for government utilities such as electricity and gas in their day to day life is indeed a catalyst of a lifestyle change. Even though water is not provided by the government, these slum dwellers still have access to running tap water.

It can be easily stated that these slum dwellers are maintaining an urban lifestyle as best they can given their levels of income in the same manner as any middle or lower middle class individual does. However, the only aspect that distinguishes them from the rest of the city's populace is the fact that they lack tenure security.

As this slum was entirely built, has flourished and grown on ethnic grounds, a strong level of homogeneity is dominant in the residents. As mentioned before, this homogeneity is not just founded in their ethnicity, but is also reflected in their lifestyle, the levels of services they receive and even the manner in which their houses are built. However, the most overwhelming feature of their homogeneity is their level of religiosity. Religiosity, a sociological term, broadly reflects the aspects and levels of religious belief, dedication and activity in an individual or a group of individuals (Holdcroft, 2006). They have established a unique sense of social cohesion and community bonds on this basis. The very same aspects of a homogenous society were explained by Emile Durkheim in his theory of Mechanical and Organic Solidarity. In this theory Durkheim relates social solidarity with the type of society. Mechanical solidarity is exhibited in a society which draws its integration and cohesion from the homogeneity of its population. Here individuals feel connected based on similar education, work, lifestyle and religious training.

Mechanical solidarity is often a feature of small scale societies. Solidarity is also maintained on the basis of familial networks and ties of kinship (Boundless, 2016).

When comparing this urban slum to the definition provided by the theory of modernisation, various contrasting elements can be found. Termed as a transitory phase, the modernisation theory defines slums inevitable in the process of economic growth. Economists, such as Glaeser (2011), argue that the buzz of slums encourages entrepreneurship and hard work, suggesting that the slum dwellers move on to bigger and better things. Slum living only represents a transitory phase in the life cycle of rural migrants: the slum dwellers or their children eventually move into formal housing within the city. However, the slum under study can be termed a constant part of Karachi till now, if not permanent. It was created even before the partition of Pakistan and still continues to exist despite the rapid spree of urbanisation that has taken place in Karachi. Moreover, the theory suggested that the off springs of the slum dwellers will move out of the slum. The research reveals that the third, and for some families, the fourth generation continue to be a part of, and living in, Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines. Thirdly, the theory mentions that as the economic benefits of modernisation will trickle down slums will eventually become part of the formal settlements; they are only paving the way to build formal societies. Over the years the Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines has encountered no opportunities, policy or otherwise, which may enable it to become a formal settlement. The economic benefits have increased over the years, as indicated by the employment trends and the change in lifestyles, but have had no impact on the legalisation of the slum. Today, despite being a peaceful, educated and formally employed community, they are still faced with tenure insecurity and are living on an unauthorised land.

From the findings and discussion it is concluded that urban slums have developed into a permanent facet of cities like Karachi. Despite the evolved lifestyles and the contribution the slum dwellers are making in the formal sector of the economy, there is a severe lack of governance and policy which allows them the liberty of tenure rights. Furthermore, as previously discussed, there are no sound steps being taken by the local authorities or the Government at large to counter this ever growing phenomenon.

CHAPTER 5

5.1) Conclusion:

This research aimed to explore the changing nature of slums in the wake of rapid urbanisation and development and to highlight the evolving nature of urban slums. The evolving nature of urban slums was primarily investigated on the basis of the changing trends of employment from the informal sector to the formal sector of the economy. The research further aimed at investigating the impact of this change on the lifestyle of the slum dwellers by focusing on three indicators of lifestyle: education, technology and available government utilities. For the purpose of this, an urban slum was selected namely: Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines in Karachi.

The research was conducted using semi- structured interviews and observations during the field study. The findings revealed that a shift in the employment patterns of the slum dwellers had indeed taken place from the informal to the formal sector of the economy. The current generation of slum dwellers was involved in government and private sector employment and also included businessmen, religious scholars and teachers. Furthermore, it was evident that the lifestyle of the slum dwellers had improved over the generations and has become more urbanised. The children attend private schools and are pursuing higher education, there is widespread use of technology within the slum and they have access to government utilities, namely electricity and gas, much like the rest of the city for which they also pay monthly bills. Despite this, they lack tenure security and are a constant risk of being evicted if the government decides to remove the slum altogether.

Furthermore, the research compared the situation of the chosen slum with the features defined by the theory of modernisation. This slum has been a part of Karachi since before the partition of

Pakistan and India. Moreover, since the very beginning, it has been inhabited by people belonging to the Balti ethnic group from the province of Gilgit, Baltistan. The slum is surrounded by numerous formal settlements. Yet it remains unregistered and unrecognised. Despite the various efforts made by the community and the various developments that have taken place in the area as discussed before, the area remained unregistered and therefore continues to be recognised as a slum.

The basic aim of the research was to highlight the evolving nature of urban slums and the need to carry out extensive research on their changing aspects and redefining them on this basis.

5.2) Recommendations:

Cities in the developing world are an ever growing phenomenon. Previous researches have illustrated, that as cities grow the problems that surround them become even more complex and harder to pin down. The various aspects of urbanisation - such as services, housing, exclusion and inequalities in cities, security and safety - are emerging in various new forms of challenges. Hence, as the 2016 World Cities Report suggests, there is a need to establish a “New Urban Agenda” (UNHABITAT, 2016). There is a need to carry out extensive research on the changing aspects of urban slums and redefining them on this basis. Keeping in view this need, the research proposes the following recommendations:

1. There needs to be a complete assessment of the existing slums in Karachi; the various types and categories of slums needs to be updated. Slums like Abyssinia Lines qualify as slums only because they are exist on unauthorized land without any formal allotment/ lease from the government. Hence, the manner in which they can be improved and made a part of formal housing societies will differ as compared to other slums with no basic governmental utilities, sewerage lines and running tap water.
2. A sustainable solution to the slum challenge can only be accomplished through a combined effort of all the stakeholders. It is imperative to form an environment, inclusive in nature, which inspires the commitment of not just the concerned authorities but also the related communities to improve the understanding of this challenge. The government therefore must establish authoritative bodies in slums, like Abyssinia Lines, in order to keep track of their conditions and prevailing problems.
3. The most imperative issue that needs addressing in slums like Abyssinia Lines is the lack of tenure insecurity. The government must therefore assess and recognize the various ways in

which the slum can be turned into a legal settlement. This will not only overcome the insecurities of the slum dwellers but will also encourage them to invest in their properties. Other than that, it will open a new source of tax revenue for the government; property tax which the slum dwellers will pay once they receive legal ownership of their properties.

4. A city like Karachi faces a significant amount of spatial issues which is why abolishing the slum and relocating the slum dwellers within the city does not seem a plausible possibility. However, legalising the slum will allow the government as well as the community to upgrade it in terms of infrastructure and livability conditions. Legalizing the slum will ensure tenure security. Tenure security will ensure the dwellers of the slum property rights which will harness a safe environment for investment within the slum. The residents will then invest in their own society with confidence; hence the society will flourish in the same manner as any other formal housing society does.
5. Likewise, instead of fractional advances, city wide approaches will prove more sustainable for slum upgrading. This will allow the slums to integrate with the urban management and public planning systems in a physical, social, economic as well as legal manner.

The New Urban Agenda for slums and Karachi should therefore firstly focus on establishing a complete understanding of the evolved nature of urban slums, like the Baltistani Society, Abyssinia Lines. Secondly, the concerned governmental ministries and departments should employ an inclusive development approach, involving the local community for the development of the area. Thirdly, it is imperative for the government to lease the area and allow the slum dwellers tenure security. This will not only aid the process of development within the slum but will also impact the economy in a positive way.

Glossary:

i) **Imambargah:** is a place of congregation for Shia Sect of Islam. It is a place where the ceremonies of the sect are carried out, especially in the Islamic months of Muharram. An Imambargah is also known as Imambaram, Azakhana and Hussainia.

ii) **Agha:** a term used by the locals to respectfully address a religious scholar, religious teacher and preacher.

iii) **Madressa:** is a institution for Islamic education.

iv) **Katchi Abadi:** a local term used for slums.

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Appendix A

8.1) Interview Guide:

Following are the broad questions which were a part of the interview guide. The questions were made based on the objectives of the research and ensure the discussion was staying on the desired track.

- i. Are you the head of your household?
- ii. Can you give me some details of your household? Number of family members?
- iii. What is the size of your house? How many rooms are there in your constructed property?
- iv. Which village do you belong to?
- v. When did you or your forefathers migrate to the city?
- vi. On what basis did they perform this migration? Was it for educational or financial purposes? Can you recall their journey?
- vii. After moving to Karachi, did you or any of your forefathers invite any of your relatives to the city? If yes then why?
- viii. Since how many years has your family been residing in Baltistani Society Abyssinia Lines? Can you give details of your years here?
- ix. At the moment, what is your source of employment and income?
- x. What was the employment of your father?
- xi. How many jobs have you switched so far? Where these within the same field? What has been your journey employment wise?
- xii. Is there anyone else in your household who is earning at the moment?
- xiii. Is any member of your household living abroad? If yes then why? If for the sake of employment then do they help you financially?

- xiv. Is this property in Abyssinia Lines yours? Or do you live here on rent?
- xv. Do you possess any official governmental documents stating that this land is yours?
- xvi. Do you have access to governmental utilities in your house?
- xvii. Do you pay bills for these facilities?
- xviii. Do you have any school going children in your house? Do they attend a public or a private school?
- xix. Do you have any other youngster pursuing higher education in your house? If yes, then from where?
- xx. Do you use any technological items in your day to day life such as various home appliances?
- xxi. How many smart phones do you have in your household?
- xxii. Have you ever tried, or did you ever receive an opportunity to move out of Abyssinia Lines? To move to a better formal housing society? What are your motivations to stay here?
- xxiii. Do you wish Abyssinia to receive a governmental status of an authorised society?
- xxiv. If yes, then do you think you will cooperate with the government and facilitate it by paying taxes? What are your hopes for the future?