

**How Planning Creates the Unplannable:
The Case of the *Katchi Abadis* (Impermanent Settlements) of Lahore**

Mina Rafael Arif

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York University
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Mina Rafael Arif, MES Candidate

Dr. Stefan Kipfer, Major Paper Supervisor

Abstract

This research delves into the role of planning in the Global South with respect to informal settlements. Using a case study of the informal settlements in Lahore, Pakistan, it evaluates the current planning process as a subset of the state-bureaucratic-developer nexus that dominates political structures of postcolonial cities. In an era where socio-spatial politics are increasingly determined by the edicts of neoliberalism and urbanism is defined by the circuits of capital accumulation, planning institutions too form a part of the political power matrix. This research evaluates whether planning as an institution is complicit in the formation and perpetuation of informal settlements in the cities of the Global South. To that end this research highlights the informality of the state apparatus itself which subverts planning paradigms in practices of deregulation, exceptionalism and patronage to profit from the neoliberal financialization of land. It discusses how the multi-planar socio-spatial synergies of the city are reduced to binaries of informal-formal, order-disorder, legal-illegal, to reengineer the urban and rural landscape according to the edicts of global capital. This culminates in violent dispossession, segregation and peripheralization of the poor, complemented by a politics of patronage and common sense used by the state-apparatus to legitimize coercion and violence in the hegemonic administration of space.

Dedication

*For my Grandmother, who prayed for the oppressed of our country in every prayer. May she rest in peace.
And for Zara, my little herald of brighter dawns, may you inherit your homeland in full bloom.*

*In the name of this day
And In the name of the anguish of this day
For this wilderness of yellowing leaves that is my homeland
For this carnival of suffering
Let me write of the lives of office workers
Of the railway men
And the tonga wallahs
And of the postmen
And those toiling in factories
Let me write of those they call- workers*

*Lord of the world
Promised heir to all that is come
Let me write of the farmer
This lord whose fief was a few animals-stolen
This heir who once had a daughter-carried off
Who has lost, from his hand's breadth of land,
One finger to the record keeper
And another to the government as tax,
This chief whose turban is a tattered rag
Beneath the feet of the mighty*

*Let me write of the Mothers
Whose children cry out in the night
And cradled, in tired defeated arms
will not tell their woes
Let me write of the widows
Let me write of neighbourhoods
Whose scattered garbage the moon
Blesses every night,
And from whose shadows cries out
Let me write of the little houses
The narrow lanes and the courtyards
Where the earth is so unclean, where the shadows are so deep
That all life ebbs away like a sob, unheeded*

*Let me write of the students
Those seekers of truth
Who came seeking truth at the doorstep
Of the great and the mighty
These innocents who, with their dim flickering lamps
Came seeking light
Where they sell naught but darkness of long endless nights*

*Let me write of the Heralds of the coming dawn
Those harbingers of the days to come
Who, like the flower with its scent,
Have become enraptured of their own message*

Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Intesaab

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Glossary

Biraderi	a clan system based on patrilineal links to a common ancestor
CDA	Capital Development authority
DA	Development Authority
FATA	federally administered area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoP	Government of Pakistan
Gully	alley
ILMP	Integrated Lahore Master Plan
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISAL	illegally subdivided land
KDA	Karachi Development Authority
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Kami	agricultural tenant/servant
Katchi Abadi	informal settlement
Khoka	small one-window tea shop
LDA	Lahore Development Authority
LESCO	Lahore Electric Supply Company
LIT	Lahore Improvement Trust
MNAs,	Minister of Nation Assembly
MPAs,	Minister of Provincial Assembly
Malikana Haqooq	property rights
Mazdoor	laborer
Mohalla	neighborhood
Nazims	Mayors
NESPAK	National Engineering Services Pakistan
NGO/CBO	Non-Government Body, Community Based Organization
Pucca	permanent (construction/housing)
Raj	colonial rulers in India
Rairiwala	hawker
Registries	written decree of property
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SDI	Shack/Slum Dwellers International
Sui Gas	Gas Supply company Pakistan
TEPA	Traffic Engineering Planning Agency
UN	United Nations
WASA	Water and Sanitation Agency
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization
Zamindar	landlord

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Foreword

This major research project is an illustration of the concepts I have highlighted in my area of concentration. It serves as an archetype of the limitations of planning in the Global South. My research into Planning for ISs (Informal Settlements) delves into the role of planning in post-colonial nations with respect to low-income neighborhoods. It is an evaluation of the current planning process as a subset of the state-bureaucratic-developer nexus dominant in the political structures of the Global South. As a case study of Pakistan, my MRP seeks to analyze the role of current planning frameworks as being complicit in the state-bureaucratic apparatus that governs urban development in the country. As such it seeks to evaluate the barriers to planning, and seeks to highlight planning approaches that are fostered by the communities themselves. The learning objectives outlined in my Plan of Study are as follows;

Learning Objective A-1: To study the methods and practices of Environmental Planning

Learning Objective A-3: To explore the key issues in planning policies and practices, and to examine the political ecology associated with them.

Learning Objective B- 1: To examine the current issues pertaining to environmental planning in the Global South.

Learning Objective B-2: To examine alternative approaches in dealing with discrepancies in planning practices in the Global South

Learning Objective C-1: To study current environmental planning issues in Pakistan

Learning Objective C-2: To examine the role of bureaucracy and institutional politics, municipal councils, municipal administrations and environmental agencies in Pakistan.

Learning Objective C-3. To explore participatory methods of planning

This Major Research Paper examines the current issues in social, spatial and environmental planning policies by delineating how these policies ultimately manifest as planning concerns like gentrification, environmental degradation and dispossession (Learning Objective A-1). It reviews extensive

literature on the planning policies and frameworks of different postcolonial nations in the Global South and how they relate to ISs. It examines the role (or lack thereof) of the state and local government bodies, as well as local NGOs and grassroots initiatives in managing these settlements. It also delineates the incidence and creation of ISs as an auxiliary to urbanization and a consequence of state neglect. It further evaluates how the stigmatization of IS or 'slums' reaffirms and propagates their neglect and thus legitimizes their exclusion in policymaking (Learning Objective B- 1). This research paper allows me to accomplish my objective of evaluating the limitations in the planning process of developing nations by critically examining the planning discrepancies prevalent in the informal settlements of the Global South like Pakistan, Brazil, Cambodia, India and Kenya (Learning Objective, A-3 and B-1). Through the course of this paper I review literature that presents the ISs in the context of their postcolonial histories and extant oligarchic power matrices (Learning Objective B-2).

The *katchi abadis* of Lahore are the very archetypes of the limitations in environmental planning and the practice of state hegemony through coercion and a politics of common sense over the toiling classes. Nearly 35-40% of the population of Karachi and Lahore resides in informal settlements (Zaidi, 1990). Lahore is a sprawling megacity in the burgeoning province of Punjab, the heartland of the accretion practices of the military-bureaucratic-state nexus. The city is the embodiment of social, spatial, environmental and political imbrications that contribute to the subversion of planning in the face of rapid urbanization and neoliberalization. Using this case study, I delineate the role of planning in the formation and perpetuation of IS and the role of hegemonic state apparatus in the cooption of planning as a tool to subjugate the masses (Learning Objective C-1). Through structured interviews and critical analysis, I have studied the role of the planning institutions, dominant political organizations, NGOs and grass roots initiatives and delineated the politics therein as they relate specifically to maintaining hegemony over the inhabitants over IS through a politics of coercion and consent (Learning Objective C-2).

Chapter 1. Introduction

Land: A part of the earth's surface, considered as property: The theory that land is property subject to private ownership and control is the foundation of modern society, and is eminently worthy of the superstructure. Carried to its logical conclusion, it means that some have the right to prevent others from living; for the right to own implies the right exclusively to occupy. It follows that if the whole area of terra firma is owned by A, B and C, there will be no place for D, E, F and G to be born, or, born as trespassers, to exist.

The Devils Dictionary (Bierce, 1996)

It took three days for the bulldozers to raze every last one of the mud houses of *Afghan Basti* in the middle of the capital to the ground, leaving 15,000 people without home or hearth. After years of demonizing the people of the settlement, peddling narratives of ‘militants’, ‘terrorists’, ‘drug dealers’ and ‘criminals’ the Capital Development Authority (CDA), bulwarked by the city police and Rangers¹, led the operation in a tyrannically violent eviction that dispossessed thousands of people, leaving them shorn of their homes, their belongings, and their dignity.

The I-11 squatter settlement or *katchi abadi*, locally called the *Afghan Basti* (Settlement of Afghans) was a refugee camp set up in early 1980s to accommodate Afghan refugees. The *Basti* was home to 864 families comprising 7,995 individuals (UNHCR, 2013). 80% of those families were either internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) or Pakhtun families from different parts of the adjacent province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The families had come to the capital in search for security and shelter, fleeing their war torn homes, now a battleground for Americas’ War on Terror orchestrated between Taliban militants and the Pakistan Army.

¹ The Pakistan Rangers are a Pakistani paramilitary force, under the direct control of the Ministry of the Interior of the Government of Pakistan that are designated to provide and maintain security in war zones and areas of conflict. Although the Pakistan Rangers are under the administration of the Interior ministry, key positions in the force, including Director-General of the Rangers, are headed by the members Pakistan Army.

Islamabad, the state Capital and the spatial emblem of the hegemonic state apparatus of Pakistan, is all but a bureaucratic enclave planned explicitly to cater to the state bureaucracy, military forces and associated upper-income stratum. The landscape of the capital stands as testament to the socio-spatial inequalities of a country shackled to its colonial history and extant neo-colonial ties (Siddiqui, 2015). Such inequalities have culminated in the incidence of squatter settlements and *bastis*, home to thousands of residents who are a constant source of labor to the rich. The eviction in I-11 is emblematic of the socio-spatial segregations of the planned city, designed to serve the capitalist ventures of the ruling classes, the encroachment of which elicits brutal state oppression. At the heart of this tyrannical experience lies the complicit role of the state planning and development institutions. Touting the rhetoric of ‘illegal occupation’, ‘*qabza* (encroachment)’ and ‘terrorists’, the dwellers were dragged out of their homes, pulled down from their roofs and subjected to tear-gas shelling, baton charge and police brutality, all under the auspices of the capital’s authority, the Capital Development Authority (CDA).

The Capital Development Authority, like its counterparts in the country, has become a corrupted institution implementing development according to the dictates of neoliberal capitalism in the form of private housing schemes for the rich (Akhtar, 2015; Siddiqui, 2015). This particular eviction was a drive to ‘reclaim’ property from the ‘illegal occupants’ for the development of a housing sector for members of the civil bureaucracy. After repeated delays in the project, resulting from mass protests by the people of the *basti*, the CDA, Lahore High Court, Islamabad Capital Territory administration (ICT) and the city police used the trope of ‘Illegal Afghan Refugees and Terrorism’ to launch the eviction drive against the 25 years old squatter settlement.

This atrocious episode brings into sharp focus the coercive and covert practices of the state and its ancillary planning departments in undertaking an ‘unmapping’ of the urban poor (Roy,

2006). Through the illicit mismanagement of information that is contoured to suit false fear-mongering narratives, and systems of deregulation and exceptionalism, planning departments have become complicit in the violent and inhumane dispossession of the urban poor, in a bid to claim land for private development projects (Roy, 2005). May it be the *katchi abadis* of Pakistan, the *favelas* of Latin America, the JJ (*Jhuggi Jhompri*) clusters of India, or shantytowns of Africa, informal settlements are the manifestation of the systemic failure of the state to provide affordable housing and land ownership to the urban poor.

This research seeks to delineate the role of planning as a conduit of state authority coopted and subverted in the hands of an over-developed neoliberal state apparatus and the ruling elite. It ventures to highlight that the role of planning institutions is integral to state oppression and the domination of the underclass, entailing a strategic reconfiguration of the city and the country, through politics of segregation and enclosure. Such politics are disseminated through city planning paradigms that inscribe socio-spatial demarcations between formal and informal, legal and illegal, urban and rural and private and public realms. In a multi-ethnic state, such as Pakistan, these divides serve to deepen social inequalities based on class, ethnicity, caste, clan, linguistics, gender, religion where the ruling classes become the expression of a predominantly singular ethnicity and the slums become the expression of lower-income, pluralistic, multi-ethnic groupings. The relegation of such groups with differentiated identities and conflicting ideologies to areas disavowed of state benefaction and limited services manifests in violence, ‘legal pluralities’ and the genesis of localized loci of power and authority (Santos, 1997, 1998).

Research Design and Methodology

There is a gaping lack of information and discourse on informal settlements in Pakistan, especially due to the indefinable boundaries of settlements, the criminalization of slums and

mismanagement of government records. This research seeks to contribute to the discourse on Pakistan specifically to delineate the limitations of normative planning methodologies and to discuss alternative planning epistemologies for informal settlements in cognizance of the socio-political frameworks in place within the settlements. To that end my research consists of a case study that situates planning in the formation and subsistence of *katchi abadis* of Lahore² for which I carried out field work in Pakistan over the course of two months. The field work consisted of an internship in the planning division of Pakistan's leading engineering and planning company called NESPAK (National Engineering Services Pakistan Limited), as well as visits and unstructured interviews with residents of 6 informal settlements in Lahore. It also includes structured interviews of government officials, planners and NGOs³. My internship at the Architecture and Planning Department at NESPAK allowed me to interact with planners and architects that design and configure the urban landscape in Lahore. My tasks allowed me to observe and analyze the planning processes employed in government-funded projects as well as private development projects in Lahore.

As a precursor to my case study, I reviewed discourses on the existing planning frameworks and their limitations as they pertain to *katchi abadis* of Pakistan specifically. My study examines the role of neoliberal and ruling structures and their cooption of planning institutions and practices as they relate to the *katchi abadi*. It discusses bureaucratic red-tapism, state-developer oligarchies, political cronyism, institutional politics, patronage politics, conflicts between public and private interests and inter-agency miscommunication. This morphs into a generative approach that allows a content analysis of the merits of planning and development praxis employed in other Global South settlements and their applicability to the *katchi abadi*.

² See Appendix A: Area of Fieldwork

³ See Appendix B: List of Interviewees

For the purpose of my research into informal settlements as a phenomenon in the Global South, I have used documentary analysis, content analysis, qualitative secondary data and quantitative secondary data. For my case study I have used secondary data sources for analysis of rural-urban migration trends, population demographics and housing and sanitary services. These include population censuses, housing statistics and records of regularized and non-regularized informal settlements, which were accessed through the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics website, and the Lahore Development Authority Offices (Government of Pakistan, 2015). This data allowed me to narrow down informal settlements for my case study, which could be done over the internet as there is no record of informal settlements, or maps to demarcate their boundaries, population, ethnicity or tenure status.

My field research was a two-fold project. For the initial part of my field work I visited six *katchi abadis* in the district of Lahore, Punjab; Baba Shahjamal Colony, Gohawa Pind, Youhanabad (Christian Nagar, Khalaq Nagar), Ismai'l Pura, Gujjar Pura and the Jhuggi Jhompri Clusters of Bund Road. I visited both regularized and unregularized *katchi abadis*⁴ to get a comparative analysis of the perspectives of both settlements. I carried out daily visits to each of the settlements over the course of a month and engaged a local resident from each of the settlements who facilitated and mediated my visits. I carried out unstructured interviews and conversations with residents to gain insight into the social norms, personal histories and social contexts of informal life. The visits entailed community gatherings or *baithaks*⁵, individual conversations and familiarization with the settlements. The residents were chosen on the basis of snowball selection as well as convenience sampling. Data collection was carried out through the

⁴ Out of these, Baba Shah Jamal and Christian Nagar were regularized (accorded tenure rights by the state) and the rest were unregularized *katchi abadis*

⁵ these are local community meetings

use of conversations, field notes, journal writing and observation records (Fontana et al., 1994). This generated data was essential in incorporating an approach informed by the dwellers and their everyday lives and allowed an understanding of their experiences without imposing any prior categorization that could limit the field of inquiry. It also allowed me to learn from the community and allow them to contribute to a form of collaborative ethnography. This ground work was essential to my research as it allowed me to understand the socio-political frameworks, legal pluralities and differentiated histories of the settlements and the residents.

For the second part of my fieldwork, I carried out an internship at a planning and engineering firm called NESPAK (National Engineering Services Pakistan Limited). NESPAK is Pakistan's leading consultancy in planning and architecture. It offers a broad spectrum of expert consultancy services ranging from conception, construction and operation of state and private development projects. My internship was a work assignment of two months (120 hours) in the Architecture and Planning division of the firm. I was assigned to two projects; the first was a government low-income housing project called Aashiana, and the second was the extension of the private housing scheme of Defense Housing Authority (DHA). My tasks included studying and analyzing prefeasibility reports, studying the Integrated Master Plan for Lahore 2004, studying budget reports and town plans. This internship was crucial in deconstructing the planning process in Pakistan. It allowed me to understand the institutional framework, interagency dependencies, state involvement, patronage politics and covert processes involved in private and state planning projects. It highlighted the process of regulation and deregulation that define the planning process in Pakistan and gave me an opportunity to conduct formal interviews with officials in affiliated departments like the Lahore Development Authority and the Katchi Abadi Directorate (KAD). I also conducted structured interviews with urban planning experts, social planners and non-

government organizations working with informal settlements. The perspectives of the participants (dwellers with and without tenure security, city officials, and planners) are fundamental in developing an understanding of the divergent views on the socio-spatial realities of the settlements as well as government programs of squatter regularization, rehabilitation and evictions. The disparate views and realities allowed the research to be placed in personal and organizational contexts.

In undertaking this research I was fully cognizant of my positionality as a middle class woman and how that could project not only onto the participants but also shape my interpretation in the collected data. My own positionality as a gendered outsider called for a more ethnographical approach (Spivak, 1999, cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 553). Yet, as stated by Fontana et al. (1994) 'it is in these research relationships among the participants and researcher that we see the possibility of social change' (p. 425) and as such the value of these experiences in research cannot be discounted. Thus my methodology encompassed a participatory/emancipatory approach and sought to emulate Spivak's subaltern intellectual, instrumentalizing herself to become a disciple of the environment and culture (as best as she can). The limitations to my methodology were the short time span of my immersion in the community, the cultural norms and limitations that accompany gender differentiation and my background, as well as logistical limitations and paucity of data. Other ethical concerns that were taken into account are concerns of invasion of privacy, voyeuristic leanings of the observation methodology and subjective interpretations (Fontana et al., 1994).

This research traces the role of institutional planning as a construct of state domination through the apparatus of the post-colonial state. It traces the pivotal role of planning as an instrument in the financialization of land under the paradigm of capitalism and as such employed to serve the neoliberal agendas of the neo-colonial state. As such it delineates the role of planning

in the perpetuation and persistence of informal settlements in Lahore, and posits that the nature of formalized planning plays an integral role in creating differentiated urbanization in cities that manifests in slums. Drawing on the work of Anaya Roy and Michel Denning I assert that the discourse on slums cannot be presented in binaries of informal vs formal, rather it has to be cognizant of the structures and processes within the settlements as well the exceptionalised informality of the city around them.

Chapter one reviews the existing literature on ‘slums’ and its nature, forms and significance in urban landscapes. It discusses the ontological and epistemological approaches to planning informal settlements. Chapter two treats planning epistemologies as a palpable product of their colonial and neo-colonial history in the post-colonial state. It traces the origin of settlements in Pakistan as a consequence of three over-arching factors; segregatory colonial planning prerogatives, post-independence migration patterns and neoliberal paradigms of ‘the global city’. Chapter three seeks to highlight the symbiotic matrix of dominant forces that form the superstructure of the post-colonial state. It delineates the conflation of planning and the oligarchic state apparatus that is formed through a nexus between the military, the bureaucracy, politicians, landlords and capitalists.

Chapter four introduces the informal Settlements of Pakistan, focusing on the differentiated configuration and subjectivities of the residents, informed by field work in the *katchi abadis* of Lahore. It discusses the evolution of the *katchi abadis* in the post-independence state and highlights the machinations of the informal economy that services these settlements. It highlights the elusive nature of tenure rights, lack of basic municipal services and amenities, the main actors and processes that sustain the settlements and the covert economies of the settlements intrinsic to the subsistence of residents. Chapter five presents the case study of the planning process in Lahore,

delineating the colonial and the postcolonial evolution of state planning institutions as subsets of the state apparatus. It discusses the role of the Development Authorities that have subverted planning practices to limit development and planning according to the dictates of neoliberal agendas. Chapter six discusses the conflation of informal settlements with narratives of crime, tracing trajectories of violent political conflicts in the settlements to colonial divisions between planned and unplanned areas, and to mutual threat perceptions of ethnic groups. It discusses the use of such dystopic narratives as a calculated mode of governance through segregation, private policing, withholding of rights to the city, and xenophobia. The concluding chapter discusses alternative modes of planning that are being practiced in the informal settlements and discusses their limitations and merits. It takes stock of the socio-political imbrications that define planning in Pakistan and discusses how planning could lose its institutional bearings to inform itself from the community: planning from below.

Chapter 2. Placing The Lumpen and Informality

Urbanization, a force driven by neoliberal capitalism, is defined in terms of population growth in urban areas relative to population growth as a whole. By 2015 the UN predicts that there will be 358 "million cities" with one million or more people and 27 "mega-cities" with ten million or more of this growth projected to occur in the global south (Freire, 2006, p.2).

Country	Informal Settlements as % urban pop.	Population (millions)
China	37.8	193.8
Brazil	36.6	51.7
Nigeria	79.2	41.6
Pakistan	73.6	35.6
Bangladesh	84.7	30.4
Indonesia	23.1	20.9
Philippines	44.1	20.1
Turkey	42.6	19.1
Mexico	19.6	14.7
South Korea	37.0	14.2
Peru	68.1	13.0
Egypt	39.9	11.8
Argentina	33.1	11.0
Tanzania	92.1	11.0
Ethiopia	99.4	10.2
Sudan	85.7	10.1
Vietnam	47.4	9.2

Table 1. Largest Slum Populations by Country (Davis, 2006, p. 24)

Agrarian reforms, structural adjustments, currency devaluations and faltering government budgets drive migrants to cities seeking employment and higher wages which leads to a large boom in population surpassing the coping capacity of city governments. One of the most visible consequences of rapid urbanization has been the formation and persistence of informal settlements, which constitute a large part of the urban population of the cities of Global South as presented by the figures in Table 1 (Ooi & Phua, 2007). Thus, poverty too is urbanizing.

There is a vast literature that discusses the definition of informal settlements (ISs) in the Global South, however for the purpose of this research I will be referring to the definition of IS as it pertains to the ontological and epistemological paradigms of planning. UnHabitat (2003a; 2003b) reduces the characterization of informal settlements to economic and physical attributes like overcrowding, poor or informal housing, inadequate access to potable water and sanitation, and insecurity of tenure. Cities Alliance (1999) presents a more essentialist description in its initiative ‘Cities without Slums’ where it proclaims,

“Slums are neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor [...] without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of the city. Slums have various names, yet share the same miserable living conditions. Visible disparities between slums and better-off neighborhoods increase the social tensions in poorer areas and unplanned growth of settlements makes conventional service provision complicated and costly (Un-Habitat, 2004, p.13)”.

Such metonymic representations of slums as spatial aberrations and enclaves of misery, gloss over the complex socio-cultural attributes of such settlements. They also do not address the socio-political milieus that contribute to slum formation and perpetuation. An example of such dismal and apocalyptic discourses is Mike Davis’s (2006) book *Planet of Slums*. He describes informal settlements as mega slums, characterizing them as shantytowns and squatter communities occurring in continuous belts of informal housing and poverty, usually on the urban periphery. While he accurately highlights the characteristic lack of housing, infrastructure, and vulnerability to displacement of ISs, he employs catastrophic hyperboles that paint informal settlements as hot beds of illegality, disease, abject poverty and crime. The merit in Davis’ work lies in his delineation of colonial legacies, post-colonial realities as well as neoliberal, globalization policies as the reason behind formation of slums. Davis (2006) vehemently criticizes essentialist classifications of slums, yet as Richard Pithouse (2007) points out, his work relies heavily on the statistical data of slums

as put forth by imperialistic institutions and presents a complete disavowal of the political and social life of the poor. Such Eurocentric portrayals of divest the informal settlements of their history and political agency and reinforce the anti-urban fears associated with slums as spaces of primitivism, savagery and crime.

As a departure from such dystopian narratives, this research builds on Arif Hasan's (2009) definition of the term 'informal' as it pertains to planning in Pakistan as 'all activity or part of it that relates to land development or effects land use or land but does not have de-jure recognition'. He defines informal settlements as make-shift housing that shelters the low-income population in the face of the shortfall of provision of affordable accommodations by the state. The settlements, deemed illegal, exist outside the purview of state services yet cater to both the formal and informal economy. The ascribed illegality of the settlements makes them vulnerable to evictions, demolitions and violence. In similar vein, Drakakis-Smith (2012) adopts a more pragmatic view in presenting a definition and classification of the typologies, demographics and evolution of informal settlements in the Global South. He highlights the basic concepts of squatters (illegal dwellings), slums (dilapidated yet legal dwellings), tenure informality⁶ and the role of low cost housing provisions. His work allows a mediated approach to development planning and models for housing solutions for the urban poor and discusses limitations and merits of the different normative approaches to IS, foremost of which have been upgrading, urban renewal, evictions and self-aid.

The classification of approaches to planning for ISs, according to normative assumptions of ISs as spatial entities, have included interventionist approaches that broach the eradication of

⁶ Tenure informality is the end result of legal, political and economic exclusion mechanisms. Secure tenure is the right of all individuals and groups to effective protection by the state against forced evictions. The wide range of informal tenure situations (from total illegality of squatters to various forms of tolerated occupation, or occupation legitimized by customary practices) may provide very different degrees of tenure insecurity

slums altogether, ameliorating approaches of slum upgrading, tenure/land title grants or formalization⁷. Upgrading of slums or formalization has been tied to patronage politics and electoral loyalties (Bayat, 2000; Angel, 1983). Roy (2011) asserts that such policy approaches only seek to maintain a façade of an efficient city by regimenting aesthetic space, built environment and physical amenities rather than residents' capacities livelihoods, wages or political capacities exhibiting what Jane Jacobs highlights as the oversight of urban planners of misconstruing visual order for functional order (Scott, 1998, p. 183).

Tenure formalization policies and debates are motivated by the neoliberal-populist philosophy of helping the lower-income population by 'granting land as equity', much like Hernand de Soto's work which claims that the provision of titled property rights can bring about a transformation where residents can become asset rich and convert this equity into credit that can further generate income through micro-entrepreneurship (Davis, 2006; Woodruff, 2001). This however does not address the fact that these policies often serve to induct the residents into the tax base⁸ and eschews the need to provide services, offer formal credit or manage the booming property market and the gentrification associated with it (Gilbert, 2004).

As vulnerable communities living on the edge of legality under informal tenure arrangements, ISs are increasingly being subjected to evictions, without consultation, compensation or alternative housing usually under the guise of serving "the public good" or making a city more "efficient". In the Global South evictions are carried out through policed violence, arson and unannounced demolition usually to avail development and infrastructure projects, international events, urban redevelopment and beautification initiatives. Government-led

⁷ Formalisation is a process by which informal tenure is integrated into a system recognized by public authorities. It is a means to ensure tenure security depending on whether public authorities administratively recognize occupation or deliver real property rights

⁸ as in the case of the colonias in Mexico City (Ward, P. 1990, p. 193).

property market forces can lead to gentrification and ethnic discrimination in evictions⁹ (Du Plessis, 2005).

Evictions and/or relocation to government housing reduce the means of reproduction and the possibilities for subsistence production for dwellers. For the urban planner, the settlement is an aberration. For the inhabitants it is the place where production under deteriorating circumstances is still possible (Davis, 2006, Drakakis-Smith, 1981). Roy (2011) concurs with this assertion, and insists informality is a product of wealth distribution and unequal property ownership. She states that when squatters are relocated to subsidized public housing, they sell off their rights to this housing in order to profit on the transaction and to avoid a system where the failure to make regular payments results in evictions. However, some ideologies posit that the threat of slum evictions can serve to unite the otherwise individualistic efforts of the residents, giving them collective agency that allows them to become more autonomous and able to achieve their needs (Bayat, 2000).

Class and Informality

To theorize about the agency of the informal underclass, it is important to place them in the cast of class structure. However, the economic and socio-political configuration of the urban poor of the informal settlements cannot simply be wedged into the framework of Marxist theory. In fact, Marx deals with the urban underclass unevenly, and often one-sidedly. According to Marx in his seminal work, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (1852), the lumpenproletariat, the property- and wage-less class, was a counter-revolutionary force and had neither agency nor motive for participating in revolution, and might in fact have an interest in preserving the current

⁹ As in the case of Christian and Afghan Settlement demolitions in Islamabad

class structure, because of its dependence on the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy for their day-to-day existence. The lumpen has constituted of

decayed *roués* with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, [...] vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, *lazzaroni*, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, *maquereaux*, brothel keepers, portes, *literati*, organ-grinders, ragpickers, knive grinders, tinkers [...] scum, offal and refuse of all classes (p.73).

This description does not accurately account for the urban poor residing in informal settlements in the Global South. Firstly, not all those comprising the urban poor can be designated as existing outside the wage-labor category. Secondly, the rise in social mobilization by slum dwellers in Durban, Africa, Mumbai, Manila, Bangkok (Taylor, 2004), Brazil (Levy, 2010), Peru and Chile (Schuurman & Naerssen, 2013) contradict the claim that the lumpen are devoid of political agency or class consciousness.

Subsequent Marxist theorists have sought to temper Marx's approach to the urban poor. In his book *Slums of Hope*, Lloyd (1979) stresses that informal settlements cannot be placed in the context of Marxist class terms as the class structure in the settlements themselves is too ambiguous and includes wage laborers and the working poor¹⁰. David Harvey (1999) too remarks on Marx's failure to address the processes governing the production and reproduction of labor power itself. My work finds resonance in Stallybrass's (1990) presentation of Marx's work¹¹. He alerts us to a shift in the meaning of the term 'lumpenproletariat' in Marx's texts *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* and *The Class Struggles in France, 1848–1850*, in which the lumpen is recast as a social group open to historical transformation. Stallybrass delineates how the Marx's dialectical theory

¹⁰ Whose wages are deemed below the poverty line

¹¹ Stallybrass (1990) asserts that radical politics requires that heterogeneous lower classes must pass from a passive existence to a form of conscious activity.

of class struggle between ‘bourgeoisie’ and ‘proletariat’ is disturbed by the concept of the lumpenproletariat. This social category, one which Marx was reluctant to deem as a class on its own, came to fore when he asserted its importance in Louis Bonaparte’s ascent to power¹². This representation of the lumpenproletariat contradicted the one-dimensional relation between social class and political action in Marxist theory.

Another shift in Marx’s depiction of the lumpen, one that ties inexplicably with this research, is his use of the term for not just the "lowest strata" but to "the refuse of all classes"(p. 54). Thus the concept of the lumpenproletariat is rewritten to characterize the corruption, fraudulence and *informality* of the financial aristocracy. My work also finds resonance in Marx’s assertion that the heterogeneous lumpen is structured by its relations with the dominant forces in society. Political machinations (in liberal and dictatorial regimes) depend upon the ‘aestheticization’ of the heterogeneous lumpen. This takes form of either the demonization of the settlements or in their exploitation for reactionary ideologies. For Marx a radical politics requires that the heterogeneous lower classes must pass from a passive existence to a form of conscious activity and ultimately break through this aestheticization.

In his seminal book, *The Wretched of the Earth* Fanon (1967) discusses the role of the lumpen as a revolutionary force. He argues that the lumpen, by virtue of their individualism and state of deprivation, do indeed have a spontaneous and radical form of agency. However, Fanon’s work echoes the politics that Marx attributed to Louis Bonaparte: the heterogeneity of the lumpen is the very precondition for its political articulation. In consonance with Marx, he forewarns of the

¹² Marx description of Louis-Bonaparte as the ‘*chief of the slum-proletariat*’ highlights the cooption of lumpen by Bonaparte who inducted them into the Society of December 10 to aid his election as President of France. Marx simultaneously denigrates the lumpen as a perverted, rogue force as well as confers (begrudgingly) recognition of the lumpen as a class. ‘This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself *chief of the lumpenproletariat*, who here alone rediscovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues, who recognizes in this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally (Marx, 2008, p.64).

vulnerability of the lumpen to reactionary ideologies and exploitation by ruling forces For Fanon the agency of the lumpen can only be garnered if organized under apt leadership.

Denning (2010) engages with both Marx's and Fanon's discussions of the lumpen. He asserts that although neither Marx's nor Fanon's work accurately represents the wageless or self-employed laborer, Marx's (1973) concept of 'virtual pauperism' can be used to understand the social condition that categorizes the wageless. It is not as if there are two kinds of workers, employed and unemployed, or two sectors of the economy, formal and informal: rather, they are two sides of the same coin of capitalism. Thus, the worker in fact is a virtual pauper, whose selling of labor-power, as an exchange for means of living, is indifferent to his/ her organic presence. The worker's surplus labor is relevant only when the capitalist has use for it, otherwise it is relegated to the dormant labour power of the relative surplus population. As Marx (1976) asserts, 'the relative surplus population exists in all kinds of forms. Every worker belongs to it during the time when he is only partially employed or wholly unemployed (p.449).' The industrial reserve army is thus merely one of these forms.

Denning discusses the fetishism of the wage laborer as the singular expression of the proletariat. My research draws on his assertion that the proletariat as an expression of dispossession, expropriation and dependence on the free market includes the wageless: the self-employed or temporarily employed. In Pakistan these include the informal trades of rag pickers, street vendors, hawkers, contractors, home-based workers etc., all of whom do not qualify as wage laborers and thus are susceptible to exploitation. Thus to move away from colonial constructs that normalize employment and vilify unemployment as an aberration, it is imperative that the two are seen as dialectically related paradigms in the capitalist system. Such colonial constructs, as Bayat

(1997) asserts, undermine the capabilities of the poor and frustrates our moral responsibility towards them.

Bayat's (1997; 2000) work emerging out of observations of urban processes in the Middle East argues that the struggle of the urban poor is "not a politics of protest, but of redress" (p.10). His work differs from Marx and Denning insofar as it departs from debates limited to the revolutionary potential of the underclass. Instead, it is more focused on the dynamics of everyday life. Bayat (2000) discusses the paradigm of 'quiet encroachment'; an individual and gradual movement, driven by necessities, not political acts and leading to collective gain that grants the poor agency. These quiet struggles allow the residents to contest and renegotiate dominant spatial and temporal prerogatives including the meaning of order, public services and ownership rights. He highlights evictions as a segue to street politics that may give the community collective purpose and turn passive activism into active resistance. Encroachment does not aim to be a transformative process; it is just more feasible for the local actors. However large-scale mobilization is necessary to negotiate equitable distribution of services like schools, health care sanitation job opportunities. In similar vein, James Scott (2008) highlights squatting as a piecemeal form of everyday resistance. In contrast to Bayat (2000), he posits that it can morph into a revolutionary struggle if the repressed reach a state of class-consciousness.

The epistemological discussion on IS (Informal Settlements) and planning.

There is a lot of contestation surrounding the placement of ISs in the discourses of political theory as well as a rising polemic by voices from the subaltern to counter neo-orientalist discussions of subaltern informality by Euro-American academics. There is also an impassioned call to stop framing informal settlements in dystopic meta-narratives synonymous with abject poverty (Simone, 2010; Roy, 2009; 2011; Spivak, 2014). This research builds on Edward Said's'

(1978) assertion that the re-presenting of the subaltern as the Other in literature and art is an entrenchment of colonial domination in Orientalism and extends to orientalist urbanisms, which only serve to perpetuate exclusion and disenfranchisement and relegate non-Western ideals to the realm of the 'savage'. In the era of neoliberalism, urbanism is defined by the commodification of space by capitalism where the city becomes a platform for market-driven development projects (Roy, 2011b). This entails the global restructuring of cities as nodes of capital accumulation and governance in the global market, power struggles over the habitation and rights to space, and the implication of planning in the 'pedagogical' production of civic norms and models to control space and maintain order (Roy, 2011b, p. 9). For planning in the Global South, there is a need for planners to mentally break away from colonial conditioning, neoliberal modernization goals and 'globalizing urbanisms' that dictate city planning.

The framework of global/world class cities accredits cities as strategic nodes for investment of global capital. Where London, New York, Dubai and Tokyo are considered to be global referents of model urbanism, many emerging Asian cities like Shanghai and Singapore are increasingly used as referents as well. However, such frameworks eschew the class-driven fragmentation, socio-political imbrications and post-colonial histories of Southern cities. Roy and Ong (2007) discuss the effects of inter-referencing to global models of urbanism as often being brutal and violent, leading to urban transformations that serve to legitimize capital accumulation and deepen socio-spatial inequity and injustice. Therefore, the epistemological framework essential to this research seeks to present informal settlements as crucibles of livelihoods, socio-spatial networks and legal plurality. It seeks to place planning, stripped of global/world class city frameworks, in the context of the informal instead of reifying the formal and segregating the city into hierarchies of zones and labor categories.

This requires a shift into what Roy (2011) has termed ‘subaltern urbanism’ which seeks to confer recognition on the spaces of poverty and forms of popular agency in the subaltern that have not been accounted for in urban theory. In the informal settlements, the disenfranchised low-income population occupy what Spivak (2014) defines as a subaltern position, a position without identity circumscribed in the absence of any ‘access to the possibility of the abstract structures of the state’ like citizenship (Spivak, 2014, p. 10). Writing against re-inscribing the position of the subaltern as subordinate, she takes a dim view of ethnographic narratives. She maintains that agency is an institutionally validated action and therefore the role of the intellectual is to develop a criticism of institutions that offer validation. Her definition of the role of the intellectual redefines the role of progressive planners as being caught between institutionally validated vocations and intellectual instrumentalization, relinquishing all forms of agency. Spivak (2013) relays Gramsci’s views on the intellectual as the disciple of the subaltern, of the ‘the cultural environment’ (Kowal, 2013, p.223). As such the subaltern is a ‘space where the intellectual instrumentalises himself or herself in order learn how to think about a polity willing social justice, rather than acting only in self-interest’ (Spivak, 2012, p 10). Gramsci views subalternity as a complex, multi-dimensional set of economic and socio-political relationships. For Gramsci subaltern transformation is rooted in the ethico-political foundation of historicism and humanism (Green, 2013).

This research applies Gramsci’s (1973) doctrine of hegemony of the dominant economic class as ensured by a system of coercion and consent. According to Gramsci, A system of power becomes hegemonic when ruling classes exercise ‘moral leadership’ to influence the subordinate classes through a ‘politics of common sense’¹³. Gramsci sees the capitalist state as being made up

¹³ For Gramsci 'common sense' is the beliefs and assumptions characterizing the conformist thinking of the mass of people in a given social order. As Gramsci asserts, common sense is established by a process of consent to ruling

of ‘political society’ and ‘civil society’ that rules through force and consent (Gramsci,1973, Akhtar, 2008). The hegemony of the dominant group is secured by the consent of the subordinate classes, but it is complemented by coercive power of the state apparatus, which enforces discipline over those who do not actively (or passively) cede to the hegemonic order. Consent itself is ensured through the media, universities, religious institutions and patronage networks. The subordinate class directly contributes to the reproduction of power relations by partaking in the patronage-based system as well as choosing not to engage in active or passive resistance (Akhtar, 2008).

Lenin (1973) in *What is to be done?* insisted that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. It had to be brought to the working classes from ‘without’ through the agency of the intelligentsia (p. 28). He placed these intellectuals as the educated representatives of the propertied classes that were versed in philosophic, historical and economic theory. However, Gramsci’s eminent theorization on ‘intellectuals’, one that is essential to this research, asserts that all humans are intellectuals insofar as all human activity is in part an intellectual one¹⁴. For Gramsci, intellectuals who are specialized in an intellectual activity operate as functionaries of the state-superstructure, exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government. Every social group has its own strata of intellectuals which fosters its class consciousness. Gramsci maintains that the working class, or the toiling class, to counter the hegemonic structure, has to establish its own stratum of ‘intellectuals’ that give it the class awareness to emerge out of subalternity. Gramsci’s discusses ‘organic intellectuals’ as intellectuals who can foster class consciousness. They differ from ‘traditional intellectuals’ insofar as they operate in close, organizing relationship with the subaltern and manage to develop a perspective

class attitudes and interests which are thereby accepted by society at large as being in its own general interests. this process is then vital to the maintenance of economic and political hegemony.

¹⁴ ‘All men are intellectuals [...] but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals’ (Gramsci, 1971, p.9).

beyond the capitalist market¹⁵. However, as Spivak (Green, 2013; Bhattacharya, 2012) asserts, the line between the bourgeois traditional and organic intellectuals has become blurred in modern society due to the latter's ties to capitalism. That requires the advent of 'new intellectuals' who are specialised in the world of production yet independent of it in their analyses and ideas (Green, 2013, p. 96). Starting as a working-intellectual they inform themselves from the community through constant engagement and become independent of their preceding intellectual formations.

Gramsci's and Spivak's work set the stage for planning as a discipline that is not shackled to its institutional bearings; rather it is a process that seeks to inform itself from the community. It is that methodology that informs this research and one which can serve to delve into the possibility of planning from below.

Articulating a similar need for a governmentality from below, Appadurai (2001) calls for a disruption of models with his discourse on 'The politics of shit' which highlights the possibility of generating knowledge about upgrading and infrastructure from the expertise of the residents of informal settlements themselves. Similarly, Roy (2009) highlights the neo-orientalist tendency to frame the Global South as the Other and asserts that to remodel authoritative dialogue on the Developing World theorizing should be centralized in the Global South. She maintains that as a product of colonialism, South Asian discourses are rooted within 'the hegemonic production of urban subjects and subject hood' (p. 823) and as such studies pertaining to South Asia are cognizant of the ways in which subaltern subjects consent to and participate in projects of urban redevelopment and urban inequality (Roy, 2003, p, 823).

¹⁵ Traditional intellectuals consider themselves autonomous of the capitalist structure but remain ingrained in the market-driven system. These include philosophers, religious leaders, bureaucrats, NGOs all of which maintain an intellectual hegemony in society. The rising class needs to absorb these traditional intellectuals in these ranks to achieve long-term structural changes in society.

An attestation to such intrinsic networks and informal socio-political topologies that I have drawn upon is De Souza Santos' (1997; 1998) discourse on the legal plurality in slums. He asserts that inadequate housing conditions in the capitalist world are a manifestation of class domination in the squatter settlements. Being wrought on illegal grounds and denied accessibility to the state legal systems, the residents living in the settlements devise their unofficial legal system to maintain a basic level of order in their community. He terms it 'popular justice', a legality that runs parallel and maybe in conflict with the state legal system. Santos explores legal pluralism and the possible intersections of official and unofficial law as stepping-stones toward revolutionary action, asserting that the level of participation of the dwellers and the informality of the legal process are closely correlated.

Discussing legal pluralities as being intrinsic to informality, I draw on Roy's work (2011; 2003). As she asserts, poverty is not synonymous with informality as the state itself is an informalized entity, given that it can manipulate forms of informality like deregulation and paucity of mapping (what she calls 'unmapping') to allow the alteration of land use for industrial and development projects. Roy (2009) describes a state of deregulation as the process 'whereby the ownership, use and purpose of land cannot be fixed and mapped according to any proscribed regulations or laws thus the law itself is rendered open-ended' and subject to multiple interpretations allowing mismanagement of resources. She implicates planning in the privatization of informality and creation of a deregulated system of exceptionalism that serves to legitimize the extralegal or 'informal' practices of the state-bureaucratic-developer nexus.

To deal with informality therefore partly means confronting how the apparatus of planning produces the unplanned and unplannable by creating spatial class segregation, walled residential areas, and buffer zones based on income, position and influence (Davis, 2006). Roy (2005),

speaking on the intrinsic illegality of peri-urban housing schemes in violation of land use regulations asserts: ‘these forms of informality are no more legal than squatter settlements and shantytowns. But they are expressions of class power and can thus command infrastructure, services, and legitimacy in a way that marks them as substantially different from the landscape of slums’ (p. 8). There is a shift in the paradigm of what is considered legal and illegal when squatter settlements formed through land invasion and self-help can exist alongside upscale informal subdivisions that have the mantle of land ownership but are in complete violation of land use regulations. While one is deemed illegal and the other legal, both types of housing are informal. This paradigm encompasses a differentiation within informality, not a binary of informality and formality. Thus, it becomes imperative that we problematize the difference between informality and illegality. Where the everyday planning practices are based on a system of deregulation, corruption, bribery and exceptionalism, squatting or encroachment alone should not be ascribed to criminalization and illegality.

Similarly, Simone (2010) addresses how African cities are presented as examples of failed urbanization. He asserts that the absence of material services does not rule out the existence of a normal life. In fact informality can be a form of subaltern resistance to Western modes of planning (if one takes Western planning to mean a form of functional ordering). He discusses the concept of urban marginalization as a relegation of all such aspects of urbanization that the state does not want to acknowledge or integrate into the formal city onto urban peripheries. There is a need to develop frameworks on a sub-regional and community level to address the diversity in communities in context of their histories and boundaries to allow trans-urban collaboration (p.94). He also asserts a need to delegate resources to communities themselves to allow a collaborative and participative approach.

The Role of Planning in Informality

Planning does not, and cannot, transcend the social and property relations of capitalist society, but is contained within and is a reflection of those same relations (Scott and Roweis, 1977: 1118).

This paper seeks to demonstrate that planning, specifically in post-colonial societies is an important ideological state instrument that serves to shape dominant discourses on what are acceptable forms of urbanity. It determines and creates socio-spatial realities, discerning between urban and rural, formal and informal, centers and peripheries, and city and countryside. Planning as used in the formulation and implementation of urban policy is inherently normative and ideological in the shaping of its ideas and values, playing into our chosen and dominant belief or value systems. Urban, regional, or spatial planning is specifically related to making choices about how to use and govern space currently dominated by the values and logic of global capitalism (Cowell and Owen, 2006). The role of land, as Watson (2012) discusses, is that of a driver of change, a source of conflict in rapidly developing urban areas and a currency of basic rights. Therefore, it is imperative that we understand the neo-colonial linkages between formal and informal land, property developers, the state, and community agents in growing disputes over land.

Neoliberalism ‘accords to the state an active role in securing markets, in producing the subjects of and conditions for markets, although it does not think the state should – at least ideally – intervene in the activities of the market’ (Dean, 2008: 48). As such, Roy’s (2008) call for deconstruction questions whether role of the planner truly can be being completely unbiased and disassociated with the political machinations and neoliberal paradigm within which they practice. Accordingly, Gunder (2010) builds on Foucaults assertion for a need to move away from the societal shaping by hegemony and ideologies and do away with the proselytizing of authority to shape societal action and direction. In similar vein, he suggests that there is a need to engage with

variegating ideologies in terms of their contextual underpinnings in order to contribute to a multi-planar view in contemporary spatial planning.

Discussing such contextual variegations, Roy (2011) points out the paradoxical relationship of planning and informality where informal spaces have been perceived as unplannable yet there is a constant effort to find alternative modes within planning to improve informal settlements. She posits the use of critical transnationalism in planning, which entails a cognizance in planning practices of colonial pasts and of imagining alternative futures. Inculcating transnationalism in policy-making can serve to interrupt the teleology of development, which sees the West as the idealized reference point. Roy asserts that planning is not confined to the master plan or the zoning code or any demarcated institutional location. She presents planning as a value-oriented profession inherently concerned with the public interest yet marked by the ethical contradictions that accompany it and as such articulates a need to inculcate ethics at the very heart of planning thought and practice.

Other discourses that seek to deinstitutionalize planning include Watson (2014) who presents ‘co-production’ as one way in which poor urban communities have been able to secure significant improvements to their living environments, serving to expand the scope of planning thought and foster an internationalization of planning theory. Co-production allows channels for transnational advocacy networks and global NGO federations like Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) and Slum Dwellers International (SDI) as “bottom-up co-production”. Both SDI and ACHR indicate a clear role for Gramsci’s ‘new intellectuals’, which is far closer to that of providing community support than of being the professional technical expert.

Alternatively, Chatterjee and Mehta (2007) present the self-enumeration movement that uses technologies of mapping and enumeration against the state by creating new types of social

collectivities. Chatterjee (2004) asserts that urban informality is produced through the governmental administration of population vs citizens, where populations are marginalized in policy-making, having no inherent claim to rights from the state as opposed to citizenship/civil society whose rights are espoused by the state, giving rise to a 'bourgeois governmentality'. 'Populations generated by these governmental practices, which mark and categorize them in particular ways (as "slum dwellers" or "pavement dwellers") can end up seeing themselves as communities capable of resisting these technologies' (Chatterji and Mehta, 2007, p. 131). As a result, slum dwellers use these tools to transform themselves into a quantifiable population, and to use it as an abstract form of citizenship and documentary proof that they exist as a collective that can speak back to government in its own language. This can foster collective action converging on a new identity based on abstract citizenship rather than on caste or religion and can serve initiatives that seek to plan from below.

Miraftab (2009) explores the role of radical planning practices in colonial and postcolonial regimes in an era of neoliberal globalization opening the field of planning beyond its professional constraints. She states that planning practices that herald inclusive planning through community participation yet criminalize other grassroots movements that seek inclusion and display resistance to neoliberal agendas are complicit in misrepresenting the needs of civil society. She posits the use of government initiatives and NGOs as sanctioned or 'invited' spaces that can be re-invented or re-appropriated for insurgent or counterhegemonic practices by invoking their citizenship rights. As Miraftab (2009) asserts, any form of deinstitutionalized or insurgent planning needs to be cognizant of its historical origins, cultural roots and political agendas to prevent it from being coopted by criminal or hegemonic forces.

Informal settlements, a mark of state failure in housing are subaltern spaces subject to state hegemony: the exercise of both coercion and consent. The revolutionary potential of the residents of the settlements has been subject of much debate. However, before romanticizing slums as potential sites of broader class struggle, it is imperative that we understand the social, political, historical and epistemological contexts that govern the everyday lives of the inhabitants. That entails a shift away from binaries of legal and illegal, employed and unemployed, and formal and informal for such binary colonial constructs serve to further entrench the hegemony of the state apparatus and facilitate a form of planning based on segregation and neoliberal globalism. Thus there is a need to deinstitutionalize and decolonize planning both as theory and practice and place it in the context of the urban Global South.

Chapter 3. Informality and planning in Pakistan

*Take heed, you whom the crafty capitalist has swallowed up,
The reward which your wealth-creating hands have received,
Was like the alms the wealthy bestow on the wretched.
Imperialism understands well how to choose narcotics
Such as race, nationality, the church, government, culture or colour.
Under which the artless worker becomes a victim of imaginary gods¹⁶*

This chapter discusses the role of planning in the formation and subsistence of informal settlements in Pakistan. It delineates the nature of planning paradigms preset by colonial domination and espoused by the post-colonial state in creating and perpetuating socio-spatial demarcations between the informal and formal. It also seeks to highlight the legal pluralities that emerge to counter this hegemonic formalism and renegotiate notions of sovereignty. Four overarching processes determine the existence of informal settlements in Pakistan. Firstly, the spatial design of the post-colonial city is incumbent on the socio-spatial and institutional paradigms directly inherited by the colonial Raj. Secondly, they can be traced to temporal migratory patterns that consist of rural-urban migrations, the influx of migrants after partition and settlements of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Thirdly, it is defined by neoliberalism and the related market-driven ‘financialization’ of real estate. The fourth reason is the systemic failure of state departments in providing affordable housing. All four processes are defined by a politics of segregation and enclosure whereby the state apparatus and an oligarchy of the propertied classes seeks to promulgate neoliberal capitalist agendas through commodification of land. As such, planning and state planning institutions become complicit in driving differentiated development according to the dictates of global capital.

¹⁶ Excerpt from Allama Iqbal's poem ‘Sarmaya wa Mehnat –Capital and Work’ (Iqbal, 1922).

In an attempt to discuss the phenomenon of informality in Pakistan in cognizance of its economic, socio-spatial and political imbrications, this section is built upon the seminal works of Frantz Fanon and Hamza Alavi who discuss the socio-political paradigms of the post-colonial state. In his discourse on national culture, Fanon (1965) heralds the boon of national consciousness as ‘the all-embracing crystallization of the innermost hopes of the people’ in the struggle for independence (p. 47). However, he censures the same national consciousness as being the garb that cloaks the political and social power structures that rises in the wake of colonial power. He maintains that the the native middle class or ‘national bourgeoisie’ that ascends to power following independence inherits the role of the colonizers and reinstates a neo-capitalist agenda. The middle class that takes over power is an intellectually and economically weak party that imprisons national consciousness in sterile formalism, discounting social and political consciousness. The most significant assertion in Fanon’s theory for our focus on Pakistan is in his views on how the new bourgeois party, bulwarked by the army and the police, and under the aegis of the imperialist ‘metropolitan bourgeoisie’, ultimately implements a form of dictatorship.

Fanon’s ‘metropolitan bourgeoisie’ represents the neo-colonial forces promulgated by imperialism in the post-colonial state (Fanon, 1965, p. 122). Imperialism, the political and economic influence of advanced capitalist countries over developing countries, is at the very heart of Pakistan’s existence and subsistence. Imperialists use the over-developed state apparatus to achieve a paradoxical unity of the ruling classes where the reinforced role of the armed forces is used as a guarantor of stability.

The Pakistani ‘native bourgeoisie’ comprises the competing yet congruent interests of the three propertied classes: the indigenous bourgeoisie, the metropolitan bourgeoisies, and the landed classes, mediated by the army and the bureaucracy. It is by virtue of the role of this oligarchy that neo-colonial forces are able to maintain an imperceptible hold in post-colonial society. Drawing on Hamza Alavi’s (1972) work on the ‘overdeveloped state’, my research delineates the role of planning institutions as part of a colonial superstructure. In the colony the ‘superstructure’ is ‘overdeveloped’ in relation to the indigenous class base, for the basis of its structure lies in the colonial objective of exercising dominion and order. The post-colonial society inherits that superstructure comprised of a powerful bureaucratic military apparatus and coercive mechanisms of government which enabled the colonizers to subordinate the native social classes. The military-bureaucratic oligarchy assumes an autonomous economic role, and appropriates a very large part of the economic surplus in the name of promoting economic development. The military comprises and works in tandem with the ruling classes.

Though the military may restructure certain institutions or politics¹⁷ it also relies upon the reigning classes of the landlords, capitalists and the bureaucracy. Under feudalism, the landed class wields power afforded to it by patronage of the oligarchy and its own position in rural social hierarchy. Over the years the landed class has ascended into politics as it had access to the most patronage with respect to their provincial and national connections. The landlords’ move into capitalism is grounded in their ongoing feudal relations, and uses their connections in the government and bureaucracy as a means to further their accumulation (Alavi, 1976). The state in the post-colonial society mediates between the competing interests of the three propertied classes, while acting to preserve the social order that determines their mutual interests in preserving the

¹⁷ e.g., via the Basic Democracies system under Ayub Khan

institution of private property and the capitalist mode as the dominant mode of production. Both the bureaucracy and the military in Pakistan are highly developed and powerful in comparison with their indigenous class bases, and promote capitalist development (ibid).

Alavi's (1972) views of military-bureaucratic oligarchy as the greatest beneficiary of neo-colonialism highlight the role of imperialism in influencing public policy formulation. As he says; 'Every effort is made to influence the bureaucracy ideologically in favor of policies which are in conformity with metropolitan interests. This ideology is expressed in the form of 'techniques of planning' and it is presented as an objective science of economic development' (p. 70). Alavi's work discusses the influence of neo-colonialism on the outlook and policies of the post-colonial state through international aid administering agencies that inspect the viability of projects, advise on development planning and policies, thus conforming state policies to suit the imperial countries.

Akhtar (2008) takes Alavi's concept of the over developed state a step further by positing that the Pakistani state apparatus is still 'overdeveloping', as it is evolving by engaging social forces and quelling counter-hegemonic impulses of the subordinate classes through strategically proliferating patronage networks while incorporating new contenders of power in its fold. Akhtar adopts the Gramscian concept of hegemony to discuss the role of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy. While he agrees with Alavi's assertion that the state-apparatus employs coercion to maintain its hold on the subordinate classes, he adds that the power structure is further entrenched by coopting the social consciousness of the masses through patronage systems¹⁸. Thus this state apparatus has been hegemonic in its relation with the subordinate classes, deriving from both coercion and consent. He asserts that the 'politics of common sense', disseminated by the media,

¹⁸ The subordinate class in Pakistan directly contributes to the reproduction of power relations by partaking in the patronage-based system as well as choosing not to engage in a politics of opposition.

education systems, military and foremostly, religion, can only be displaced if the subordinate class is able to create a politics of resistance.

His discourse is further elucidated by the eminent work of planner Arif Hasan (2010) who links the cooption of planning by the state apparatus as a primary mode of eliciting the consent of the poor and to discipline them through selective development of the city. Planning thus becomes an integral tool in the commodification of land. He discusses the role of International Financing Institutions (IFIs) in promoting planning model of the ‘world class city’ that exacerbate the rich-poor divide and further peripheralize and evict the poor to make way for infrastructure and private development schemes.

The role of planning the IS in Pakistan can be defined as that of extemporization, usually to avail adjacent middle class neighborhoods. It has become increasingly complicit with the state-bureaucratic-military structure in privileging development projects and housing schemes that serve capitalist agendas. As such, the urban landscape of the mega cities of Pakistan is an archetype of Roy’s (2009) exceptional informality within which the informal settlements or *katchi abadis* are perpetually segregated from the city and its services. Government funds are siphoned into a few choice mega cities, serving to perpetuate the hegemony of the state-bureaucratic-military apparatus (Akhtar, 2010). Akhtar (2015) too categorizes the role of the state and planning authorities as informal in his assertion that the ruling elite and the military have historically acquired land through usurpation and coercion, while in complete violation of planning frameworks yet their activities are never criminalized.

Aasim Sajjad Akhtar and Sharukh Rafi’s (2014) work discusses how the planning process in Punjab has been coopted by the military-bureaucratic apparatus for speculative investment in real estate based on neoliberal ‘financialization’ paradigms, involving the use of coercion and

violence in eviction of farmers and populations in peri-urban settlements. Similarly, Ali and Rumi (2013) discuss how the evictions of the slum-dwellers, indifference towards settlements and the ever increasing rich-poor divide in cities is a direct outcome of the neoliberal planning paradigm of development institutions. The Planning Commission, the leading agency responsible for urban planning has been unable come up with an integrated plan for development and chooses to adopt an ad hoc approach to dealing with developmental issues. Initiatives like the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers aimed at pro-poor financial investments, are directed by International Financial Institutions, insulated from public participation and heavily informed by neoliberal economic processes. Dovetailing with Ali and Rumi's (2013) work, Malik's (1994) highlights the shortfall in affordable housing projects due to land speculation and gentrification by the middle and upper tiers of society, and how it exacerbates the rich-poor divide. There is shortage of around 8 million housing units, which has been accumulating by 0.34 million units every year (State Bank of Pakistan, 2012). This contributes to a failure of affordable housing initiatives as well as slum upgrading programs, serving to raise land prices and displace the urban poor.

Malik (1994) further emphasizes that urban development authorities have systematically shifted public land to a privileged few by sanctioning land development schemes initiated by the military and other privileged groups. Land has thus become the primary instrument of wealth creation in Pakistan. Where traditional modes of providing affordable housing and infrastructure will not meet the ever-increasing need for services, he discusses more participatory approaches to planning for and managing affordable housing as well as primary level services (water, security, roads) that are managed by communities and residents themselves.

There is a glaring paucity of information, about ISs in Pakistan, the demarcations of ISs, locally known as *katchi abadis* (impermanent colonies), the number of dwellings, their

dimensions, typographies, and population sizes. My work thus draws heavily from three prominent voices on informal settlements in Pakistan; Arif Hasan, Tasneem Siddiqui and Mohammad Qadeer¹⁹. Qadeer's (2004; 1999) discourse on rural-to-urban migration as a constant adjunct of war and conflict discusses the role of the Partition during which 6 to 8 million Indian Muslims entered Pakistan, and established roots in urban areas of Sindh and Punjab provinces. Hasan (2002) discusses similar influxes during wars with India, the anti-Soviet insurgency in Afghanistan and the military offensives in Pakistan's tribal areas. Many migrants are relocating to cities to seek better livelihoods and access to healthcare and education. Others are doing so to escape natural disasters. Thus with migration the demography of cities has changed. Population has grown and ethnic and religious fragmentation has increased to the point of sectarian violence.

Arif Hasan (2002) the foremost authority on informal settlements in Pakistan, discusses the shortcomings in planning that lead to the creation of informal settlements in fringe areas of Pakistan and proposes different planning measures to alleviate the deprivation. He delineates the alignment of the capitalist interests of politicians, bureaucrats and private developers, in the 'state-developer' nexus and the commodification of land. He highlights the role of development authorities in procuring land for the development of private housing schemes and thus making a profit off of the transaction. Hasan (1990) discusses how conventional planning and development through traditional state institutions have failed to overcome the problems created by massive population: the creation of an 'informal sector' which caters to the needs of the urban poor. This informal sector has become the main source of land for housing, water supply, education and health care of the settlement.

¹⁹ My research draws on the work of the most eminent authorities on planning for informal settlements; Arif Hasan, an architect and planner in Karachi who has done extensive work on informality in Pakistan, Tasneem Siddiqui, former Chief Secretary of Sindh who has promulgated low-income Incremental housing projects in different cities of Pakistan and Mohammad Qadeer, a prominent voice on urban planning.

Exclusionary Planning: A Colonial Legacy

The genealogy of the spatial production of urban slums in the Global South is rooted in the colonial design of cities in forms suitable for the assertion of control and the induction of the colony into the economies of empire. In Pre-Partition India, British colonists reconfigured urban areas to serve such ends (Gooptu, 2001). As Davis (2007) articulates;

The British were arguably the greatest slum-builders of all time. Their policies in Africa forced the local labor force to live in precarious shantytowns on the fringes of segregated and restricted cities. In India, Burma, and Ceylon, their refusal to improve sanitation or provide even the most minimal infrastructure to native neighborhoods raised death tolls from early-twentieth-century diseases epidemics (plague, cholera, influenza) and created immense problems of urban squalor that were inherited by national elites after independence (Davis, 2007, p. 52).

Colonial authorities were primarily concerned with the extraction of resources and the control and deployment of urban labor and did not invest in the planning and governance of cities. They identified specific natives, local brokers, community leaders, and imported military officials to carry out the day-to-day operations of rule and deal with the colonized (Simone, 2010). This selective inclusion of the natives and community leaders was a calculated approach to stabilize dominance in the colonies, a concept that was inherited by the post-independence state apparatus.

The defining feature of colonial India was the spatial divide between the areas inhabited and frequented by the colonizers and the quarters of the colonized. The natives that were not recruited into colonial security, administrative, and commercial sectors remained at the spatial and social margins. Ordinary Indians were not seen as individual subjects. Rather the elementary unit of governance were communities, religious categories or sects whose affairs, practices, and beliefs were left to adjudication by authorities within those communities. The colonial apparatus was more concerned with maintaining order and discipline within the ‘unruly’ masses, to ensure a constant

labor supply. To that end, the British East India Company's governance depended on native policing structures, and the incorporation of indigenous leaders, watchmen, guards and private armies into the governing apparatus of the *Raj* (Fisch, 1983 in Gandhi, 2012). The formulation of housing policies fell to the local elites who built overcrowded, unsanitary, but highly profitable tenements. The new city was carefully segregated to separate colonial masters and the elites from the dispossessed poorer population (Hansen 2005: 177).

The British colonizers used planning as a strategic tool to administer dominion, reconfigure socio-spatial landscapes and foster selective development. This can be fully illustrated in the design and construction of a network of perennial irrigation canals in 1885 in the interfluves of Punjab's five rivers which pioneered the creation of a new 'hydraulic society' that accorded Punjab a privileged position in the social and economic hierarchy of British raj. In engineering the canal colonies from scratch, the British created new a social order that could demonstrate to its colonial subjects the benefits of supporting the colonial regime. The spatial design of the colonial canal systems destroyed the existing vibrant pastoral economy in the region (Akhtar & Khan, 2014). These systems not only represented the capitalist underpinnings of colonial administration but were in fact interventions that worked to order distinct social and physical colonial contexts. The British imported agricultural castes from east Punjab under the premise that the indigenous peasants were incapable of effectively irrigating the land²⁰, thus marginalizing and impoverishing them. This strategic 'colonial resource regime' allowed control over routines of land tax revenue, society and nature (D'Souza, 2006).

Similarly, the colonial states' guarantee of a steady supply of army recruits lay in the underdevelopment of the arid Potwar plateau in northwestern Punjab (Pasha, 1998). The deprived

²⁰ They were encouraged to bring their landless servants (kammis) along with them to maintain existing social hierarchies.

inhabitants of the plateau were offered the incentive of land grants of canal colonies upon retirement from the military as recognition of their services. This strategic overture ensured a constant and loyal support-base of soldiers (Akhtar & Khan, 2014). The colonial state thus reengineered the socio-spatial landscape of the colonized nation to enforce subservience and hierarchy, giving birth to new ethno-political fissures and fragmentations in the province.

The colonial administration also systematized a network of patronage politics which was inherited by the state apparatus after Independence. The landowning cadre of the British Punjab consisted of a mix of landed aristocrats, rich farmers and middle peasantry, all of whom were kept satiated under different patronage networks; the aristocrats had clout with the federal and provincial levels, the rich farmers had bearings in local institutions and the middle class had fluid patronage networks based on distinctions of caste and clan. The military personnel were also bequeathed similar patronage and ushered in to business administration (Akhtar & Khan, 2014).

The non-agriculturalists and the landless were not giving any form of benefaction. This social hierarchy was fashioned to maintain class differentiation as well as to keep the different segments of society under colonial patronage. To further prevent any potential of dissent, the *Raj* systematically politicized the agricultural caste and clan system, exacerbating the fissures between the landed and the landless (Akhtar & Khan, 2014). The variegated histories between the *zamindars* and the *kami* (non agriculturalists) politicized by the Raj set the stage for the tenuous relationships between the extant bourgeoisie and the underclass. These tensions between the propertied and disenfranchised classes were kept in check with military ideology, a practice that can be seen in evictions today.

The Raj used spatial planning as a tool to serve the objectives of the proto-capitalist²¹ state, as well as to redesign the socio-political structure of the subject country, creating and instigating ethnic and socio-economic fragmentation to concretize its hold on the colonized (Amin-Khan, 2012). It also set the stage for the promulgation of a garrison state model whereby the reinforced role of the military became interchangeable with civil society and was integrated into state administration (Ahmed, 2013). Following decolonization, Pakistan became shackled to this quasi-military model along with the ‘overdeveloping’ state apparatus, whereas India was able to modulate both its military and bureaucracy by developing strong traditions of political leadership.

After the Partition in 1947, postcolonial elites inherited and reinforced the exclusionary geographies of segregated cities whereby the poor were considered a barrier to progress and denied a place in urban life (Mahmud, 2010). The most significant legacy the colonizers left in terms of planning administration were the Town Improvement Trusts (TIT)s which played a key role in clearing slums and removed what they called "plague spots" from native and colonial middle class residential and commercial areas²². The TITs subsequently evolved into the Development Authorities that play a pivotal role in the development and planning of the formal and informal (Raafay Alam, Personal Communication, 10 August 2015).

In post-partition Pakistan, colonial thought was entrenched in bureaucratic and state military consciousness. In military regimes, democratic nation building was replaced by authoritarian tradition and military rule, and the political, bureaucratic and military elites copied

²¹ The prevalent system in colonial India could not be classified as completely capitalist, although nascent capitalism was introduced by the Raj in 1832 when it started exploiting the colony as a source of raw materials and a market for British goods. A capitalist periphery, colonial India was at best a ‘proto-capitalist’ or semi-feudal state where the rural society was still in the grip of feudal landlords (Amin-Khan, 2012).

²² Another legacy that the Colonialists had enforced, that still define the parameters of urban exclusion in Pakistan today, are the ‘Encroachment Laws’ that outlawed both squatting and street vending (Gooptu, 2001). The Development Authorities and the Katchi Abadi Directorate zealously tout the laws to deny any state responsibility towards encroachers and to criminalize the landless as ‘illegal’ (LDA Senior Clerk, Personal Communication, 17 June 2015; Amir Khattak, Personal Communication, 28 June 2015).

the institutional organization and the style of the colonial state (Jalal, 1995). In the guise of sharing an ideology of ‘development’, American and Pakistani military establishments formed a strategic partnership. Inducted into America’s Cold War agenda, Pakistan was ushered into American military aid programmes, various defense agreements, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact and became America’s faithful ally. This fostered indelible neo-colonial ties, which further opened up the urban and federal planning process to an onslaught of experts imported from the West (Shaheen, 2009).

Thus colonial legacies not only continued to operate in Pakistan, but were supplemented with fresh imports of new planning mechanisms and models from the West. Led by Western value systems and ideologies, planning approaches and practices that were developed in this part of the world were often found to be lacking in many respects since these failed to address the key indigenous issues of rapid urbanization, post-partition migration and poverty.

By the early 1950s the bureaucracy and its policy-forming matrix had become heavily influenced by American economic advisors (Alavi, 1990). The ‘decade of development’ of the 1960s was propagated by the Harvard Development Advisory Service Mission, the offices of which were strategically located in the Planning Commission of Pakistan. The advisors asserted that industrialists in Pakistan should be given state support: cheap loans, protection from foreign competition, low wages for the labor, tax holidays, raw materials at cheap rates and machinery import with reduced import duties. If all these favors were granted, industrialists would re-invest profits, rates of saving will sky-rocket and the country will reach Rostow’s (1965) warranted ‘take-off’ stage. The Planning Commission implemented such initiatives, despite the fact that under the prevalent feudal structure the gains of Rostow’s (1965) model were only accessible to those with

power (Siddiqui, 2001). This translated into urban planning methodologies that were, much like their colonial precedents, fundamentally averse to the urban poor.

An example of post-colonial deference to world-class city ideals and ingrained colonial paradigms was the newly designated capital of Islamabad²³. Under Islamabad's chief designer, the Greek architect and development consultant Constantinos A. Doxiadis²⁴, it heralded monumental significance in the global discourse of developmental urbanism. Yet the Western models of planning did not account for the cultural, social, geographic and historical particularities of the city. The planning process for the new headquarters for the civil bureaucracy predominantly cleared the city of the ISs that had cropped up in the aftermath of the Partition and the influx of refugees. Post-partition overcrowding was considered a one-time migrant-refugee problem rather than as a process of ongoing urbanization which would culminate in further complications. With the help of economic assistance in the 1960s²⁵ the state further abdicated its role in housing, education or health care and diverted the funds for commercial development projects and to build political support. Consequently, the official commitment to housing policy and urban planning steadily decreased (Baqai, 1973).

The planning of the capital also marked the first Martial Law regime under General Ayub Khan and elucidated his need to legitimize power through development projects²⁶. Ayub's regime employed the trope of the 'refugee problem' to avoid taking any measures to deal with these issues. City planning denied altogether the problems associated with rapid urbanization. The state, still prioritized in colonial fashion, rural stability, agriculturalist loyalists and identity politics

²³The city was redesigned during the 1960s, under military rule to replace Karachi as Pakistan's capital.

²⁴ His designs drew on the experience of post-war reconstruction in Europe, and were shaped by the rise of an international economy of technical assistance lead by USAID, international organizations and private philanthropic bodies such as the Ford Foundation.

²⁵ With the advent of Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium in 1961 organized by the World Bank

²⁶ General Ayub Khan was the President of Pakistan from 1958 to 1969. Ayub Khan assumed power through the 1958 coup d'état, becoming the country's first Chief Martial Law Administrator.

(Daeshsel, 2004). City planning was used as a useful propaganda exercise, a practice that has been used by successive government regimes that gain favor by touting the construction of flyovers and the widening of roads as a mark of development (Rafaay Alam Personal Communication, 10 August 2015). The regime's emphasis on slum clearance and urban rehabilitation failed to introduce innovative methodologies of reconstructive planning (Daechsel, 2011; 2013). Rather than acknowledging their failure to provide housing and amenities the government disavowed settlements as spatial aberrations and sites of squalor, employing selective development and segregation to maintain order. It is ironic that the sobriquet for the informal settlements all across Pakistan for purposes of official registration and enumeration is 'Colonies'.

A People Dispossessed

The incidence of informal settlements in Pakistan is largely determined by migration patterns that have occurred before and after Partition. These migration patterns result from colonial, neo-colonial and geopolitical junctures that have shaped urbanization in Pakistan. Pakistan is a federation of four provinces²⁷ (Khyber-Pakhtunkwa, Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan), two federally administered areas (the Tribal Areas and the Northern Areas), the Federal Capital Territory (Islamabad) and federally administered Kashmir (Azad Kashmir)²⁸. Sindh and the Punjab comprise the Indus plains and the eastern deserts, while the Northern Areas and Azad Kashmir are in the high mountain region. As already discussed, the first major migration took place between 1872 and 1929, when the British developed perennial irrigation in the regions of central Punjab, now a part of Pakistan. Following this development, they colonized more than 4.5 million hectares

²⁷ See Appendix C. Maps Figure 1.

²⁸ All of Balochistan is in the western highlands, as well as a large part of the NWFP, which also includes some of the high mountain region. Militant operations in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan as well as the Military operations in North Waziristan Balochistan has placed immense pressure on land and resources in these provinces as well threatened lively hoods and safety of the inhabitants.

of desert and pastoral land for agricultural purposes, importing peasants from eastern Punjab to colonize these lands and in the process marginalizing the local pastoral population (Hasan & Raza, 2009).

When the British Indian Empire was partitioned in 1947, 4.7 million Sikhs and Hindus left what is today Pakistan for India and 6.5 million Muslims migrated from India to Pakistan. According to the 1951 census, 48 per cent of the urban population in Pakistan originated in India. In the wake of the pandemonium wrought by this mass dispossession and migration, the influx of refugees squatted wherever they found space, many camping on footpaths and on riverbeds. Caste and clan affiliations, the bedrock of a multi-ethnic culture, were splintered overnight. The properties left behind by the exiting Hindus and Sikhs were given to the refugees through a government-arranged settlement process that ignored the ethnic stratification and tensions that marred the newly established communities. Those tensions are manifest in the turf wars and caste politics that play out in informal settlements.

The vested interest of the state-military oligarchy in promoting development initiatives in Punjab and Sindh at the expense of the other provinces has resulted in uneven development across the country. Studies have shown a trend of migration from the less affluent cities and provinces to the more developed city centers of Punjab and Sindh. The Punjab includes more urbanized areas where as Karachi is the only big city of Sindh. Thus migrants and refugees have increasingly gravitated to these provinces in search of livelihoods and amenities (Qadeer, 1989).

Migration to Pakistan has also been a result of the three wars that India and Pakistan fought since 1947 (1948, 1965, 1971). The Kashmir war in 1948 resulted in the expulsion of the Hindu and Sikh feudal and merchant classes and brought about an end to serfdom in most of Pakistani Kashmir and the dominance of an Islamic dominance. Freedom from serfdom created social and

economic mobility and large-scale migration to Karachi. Once more, as a result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent *jihad* and civil war, 3.7 million Afghan refugees came to Pakistan, settling on state and agricultural land. There have also been large-scale migrations of Bangladeshi and Burmese labor, working in the fishing industry. It is estimated that there are more than 300,000 Bengali and Burmese migrants in Karachi.

The recent trends in migration have been dominated by an influx of migrants fleeing the persecution wrought by the post 9/11 ‘US, war on terror’ notably in in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and as well as in North Waziristan. Within the last decade, around 350,000 people from Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have been internally displaced owing to militancy, military operations and threats from Taliban²⁹. Similarly, the Nationalist Movement in the Province of Balochistan³⁰ as well as targeted sectarian killings have caused massive migrations to Karachi and Lahore (Grare, 2013).

Another reason contributing to migration is that agricultural production has become capital-intensive³¹ and small landowners are forced to seek manual labor wage to generate enough cash; urban areas offer better working conditions and better wages as well as freedom from feudal controls. All urban areas where population is increasing have seen the creation of un-serviced or under-serviced informal settlements both within and on the periphery of the urban areas or along the corridors that exit the cities and towns.

²⁹Since 2001, a global “war on terror” has been waged under a grand narrative of secularism and civilization combating Islamic fundamentalism. This was an outgrowth of the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent U.S.-enforced military operations pursued by the Pakistani military in Waziristan and other regions of FATA after 2004.

²³ Baloch nationalism is a movement that claims that the Baloch people, an ethno-linguistic group mainly found in Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan are a distinct nation. The state, having greatly expanded its network of check posts and patrols inside the province, tramples on the civil liberties of the Baloch population

³¹ This was due to the Structural Adjustment Programs and the Green Revolution in the 1960s.

During the course of my field work, and my visits to the settlements, I embarked upon the stories and histories of different residents. Those that resided in older formalized settlements retold the stories of partition and successive military and civilian regimes. They spoke of the newly born Pakistan and the hopes and dreams they had brought with them. The older generations spoke of the hardship of leaving their belongings and of the atrocities they had to face. Their faces beamed with pride as they reminisced about the creation of a nation state that promised complete espousal of rights and security. They presented small relics they had kept from their places of origin; an old newspaper, an old addressed envelope, a coin, all which bespoke of the lives they had left behind for the hope of finding shelter in this country. As one resident told me,

‘It may be really hard here, and we may not have water or sewerage or gas to cook our food, but at least this ‘mitti’ (soil) and this mulk (country) that we stand on, we can call it our own’ (Abbas Ahmed, Personal Communication, 12 June 2015, Shah Jamal Colony).

Holding on zealously to that very promise of dominion, they bore eviction after eviction, clasp frantically to their loyalty to a state that razed their homes to rubble and denied them shelter. The eternally dispossessed rebuild their shelters, searching for a stretch of land to temporarily call their home all the while seeking solace they can find in the elusive mirage of citizenship.

Neoliberalism and Accumulation by Dispossession in the Post- Independence state

Three interlinked historical characteristics of capitalism, exacerbated by the process of neoliberalisation, have been inherent to the formation of ISs in the Global South: accumulation by dispossession, the reserve army of labor, and the informal economy (Harvey, 2007; Mahmud,

2010). Accumulation by dispossession³² signifies that markets always rely on non-market legal and extra-legal forces to function, the foremost example being the fundamental use of various forms of social capital that are required by capitalism but are not paid for by private capital (Mahmud, 2010). ‘Accumulation by dispossession’ embodies the continuation and proliferation of accretion practices that Marx had designated as “primitive” during the rise of capitalism (Marx, 1867). These include the commodification and privatization of land, the forceful eviction of peasant populations, conversion of various forms of property rights (public, collective, state, etc.) into exclusively private property rights, suppression of rights to the commons, commodification of labor power, monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land, colonial, neocolonial and imperial processes of appropriation of assets and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption. The state, using different forms of coercion and definitions of legality, plays a crucial role in backing and promoting these processes (Harvey, 2007).

Neoliberalism destroys traditional entitlements and subsistence economies, isolating direct producers from their means of labor. The displaced population is not absorbed in the capitalist wage labor circuit on a stable basis. Thus accumulation by dispossession produces a reserve army of labor. In the absence of employment opportunities, affordable housing and utilities, an alternate economic sector comes into being, one that operates without state protection and regulations. This ubiquitous ‘informal’ economy becomes the only source of livelihood for the urban poor. The informal economy engages two-fifths of the economically active population of the Global South (Mahmud, 2010). In parallel, the creative destruction of capitalism through policies of

³² David Harvey (2001, 2003) defines accumulation by dispossession as global primitive accumulation which is a result of the cyclical crises of under-consumption, over-accumulation, and falling rates of profit inherent to capitalism, which necessitate spatial and temporal solutions entailing geographical expansion and restructuring. This includes developing external markets, exporting surplus capital, and expanding the labor-pool available for engagement in accumulation of capital.

privatizations, financialization manipulation of crises and state redistribution policies seeks to confine class power to ruling elites and create conditions for capitalist class formation (Harvey, 2007).

Since the 1980s trade liberalization, deregulation of national economies and privatization of state-owned enterprises, have facilitated the rise of global production networks incumbent upon outsourcing of labor-intensive production to developing countries³³. Pakistan entered the fold of economic liberalization under Zia-ul-Haq's military regime with the promulgation of IMF's Structural Adjustment programs (Amin-Khan, 2012). In all cases, Pakistan's ruling classes have suppressed structural transformations by relying on international institutions for grants and loans that shackle the country into a neoliberal politics that profits the civil bureaucracy and military's auxiliary class interests while oppressing the urban poor (ibid). The local political elite (military and civilian alike) have historically crushed union organizing under the pressure of international financial institutions (like the IMF and World Bank) to relax labor legislation and to open up the Pakistani market to foreign enterprises (Lund-Thomsen, 2013).

The trifecta of the International Funding Institutions; UN, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) pervades international global politics, culture, and finance and International development policies and has ubiquitously instituted the paradigm of free market economy. The most important aspect of this paradigm is the freedom of capital to move across national borders and seek investment wherever it can multiply (Arif Hasan, 2009). Profit seeking governments, in a bid to attract that investment, deregulate labor laws

³³ Internationally branded companies by and large outsource of their production as well as labor management functions to networks of suppliers in developing and transition economies where levels of unionization and collective bargaining tend to be lower. In Pakistan less than 3% of the workforce is unionized, due to the use of coercion and corruption to suppress union organization as well as modes of deregulation like use of sub-contractors to hire labor (Pakistan Labor Market Profile, 2014)

and policies including urban planning frameworks which results in further impoverishment and dispossession.

Structural Adjustment Programs

Pakistan has been a signatory to the structural adjustment programme of the IMF for almost 17 years. At a macroeconomic level the basic goal of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) has been to improve its balance of payment position by improving exports of cash crops, closure of public sector industries and removal of subsidies on food items and utilities³⁴. However, in a predominantly feudal system like Pakistan's, where land-holding extends to the privileged few, such agricultural subsidies and support only translates into further dispossession and displacement of the poor landless farmers. Under stringent International Monetary Fund (IMF) stipulations, Pakistan has seen a dramatic rise in the proportion of national budget devoted to debt servicing and a corresponding rise in the incidence of poverty (Bhutta, 2001). Pakistan's total external debt and liabilities amount up to \$62.3 billion after lending from different financial institutions and global banks (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2015).

As part of SAPs and under the guise of globalization, many developing countries including Pakistan that have predominantly agrarian economies were encouraged to move away from industrialization to cash crop farming and agricultural exports. The bulk of the impact of structural adjustments in Pakistan has been largely felt by the poor because of an immediate and significant increase in the cost of utilities, higher fuel costs and withdrawal of food subsidies. The structural adjustment process facilitated the growth of the free market economy under the regulation of balance of payments and loans taken from the IFIs. To make this possible countries undergoing

³⁴ The World Bank/IMF sponsored SAP refer to a set of measures that countries need to implement in order to qualify for loans from these agencies.

structural adjustment agreed to remove subsidies on health, education and housing, increase taxation on utilities, sell their industrial and real assets to the private, national or international corporate sector, and remove restrictions on imports and exports (Bhutta, 2001). As a result poorer countries could not invest in or subsidize infrastructure projects and these had to be built by the international or national corporate sector through international tendering thus maintaining indelible neo-colonial ties with the metropolitan bourgeoisie³⁵ (Hasan, 2009).

In Pakistan the Green Revolution of the 1960s was introduced to the agricultural sector with the explicit object of eradicating rural poverty as a way out of radical land reforms³⁶ (Jalal, 1990; Alavi, 1976). Ironically, it transformed subsistence agriculture into a capital-intensive system based on a demand for cash, which the poorer sections of the population could not fulfill through dependence on the village economy. The Green Revolution played a crucial role in exacerbating rural impoverishment and inequality, consolidating and magnifying pre-existing socio-economic differences under feudalism, which were based on uneven access to key productive resources such as land.

These inequalities were made worse by the innate bias of Green Revolution technology that favored commercial farmers, better-off peasants and large landholders over poor peasants, simple commodity producers, subsistence smallholders and landless tenants (Niazi, 2004). This built-in bias enabled rich rural producers, who had access to financial capital, to purchase costly farm inputs, agricultural machinery and energy needs. At the same time, the intensive use of capital, technology and energy inputs raised the overall cost of farm production. Inevitably the

³⁵ These projects include the Lahore Ring Road funded by the World Bank and the upcoming Orange-line Metro Bus Project funded by China (Part of Pak-China Corridor). Such projects have historically resulted in mass evictions of informal settlements.

³⁶ The Green Revolution was launched by research establishments in Mexico and the Philippines that were funded by the governments of those nations, international donor organizations, and the U.S. government.

poor peasant farmers were depeasantized (priced out of cultivation) and forced to become migrants searching for off-farm economic opportunities and employment in the cities (Khan, 1975). Together with the concentration of landownership, the high costs of farm production led to a large displacement of poor peasants, tenants and landless workers, plus their dependents. The land reforms of 1959-1970s also served to further impoverish poor peasants, ascribing tenure rights to intermediate classes of superior tenants and peasant proprietors (Joshi, 1970). This culminated in and contributed to the enduring rural–urban migration process.

Planning the World Class City

The planning paradigm of cities in the Global South has been influenced by a powerful nexus of developers, investors, government institutions, politicians and bureaucrats all seeking global capital by redesigning the city under the prescription of the ‘World-Class City’ model (Hasan, 2009). This neoliberal paradigm has been promoted implicitly and explicitly by the IFIs in locales of the Global South to facilitate linkages between socio-economic networks of globalization. Building on Friedman’s (1986) ‘world-city hypothesis’ and further discussed by Rykwert(2001), Sassen(2001), Knox(1995), the concept of global city hierarchies delineates global cities as major sites for the concentration and accumulation of global capital as well as labour causing spatial, class and ecological polarization (Luke, 2003).

According to the Globalization and World Cities Research Network³⁷ (GaWC) (1999), the World Class City should have iconic architecture and iconic cultural, industrial, agricultural networks; should cater to International events and tourism; have high-rise apartments and malls as opposed to upgraded settlements and low-rise neighborhoods and should encompass flyovers,

³⁷ The GaWC Network is a think tank that studies the relationships between world cities and globalization. GaWC is best known for its categorization of world cities into tiers, based upon their international connectedness.

underpasses and expressways (Beaverstock, Smith, & Taylor, 1999). Thus the city has to seek Direct Foreign Investment (DFI) and the support of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to implement such projects. To achieve such ends, ruling governments have historically restructured government positions and institutions to align them with neoliberal agendas. For instance, in 1999, to ensure a seamless promulgation of neoliberal agendas, Gen. Musharraf³⁸ appointed bureaucrats with affiliations with IFIs to strategic government posts that determined planning and development³⁹. This resulted in development projects and mass evictions (Hasan, 2009). This investment-centered infrastructure is developed by relocating the urban poor to the periphery and by permitting environmentally and socially inequitable land use conversions. Thus global capital increasingly dictates the physical and social form of the city and in the process, ad hoc development projects replace city planning. Land use is determined on the basis of land value alone and not on the basis of social and environmental considerations (Hasan, 2009).

The global city agenda has resulted in a massive increase in evictions all over Asia in the last five years. Asian Coalition of Housing Rights' monitoring of evictions in Bangladesh, China, India⁴⁰, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines shows that in 2004 and 2005, 2,418,981 people were evicted under the rubric of development projects (ACHR, 2015). In Karachi 30,000 people have been evicted for the construction of signal-free roads, flyovers and underpasses. Similar projects in Lahore like the Ring Road (funded by the World Bank), the Azadi Chowk Junction and Mall road widening projects, all have resulted in mass evictions and displacements (LDA, Senior Clerk, Personal Communication, 17 June 2015).

³⁸ In his military regime he dismissed the democratically elected government in Pakistan and became the country's Chief Executive.

³⁹ He appointed the Chief Vice Executive of the Citibank as Finance Minister. Members of the World Bank were assigned to post like that of Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan (whose additional job was that of chairperson of the National Commission for Government Reforms), the Minister for Finance, Planning and Development in Sindh province (he was made federal minister for Privatization and Investment).

⁴⁰ Over 500,000 persons were evicted in Delhi for the preparation of the 2010 Asian Olympics alone.

In search of growth and DFI governments have also invested in the creation of industrial zones and accepted the concept of corporate farming,⁴¹ both promoted by the World Bank. Both these ventures have resulted in the displacement of millions of people that are forced to move from rural to urban areas in search of livelihood.

Global Capital edicts not only define planning and development practices on the ground, they pervade all forums of expertise and knowledge. Planning as a discipline has been heavily defined by neoliberal precepts, serving to legitimize the highly biased temporal shifts in the urban landscape. Discussing the neoliberalization of planning paradigms, Arif Hasan (2009) highlights the changing vocabulary, promulgated by IFIs, that now defines the planning process.

Terms such as World Class city, investment friendly infrastructure, direct foreign investment, cities as engines of growth, public-private partnership, build, operate and transfer, began to be used more extensively in planning circles and in the media. This vocabulary and the culture that it promoted has also found its way into academia' (p. 7).

Political reforms and deregulations promulgated by IFIs have also had a major impact on property markets and have reshaped the politics of land development. Rapid urbanization has turned real estate into a high-profit sector where political corruption, capitalist development and international financial interests intersect, promoting gentrification and massive speculation. This commodification of land has induced the state and state institutions to divest in social planning, and change land use patterns, encouraging private development schemes and carrying out evictions both in the inner cities and on the periphery. This mercurial reengineering of city landscapes driven by land markets results in a cycle of accumulation and dispossession, manifesting as the dialectic

⁴¹ Corporate farming in Pakistan provides incentives to foreign countries like the Gulf states and Japan to lease or buy large tracts of barren and uncultivated state/private land, to grow food crops to be exported back home. This replaces food crops by cash crops and in the process increases the cost and shortage of food; creating agricultural refugees; and making the state vulnerable to corporate sector pressures and interests.

between real-estate ownership and squatter settlements existing adjacent to each other in continuously expanding spatial geographies.

Chapter 4. The State-Military-Bureaucratic Oligarchy and Cooption of planning

'The ranks of decked-out profiteers whose grasping hands scrape up the bank-notes from a poverty-stricken country will sooner or later be men of straw in the hands of the army, handled by foreign experts. It is thus, the former mother country practices indirect government, both by the bourgeoisie that it upholds and by the national army led by its experts. An army that pins the people down, immobilizing them.'

(Fanon, 1965)

In the previous chapter, we traced the formation and perpetuation of ISs to; planning paradigms preset by colonial domination and inherited by the post-colonial state; temporal migrations, neoliberalization and the subsequent market-driven 'financialization' of real estate. All three processes are defined by a politics of segregation and enclosure that serves neoliberal capitalist agendas under the hegemony of the oligarchic state-apparatus. As Simone (2010) has discussed, European colonialism and postcolonial investments and connections with the urban South operate through partisan institutions and powers. 'The continued reproduction of chiefs, military cliques, dominant ethnic entrepreneurial groupings, ruling families, and political associations makes it difficult for effective state structures to emerge—ones that have the interest of a general urban citizenry in mind (p.18)'.

This chapter seeks to highlight the symbiotic matrix of hegemonic forces that form the post-colonial state. It illustrates the forces that define the power bloc dominant in Pakistan that we outlined in the preceding chapter and traces its conflation with planning, used as a tool to foster influence, dominion and capitalist gains through the currency of land. The ties between global capitalism, the ruling classes and the military are integral to imperialism, which conversely, is essential to the state, political economy and society of Pakistan. U.S.-led imperialism cannot assert its dominion over Pakistan without the reigning military, capitalists and landlords. Similarly, the military, landlords and capitalists certainly have their own interests, but are dependent upon imperialism and are unable, and unwilling, to resist it. It is under this contradictory unity achieved by neo-colonialist control that decisions are taken.

The Bureaucracy

By virtue of its training and education through the colonial period, the Civil Service became the bastion of power after Independence. It filled the vacuum created by the sudden exit of the colonizers, making major decisions regarding foreign policy, constitution-making and economic development (Alavi, 1972). Being the only organized and trained force, It exploited the weakness of the civil society and presided over the country as a neo-colonial power, crushing any form of resistance (Siddiqui, 2006)⁴².

Pakistan's powerful bureaucracy is highly status quo orientated and during successive military regimes as well as civilian governments, it has sought to amass wealth and cater to the dominant power structure. In the last days of Ayub Khan's regime the ethos of the civil bureaucracy started giving way to cronyism, pliability and dishonesty. A partnership between the bureaucracy and the feudal masters became the corner stone of the system where notions of justice and fair play, so far as the poor peasants were concerned, were absent (Siddiqui, 2006; 2001). During the course of Bhutto's⁴³ populist regime and the Nationalization Program, the state took over the civil society functions enforcing the bureaucratization of industry in the name of nationalization and personalizing the public services in the name of reforms. The bureaucratic superstructure became more powerful, and as corollary, the local government and its allied institutions became weaker. During the 1980s, the bureaucracy gained power through its alliance with the military.

⁴² The 'high' bureaucracy consisting of the officer corps had a privileged status accorded to the Indian Civil Service (ICS) under the Raj, which transitioned into the Pakistan Civil Service.

⁴³ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto served as Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1973 to 1977, and prior to that as the 4th President of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973. He was also the founder of the populist Pakistan People's Party.

Both civil and military regimes have ventured to reform the structure of the civil services to appease popular expectations and expand their political control over the bureaucracy. Most of these regimes have pursued purges and reforms as policy instruments which in turn have led to politicization and encouraged corruption and misuse of authority. Politics of patronage and utilization of state resources for political purposes have become a norm. As foretold by Fanon (1965), there is not 'a soul down to the simple policeman or the customs officer who does not join in the great procession of corruption' (p. 172).

The proliferation of the social structure under this system of patronage is demonstrated by the low level civil service comprised of popular or 'intermediate classes', set up by the bureaucratic-military structure to quell or regulate any remnant populist movement (Akhtar, 2008)⁴⁴. The configuration of power in the new state can be drawn as a nexus between the landed notables/upper peasantry and the civil military state oligarchy. The low bureaucracy and landed notables regulate the popular classes, while the military coopts both the bureaucracy and the landed class for mutual political interests (Akhtar, 2008; Alavi, 1972). As such, the bureaucracy serves to disburse politics of patronage at every level, creating and facilitating new spheres of influence and hierarchies of power. This system of patronage becomes intrinsic to both the formal and informal economy, eliciting the consent of the subordinate classes and impeding class consciousness (Akhtar, 2008).

Capitalist development in Pakistan has taken place under the control and patronage of the bureaucracy that grants business opportunities to a privileged few (Akhtar, 2008).⁴⁵ This in turn

⁴⁴ The high bureaucracy itself could not condescend to interact with the people beyond the propertied classes thus used the low bureaucracy as middlemen. Bhutto required the same patronage of the low class to undermine the bureaucracy and so encouraged it. The army instrumentalized it in quelling populist sentiment in 'subordinate classes' (Akhtar, 2008).

⁴⁵ 20 privileged families own 66 per cent of Pakistan's industry, 79 per cent of its insurance and 80 per cent of its banking and that most of the rest was owned by foreign companies (Akhtar 2008).

dictates socio-spatial development and thus defines planning paradigms according to neoliberal and capitalist interests. As Alavi asserted, 'Every effort is made to influence the bureaucracy ideologically in favor of policies which are in conformity with metropolitan interests. This ideology is expressed in the form of 'techniques of planning' and it is presented as an objective science of economic development' (Alavi, 1973, p. 70).

The Political Parties

When democratic forms of government operated in Pakistan, politicians and political parties too formed a part of the oligarchy. Their role is limited to manipulating public relations on behalf of those who make public policy and make it acceptable to the community at large thus harboring a complementary as well as competitive relationship with the oligarchy (Alavi, 1972).⁴⁶ In Pakistan there has been a progressive diminution of the power of the political parties after Independence and a corresponding strengthening of the bureaucratic-military oligarchy culminating in a seizure of power by the latter (Amin-Khan, 2012). The military has historically flourished because civilian governments have tended to be weak coalitions that can easily be destabilized. The landed class and corporate groups accept the military's autonomy because they too have benefited from it. Similarly, the industrial bourgeoisie continues to benefit greatly from the personal contacts that it enjoys with the oligarchy, and therefore does not dispute the military's claim to pursue its business interests (Alavi, 1972).

This power bloc is embedded in spatial configurations and in turn produces differentiated urbanization and development patterns in the country. The central plains of Punjab remain the major support base of the national security structure and thus enjoy upward social mobility,

⁴⁶ The ambivalence between the complementary/competitive relationships is greater where politicians occupying high public office can influence the careers of individual members of the bureaucracy or the military.

economic development and networks with the outside world being the heartland of the oligarchic paradigm, which keeps the other three provinces in shadow and stagnation (Alavi, 1972; Akhtar 2008). The military operation against the Baluchistan Nationalist Movement in Baluchistan denies any development in the area and further disenfranchises the Baloch people. The US war on terror playing out in FATA and tribal areas of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa disavows any promising change in the province. Similarly, with the exception of Karachi, Sindh remains largely ruralized.

The Real Estate Magnates

Through the evolution of global capitalism over the past few decades, real estate has become a highly lucrative enterprise. The commodification of land and the speculative investment associated with it have changed and expanded urban landscapes. In Pakistan the real estate economy is characterized by informal dealings and huge dividends. Developers and real estate investors have taken up swaths of land previously used for agriculture or residential purposes on the periphery. Most owners in the poor peri-urban areas are forced to give up their lands in exchange for meager land compensation in agricultural regions in southern Punjab and Sindh. Where many of these areas were hitherto invisible to planners and state institution because of what were still fairly circumscribed city limits, these areas have become increasingly vulnerable to evictions and dispossession as big housing schemes have taken over the landscape (Akhtar, 2015).

Since the turn of the millennium, such housing schemes have massively expanded over the municipal limits and led to a huge surge in land prices, thus creating new spheres of power. Families that owned a few *kanals*⁴⁷ of land on the outskirts of the federal capital have made millions, and have accordingly become influential in local politics. The industrialists and mercantile segments in Pakistani society have acquired economic and political clout as well, to

⁴⁷ 4500 square feet or one-eighth of an acre.

the point that they are now genuine players in the power game. The links between inordinate land proprietorship and political influence have materialized into *biradari*⁴⁸-based political alignments resulting in the further competitive militarization of such clans (Akhtar, 2015).

The ruling propertied classes - the military, landlords and capitalists - have infiltrated the real estate market as speculators, and all have vested interests in neoliberal development projects and private housing schemes. In the race for capital accumulation under the aegis of imperialism, they have subsumed the urban as well as rural landscape through modes of exceptionalism; first by pushing informal settlements to the periphery and then, once the land acquires services and are connected to the major transport grids by acquiring the peripheral lands for speculation as well. Developing private housing projects in the peri-urban areas allows them to build in ways that are prohibited in central locations (Simone, 2010). Through political connections and forms of deregulation state planning institutions themselves have become part of the landed class in their own right forging mutual interests with the propertied class (Alavi, 2008).

The Military

Stephen Cohen (1984, p.1) asserts ‘There are armies that guard their nation’s borders, armies that are concerned with protecting their position in society, and there are those that defend a cause or idea. The Pakistan Army does all three’ The Pakistani military attained its pivotal role in post-colonial Pakistan by acquiring the role of guardian of the newly formed state after Partition. However, its officers had been trained in the tradition of their colonial commanders in the Indian Imperial Army and did not represent what an Independent Pakistan or India needed.

Consequently, the war with India in 1947-48 served only to confirm the fear that the national security was under threat and the shaken Pakistani establishment prioritized the role of

⁴⁸ A biradri denotes a clan system based on patrilineal links to a common ancestor

the military apparatus. As such the newly formed Pakistan began to define itself through the distorted lens of constant opposition to India and the national security paradigm legitimized the role of the armed forces in all aspects of development and territorial consolidation. Touting its organizational discipline against the inefficiency of political institutions the military began to intervene into politics, declaring domestic political disruptions as a threat to national security (Alavi, 1973; Siddiqui, 2006).

The beginning of the military's shift into the political front was incumbent upon its consolidating political power through increasing its influence in decision making and establishing the organization's financial autonomy⁴⁹. This was primarily achieved by the process of granting perks and privileges through land allotment to army personnel, a legacy left by the British administration. This enhanced the organization's ability to manipulate national resources at a systematic level, increasing the financial and economic power of both the institution and its personnel. The latter was also achieved through expanding into business ventures controlled by the armed forces (Siddiqui, 2006). The Pakistan Army also sidelined the weak political class directly. Martial law was first imposed in 1958. Since then, the military has strengthened its position as a dominant player in politics. Pakistan's political history exhibits a curiously cyclic trend of seven to ten years of civilian rule interrupted by almost a decade of military rule⁵⁰. As a result, the political and civil society institutions remain weak and the the military morphed into a dominant 'class' at the heart of the state.

⁴⁹ As a comparison, the post-independence India which too had inherited an over developed state apparatus, took measures to establish the dominance of the political class and the civil bureaucracy.

⁵⁰ Over the 59 years of the state's history, the army has experienced direct power four times, and learnt to negotiate authority when not directly in control of the government

The Military Land Barons

The legally acquired property of the Pakistani army generals that included urban and rural properties is estimated to be worth US\$ 6.90 million (Siddiqui, 2006)⁵¹. The military justifies its acquisitions of agricultural land as part of the inherited colonial tradition of granting land parcels to military personnel⁵². The military's land accretion interests and practices serve to increase its financial stakes and establish its authority alongside other players in the military-bureaucratic oligarchy apparatus, more specifically the landed feudal class. As such, it has become a feudal land baron in its own right, owning 11.58 million acres of state land (59% of which is in rural areas), surpassing any other institution in the country. The military wields the most significant power to convert the use of land holdings from official to private purposes. This allows the military to convert farmland to golf courses, commercial areas or residential housing schemes, processes not sanctioned by the civil bureaucracy or civilian government. The monopolization and control of land serves to further increase the military's political clout, and consequently federal and provincial governments do not presume to challenge the military's jurisdiction over their land holdings (Khan & Akhtar, 2014; Siddiqua, 2007).

During the regime of General Zia, the powers of the military were institutionalized by amending the constitution, in turn this allowed the further expansion of the military economic empire. One central enterprise was developing housing schemes for retired military officers. This use of state land for constructing profitable housing schemes encouraged the military subsidiaries to branch into real-estate development. In 1986 the army started the Bahria Foundation housing

⁵¹ About 6.8 million acres of land have been designated among officers for their personal use.

⁵² The act of granting land to military institutions is mired in the colonial practice of eliciting consent by rewarding loyal natives with land parcels.

scheme that was not restricted to the armed forces. Branches of the civil service and judiciary also indulged in land development.

The military has manipulated land use patterns to initiate private projects and commercial ventures (Khan & Akhtar, 2014). The cost of the land is heavily subsidized for the army which has facilitated the expansion of the military's real estate empire. Cantonment areas (designed for army training grounds) have been converted to commercial or residential areas without official government consent. This process has entailed large scale dispossessions of low-income settlement through land grabbing, forcibly occupying and utilizing state land for commercial purposes. Similar incidents have been reported in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan where the military has been deployed to counter the "war on terror". Temporary military camps have morphed into army residential areas ousting village dwellers (Khan & Akhtar, 2014) ⁵³.

A testament to the concept of 'the state as an informal entity' (Roy, 2009), the process of acquiring this land revolves around the covert practice of not only accessing planning documents and official plans through patronage networks but also controlling and manipulating planning policies and for speculation and development. Civilian governments, wary of the military's economic prowess, either placate the military by offering up economic opportunities or feign ignorance of military power⁵⁴. As such the civilian governments allow military subsidiaries to replace public sector departments in housing as well as other commercial venture (Siddiqa, 2007).

The residents of the land about to be acquired for housing projects are dispossessed from their land through modes of coercion, eviction or bribes. These coercive methods of dispossession

⁵³ They were originally built for army officers as Civil & Defense Officers Cooperative Housing Society and later as Lahore Cantonment Cooperative Housing Society, DHA caters to the affluent of Pakistan.

⁵⁴ The Sharif government has been known to offer up road construction and transport contracts to the military in exchange for patronage and favors. Sharif is the president of Pakistan Muslim League (N), which is currently Pakistan's largest political party, and has formed the government. Prime Minister of Pakistan in office since June 2013.

and oppression can be illustrated in three incidences of land grabbing in Okara, Charrar Pind and Bahria town that exemplify the cooption of planning institutions by an all-powerful military and complicit bureaucracy.

The first example is that of the Okara farms. Part of the Canal Colonies, its landless peasants had been given usufruct rights to cultivate the land, allotted to the military by the late colonial administration, on the basis of sharecropping.⁵⁵ An archetype of Roy's idiom of exceptionalised informality, the farm land in question in fact was under illegal occupation by the army⁵⁶. Yet the army decided to arbitrarily change the contract with the peasants denying them any ownership rights. In 2001, the farmers protested, and the army responded by besieging the village and cutting off all food and supply resources. Chanting of '*mulki ya maut*' (ownership or death) the tenants staged sit-ins in government offices, hunger strikes in urban centres and appeals to international networks and foreign missions. Eight lives were lost in the violence that ensued, however the civil disobedience and mass mobilizations served to bring the plight of the farmers to centre-stage and deterred the army from employing further violent measures to displace the villagers (Siddiqua, 2007; Akhtar, 2006).

The second case is of the village of Charrar Pind that has been subsumed by the Defense Housing Authority (DHA), a private housing scheme established in major cities like Lahore, Karachi and Rawalpindi through the direct use of the army's political influence. In Charrar Pind⁵⁷, the pre-partition village was forcibly acquired by DHA through an independent property dealer at paltry rates, under the pretext that the army needed the land. The village with an estimated

⁵⁵ This allotment was a strategic move by the Raj to quell any instant of dissent amongst the peasants, instigated by external forces (specifically Bolshevik forces).

⁵⁶ The Okara farmland was in fact given to the military under a lease agreement entailing the payment of rent to the provincial government. The military had not paid the due rent since before partition, whereby it is in illegal occupation, as corroborated by the board of Revenue (EDOR,2001; through Akhtar &Khan, 2014)

⁵⁷See Appendix C. Fig 2

population of 70,000, geographically became part of DHA, however, not only was the village denied any connections to municipal services, the residents were barred from using the DHA's parks and amenities. Such pervasive housing schemes, in collusion with planning authorities employ techniques of enclosure and segregation to demarcate and marginalize the settlements. As observed in my field work, in the new phase of the DHA 9 scheme which encompasses 6 Informal Settlements⁵⁸, the settlements will be razed, bought out at very nominal rates, or cordoned off with a boundary wall to segregate the 'formal' from the 'informal' (Field notes, NESPAK, 4 June 2015). The process of expropriation (whereby development authorities are liable to pay compensation to the displaced population) is in itself mired in politics of collusion and corruption. In *katchi abadis* of Gohawa and Youhanabad, bulwarked by army personnel and pretending to be prospective dwellers, the DHA authorities covertly acquired parts of the village at nominal rates buying the land at informal land values and cordoning them off with barbwire. Once the expanding private housing scheme reaches the area, they don't have to pay the residents the compensatory charges that are due to expropriation (Field notes, 28 June 2015).

The conflation of the interests of the military and private developers is further elucidated in the case of Pakistan's largest upper-income housing scheme called 'Bahria town' launched by the real estate tycoon Malik Riaz⁵⁹. In the case of Bahria Town Rawalpindi, the villagers and informal settlements were given eviction notices and threats by the administration⁶⁰, in the face of which the residents consolidated to carry out protests and demonstrations (Khan & Akhtar, 2014). The protests took place over three months gaining momentum till the local *patwaris* and *tehsildars*

⁵⁸ See Appendix D. DHA Town Plan

⁵⁹ In 2012 Riaz was implicated in a scandal that entailed that he was bankrolling the son of the Supreme Court chief justice Iftikhar Chaudary in exchange for his silence on the charges of illegal land acquisition for the Bahria housing scheme.

⁶⁰ Like DHA, Bahria town is a private sector enterprise and a majority of homeowners are ordinary citizens yet features a large number of military personnel in the upper tiers of administration.

(revenue officers) tried to buy out the villagers at the market price of their properties. After continued resistance and intensified harassment, the villages were waylaid by armed gangsters who targeted the leaders of the protests. The local police, complicit with the gangsters and malefactors issued an arrest warrant against the villagers themselves, framing the episode as a local dispute. In the face of the coercion many villagers left, those who chose to stay, were disenfranchised by the housing scheme when it subsumed the area⁶¹ (ibid).

This chapter illustrated the power structures that dominate politics in post-colonial Pakistan. The hegemonic oligarchic state apparatus in the post-colonial society mediates the competing interests of the imperialists, the army, the capitalists and the landlords while acting to preserve the social order that determines their mutual interests; the institution of private property and the capitalist mode of production. The three case presented above illustrate Alavi's concept of the military-bureaucratic oligarchy employing a coercive and autonomous role in the dispossession of the residents of the settlements, and Akhtar's concept of the use of the intermediary classes (patwaris, revenue officers and police force) engaged to patronage networks to subjugate any instance of resistance. The development and planning of cities in Pakistan are thus imbricated with imperialism, global capital and the military-bureaucracy-politician matrix. The propertied classes have a pivotal role producing informality: not only spaces of the urban poor but also privileged development projects and land transactions (Roy, 2009). The only difference is that such forms of high-end informality usually enjoy infrastructure and guaranteed security of tenure⁶². Thus informality, in its differentiated forms, is produced by the state itself. Consequently, planning frameworks and planning institutions are subverted to promote commodification of and

⁶¹revenue officers doctored revenue records and purchase agreements to disposes them of any rights to the land.

⁶² Indeed, in many cases they are promoted and encouraged by the state, as in the case of Cairo where transnational investment in upscale housing has been subsidized through the provision of expressways and cheap sales of public land (T. Mitchell, 2003).

the coercive disenfranchisement of the poor. Subjugated and oppressed in the countryside and barred from any access into to the social and spatial realm of the city, the dispossessed seek refuge in the 'informal' sector.

Chapter 5. Katchi Abadis: The Impermanent Settlements

*Verily, it is cowardice that ravaged the homes of the masses
Don't ask now of the shadows that give away to darkness
In the impermanent houses, bereaved of light
There is no dawn that reaches their forlorn alleys
While the deep* that lights the houses of the rich, burns on our blood
Habib Jalib⁶³*

In the previous chapter we discussed the oligarchic power bloc that dominates the political sphere in Pakistan through use of coercion and force. However, according to the Gramscian tradition of hegemony, the hegemony of this power structure is incomplete without eliciting the consent of the subordinate classes⁶⁴. To that end, dominant forces exercise cooption by extending patronage networks to intermediate classes that serve to manage the poor and quell any form of resistance. Such patronage networks become intrinsic to the existence of the *katchi abadis*, which shelter the low-income classes in Pakistan. They pervade the planning process, marginalizing and subjugating the poor. The social and spatial formation of the settlement depends upon employment patterns, levels of affordability, ethno-religious differentiation, and informal economies, all of which are intrinsically tied to these politics of common sense and patronage. This chapter forays into how residents experience the *katchi abadi*, delineating the social, spatial and temporal aspects of informal settlements in Lahore.

Arif Hasan (2009) defines the term 'informal' as it pertains to planning in Pakistan as 'all activity or part of it that relates to land development or effects land use or land but does not have de-jure recognition'. The informal sector grows in response to the failure of the government to

⁶³ (*cotton wick lamp), Jalib, H. (2005). Kulyat-e Habib Jalib.

⁶⁴ Gramsci's concept of hegemony explains power dynamics and the resilience of modern bourgeois society to revolutionary efforts (Fontana, 2008). For Gramsci a social class emerges as hegemonic not only by coercion of other classes but rather by establishing consent among subordinate classes (Cox, 1983).

provide housing and services to the lower-income groups of the country. This failure is due to neoliberal development practices and westernized planning approaches of the formal sector that are incompatible with the social, economic and cultural needs of the urban poor. As the urban poor (and the rich) cannot have access to formally developed land they acquire land through processes that do not have *de-jure* recognition.

Typology of katchi abadis in Lahore	
Colonies/ Inner city settlements	These settlements are mostly near the city center and created through squatting in the 1950's. They are characterized by inadequate access routes, higher densities, absence of open spaces and extremely narrow lanes. Dwellers are usually employed in the city or private residential areas as drivers, rickshaw drivers, gardeners, maids, construction workers, or self-employed in adjacent informal businesses as tailors, cobblers, <i>khoka</i> ⁶⁵ owners, tire shop owners and beauty parlors.
Nullah abadis	These are population's adjacent to ecologically decrepit land or next to ravines and hillsides. These <i>abadis</i> are vulnerable to flooding, soil erosion and landslides during monsoon season. These house seasonal migrants who are looking for labor or affordable informal housing. They also house outcast communities or communities characterized by acute poverty.
Basti's	These are inner city settlements that are not regularized. The area is bulldozed sporadically and parts have been taken over by redevelopment projects. The dwellers have migrated here to be closer to opportunities of livelihood hang on to their homes in hopes of getting some form of compensation. Most of them get displaced to peripheral areas
Pinds	These are peripheral settlements that exist on the fringe of the city. The settlers are usually rural migrants who cannot afford to live in the city but are seeking livelihood in adjacent industrial areas or commute to the inner city for work. The periphery has been the most vulnerable to temporal shifts as the commodification of real estate and peri-urbanization by housing schemes results in the buying out of land for speculation, driving out the settlers.
Jhuggi Jhompris	These illegal squatter settlements are the manifestations of the most acute forms of poverty in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh (Bhan, 2009; Laskar 1996). These are characterized by hutments constructed out of poles and blankets and exist usually on peripheries but also exist on empty lands within the city to seek livelihoods. There are no connections to water sources, sewerage, electricity or gas. The inhabitants are predominantly wage-less or employed in menial work like hawking, selling balloons or bubble solutions on the roadsides or begging

Table 2. A Typology of katchi abadis in Lahore (Field notes, 30 June 2015, Lahore)⁶⁶

In Pakistan the term informal settlements, on the basis of typology, comprises of colonies, *katchi abadi* (squatter settlements), *bastis* (informal neighborhoods), *jhuggi jhompris* (hutments), and *pinds* (peri-urban settlements). Collectively these are all referred to as *katchi abadis*. The term *katchi abadi* originated in 1968 during the political unrest under the regime of General Ayub Khan to denote the spaces of informality that needed to be 'dealt with' in the capital (Qadeer, 1983). For planners and state officials, *katchi abadis* thus constitute unacceptable forms of urbanity. However,

⁶⁵ Small window tea shops that sells other basic goods like candy, biscuits chips etc.

⁶⁶ See Appendix E: Images from the *katchi abadis*

used colloquially by the residents themselves, the term alludes to a condition rather than a physical description.

Accordingly, Qadeer (1983) defines *katchi abadis* as follows;

a neighborhood of the poor, consisting of one or two rooms made of mud and timber or even thatch built on small lots (25-75 yards) on lands of disputed titles or unendorsed ownership. Public amenities do not exist and a feeling of insecurity prevails. It is the temporary nature of the tenure rather than the structure itself that deems it a *katchi* (dissolvable) *abadi* (settlement).

In all forms *katchi abadis* are characterized by acute poverty, population densities and low-rise structure on the smallest tracts of the city⁶⁷. They are also generally organized around a non-grid street network. They exhibit a variety of building traditions from different regions of the country, reflecting the immigrants' native places, and ingenious use of materials and techniques of construction. They are self-built incrementally over decades, adding room by room as funds to purchase new or recycled materials become available (*ibid*). Larger settlements are incredibly diverse, organized into districts (*mohallas or nagars*) which cluster by regional, linguistic, religious, caste and occupational affiliations that give them unique spatial and social qualities.

The inner city colonies that have consolidated since colonial times are contenders for formalization. Development Authorities (DAs) grant these colonies ownership rights based on their period of existence and then provide basic amenities like water, sewerage and electricity⁶⁸ (Amir Khattak, Personal Communication, June 2015). The newer settlements that do not qualify for property rights are vulnerable to evictions and are routinely peripheralized. The

⁶⁷ Typically, one or two stories, although sometimes as high as four.

⁶⁸ Different provinces have different eligibility dates. This is discussed in detail in chapter 6

peripheral settlements are ignored by state and planning authorities and thus are bereft of even the most basic services. However, when developmental projects reach the periphery, these settlements are either violently evicted or segregated from the new projects. To the state and planners, the informal periphery is no longer a temporal continuation of the city itself rather a problematic interstice between areas of variegated economic growth (Simone, 2007; 2010).

The class category of the residents is best represented by Appadurai's (2001) designation of 'toilers', similar to what Denning (2010) calls the 'vulnerable'. This category, as opposed to the epithets of proletariat, working-class or laboring classes, represents all those who are exploited by the machinations of capital accumulation. This work force represented by the street vendors and home-based workers, remains untouched by formal labor regulations, rights and protections. Toilers work in menial occupations, almost always on a daily or commission basis. They include cart pullers, rag pickers, scullions, sex workers, car cleaners, mechanics' assistants, petty vendors, and temporary workers in petty industrial jobs requiring dangerous physical work, such as ditch digging, metal-hammering, truck loading etc. Women and children work wherever possible, frequently in ways that exploit their sexual vulnerability. Beggars too form a part of the 'vulnerable' workforce, insofar as wagelessness is merely a form of relative surplus labor (Denning, 2010). Beggars typically end up living in *jhuggi jhompris*⁶⁹.

Toilers typically earn low incomes (Appadurai, 2001). To simplify quantitative analyses of the demographics of the city, urban theorists and planners distill the class structure of Pakistan into three generalized income groups⁷⁰; upper-income, middle-income and lower-income. These

⁶⁹ Organized criminal beggary groups may occupy land in *katchi abadi* by co-opting the police and by threatening other potential occupants (Azzam, 2009).

⁷⁰ The upper-income class has an average income of Rs, 250,000 and above (\$2500); middle-income class averages between Rs. 50,000 to 100,000 (\$500-1000) and lower- income class averages to Rs. 3,000 to 30,000 per household (\$30-300).

three income groups can be further divided into denominations based on occupation, location of residences, land ownership, levels of literacy and standards of consumption (Siddique, 2014; Durr-e-Nayab, 2011).⁷¹ However such broad categorizations do not take into consideration the power, exploitation and concessions of political patronage⁷². While all or most low-income households reside in the informal settlements, not all households in the settlements are low-income. For example, members of political parties or land mafia choose to stay in the settlements to disburse patronage or intimidation (Naib Nazim, Personal communication, 27 July, 2015).

Most toilers live in lower-income households in 'colonies', or *abadis*. In most cases, even children are working at the expense of their education to contribute to the family budget. By profession they comprise of low-ranking government employees, factory workers, petty traders, plumbers, tailors, cooks, masons, drivers, maid, electricians, public school teachers, construction workers, guards, etc. Besides kitchen expenses, they fully or partially depend on public utilities, and spend very little on education or health. Televisions, air conditioners, cars and phones are luxuries. The location and extent of informality of the settlement is a further indicator of the level of poverty of the area (Altaf, Personal Communication, 2 June 2015)⁷³.

The extra-legality of *katchi abadis* hinges on the fact that they exist on public or private lands and are legally unacknowledged by local, provincial or federal governments resulting in disrepair and poor service delivery of basic amenities like water, roads or electricity. *Katchi abadis* exist in variegated forms, depending on the legality of their tenure, the period of their existence,

⁷¹ See Appendix F: Income and Class Structure Lahore

⁷² In my field work, residents pointed out that within the *abadi* itself, households that enjoy political affiliation will always be well constructed, have a paved pathway, expensive cars and access to potable water and amenities.

⁷³ As a comparison of standard of living, households that are considered middle class include professionals and white collar workers. They typically own some property, a motorcycle or a car, send their children to private schools, avail private health care and use many consumer durables (Durr-e-Nayab, 2011, Subohi, 2006). Upper class households are those typically residing in in private housing schemes, have two or more cars and own investment property.

ethnic-linguistic or religious affiliations, and the socio-political imbrications of their location. Thus it is important to understand the various spatial narratives and political subjectivities of the *katchi abadis*.

Gendered experiences of the abadies

In the *katchi abadi*, the gendered subaltern has a differentiated experience. This needs to be discussed to avoid metonymic representations of slum life. The women experience the socio-spatial configurations of *katchi abadi* differently based on patriarchal structures, sexual vulnerabilities and control over income. The feminization of poverty, (a result of structural adjustment programs and neoliberalization) necessitates that women in low-income households seek employment to make ends meet. However, women are not able to exercise rights of ownership and control of resources, including labor, to the same degree as men. The legal and customary frameworks often treat women not as autonomous citizens but rather as dependents or minors (Luqman, Malik, & Khan, 2006).

In the *katchi abadis*, especially in *jhuggi jhompris*, which are devoid of toilets, dwellers urinate near their tents. Women suffer as they must wait for the cover of nightfall to relieve themselves. Similarly, women do not have access to affordable hygiene products, contraception, or healthcare. Traditionally, women in the *abadies* are married off at early ages. Their earning potential is limited by illiteracy. Women who do work outside the house face a higher level of sexual violation and exploitation (Fieldnotes, June 2015). Patriarchal constructs lead to a situation of extreme vulnerability for the girl-child and the adult woman⁷⁴ and their lives are extremely

⁷⁴ Perception of the greater “investment value” of the survival of boys in comparison with girls and who is ‘contributing’ how much to the joint prosperity of the family contributes to these constructs. Intra-household inequalities and son preference in many parts of Asia were linked to the perception that boys and men contribute more to the household economy and in contrast, women are perceived to either contribute less in terms of their labor and income-generating capacity, or to be a drain on the household budget because of the costly requirements of marriage (Balquees, and Hamid, 1989).

circumscribed by law and custom regarding marriage, divorce, inheritance, and mobility. Cultural norms require that women obtain the permission of their fathers, brothers, or other male guardian to seek employment or stay in a job. The same patriarchy dictates unequal inheritance and explains women's lack of land ownership; in many families of the *abadies* women may be economically active, but devoid of the legal right to own or inherit property (Balquees, and Hamid, 1989). The partial education of females, absence of employment skills and experience, the lack of property and income leave women and their children highly vulnerable to impoverishment in the event of divorce, abandonment, widowhood or economic crisis.

In *katchi abadis* 32.39 percent of children are involved in the child labor force which reproduces poverty in the next generation. Usually these children work with their parents but some even go to other urban areas for work (Qureshi, 1984; Khan, 2010). These children are forced to join the labor force because they contribute a significant part of the household income. Young girls are usually employed in upper-income houses as maids or helpers. Young boys can be employed as helpers or apprentices in small scale industrial shops or large scale factories, subject to decrepit working conditions⁷⁵ (Khan, Munir, & Willmott, 2007).

The transgender community in Pakistan, also known as *hijras* or *khawajasira* has a differentiated experience of the settlement as well. Barred from within the settlement itself, this sexual minority has been socially, economically, and politically ridiculed, marginalized, and discriminated against. Most transgender members are typically abandoned by their parents, barred from education or employment. They survive as beggars or sex workers, typically under the guise of being singers, artists, or entertainers (Suraiya Begum, Personal Communication, 2015). They have no legal protection and often lack official identification documentation, thus are denied rights

⁷⁵ The June 1996 issue of Life magazine exposed child labor in Pakistan showing 12-year-old boy stitching Nike soccer balls which he would for the grand sum of 60 cents.

to land, tenure, health care and are more susceptible to sexual violence, harassment, coercion and eviction (Azzam, 2011).

Evolution of the *Katchi Abadi*

Colonies

Today Nazira woke up at 3:00 am, carried two 4-litre canisters and walked 2 km to the nearest public water source. She waited till the Fajr call to Prayer at 4:00 when the city would turn on the water⁷⁶. She carried the water back home being careful not to spill, for it had to last them the whole day. She then left for her cleaning job, but not before making sure that the sandooq⁷⁷ under the charpoi⁷⁸ was locked. 'For that is where my valuables are', she disclosed, 'that's where I keep the registries' (Field notes, 12 June 2015, Shah Jamal Colony. Lahore)

The regularized *katchi abadis* like Shah Jamal Colony have the small luxury of tenure security and a tenuous promise of municipal service provisions. They are closer to city centers and hold strategic value for constituencies, which plays a pivotal role behind their regularization. The residents are given '*Malikana Haqooq*' (property rights) or as the residents call them 'registries' by the Lahore Development Authority. These pieces of paper issued by the development authority accord the residents rights to the land that they had occupied at the time of Partition. Bereft of these 'registries,' the settlement would be subject to repeated razing and eviction. As Bushra Bibi recalled, 'we would go to work and come back to find our homes to be nothing but rubble. We would build again, and after a fortnight, they would come with bulldozers again. But that was the way it was. We built and they razed. But now I can go without worrying' (Bushra Matho, Personal Communication, June 15). The Shah Jamal Colony is one of the oldest regularized colonies in Lahore yet like most of these settlements, has not been facilitated with water connections. The residents only received water at 4:00 am from a public tap in the morning for two hours and filled

⁷⁶ The water is turned as a religious consideration (obligation) to those who are doing Sehri to commence fasting in the month of Ramzan. Save for Ramzan, the water is supplied at odd times or not at all.

⁷⁷ Hutch or chest

⁷⁸ Bed with wooden frame and woven rope

buckets and pots to last them through the day⁷⁹. The early Partition settlements of the 1950's like Baba Shah Jamal Colony have consolidated and acquired paved streets, gas, electricity⁸⁰ and sewerage through lobbying and political connections. The regularized settlements are characterized by 4 ft *gullies* (alleways) and brick and mortar apartments that the residents built themselves. The *mohallas* (neighborhoods) are relatively clean and most houses have become *pucca* (permanent/properly constructed). The settlements along main arteries have become job-generating centers: small-scale markets, light engineering works, mechanic shops, looms, tailor shops and hand embroidery works.

Bastis

Rubina and Altaf looked at me and smiled. 'We want to show you our home, but we won't'. 'Is it that far off?' I asked. They glanced at me and exchanged a chuckle. 'No, no! It's just that you're wearing the wrong shoes.' (Field notes, Youhanabad, 28 June, 2015)

The monsoon rains were never kind to the *katchi abadi* of Khalaq Nagar. By the time the rain left the dirt roads and open sewerage lines had overflowed and the whole *abadi* was ankle deep in water and sewerage. Residents however seemed unperturbed and ventured off to work, wading through the knee-deep effluent. The water flowed into homes, as there was no drainage system. Rubina said that her day began with wearing plastic bags on her legs to wade through to get to work⁸¹. As the water contained sewage, it was spreading diseases in the community.

Youhanabad is the largest majority Christian settlement in the city with 200,000 residents, yet has not been qualified for regularization. The *mohallas* of Khalaq Nagar, and Christian Nagar, like every unregularized *katchi abadi* are emblematic of state neglect and deprivation. Unpaved

⁷⁹ The men were either *mazdoors* (construction laborers), gardeners in nearby houses, welders, rickshaw drivers, petty tradesmen or guards. The women are predominantly house cleaners, a largely accepted profession for women in most households of the settlements.

⁸⁰ The electrical connections are usually a mass of naked wires that are source of danger to everyone especially during rain and attest to the cavalier attitude of Development Authority services that cater to the *abadi*.

⁸¹ Rubina is a door-to-door beautician by profession. Her husband is a construction worker and her son drives a rickshaw. She moved to this settlement 20 years ago after her marriage. 'At that time,' she says, 'there were no brick houses, just hutments.'

roads, open sewerage drains, illegal or informal⁸² electric connections and few or no gas connections reveal the absence of basic municipal services. The alleyways are too narrow to accommodate more than one motorcycle at a time. The land in unregularized *katchi abadis* is passed down or sold through artifacts called ‘stamps’ that are essentially a poor man’s deed; a written guarantee by the previous owner that he has sold his property to the buyer. The state however, does not recognize these ‘stamps’, making these settlements subject to eviction.

Sewerage lines are dug by the community themselves, thus are either open or broken. The people have to dig their own *gurkhis* (sewerage pits) along every house, which results in the groundwater mixing with the sewerage pits. The contamination results in diseases like jaundice and hepatitis, both of which are common to almost every household. Bowzer⁸³ supply in such settlements is common but is very expensive. The land in such informal settlements is affordable only because the land is either wasteland or ecologically unsuitable for habitation. In this case, the settlement was adjacent to textile factories that drained their toxic affluent into a water channel (*Roohi nalla*) that runs through the settlement.

With increasing land values the subdivisions are becoming smaller and smaller to stay affordable. The access roads are becoming narrower too. In the process environmental conditions are deteriorating. The people build the impermanent houses themselves, with reused and substandard construction material to save on costs. The price for the land in *Bastis* like

⁸² Purchased from people who operate diesel generators for commercial purpose.

⁸³ The ‘water tanker mafia’, which generates an estimated Rs49.6 billion annually, siphons off over 41 per cent of the water from the city’s bulk distribution system every day and then sells the commodity at exorbitant rates to residents and industries suffering from the water scarcity that is largely caused by the activities of the water tanker mafia itself. (<http://ppinewsagency.com/70478/tanker-mafia-responsible-for-water-scarcity/>). The tankers or bowzers that supply city water enjoy covert support of the corrupt officers of Water and Sewerage Board (WSB) and planning authorities. Owners of illegal water hydrants enjoy covert patronage and support of WSB corrupt bureaucracy, as water mafia pays hefty bribes to them. The government-run hydrants are closed to ensure monopoly of illegal hydrant mafia that is selling 1000-gallon water for Rs1000 to settlements.

Youhanabad is 3 lakh⁸⁴ per marla or but with construction costs it amounts up to 10-12 lakh (\$11,500). Parts of Youhanabad have been given *de-jure* recognition, mostly because the settlement is a big electoral constituency and provides a steady stream of laborers to a conglomeration of textile industries adjacent to it. The same exceptions apply to similar *katchi abadis* that are potential vote banks or form a large part of particular district.

Pinds

We know the water is contaminated but since we can't see the contamination that is happening underground, we keep telling ourselves that the water is clean (Zulfiqar, Personal Communication, 26 July 2015).

The Illegal Subdivision (ISD) settlements or *pinds* are settlements that are on the urban fringes and most likely to be displaced by peri-urbanization. They are characterized by unpaved lanes, hand pumps or bored water, rare electricity connections, non-existent gas connections and open sewerage or *ghurkis*⁸⁵. Chungi gujjarpurra- Zulfiqar Bhai's village is a scattering of houses that were built in a crater left by a construction project that didn't go through. The people living there were bereft of electricity water and sewerage. Every day, they climbed along the walls of that crater to get to their place of work. Water was obtained through boring and tube wells. Even though the water was polluted and had an overwhelming odor, the residents were left with no choice but to consume it. The nearest water connection supplied by the government was more than 5 km away.

⁸⁴ \$ 4000 per 25 square meters

⁸⁵ The sewers were called 'ghurkies' (soak pits) in front of each house, which were basically dug wells that housed their excrements. This had caused the ground water to become contaminated.

Jhuggi Jhompris

We are the mongrels of society (Hum tou is qoum key kuttay hain). We go wherever we can find shelter. Then we pack up and leave as soon as the authorities come. You ask us if the hakoomat (state) does anything for us. We are the forsaken. Even the weather is our enemy be it the rains, the heat or the cold. There is never respite. The Dholwala Jhompris

(Bhatti Dholwala, Personal Communication, 25 July 2015)

Jhuggi Jhompris are squatter settlements that encroach open spaces, pavements or roads usually in collusion with local police stations, councilors or neighboring residents for payment in cash or kind. The settlers are usually garbage sorters, truck mechanics, bus servicers and washers, and seasonal laborers and hawkers. The Dholwala (drumbeaters) Jhompris on the periphery of Lahore, home to *dhol-bajaney walay* (barrel drum beaters) roam neighborhoods during the month of Ramzan and beat their drums to wake people up for their morning prayers and signal the end of the fast every evening.

The residents spoke about how their hutments were useless against monsoon rains and winds. Their children were sick due to being out in the rain in the meager shelter the hutment afforded. They all cried out against the injustices of the government and how they camped out on whatever land they could find⁸⁶. The people talked about how many of the families were evicted as new developments arose. These included government projects like the new Metro bus system, the construction of a freeway on Azadi Chowk and the Ring Road Project. Regularly evicted by DA officials, they have been` forced to lead a nomadic life (Field notes, June 2015. Lahore).

⁸⁶ The current land belonged to a propertied philanthropist who was kind enough to let them stay on his property. He also arranged for tubewells and *langars* (free food rations) on a daily basis.

The Informal Sector

The settlements discussed above, untouched by state labor apparatuses, regulations, rights and recognition form a part of the ubiquitous ‘informal sector’. The term ‘informal sector’ further contributes to the formal-informal dialectic that is a focus of this research, where the self-employed or wageless classes are deemed informal in contrast to the waged labour apparatus. Thus the ‘informal sector’ becomes a trope for the socio-economic processes that characterize the toiling class. This sector, in fact, is a direct outcome of the failure of the state to provide social protection to its citizens (Denning, 2010).

The government’s failure to provide affordable housing necessitates that the informal sector acquires land through covert means. This land is sold to the poor without the bureaucratic red tape, at a price they can afford, and possession is given immediately⁸⁷ (Hasan, 2014: Anwar, 2012). The informal sector provides credit and technical assistance for house building while the residents lobby state agencies for services, acquiring them over decades, often in defiance of state regulations. Thus, *katchi abadis* continue to grow.

Informal settlements allow the settlers to bypass the cumbersome and feckless procedures that bureaucrats and corrupt government officials impose in order to acquire land in government housing schemes or regularized areas. Most *katchi abadis* acquire services incrementally through lobbying, self-help or patronage politics. Health and education services are also provided by the informal sector in the settlements, which are of very low standards but are affordable.

⁸⁷ The sub-divider provides protection from eviction in the *katchi abadi* in the initial stages, as well as connections to water through bowzers or hand pumps where possible. All informal settlement plot buyers are required by the sub-divider to build on their plots within a week of purchase. If this does not happen then their allotment is canceled and money forfeited. This process makes speculation next to impossible (Hasan, 2009).

Construction in *katchi abadis* is carried out intermittently where independent contractors, masons and building component manufacturing yards give low-income groups bricks, mortar, recycled gates, windows and sometimes even credit. As a result the standard of housing is poor, not just because of financial constraints, but also because of substandard resources, poor skills and low awareness levels of the house owners. Regardless, facilitated by this informal sector about 55 million (71.7 percent) of Pakistan's urban population lives in *katchi abadis*. In addition, these settlements grow at a far faster rate than all the settlements developed and upgraded through state programmes (Sánchez-Triana, Afzal, Biller & Malik, 2013).

Land Brokers, Revenue Officials and the Patronage Economy

We live in a time of porous legality or legal porosity, multiple networks of legal orders forcing us into constant transitions and trespassing.

(De Sousa Santos, 1995, p.473)

The central and peripheral settlements of the mega-cities in Pakistan are a manifestation of the mounting and unmet demand for low-income housing. The unplanned settlements emerged as an adjunct to the state's planned cities. Both the settlement and the city enable each other, the former supplying a steady flow of cheap labor and the latter providing better prospects for the migrant settler. For decades, this arrangement has led to an unregulated increase in settlements and created legal pluralities within the settlements as well. These pluralities can be seen in the criminalization of unplanned settlements, the proliferation of corruption, of bribes between state officials, brokers and politicians, and of outright state violence, evictions and demolitions.

The covert processes of acquiring land took hold during Partition. In wake of the pandemonium of Partition, government servants and the *mukhtarkars* (revenue administrators) office came to an understanding with local community leaders, assuring them that they could grab, subdivide and sell the lots in the neighboring areas and the government departments would look the other way as long as they got their share of the profits (Karachi Municipal Corporation,

Undated, cited in Hasan, 2014). These community leaders evolved into land dealers that over the years maintained links with political parties as well as government officials—the former on the promise of political support and the latter in return for monetary reward. They used these links to bypass legal inscriptions against illegal subdivisions and to help the residents of the plots they sold to resist attempts by municipal authorities to eviction encroachments. Over time, this informal process became the largest source of land for the low-income population (Hasan, 2014).

The *katchi abadi* is where we uncover a new type of subversive planning as dwellers concede to localized spheres of power and patronage. The reach of state authority here is partial and real power rests with a new set of actors who define an extra-legal paradigm of spatial design. Akhtar (2008) calls these operatives the ‘intermediate classes’⁸⁸. These are the *dalaals* (brokers)⁸⁹, the revenue masters; *mukhtiarkars* and *patwaris* (lower functionaries), political patrons and district officers all of whom create a new locus of political authority in the *katchi abadi*. These intermediary operatives wield political power as part of the prevalent patronage system. This system, preset by colonial rule and extended by the dominant state-apparatus, uses the intermediate classes to ensure the consent of the toiling classes to promulgate its hegemony.

⁸⁸ Akhtar (2011) builds on Harriss-White’s work that highlights the intermediate classes as ruthless opportunists, reliant on personalized patronage networks, and ‘rise to dominance not only through a marriage of convenience with the State but also through the particular way power is practiced in and through markets’ (p. 161).

⁸⁹ The term *dalaal* is used as double entendre, originally translating to ‘pimp’ or ‘procurer of needs’

The Dalaals and Patwaris

In the fifties and sixties, the poor resorted to land invasion to meet unmet housing needs. Today, the search for affordable land and homeownership takes the form of appropriating, subdividing and developing public land. With the support of the local police and revenue officials or land masters, the land broker controls the subdivision of public land and plot sales to low- and middle-income markets. The *dalaal* is usually painted as the manipulative land-grabber/slumlord who coerces dwellers into giving up their land so he can sub divide and sell it. However, it should be noted that the coercive slumlord is a manifestation of the unmet needs of the poor. In the face of unfaltering oppression, this make-shift real-estate agent becomes the only recourse for the community. In the absence of state services and amenities, the covert processes of land division become an alternative form of planning.

Migrants purchase land directly from brokers, who sub-divide, demarcate and the sell the land introduced to them through social networks. Many brokers manipulate the settlers into paying more or run off with the payments or sell contested lands to inexperienced settlers, robbing them of their life savings⁹⁰. Even if the broker offers them a fair deal, the settlement is still without *de jure* recognition and more often than not, does get razed (Hasan, 2009; Anwar, 2013). For the poor the only way to access the city's economy and become part of the urban domain from which they have been barred by capitalistic dispossession, is to make use of deceptive forms. The broker's expertise and connections become a resource for the poor who wish to access the system (Visvanathan, 2008).

⁹⁰ The settlers usually sell most of their valuable possessions, take loans from family members, scrimp and save every penny in order to purchase an ever-elusive right of proprietorship.

Dalaals hold a powerful position in unplanned settlements and their presence highlights the highly localized nature of sovereignty sanctioned by the state-apparatus to regulate the toiling class⁹¹. The power wielded by these makes-shift realtors is recognized mostly within the borders of their own territorial influence and their authority is frequently contested and renegotiated (Anwar, 2014). The *dalaal* chooses the location of the settlement, locates the buyers, conceptualizes the plan, bids political favors to get the settlement recognized, acquires services and amenities and emerges as the leader. To accomplish all of these tasks the *dalaal* maintains liaisons with government officials, planning departments, and DAs keeping abreast of any updates of proposed developments and the fluctuating real estate market. He maintains congenial relationships with other settlement leaders and *deras* (clans) and is attuned to the needs of the residents (Hasan, undated).

The complicit role of planning institutions and *dalaals* plays into ensuring the passivity of the toiling class. The *dalaals* keep in touch with the local DAs to covertly access the development plans to keep abreast of future residential and commercial sites in the formal city. To allow the integration and expansion of the settlement with the city, they plan the settlements in congruence with the official plans, linking main arterial roads and communication networks. They conceptualize main transport routes that join the informal settlements with the main arteries of the city and accordingly map out nodes and centers for sub-markets that cater to the informal sector.

The consent of the toiling class is further regulated through a form of collaborative governance between the land broker and land officials: the *mukhtiarkar* (head) and the *patwari*⁹²

⁹¹ Also known as *dadas* or *bhais* in India (Gandhi, 2010)

⁹² The *patwaris* had a greater on-ground presence in the abadis of Lahore, routinely eliciting bribes in exchange for favors.

(lowest functionary also known as *tapedar*). The intermediate figures of the land brokers and low level state officials are in fact a colonial legacy from the time when the colonizers vested powers in informal authorities to maintain order. These revenue officers are in charge of obtaining taxes and maintaining records of land-ownership. They have jurisdiction over land in the urbanizing periphery and are well versed in how the state system works. For the poor, the process of making enduring homes and communities in the periphery is inextricably tied to the knowledge and abilities that such figures possess. Anwar (2013) has dubbed these figures the ‘land masters’ as they represent the state as the chief controlling authority in the administration of land. The land officials subvert that authority to make a profit from the illicit dealings that are negotiated with the *dalaals*. These local power structures allow the state to feign ignorance of and shirk responsibility towards the settlements.

The Sifarish-Rishwat Economy

The presence of these illicit intermediate actors is one of the main reasons that the informal sector is much more accessible than government low-income housing schemes. They emerge as a corollary of state neglect and disinvestment. Through them, the urban poor negotiate with policemen, municipal councillors, and ward officials to carve out a living. These informal moral practices become more widespread under decentralized forms of government and the ‘municipalization of politics’⁹³ (Dickovick, 2007). Decentralized local government bodies are intrinsically involved in informal economies and dispense patronage, facilitating land grabbers and land mafias and thus the expansion of ISs⁹⁴. The district coordinating officers, *nazims* (mayors),

⁹³Dickovick (2007) discusses municipalisation as a devolution of power to municipal governments by central governments with incentives to centralize devolved power and resources to local governments in order to weaken regional actors.

⁹⁴ In the 1960s, Ayub Khan’s basic democracies system was a way of limiting participatory space to the local level and legitimizing his power. In 1979, Zia’s institutionalised local elected bodies to dispense patronage and municipal services and help divert political attention from the national level to the local. In Karachi, under the post-liberalization

revenue officials and councillors all play a double game. They pander to MNAs, MPAs and development authorities, building networks of cronyism and patronage, employing brute force and coercion when needed. However, they routinely accept bribes and ‘gifts’ from the residents in exchange for customary service provision (e.g. fabricating revenue records or utility bills, paving streets, getting water connections) (Field notes, June 2015).

These patronage and bribe (*sifarish* and *rishwat*) systems operate in collusion with the state apparatus. They include the state’s dependence on informal mediators like *dalaals* and land officials, counterfeiting of documents, false entitlements, and obtaining resettlement plots through connections within the bureaucracy and bribes and gifts in lieu of patronage and protection (Gandhi, 2012). These covert economies seemingly accord the poor some latitude with regards to state institutions. However, the actual intent of these state-endorsed patronage systems is to coopt the social forces in civil society and impede class consciousness (Akhtar, 2008; 2011). The toiling classes are fully cognizant of their exploited role in society. However, faced with deprivation and insecurity, as well as threat of coercion by the state, the residents employ conflicting strategies to survive (Akhtar, 2008). These include consciously adhering to the politics of common sense and patronage based systems.

In the *katchi abadis* the politics of common sense takes form of religious proselytizing. Politicians and local authoritative figures win favor (and relatedly, the votes) with the people by pandering to their religious beliefs. These tactics of eliciting consent include building mosques or churches, joining them in congregational prayers, and giving concessions and alms during sacred days. In the *katchi abadi*, the local imam, pastor or religious leader holds a highly influential

phase of general Pervez Musharraf’s rule in 2003, introduced new sub-divisions and zoning laws to administratively merge these outlying areas under local government jurisdictions.

position in the community. As discovered in my field work, the residents look to them for guidance and confirmation in all matters, most of all in who to vote for. They portray Gramsci's 'traditional intellectuals' and alongside *dalaals*, hold intellectual hegemony in the settlements.

The processes of coercion and consent are promulgated through state planning and development institutions. The hegemony of the state apparatus is practiced through the coercive tactics of demolitions and evictions by the DAs and patronage based networks that regulate and conform the toiling classes, giving them just enough resources to dispel any instance of political unrest, without ceding to them actual rights of citizenship.

Regularization and the Katchi Abadi Directorate

Regularization is the institutionalized process of formalizing land tenure that De Soto (2000) has presented as a panacea to the plight of the urban poor and their capacity to access credit. However, regularization or formalization processes have hardly been a magic bullet. Rather they have served to exacerbate the existing inequalities in low-income communities⁹⁵. In many cases, such policies only serve to refurbish the built environment and physical amenities rather than people's capacities or livelihoods. Furthermore, such planning policies entail an "aestheticization of poverty" whereby visual order and regimentation is used to mask the incapacity of state institutions (Roy, 2004).

In Pakistan the state regularization program has not been successful, because the government cannot afford to develop and regularize the *katchi abadi* at its own cost and must

⁹⁵ In the case of Bogota, as presented by Gilbert (2002) formalization alone does not qualify low-income residents for formal financing. Similarly in the case of regularization of slums in Lima, the urban poor are considered a credit risk and land titling does not guarantee connections to municipal services. In Sao Paulo upgrading and regularization has resulted in the commodification of the land where escalating prices lead to gentrification and the ultimate displacement of the poorer residents who cannot afford the cost of regularization. Cases of Rio de Janeiro favelas shows that while there have been considerable physical improvements, other dimensions of life in the favela have drastically worsened (Perlman, 2004).

recover its investment from the inhabitants through lease and development charges. There are over 3000 *katchi abadis* in Pakistan. Only 13.85 percent of the households have been regularized since 1978 and 22.41 percent of *abadis* have been or are in the process of being upgraded. In Punjab where 3.5 million people (500,000 households) live in *katchi abadis*, a government department called the Katchi Abadi and Urban Improvement has the mandate to ‘legalize’ *katchi abadis*. At the executive levels, the Development Authorities (DA) are wholly responsible for implementing the *katchi abadi* Regularization/Development Programs in big cities like Lahore, Faisalabad, Multan, Rawalpindi (Anwar, Perveen, Nousheen, & Ahmad, 2008).

The Lahore Development Authority⁹⁶, has delegated the task of ‘legalizing’ *katchi abadis* to its subsidiary department; the Katchi Abadi Directorate (KAD). The Katchi Abadi Directorate of Lahore (KAD) is a single provincial office with the mandate of regularizing and upgrading the *katchi abadis*. However, the role of the KAD is limited to conferring the mantle of legality to eligible settlements. Settlements can qualify as being legal if they provide proof of their residence since the provincially ascribed cut-off date of 23 March 1985⁹⁷. Any *katchi abadi* built after March 1985 is subject to demolition. To legalize a *katchi abadi*, the residents have to show proof of residence in that settlement since the year of 1985. This is virtually impossible. The KDA can then qualify these settlements for regularization by allocating funds to DAs for their upgrade.

Incidentally, these funds are accorded through the World Bank Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund⁹⁸. Thus the KAD is an intermediary organization, subject to the stipulations of the World Bank. The regularization process itself falls to the LDA. It entails providing services like garbage collection, sewerage, water connections, electricity, gas connections, planning of

⁹⁶ The LDA is the city’s planning authority that promulgates all planning and development matters in the city.

⁹⁷ The cut-off date is different in different provinces.

⁹⁸ Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund. Website; <http://www.ppaf.org.pk>

proper roads, schools and residential blocks (Director of KAD, Personal Communication, 28 June 2015).

At the policy-making level, there are several constitutional provisions, laws, and acts that deal with these settlements, including the Provincial Katchi Abadi Acts, the National Katchi Abadi Policy of 2001 and National Housing Policy 2001⁹⁹. However, all these policies vest development powers, pertaining to *katchi abadis*, to the DAs. Regularization programmes entail a time lag of up to 10 years for the issuance of a lease for property. The slow pace of work is blamed on a lack of funds, difficulty in recovery of development charges and a lack of community involvement in the programme. To keep up with the increasing backlog of housing 100,000 households should benefit from the programme annually, however only 20,000 houses benefit from development initiatives (Personal Communication, Amir Khattak, June 2015; Hasan, 2009).

Many residents of the *katchi abadi* feel that being eligible for regularization gives them a de-facto security of tenure. However, without the legal paperwork to support their claim, they are still susceptible to evictions¹⁰⁰. Indeed, in many cases including that of Gujjar-pura, the shroud of legality is revoked by the government as development projects subsume the area. Other residents have little faith in government agencies and feel that paying the regularization and development charge will not necessarily bring development to their areas. The cumulative charge is far too high for the poor to afford and the procedures for acquiring a lease involve bureaucratic red-tape and corruption of the worst kind. The prevailing policy of the government is that land and development charges are to be collected before proprietary rights are granted. As a result, residents unable to

⁹⁹ According to these documents *katchi abadis* are described as 'informal settlements of comprising more than 40 houses' which can be registered and regularized based on when they were built (Katchi Abadi Act, 1992).

¹⁰⁰ as was evinced in the Islamabad evictions

make payments are not granted property rights irrespective of whether they qualify or not (Fieldnotes, June 2015).

The regularization program excludes those who cannot produce documentation or *saboot* (proof) that shows they have been residents of particular *abadi* since before the prescribed cut-off date¹⁰¹. This process further marginalizes poorer community members, women and transgender people in the settlements¹⁰². Occupants who do not have any political connections and who have been saddled with disputed properties¹⁰³ (through exploitation by brokers) cannot claim the land as their own. (Bushra Ishaq, Personal Communication, 26 June 2015; Roy, 2011a).

The regularization process in Pakistan has become a planning tool that employs deregulated practices, patronage politics and state governance to allow the selective reconfigure the urban landscape. This selective development is demonstrated in how the DAs in different provinces use the regularization policy to suit the political whims and hegemonic practices of ruling governments rather than the needs of the dwellers. In the capital of the country, to maintain the aesthetic and social exclusivity of the city, no amendment has been made to the cut-off date to legalize settlements set at March 23, 1985. An attestation to state coercion, this ultimately serves to legitimize the frequent demolitions in the capital. In Punjab, the heartland of the overdeveloping apparatus, successive governments have extended the date to win popular favor (and thus win consent), granting rights to occupants who have constructed dwelling units up to the year 2012¹⁰⁴ (Personal Communication, KAD Office, 28 June 2015).

¹⁰¹ The *saboot* could be birth certificates, utility bills or ID cards. In effect any documentation that shows that they had been residing in the *abadi* for that time period. This means that residents with no ID cards, illegal utility connections (as is common in the settlements) or those residents that inherit the property thus have no documentation with their name on it, are barred from this process.

¹⁰² Women and transgenders in many cases, have no proof of inheritance of land in their name.

¹⁰³ The *dalaals* and revenue officers sell the same plot under false documentation to multiple families to make a profit.

¹⁰⁴ In Lahore, all *katchi abadis* built before 2012 are eligible for regularisation because the current PML-N provincial government recently amended the Punjab *Katchi Abadi* Act (LDA, Personal Communication, 17 June 2015)

Ultimately regularization is a market-oriented model that obviates the need for public housing and slum improvement schemes, justifies slum evictions and opens up the property of the urban poor to investment and speculation by the lower-middle class. These neoliberal policies result in a new form of land market governance that promises housing for the urban poor, land tax revenues for the state, aestheticisation for upper classes, and redevelopment revenues for developers (Doshi, 2003).

Surplus votes

In countries like Venezuela¹⁰⁵, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan where intense rivalries between political parties are tempered by political patronage, class politics and corruption, the garb of legitimacy is usually acquired by securing favor with the popular masses (Davis, 2006). Pakistan's democratic process is hindered by a patronage-wielding political class and a captive voter base¹⁰⁶.

They (Politicians, MPAs, MNAs) come and pray with us in *safs*¹⁰⁷ before elections. They bring us *daigs* (pots of food). If someone dies they are the first to offer condolence and shed tears. They hold our hands, embrace us and promise us water and roads. In election season, *sarkon pey sangey marmar bichney wala hota hai* (they are ready to lay marble streets before us). After it is over, they are nowhere to be found (Akhtar, Gohawa Pind, Personal Communication, 30 June 2015).

Corruption infiltrates the whole political system, from the Provincial candidates to the Members of National Assemblies, down to the district level government bodies of *Nazims* (Mayor)

¹⁰⁵ In Latin America partisan rivalries and the implied threat of revolution gave urban immigrants opportunities to trade votes for land and infrastructure. In Venezuela in 1958-60, the intense competition for votes between the two major political parties opened the floodgates to expansion of informal barrios in the hills around the city. Urban planning Studio, Columbia University, Disaster-Resistant Caracas, New York 2001, p. 25.

¹⁰⁶ Similar 'vote-bank' politics exist in other Global South Cities like Delhi where the accouterments of election patronage is evinced through a lull in slum razings prior to elections and intensifying after the elections (Nijman, 2008).

¹⁰⁷ In congregation for prayer.

and Deputy *Nazims* (Deputy Mayor). Development and planning authorities are ancillary instruments of the political parties used in the exchange of services and amenities for votes. In many of the unregularized *abadis* utilities like gas, sewerage and water are provided ultra-legally on the insistence of influential politicians to win favor in elections (Personal communication, Amir Khattak, 28 June 2015). In return, officials of respective state planning institutions like LDA, WASA¹⁰⁸, TEPA and utilities departments¹⁰⁹ like Sui Gas, and Lahore Electric Supply Company (LESCO) all stand to gain political favors (Senior Official, Sui gas, Personal Communication, 28 July 2015). Thus developmental planning becomes appropriated as a form of political leverage, and helps control the urban poor.

Mainstream parties are quite content to look at *katchi abadi* as sources of votes, and relatedly, sites of mobilisation for rallies and *jalsas*¹¹⁰. The parties disburse patronage for minor developmental works or intervene when *katchi abadi* residents face victimization by the local state (*thana/katcheri/patwari*; police departments/local courts/revenue officers). But even in these cases, the engagement is highly superficial and instrumental. The perfunctory barter of tenure and services in exchange for votes is illustrated in the case of the DHA *katchi abadi* of *Khuda Baksh*, where the contending MPA Khawaja Saad Rafique, known as the ‘the fraud MNA’, used his influence to regularize six settlements in this large constituency in exchange for their votes and thus secure an electoral victory (Field notes, Khuda Buksh Colony, 18 June 2015; Senior LDA official, Personal Communication, 17 July, 2015)

¹⁰⁸ Water and Sanitation Agency

¹⁰⁹ Traffic Engineering Planning Agency

¹¹⁰ The Urban poor are recruited for rallies and protest marches by political parties to gain media attention and tout popular support. This was evinced by the Azadi Chowk Jalsas under Imran Khan who held protests against election rigging by Nawaz Sharif (Pakistan Muslim League N)

Resistance by the residents is subjected to brutal police suppression. ‘People say they won’t vote. Then party workers send in a ‘mafia’ that gives people 100 Rs. to borrow their National Identity Cards and submit votes in their names. If we protest, they lock us up and beat us’ (Nazim, Chungi Gujjar-purra, Personal Communication, 27 July 2015).

The deep-seated ties of patronage and cronyism can be discerned walking through a settlement. The humble one room apartments made of reused broken bricks and scrimp slivers of mortar and the ankle deep effluent that floods people’s homes suddenly gives way to a paved road and a tiled driveway in front of double story house akin to those in private housing schemes. Surrounded by homes with caved in roofs and flooded porches, such houses stand like aberrations and an emblem of dominance. They belong to political workers, land mafia members or party affiliates who choose to stay within the settlement to assert their territorial power (Field notes, Khuda Buksh Colony, 18 June 2015).

The electoral process is mired in cronyism, patronage, bribes and coercion which creates new loci of power, as well as differentiated forms of informality. Again, informality here being that of the settlements as well as the state of exceptionalism produced by planning institutions. Not only do informal settlements serve as vote reservoirs, during democratic (civilian) governments, the perfunctory vote of the urban poor also stands to legitimize and redeem the most corrupt of politicians. Under the patronage and discretion of politicians the role of planning institutions is to withhold or provide municipal services, connections and tenure (a service they are already obligated to provide) as leverage for votes. The institutions themselves stand to gain both during the electoral process and whenever the party comes into power. They are not just complicit with coercive and illicit forms of urban governance. They also play an integral role in facilitating and disseminating politics of patronage.

Katchi abadis are extremely nuanced spaces with complex social, political spatial, economic and historical imbrications. To understand how planning effects the everyday realities of the inhabitants we have to delineate the power structures and politics that govern the lives of the residents. As such the patronage networks and covert economies that are intrinsic to the creation and subsistence of the settlements need to be recognized as a proliferation of state domination and regulation. State hegemony is ensured through the dissemination of coercion, patronage, bribes and a politics of common sense. These are employed through the intermediate classes, regularization processes and electoral politics and planning becomes the vehicle through which all of these processes are legitimized and practiced.

Chapter 6. The Planning Process in Lahore¹¹¹

‘The town planning schemes evolved as avenues to further the interests and aspirations of the propertied and the instrument of the growing marginalization of the poor. The war against slums became a battle to control the habitation of the poor, and indeed an offensive against the poor themselves.’

Nandini Gooptu (2001)

The system of planning and development in Pakistan is mired in imbrications of organizational incapacity, political patronage, organizational mismanagement, corruption and the increasing privatization of government functions and responsibilities. The planning process in Pakistan is the responsibility of Development Authorities that are authorized by their respective provincial policies and acts¹¹². The DAs and their subsidiaries play an integral part in defining the urban landscape and creating exceptionalised forms of formality. These agencies thus play an integral role in creating both the planned and the unplannable city (Roy, 2003). This chapter seeks to highlight the role of state planning and development authorities in the formation and perpetuation of informality, as an accessory to the state- developer nexus in Lahore.

The Integrated Master Plan of Lahore (ILMP) discusses urban growth in Lahore as ‘a mix of planned and unplanned housing where the planned urban growth is in the form of housing schemes extending up the south and southwest areas of the city’¹¹³. An attestation to the exceptionalised and informal nature of the ‘planned development’, the Master Plan contradicts itself in highlighting the piecemeal, unconsolidated and illegal nature of the housing schemes (NESPAK, 2004, p.7-1). The ‘unplanned’ growth is spread in various parts of the metropolis especially in the northern, north-eastern, eastern and western peripheries but has not been

¹¹¹ See Appendix G. This section is put together with research on the Integrated Master Plan and planning agencies using leads and information provided by NESPAK, LDA records and interviews.

¹¹² This portion has been developed through weaving together the Interviews of the Director of KAD, the Senior LDA clerk, Mr. Rafay Alam, the District Nazim and a review of the Integrated Master Plan of Lahore.

¹¹³ See Appendix C: Maps, Figure 3.

demarcated or mapped. Given the high land prices and construction costs, low- and lower-middle-income households are effectively blocked from accessing the formal housing market¹¹⁴.

According to the 1998 census, Lahore is the second largest city of Pakistan after Karachi with an urban population of 5.1 million and occupying an urban area of 343 sq. km (NESPAK, 2004)¹¹⁵. To plan and manage the expanding colonial city, the Municipal Corporation for Lahore was first established in 1911. In 1936, another statutory non-elective body, the Lahore Improvement Trust (LIT) was established by the British colonialists to regulate the fragmented growth that could not be contained by the Municipal Corporation (Qureshi, 2009; NESPAK, 2004: LDA, Personal Communication. June 2015). The main activity of the LIT consisted of the development of residential land schemes for higher income groups¹¹⁶. Improvement trusts were to develop of new parts of the city and then hand over governance to the local municipal administrations but that goal never materialized (Raafay Alam, Personal Communication, 10 August 2015). Following independence, the state inherited the colonial administrative structures as well as the colonial planning paradigms, both of which were constructs of disciplinary and segregatory politics (Raafay Alam, Personal Communication, 10 August 2015).

The overall responsibility for planning in the province of Punjab has been assigned to the Punjab Housing and Town Planning Agency (PHATA), which prepares the provincial land use plans, master plans, development plans, small town development plans and city district/tehsil/union council plans. In 1963 the Provincial Town planning Department, faced by rapid urbanization, started efforts for the preparation of a master plan. However, due to a lack of

¹¹⁴ The term 'formal' in the context of Lahore alludes to a housing community with state sanctioned sub-divisions and built by contractors with building permits (ILMP, p. 5-2).

¹¹⁶ LIT completed in its history a total number of 8469 plots, of which 58% were meant for the high income group (earning more than RS 50, 000 yearly, price level 1981).

expertise and competing interests of the political structure, as well as reliance on outdated maps, the process took 10 years by the end of which the ground realities and the needs of the city had changed drastically; the land demarcated for development had either been encroached upon or bought for speculation (NESPAK, 2004). Only after two years of the birth of an already redundant master plan, the Lahore Improvement Trust was transformed into the Lahore Development Authority (LDA, 1975), an organization that had greater judicial powers and a larger financial portfolio¹¹⁷. Today, the Development Authorities in Pakistan are government institutions that are responsible for city planning, regulation and implementation of development plans, the development, operation and maintenance of water supply, sewerage and drainage systems, environmental improvements, housing, urban renewal (including slum improvement and redevelopment), solid waste disposal and transportation. There are 3 wings in the Lahore Development Authority: the Urban Development Wing, the Traffic Engineering and planning agency (TEPA) and Water and Sanitation Agency (WASA). In 1978 the Department of Katchi Abadi Directorate was set up as ancillary to the LDA with the explicit mandate of regularizing and upgrading *katchi abadis*¹¹⁸ (LDA, Personal Communication. June 2015).

Due to limited expertise, disorganization, capacities and political interference, the state has established a myriad of auxiliary planning agencies and committees all delegated to the administration of city planning, zoning, building by-laws and building approvals. In Lahore alone there are nine organizations that carry out City planning and Development¹¹⁹. These include the LDA, the Cantonment Board, the Defense Colony and the Tehsil Municipal Administrations. The

¹¹⁷ The Lahore Development Authority was created under the LDA Act 1975 approved by Punjab Legislative Assembly

¹¹⁸ This was instituted during the populism government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Pakistan Peoples Party) as a part of his campaign to win favor from the urban poor.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix G, Figure 3

Integrated Lahore Master Plan (ILMP, 2004) states that in terms of organizational jurisdiction the Lahore Development Authority, City District Government, Town Municipal Administrations and Cantonment Boards all implement the planning regulatory frameworks. As a result, there is chronic duplication and miscommunication between the agencies, hampered by a lack of technical know-how. The different agencies follow different versions of the Master Plans. Each organization is subject to different patronage networks. Development and planning, thus, is extremely haphazard and often in violation of planning regulations (ILMP, 2004, p.7-1). The Lahore Cantonment Board and private developments do not fall under the jurisdiction of the city government thus continue to develop their own housing schemes without integration or coherence with the rest of city (Hammed & Nadeem, 2006).

Thus planning in Lahore is subject to jurisdictional prerogatives of a multitude of organizations, overlapping spheres of influence and superfluous bureaucratic red-tape. This over-developed administrative structure further alienates the urban poor who get lost in the shuffle. The overlapping functions of organizations also give them a pretext to fob off their responsibilities on one other; the residents assert that their *basti* was under the jurisdiction of a particular organization however; when it comes to regularization, demands for municipal services or compensation for land acquisition for development, the concerned department would deny jurisdictional responsibility leaving the people high and dry (Field notes, Lahore, July 2015). The residents are left navigating the complexities of the bureaucracy without any knowledge of the legal orders and acts that apply to their districts. Such ambiguities in planning frameworks are ‘precisely the basis of state authority and serve as modes of sovereignty and discipline (Roy, 2009 p. 83).’ In the words of the community leader of Gohawa Pind;

The LDA tells us to go to the cantonment boards, they tell us to go to the DHA. We sit outside offices of government departments all day for regularization and for services, only

to be turned away. And then they come to evict us. But come election season, the *nazims* (mayors) and councilors know exactly what *tehsil* (sub-district) we fall under and they know how to get us the services in exchange for our votes.

(Akhtar Ahmed, Gohawa Pind, Personal Communication, June 2015)

Pakistan has no comprehensive town planning laws or regional planning authorities. Only local level institutions exist, but they do not coordinate with one another. Also, development authorities like the LDA and CDA have historically exhibited a hegemonic role when it comes to development and planning for the city at large, using coercive tactics as well as patronage-networks (Akhtar, 2015). The different levels of local governments work independently from each other without any inter-agency communication to address redundancy or negligence. According to the Director of the Katchi Abadi Directorate, this has led to a segregated system where local government authorities are working on individual priorities and within their own spheres of influence (Personal Communication, Amir Khattak, 28 June 2015). Environmental Lawyer and Planner Raafay Alam calls attention to the legacy left by the colonial administration in cities like Lahore where elected local government representatives have existed alongside agencies like the LIT and LDA yet have no authority or jurisdiction in planning matters (Alam, Personal Communication, September 2015). Having no executive powers or clout before *Zilla Nazims* (provincial tiers) the municipal bodies carry out work within their own system of patronage. This results in fragmented service delivery and covert economies¹²⁰ (Naib Nazim, Personal Communication, 27 June 2015).

Thus there is a confiscation of local power by urban development authorities, who expedite development projects and modern infrastructures that line the pockets of the elite by allowing them

¹²⁰ I use the term covert economies to refer to the transaction of patronage, political favors and bribes in exchange for services or protection.

access to the global economy. These authorities further undermine ‘the tasks and functions of democratically elected municipal governments already weakened by the loss of sectorial responsibilities and financial and human resources to special ad hoc authorities (Alain Jacquemin, 1999, p.41).

Urban planning procedures, like approval of applications for site development, and issuance of associated permits take up to a year to complete, perpetuating a system of bribery and patronage to get projects through. Jawad Aslam, CEO of the Ansar Management Company, a low-income housing project discusses the system of bribery and extra-legality that accompanies development projects.

The system in Pakistan works in favor of the person that can pay the bribe...and it is natural that the larger, high-end developers can pay higher bribes and pursue their desires. Developers only care about one thing—maximization of profits. Generally, this means to flip a property as early as possible and move on to the next project. (Jawad Aslam, Personal Communication August 2015)

On average, projects require submission of up to 70 documents/permits, and costs Rs. 600 000 (\$8000), including Rs. 250 000 (\$3000) in bribes. The amount of bureaucracy navigated for approvals and permits highlights the overwhelming number of overlapping government departments and authorities. Between the two, a builder/ developer could be grappling with with as many as 15–25 authorities, depending on the location of the project (Town Planner, Personal Communication, June 2015).

At the time of partition, the country also inherited the paper regime the British had designed to isolate natives from the urban bureaucracy. In Lahore, as well as all other megacities of Pakistan, paper-based regulation is central to corruption in real estate and land commodification. Departments refuse to surrender information to the electronic records division, to maintain the networks of influence and the system of illegal payments organized through records and other

paper artifacts (Hull, 2008). In the corridors of government departments, these artefacts are referred to as ‘plot files’. It is through the fluidity of these paper records that swaths of land changes ownerships from elites, bureaucrats, politicians and developers. It is also how, through the arbitrary exchange of these files, private developers sell off plots they do not legally own (as they haven’t yet paid for them), acquiring the capital belatedly through the transaction (LDA Senior Clerk, Personal Communication, 17 June 2015).

Urban planning practices and associated deregulation also limit the supply of urban land to benefit the affluent part of the population. Development projects are identified on an ad hoc basis and subject to political patronage and pressure. Due to the rapid growth of population and demand in housing and the inability of government institutions to develop plots and provide services, land values have increased exponentially. The private sector, realizing high profit margins, subdivides vacant or agricultural land, provides roads and services, and/or to provide ready built apartments and townhouses. However, these private projects are meant for the upper strata of the society. The control that development authorities like LDA exercise upon private schemes extends to granting political favors and furthering the agendas of the state-developer nexus. The DAs also stand to make a sizeable profit off land use conversions and commercialization fees required by these private developments (Alahudin, Personal Communication June 2015). There are a total of 230 private housing schemes in Lahore¹²¹. These private schemes are largely projects of military personnel, bureaucrats, politicians or well-connected industrialists all of whom are part of the oligarchic nexus and thus have influence over planning departments (Akhtar, 2015).

Forms of deregulation can also be seen in how Master Plans become a tool in perpetuating notions of acceptable formality (Roy, 2010). The ILMP does just that by suggesting that private

¹²¹ See Appendix H; Private Housing Schemes, also <https://abadi.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=zVZx5RzT3i3A.k25n78VhauJE>

housing schemes are filling the shortfall in low-income housing by offering 5-10 marla plots for sale in their schemes which is still unequivocally unaffordable for the urban poor. The master plan also misrepresents and understates informality by omitting information about *katchi abadis*.

Public Sector Housing Projects

There is a glaring difference between the need for housing vs. the demand for housing in Pakistan; the number of households determines need for housing, whereas the actual demand is determined by household income and the ability to pay for housing. It is the affordability of housing that needs immediate attention, a responsibility that falls to the state. The main reason behind the formation and perpetuation of ISs is that the state continuously reneges on its basic responsibility to provide formal housing options to the poor. This lack of political will can be attributed to the system of bribery and corruption that pervades government and planning institutions. At every level of the over-developed state and planning apparatus, the individual state functionaries revel in their own spheres of influence and patronage, preferring to pocket the profits rather than actually upgrading settlements, providing municipal services or depositing people's money with the public exchequer (Akhtar, 2015).

In Lahore, 30 percent of land is owned by the government. In other large cities it ranges from 20 to 40 percent (Dowall & Ellis, 1991). However, as Member of Provincial Assembly and former Chairman of the Pakistan Land Development Committee Sheikh Alahudin stated in his interview, the Pakistani government barely has any land that can be allotted to low-income housing. State owned and serviced land that does exist is inaccessible to the people due to complicated property rights; land titling and registration systems; inefficient and manipulated land use plans; limited finances; rent control and a mismanaged and complex institutional framework (Alahudin, Personal Communication, June 2015). Government land that has been ear marked for

the poor continues to be developed as well, often with subsidies, and is acquired by professional speculators or the middle classes for speculative purposes. All over Pakistan such land lies unused for years¹²² (Hasan, 2009).

Most affordable housing projects developed by the urban development authorities have so far been on state owned land. These are cross-subsidized by higher prices for larger plots in some schemes¹²³. However, since allotment is through computer ballot and the plots are still beyond their affordability, the low-income groups do not apply for them. Thus, the speculators and middle-income groups benefit from these subsidies. The initial sale price of the plots on these schemes is often well below their market value however, the scale of development has been far too small to have any impact on the housing situation. In Lahore alone, there is a backlog of 8 to 9 million housing units, in which the urban portion is 3 to 3.5 million (HFBC, 2014). In contrast there exists a veritable housing oversupply for the affluent middle class. In large towns, land is planned and sold off by powerful interest groups (in both public and private sectors) through the creation of low-density housing colonies that result in an uncontrolled and automobile-dependent urban sprawl. The demands of the elite are fully met, be it through housing credit or subsidized infrastructure where no such facilitation exists for the urban poor.

Successive elected governments in Pakistan have taken some modest housing initiatives, however, such projects are usually driven by motives of fostering voter support or legitimizing tenuous government initiatives that are anti-poor¹²⁴. Such initiatives are mostly token projects and have historically fallen prey to political neglect and mismanagement. Planners of such schemes

¹²² For example, in Sindh 300,000 plots were lying vacant under speculation while 40 percent of the population was living in *katchi abadis* (Siddiqui, 2015).

¹²³ For example, in the Aashiana project, the housing is a mix of 3-marla, 4-marla and 5 marla plots. The smaller plots were specifically for low-income families, where the larger plots targeted middle-income groups. The purpose of mixed income housing projects is that the higher priced plots subsidize the costs for the less expensive ones.

¹²⁴ See Appendix I: Government Low Income Housing Initiatives and Outcomes

bear equal blame for the inefficiency of such projects as they spend exorbitant amounts of time and funds on incorporating high-end engineering and design details into such ventures and are woefully ignorant about the culture, economics, and sociology of low-income citizens (Siddiqui, 2015)¹²⁵. The design of the neighborhoods is not conducive to the ‘*mohalla*’ or street culture that characterizes the settlements¹²⁶. Whereas families from settlements know members of their neighborhoods and have strong social networks celebrated by neighborhood events and customs, projects are designed for nuclear families and characterized by cloistered formalism.

Access to completed projects is governed by bureaucratic processes that frequently exclude the poor. The procedures for applying for state developed housing means filling forms, visiting banks and government offices, following newspapers and waiting for results of the ballot. Also, the purchaser normally makes the payments for land and development within a year of the announcement of the scheme. Although low-income residents may be able to pay the first installment, they cannot pay the two subsequent ones in such a short span of time (Hasan, 2014). The time period for the development and allotment of the housing units can take up to 4 to 10 years, whereas the poor do not have the luxury of waiting. After possession the poor have no access to technical advice and credit for house construction. Social services such as education, health, and family planning are conspicuously absent.

¹²⁵ An example is the absence of public access to rooftops which is essential for survival in the summer when temperatures reach up to 45 degrees and electricity blackouts occur from 12 to 18 hours every day. The main recourse that low income families have is to camp out on their rooftops.

¹²⁶ *Mohallas* are a form of urbanism completely devoid of the superficiality of architecture, instead they are developed for the practice of everyday life. As a result, residents tend to have greater control on the production or appropriation of space, which reflects their needs and aspirations. However, they dilapidate without municipal services (Hasan, 2014).

The farce of low-income housing is best represented in one such case called the Aashiana project¹²⁷. There were a myriad of incongruities surrounding the ballot-scheme for the Aashiana project. The Chairman of the presiding Pakistan Land Development Commission (PLDC) suddenly resigned decrying corruption and the second wing of the project was abandoned. The applicants who had qualified for houses and had been making payments have yet to receive their property or refunds (Rizvi, 2014). The planners and architects of the project maintained that since the low income housing society was constructed with material of the best quality and the design and configuration of the neighborhood was exemplary, the society was at par with any other high-end neighbor. Thus the budgetary costs for the project increased exponentially. To bear the construction costs and maintain profit margins, the PLDC asked applicants to pay the 20% down payment upfront, regardless of whether they win in the draw.

It transpired that the state was handing over the project to private developers at a higher rate, bequeathing all responsibility and liability of the project to them. Private developers continued the project with the intention of selling it like a private housing scheme with a token amount of houses designated to low income groups. Middlemen, developers and the affluent sections of the population now hold most of the smaller plots for speculation (Sheikh Alahudin, Personal Communication, June 2015; NESPAK, Field Notes, 4 June 2015). The residents of informal settlements bear no illusions about the fallacy of such initiatives, and disdain them as upper and middle income housing schemes, asserting that most of them had submitted applications but no one ever got possession (Field notes, Youhanabad, 18 June 2015). They recognize such projects as a patronage disbursing tool that serve to entrench inequalities within the settlements. As one resident said,

¹²⁷ See Appendix J: Aashiana Housing

‘people who win possession are all lackeys of political parties who don’t even belong to the *abadis*, they already live in *pucca makan* (formal housing). The *hakoomat* (government) rents or sells the houses out to its lackeys, keeping them for speculation. Most of these lackeys hold the property but choose to live in the settlement where they have influence and can assert dominance of their political patrons’ (Altaf, Personal Communication, 2 July 2015).

The glaring discrepancies in projects such as Aashiana alert us to the deregulation and ‘unmapping’ practices used by state institutions to marginalize and squeeze out the low-income segment whilst maintaining the façade of affordable housing projects. Such tactics include covertly increasing land prices and reducing plot sizes to the low-income segment to facilitate middle-income speculators¹²⁸, rigging balloting processes, encouraging land disputes, allotting houses to more than one family, legitimizing large infrastructure projects by relegating such projects to the periphery. Through such land use changes and commercialization, the coalition of government and planning agencies stand to make profits, depriving the urban-poor of affordable housing (Sheikh Alahudin, Personal Communication, June 2015).

The ILMP states that the majority of the land in Lahore is under private ownership. This is in part due to the prevalence of feudal landowning structures and largely due to speculative investment in real estate (LDA, Personal Communication, June 2015). Thus production of residential plots by the public sector in Punjab has been minuscule¹²⁹. The budget allocated for housing is redirected to planning prerogatives that do not cater to low-income housing or *katchi abadi* development. Government agencies account for slightly less than 6 percent of annual

¹²⁸ The price of a five-marla house was set at Rs 900,000, but then quietly increased it to Rs1.15 million, and the area was reduced to three marla.

¹²⁹ Presence of the federal government in housing provision is rather limited. There is one federal housing program implemented by the Pakistan Housing Authority (PHA) in Punjab, and four projects in operation in Lahore, providing 1,240 housing units. All units are allocated on a “first come – first serve” basis upon down payment.

household formation, but most of these plots lie vacant and lack infrastructure services (Dowall & Ellis, 1991). However, notwithstanding the government sector's inability to provide affordable housing, planning institutions in their own capacity have come to the fore, seeking to gain from the lucrative real estate market.

State planning Institutions; the New Private Developers

The subversion of planning institutions as tools of governmentality and neoliberal accumulation is taking new forms as is illustrated in LDA's recent bid to undertake its own private development enterprise by the name of Lahore Development Authority (LDA) City. Claiming to be the largest housing project in the country covering 60,000 kanals in Lahore, the housing project, true to form, caters to the elite and upper-class strata of society. The Project brings into question the implications of a state institution and regulating body assuming the role of a developer, while failing to use the same resources to initiate low-income housing programs or even develop existing *katchi abadis*. The enterprise has been challenged in court and denounced by urban theorists and planners for waiving the bureaucratic trappings of formal and informal planning processes. Generally, in its own projects as well as private projects in general, LDA is known to show exceptionalism using its authority to waive legal formalities like submission of proof of possession of land, development plans or maps for private development schemes before marketing or selling plots (Raafay Alam, Personal Communication, 10 August 2015). Alam (2015) highlights the illicit dealings of the LDA and its capacity to bypass all formal procedures and sell off properties in the development scheme through private firms¹³⁰ without even securing ownership of the land itself. To ease its foray into the real estate enterprise, LDA is also seeking an amendment to the Master

¹³⁰ The LDA is not acquiring land directly from landowners and has hired six development firms for the task. Under the agreement, the development partners would get one-third of developed plots of the total land they would surrender or transfer to LDA. The LDA would also pay them one per cent of the total cost of the surrendered land as commission.

Plan, converting agricultural land to residential land for future low-density private housing schemes larger than the entire existing urban area of Lahore (Amendment to Master Plan, 2015). This venture illustrates Roy's (2011) assertion that state institutions themselves, by manipulating the paucity of mapping and modes of deregulation allow the alteration of land use for industrial and development projects, thus privatizing informality.

The Opposition Leader in the Punjab Assembly, Mahmoodur Rashid alleges that the LDA and the government have used the scheme to scam unsuspecting buyers by employing private firms to sell disputed land, making up to Rs. 16 billion in the scheme. Under the guise of being a state entity, LDA is extorting revenue which lines the pockets of corrupt politicians and LDA functionaries as well as the private developers involved (Hasnain, 2015). The complicit nature of planning institutions as state tools in establishing sovereignty and discipline is further evinced by allegations of current landowners who assert that the government has been using strong-arm tactics, like blocking the water supply, to force the people to sell their agricultural land for the scheme or be evicted. Residents assert that the acquisition is unjustified based on low rates, exploitation and coercive tactics used to force them to sell their property to LDA (ibid). Thus this coalition of the state apparatus and planning departments becomes a 'corrupt planning clique' that extorts huge public funds in the commodification deal of land and housing in Lahore (abadi.dawnnews.com, 2015)

Criminalization and Violence

Violent political conflict in the settlements can be traced to colonial divisions between planned and unplanned areas, and to mutual threat perceptions of variegated ethnic groups. To associate the poor with criminality highlights an urban security paradigm marked by segregation, private policing, withholding of rights to the city, and xenophobia, previously towards the colonial

subject, and then towards migrants in the postcolonial state. In this way, the citizenship, work, and mobility of the poor are rendered dubitable through media sensationalism, legal orders, bureaucratic decisions, policing practices, planning policies, legal prohibitions and cultural biases; a 'politics of common sense' that effectively renders them culpable and thus expendable. This culminates in the systemic deployment of violence by the state apparatus and its ancillary departments (police, rangers, army) that routinely intimidate, harass and dispossess the urban poor.

The deployment of state mechanisms to discipline, contain and exclude the urban poor under the rubric of crime has precedents in colonial India which segregated respectable elites from areas inhabited by popular classes. From the late 19th century police intervention against informal constructions and work practices became commonplace in the form of urban eviction, demolitions and raids (Gooptu 2001: 133-5). These mechanisms were driven partly by a need to control the growing mass of poor labor. They were inherited by the post-colonial state to further ensure the dominion of the oligarchic state apparatus (ibid).

The limited capacity of the planning authorities to plan the city and to ensure a uniformly enforced system of property rights since independence, has led to societal and political fractures that manifest in ethnic violence in cities today. The role of planning in segregating different migrant groups with different degrees of planning exceptions has accentuated differences of ethnic groups. The use of planning by the state to segregate and manage the population is illustrated by the state's management of migrants after Partition. Partition migrant communities, or Muhajirs were concentrated in planned neighborhoods while post-Partition and pre-Partition communities were more likely to be placed in unplanned neighborhoods. Unplanned areas were more diverse and competitive political spaces than their planned neighbors, harboring ethnic and religious groups like Pakhtuns, Sindhis, Hindus, Christians, Biharis, Bengali and Burmese (Hind, 2014).

With the large net influx of Partition migrants from 1947 onwards, housing for displaced persons became the most acute issue not only for municipal authorities but also for the national government (Zamindar, 2007; Daechsel, 2011). The initial priority was given to providing shelter for the migrating civil servants who had been transferred to Pakistan. Meanwhile, poorer refugees lived in makeshift camps, which emerged in public spaces in and around the city center. The first groups of Partition migrants benefitted from urban planning. Over the years they consolidated and attained social and political dominance.

As mentioned in preceding chapters, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, there were repeated, and partly successful, attempts by authorities to demolish and evict informal refugee settlements. The evicted refugees were provided with residential plots far away from the city center. The development authorities eventually came up with residential plot allotment schemes designed for displaced Partition migrants however, the main focus was on creating large housing schemes for the urban middle classes.

While planning after 1947 had remained preoccupied with government acquisition and conversion of peripheral land, large segments of the city's population found themselves left out. Unplanned pre-Partition neighborhoods remained without effective infrastructure or formal security of tenure (Hafeez, 1973). The same was true of poorer makeshift refugee settlements which survived without civic amenities and under constant threat of eviction. In addition, new unplanned settlements of post-Partition migrants emerged along corridors ear-marked for commercial development schemes. Some migrant groups in the unplanned settlements were able to sustain and then eventually regularize their areas based on kinship-based solidarity. The small size of each group allowed for internal cohesion and equitable social and political relations with

other similar groups, leading to a form an ethnically and politically plural urban civil society (Hind, 2014).

Economic and political forces under neoliberalism have tightened the nexus of crime, urban poverty and segregation, and reconstituted rights of citizenship. Thus residents of informal settlements engage in criminal behavior as a means of survival. Often the use of violence is designed to draw attention to specific injustices with a view to seeking appropriate governmental benefits. A range of deliberate tactics is followed to elicit the right response from officials, political leaders and especially the media (Chatterjee, 2008). Over the past few years, there has been a noticeable increase in protests by inhabitants of the *katchi abadis* against the escalating cost of food, housing, and other basic amenities in Pakistan. The response to dwellers' protests has included state violence, stricter criminal laws, enforcement of spatial segregation and isolation, and counterinsurgency measures.

Such counterinsurgency measures include the criminalization of ISs as spaces of dereliction and crime, and planning plays a central part in disseminating such tactics. Planning praxis itself is defined by an 'architecture of fear'. Gated communities and segregated spaces create tangible boundaries and definitions of what is considered safe and innocuous and what is treated as informal and precarious (Ellin, 1997). As Pithouse (2008) asserts, the meta-narrative of slums as 'zones of criminalization' becomes a 'discourse of tyranny. Global security establishments bemoan mega-slums as threats to the security of the existing order to justify employing 'counter-insurgent' methods, which seek to quell any social movement and create an atmosphere of fear. In Pakistan, unplanned settlements are a source of constant fear mongering and speculation amongst city officials and in the media. With the post-9/11 militant insurgency playing out in Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the specter of terrorists and extremists hiding in unplanned settlements

and invading the peripheral belts keep alive this sensation of fear. The state, once again as a testament to its own informality, employs practices of falsification of records to exacerbate political cleavages, impede the collective agency of the toiling classes and ultimately promulgate its own neoliberal agendas.

In Karachi land grabbing and the associated violence is part of a commodification process in which politicians and the military benefit from the current system of patronage and profit. Land mafia groups have strategic affiliations with political parties as well as local *thana-katcheri* (police and local court departments) and government planning departments. Once a political party's thugs steal land, it is divided and illegally sold to residents with a promise of allegiance. That not only creates an instant beholden constituency, it entails illicit profits through land transactions. In March 2013, power struggles between organized crime groups¹³¹ and the OPP-RTI, a local NGO in Karachi, culminated in the target killing of renowned social activist Parveen Rahman¹³². Her work in the regularization and documentation of the Karachi settlements challenged the process of dispossession prevalent in the periphery. As a result, developers and builders became liable to pay charges and negotiate with the residents themselves instead of acquiring land through forced evictions (Khan, 2015).

In Karachi, the return on illicit land grabbing is Rs. 30 billion (Khan, 2015). In the land grabbing process, the police, *thana-katcheri*, *nazism*, MNAs, MPAs and revenue officers all get a cut. Most instances of land grabbing happen under the aegis of a political party. Land records bear no signatures yet carry all required stamps from planning authorities and other government departments. Most of the dominant factions in Karachi, differentiated by ethnicities and clans,

¹³¹ An example is the water mafia

¹³² She had had been documenting land-use around Karachi, and this may have upset the city's powerful land-grabbing criminals. She was also opposed to the "tanker mafia" who were stealing tube-well/piped water from low-income communities and then selling it back to them in water tankers.

have political organizations that claim to represent them. Violence, especially ethnic violence has become a strategy to deploy narratives of fear, and divide communities: ‘Pathans from Mohajir’, ‘Christians from Muslim’, them and us. These ethnic tensions are further exacerbated by the strategic militarization of ethnic groups,¹³³ as conflicts between political parties rework the narratives of ethnic differentiation in the settlements (Rehman, 2011).

For instance, in the case of the I-11 in Islamabad, the CDA blocked the National Identity Cards of the residents, wiping out their citizenships to designate them as non-Pakistani¹³⁴. They arrested dozens of young boys and filed trumped up charges under the Anti-Terrorist Act (ATA). In the case of the Okara farms, and in other evictions¹³⁵, revenue officers and local police departments falsified records to erase any record property rights (Naib Nazim, Chungi Gujjar pura, Personal Communication, 27 June 2015). In Lahore settlements, sectarian and communal violence against the Ahmedi, Shia and Christian colonies is routine. In the case of the Youhanabad, non-muslim residents accused of blasphemy have been a target of constant violent persecution under the guise of blasphemy accusations¹³⁶. In the case of the Youhanabad church suicide bombings, two churches were targeted by suicide bombers, killing 14 people and injuring 78. In the face of state inaction, the residents carried out popular justice by killing the alleged attackers themselves. The state responded by arresting and torturing Christian youths and raiding people’s homes. In

¹³³ Pathan groups acquired arms through the drug mafia in Karachi. Most ethnic groups have their own militias and form the local "Kalashnikov culture"¹³³ (Anwar, 2013;2015).

¹³⁴ This also alerts us to the hegemonic role of the state-apparatus that subverts all state Departments like the National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), which is charged with the establishment of a new registration system for the entire population of Pakistan.

¹³⁵ The settlement of Chungi Gujjar pura had been regularised but recently their ownership records were retracted. The residents think it is because the DHA scheme is expanding in their direction and might entail evictions.

¹³⁶ Pakistan's blasphemy law is overwhelmingly used to persecute religious minorities and settle personal vendettas where 1300 people have been accused of blasphemy, mostly non-Muslim religious minorities.

Karachi the MQM¹³⁷ secular party used the classic tropes of the ‘Pashtun fundamentalist¹³⁸’ and ‘Talibanization’ to aggravate ethnic and sectarian cleavages to maintain hegemony (Anwar, 2013). These incidents illustrate the brutal tactics employed by the state to reassert control over settlements framing them as enclaves of disorder.

The connections between criminal networks, drug lords, terrorists, and local, regional and transnational jihadis are interwoven with ethnic and religious discrimination (Asia Report, 2014). ‘Terror’ and ‘fundamentalism’ become analogous to the image of the undisciplined, unplanned and anarchic city, criminalizing working class, pluralistic settlements and legitimizing their persecution by paramilitary forces and counterinsurgency strategies. For the dispossessed settlers these interventions make people’s lives more insecure and vulnerable (Anwar, 2013). The violence deployed by the police and parliamentary forces ‘cultivates, touts and reinforces their isolation and the institutions of the state and surrounding upper-middle class neighborhoods sustain the class divide’ (Akhtar, 2015 through Zia, 2015).

Informality in land use and access to housing has to be understood in terms of its significance to urban planning and geographies of power. The city’s spatial-electoral politics, the emergence of new loci of power centered on land, class and changing ethnic configurations play a key role in the fragmentation of civil society. If on one hand, the city center represents ‘formal’ (secure tenure) settlements with ethnically homogenous middle-upper income residents and an intrinsic part of the military-bureaucratic-capitalist oligarchy then the peripheries are repositories of ethnically diverse settlements comprising low-income groups with insecure rights of tenure.

¹³⁷ The Muttahida Qaumi Movement generally known as MQM, is a secular political party in Pakistan mainly representing Urdu-speaking Mohajirs (Muslim immigrants and their descendants who migrated from India to Pakistan during Partition). The party is dominant in Karachi and is known for its violent coercion tactics to maintain a political dominance over the rising Pashtun representation of the multi-ethnic province of Sindh.

¹³⁸ Pashtun are an ethnic group that lives primarily in Afghanistan and North West Pakistan. After the advent of America’s ‘War on Terror’, the term Pashtun has been myopically used to denote fundamentalism.

Informality needs to be observed in the nuances of political divisions and their violent manifestations in the city. It is not a residual of planning but is integral to the state's strategy of political management and regulation through tactics of 'coercion' and 'consent' (Gazdar & Mallah, 2013). The calculated disenfranchisement and ethnic discrimination simply serves to cover up the material basis for state sponsored violence, evictions and dispossession; which is the insatiable land acquiring practices of the state-developer nexus.

Informality and the 'State-Planning Clique'¹³⁹

The obvious anti-poor bias in planning and policy in Pakistan exists not only in practice but also in much of academic theory, which both in concepts and vocabulary belittles poor communities. Western academic ideals and standards based on rigid notions of formal planning cannot be applied to the variegated spatial geographies that define the developing world or the cultural and sociological nuances that define the planning needs of ISs themselves (Hasan, 2012).

The global/world-class city framework that determines city planning precludes any mention of the poor (Anwar, 2014). Planning in cities like Lahore references Shanghai, Dubai and Singapore as models of urbanism, legitimizing development projects and practices that further marginalize and dispossess the poor. Planning designs are based on the automobile, even in neighborhoods where people are unlikely to have one (Shahid, 2014). Incommensurate with socio-economic needs of the toiling class, planning designs do not accommodate hawkers, informal entertainers, street vendors and *rairi walas* despite the fact that they are a major economic asset. They are relegated to the fringes of the formal city where they cannot sell their wares (Bhowmik, 2012).

¹³⁹ This term is borrowed from the former chief minister of Punjab and now federal minister for production leader Pervaiz Elahi's interview, implicating the planning institutions as complicit with the government (Aashian Scheme Fake, 2011).

The prevalence of informality is another well-established aspect of compromised state capacity, often deemed a land use problem and managed through attempts to restore "order" to the urban landscape or to bring it into the fold of formal markets (Hasan, 1999). However, the more fundamental issues at stake in informality are those of wealth distribution, unequal property ownership and unaffordable housing markets. State power and sovereignty is reaffirmed through the apparatus of planning which constantly and selectively reconstructs the relationship between legitimacy and illegitimacy, formality and informality and urbanity and rurality in the city. It thus becomes imperative that we problematize the difference between informality and illegality in planning paradigms of the developing world.

The state-planning clique organizes the symbiotic relationships of the megacity and the settlement and through planning practices contours the demographics and configuration of the settlements. Siddiqui (2015) points out the conundrum of informality where the state and the DAs create nodes of informal settlements by surreptitiously supplying land for encroachment through sponsoring the role of land mafia and lower-level state functionaries who subdivide and sell land at inflated prices and pocket the difference. This is illustrated in the covert planning tactics of the DAs used in carving out differentiated types of informality to supplement the needs of capitalist city structure in the megacities as was done after Partition in the Labor colony in Islamabad (*mazdooron ki colony*). The labor employed in the initial construction of the capital was selectively evicted and displaced to the periphery based on the social capital they offered¹⁴⁰. Decades later,

¹⁴⁰ the CDA sent *mazdoors* (laboures/constructors) to the periphery, but kept the *masih mazdoors* (road constructors) closer to the city. Similarly, the labor workforce that serviced the newly formed Capital and its cadres of bureaucrats and politicians, was kept on the water banks (Akhtar, 2015).

the CDA is still using blatant coercion and unconstitutional practices¹⁴¹ to promulgate the capitalist whims of the state apparatus, as demonstrated by evictions of I-11 *katchi abadi*.

The planning apparatus in Lahore and by extension Pakistan is fundamentally informal. It is based on strategies and procedures that are ‘neither prescribed nor proscribed by any rules’ and is influenced by ties of influence and patronage (Innes, Connick, & Booher, 2007; Roy, 2005). Conversely this informality has become integral to the planning paradigm for it creates and sustains spheres of influence and patronage and expedites capitalist and neoliberal processes with little to no accountability. The state and its institutions, operating in frames of sanctioned illegality, are not just informal entities themselves but are the architects behind the creation and systemic incidence of informal settlements. Through the contrivance of deregulation, they practice calculated informality, ‘one that involves purposive action and planning, and one where the seeming withdrawal of regulatory power creates a logic of resource allocation, accumulation, and authority’ (Roy, 2005).

¹⁴¹ In the razing of the Afghan basti, the CDA had violated articles 9, 14, 24 and 25 of the constitution that proclaim a right to shelter, inviolability of privacy and dignity, rights to compensation and equal citizenship (The Constitution of Pakistan, 1973). As such it had abolished the settlements illegally.

Chapter 7. Lessons from the periphery

*The disparate streams of joy and sorrow will have to be brought into a confluence
Wealth will have to be redistributed in a new fashion
For as long as there are the privileged and the dispossessed, there will be disorder in both,
For this land is but two-toned (Sahir Ludhianvi, Do-rangi)*

The evolution of informal settlements in Pakistan has been a culmination of different socio-economic, religio-political and spatial configurations; pre-set by colonization, exacerbated by decolonization, further polarized by liberalization and perpetuated by the machinations of a neo-colonial state apparatus. The discipline of urban planning in the Global South has been tailored to fit the world-class/global city development paradigms of a neoliberal-capitalist society, furthering the avaricious agendas of the state apparatus subjugated by imperialism. The financialization of land has led to evictions and expropriation both within the city and the periphery, displacing entire populations. State hegemony over the subordinate class is ensured through the dissemination of coercion, patronage, bribes and a politics of common sense. These become intrinsic to the creation and subsistence of the settlements and planning institutions become the tool through which such hegemonic practices are enacted.

This chapter thus attempts to answer the question of how the dispossessed and disenfranchised urban poor confront such hegemonic state structures and what role can planners serve in such subverted and conflicting paradigms of planning. As a departure from prescriptive narratives on how to address urban poverty and rehabilitate slums, this chapter reviews examples of alternative, non-state planning in Pakistan and discusses their merits and failings in the broader context of class resistance. It also highlights instances of autonomy and self-determination in the everyday struggles of the informal settlements that have allowed residents a chance to reclaim their rights to the city making use of informal and radical modes of planning.

Regularity and Regulatory Exceptions

Roy's (2005) theory on the state as an informal entity and planning as a tool of exceptionalism, considers the strategic use of the state of exception to frame policy. According to Roy (2005) there are two forms of exception that can be used in framing initiatives for low-income communities: regularity exceptions and regulatory exceptions (p. 7).

The regularity exception pertains to bridging the gap between the systemic irregularity of employment and the institutionalized regularity of payment. Where residents are unable to make payments for housing in the face of irregular employment and wages, the concept of incrementalism has served to allay the burden. One such current model in Pakistan that has received acclaim is the incremental housing development scheme, Saibaan-Khuda ki Basti (City of God). This model conceived by Tasneem Siddiqui represents a significant departure from the Aashiana model, where state-owned land is first serviced with essential infrastructure and then plots are made available for purchase, usually being usurped by middle-class residents or real estate speculators because of the high prices. This scheme emulates the informal developers' process of creating an affordable housing supply maintaining the same informal building process they had in the squatter settlements, however offering imperative municipal services like ownership title, water connections, sewage disposal, social services and public safety. The urban poor can construct their houses incrementally under planned conditions on a self-help basis ¹⁴².

¹⁴² Saiban purchases land from a government agency or private developer on sub-market rates for making the scheme affordable to the very poor (those earning \$3 a day or less) and subdivides it. The application and allocation process is handled on site and involves minimal paperwork, thus dispensing with the red tape and bureaucracy¹⁴². To date, Saiban has provided housing to over 8,000 families (Siddiqui, Personal Communication, 2015).

However, the challenges of such initiatives lie in bypassing an over-developed bureaucracy¹⁴³. The other obvious limitation that discourages *katchi abadi* dwellers from applying this model, and which also holds true for other low-income housing projects, is that they had to spend a substantial amount of their income simply commuting to and from work. To ensure the affordability of land such projects are usually launched at the very fringes of the metropolitan city, and thus from locations of employment. Without pro-poor infrastructure like public transport, it is unfeasible for the residents to commute over such long distances (Zaidi and Siddique, 2008).

An example of regulatory exception, the Orangi Pilot Project–Research and Training Institute (OPP–RTI) established by Akhtar Hameed Khan, the renowned Pakistani social scientist is an NGO-led project in the informal settlements of Orangi Town¹⁴⁴ in Karachi, and in other cities in Pakistan. The objective of the Project is to understand the immediate needs and issues of settlements of Orangi and their causes. Then, through action research, the project aims to provide people with technical guidance and managerial support to finance, manage and build the community themselves and in the process, overcome the limitations of governments upgrading programs¹⁴⁵.

The project employs the methodology of giving the residents the resources to meet and manage immediate needs of the settlement, initially without the involvement or sanctions of development authorities. The OPP–RTI’s low-cost sanitation programme supports communities to develop their own internal sewerage development (sanitary latrines inside homes, underground

¹⁴³ It took two years to get the approvals without the appeasements of bribes where the process should have taken four-five months (Aslam, Personal Communication, 2015).

¹⁴⁴ Considered to be the largest slum in Asia (comparable to Dharavi in Mumbai), the settlements of Orangi house 1.5 million people.

¹⁴⁵ To that end it has four institutions; the OPP–RTI (Orangi Pilot Project–Research and Training Institute), dealing with sanitation, housing, education, research and training; the Orangi Charitable Trust, dealing with microcredit; the Karachi Health and Social Development Association, dealing with health and gender issues; and the Rural Development Trust (Khan, 1997; 2005).

sewers in lanes, and neighborhood/collector sewers). Once the informal infrastructure is in place, it can be lobbied to allow connections to external development (trunk sewers and treatment plants), ideally built by the local government. The OPP project has been extremely successful in Karachi and has received international recognition.¹⁴⁶

The project highlights a new paradigm of participatory planning that is built on the concepts of enumeration, quiet resistance, and radical planning, creating informal networks with local governments, engineers and administrators¹⁴⁷. Initiatives like OPP come under the concept of “deep democracy,” or as Arjun Appadurai (2001) calls it; the "politics of shit". It also disrupts models of expertise, making it possible to generate knowledge about upgrading and infrastructure from a different set of experts: the residents of informal settlements. Thus, it also creates a space for Gramsci’s ‘organic intellectuals’ from within the toiling class. However, without a local organization taking over the responsibility of social mobilization and technical support, such models cannot be replicated¹⁴⁸(Akhtar, 1996, Hasan 2014). Secondly, for the replication to be sustainable, mapping, surveying, documentation and monitoring skills should be available within in the community. Accountability and building trust with the inhabitants is crucial¹⁴⁹. Making use of regulatory exceptions comes into play when initiatives like these, once given preliminary approval by local authorities, become a form of quiet resistance. The newly embedded infrastructure allows the settlements to expand and become entrenched within the formal

¹⁴⁶ NGOs like Alliance encourages the poor to design and conduct their own census and hold toilet festivals where the poor design their own model homes and model public toilets which are passed on to professionals.

¹⁴⁷ The impact of the project has to be realized in terms of how it changed the social configuration of the settlements, overflowing open sewers and related health and physical hazards diminished, mobility improved for goods and human traffic boosting home-based enterprises and small-scale trading. Infant mortality rate decreased notably (Badshah, 1996).

¹⁴⁸ There have been 13 NGO/CBO attempts at replicating the sanitation programme in other cities. Five of these have been failures; two have been remarkable successes. The NGOs and CBOs who have replicated the programme were funded from WaterAid, a UK based NGO.

¹⁴⁹ Hameed (2005) and Siddiqui (2015) also warn against accepting donor funding as it leads to financial mismanagement.

landscape, becoming too extensive to be evicted or relocated. Thus they have to be integrated. However, such progress cannot be made without infiltrating hegemonic power structures, including the bureaucracy. The process in part relies on the deliverance of an activist or leader who can establish an informal working relationship with local government functionaries and politicians.¹⁵⁰ However, as discussed in previous chapters, the socio-political factors and impending patronage politics incite the subversion of any enterprise that promises monetary or influential gains. The KKB and OPP-RTI too have suffered such subversion of its community activists who formed illicit liaisons with contractors and land grabbers. Such covert economies need to be navigated, as they are intrinsic to the culture of the *abadis*.

Quiet Encroachment

As discussed by Bayat (1997; 2000) ‘quiet politics’ is the means by which residents, along with the collusion of lower-level parties representing poorer constituencies can seek to create services on the ground (concrete houses, voting cards for labourers, electricity sub-stations) that become so integrated with the formal apparatus of state bureaucracy and service provision that they are difficult to remove (Gandhi, 2012). Encroachment itself is a form of everyday politics of resistance. Other recurring forms of quiet politics from poorer communities that are in other moments subject to raids and demolition are petitions, protests, hunger-strikes, *dharnas* (marches) and *jaloos* (protests) that can result in the provision or continuance of services. As illustrated in Okara, and the evictions in Islamabad, once mobilised collectively, the urban poor find strength in numbers and can claim entitlements by asserting their biopolitical agency. In the face of police brutality and state coercion, active protests only culminate in violence and mass arrests. In such

¹⁵⁰ In the case of OPP-RTI the appointment of Tasneem Ahmad Siddiqui to the post of Director General of the directorate of katchi abadi of Sindh served such purpose. Siddiqui decided to adopt the appoint the OPP-RTI as consultant to SKAA and reorganized in SKAA that would make its organization and culture compatible with the project, easing administrative constraints and bureaucratic red tape.

cases forms of quiet rebellion become the only recourse through which the urban poor ensure their survival.

Soft Imperialism

The upsurge of NGOs in the South since the 1980s has largely been regarded as a representation of grassroots activism and progress in social development. In postcolonial states like Pakistan the state systemically abdicated its role in social development and civil society promulgated NGOs to bear that mantle, allowing the state to disavow any effort in that area. As the Officials at the LDA enunciated (despite evidence to the contrary)¹⁵¹ ‘it is not their job to develop *katchi abadis*. It is *social work* [emphasis added]. It falls under the work of NGOs’ (Personal Communication, LDA Senior Official, 17 June 2005).

In the space created by the shrinking legitimacy of the state apparatus¹⁵² NGOs are perceived by international donors, academics, civil society as well as target population as more accountable and committed to bringing about social change (ibid). International institutions, through dependent NGOs, are able to acquire a grassroots presence within poor urban communities¹⁵³. This process concretizes the role and hegemony of three key actors in the state apparatus; transnational professionals based in key government ministries (especially finance), multinational and bilateral development agencies, and international NGOs (Abrahamsen, 2004), resulting in an imperceptible neo-colonial hold that Davis (2006) has dubbed ‘soft imperialism’ (p. 75).

¹⁵¹ Under the *katchi abadi* Act, both organizations bear the mandate to develop *katchi abadi* through regularization

¹⁵² State structures can also have criticized as being rigidly bureaucratic and corrupt, and thus unsuited for performing either welfare or resource management functions

¹⁵³ Historically international lender-donors like the World Bank, the UK Department for International Development, the Ford Foundation, or the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation work through a major NGO which, in turn, provides expertise to a local NGO or indigenous recipient

The rising polemic against the paradoxical role of such mediating bodies is that they effectively coopt (and thus enable the regression) of the roles of traditional political machines as well as usurp the voice of the urban poor (Baviskar, 2001). Undercutting the role of local leadership, they appropriate the role customarily occupied by the Left yet ‘subvert, dis-inform and de-idealize people so as to keep them away from class struggle. They adopt and propagate the practice of begging favors on sympathies and humane grounds rather than making the oppressed conscious of their rights. Their effort is constantly to divert people’s attention from the larger political evils of imperialism to merely local issues’ (Das, 1997, p. 179).

However, where the potential of NGOs for democratization and social mobilization is largely overestimated (Bayat, 2000), the percolation of funding and representation has in many instances served to ameliorate (however mildly) the urgent needs of the urban poor in the face of complete state disavowal¹⁵⁴. To that end, NGOs can also serve as what Miraftab (2009) discusses as ‘invited spaces’, which as state sanctioned spaces can be re-invented or re-appropriated by the urban poor for insurgent or counter-hegemonic practices. They also portray Gramsci’s ‘traditional intellectuals’, that need to be weaned from their institutional bearings.

Mobilizing the Pakistani Left

The urban poor have consolidated time and time again in the face of evictions, displacement and state violence only to be brutally suppressed again. Alienated and deprived by an all-pervasive state apparatus and coerced into submission by a corrupted police force, the poor navigate the interstices between the ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ through economies of patronage and bribes. The residents talked about instances of rebellion in fearful tones. In Youhanabad, the protests against sectarian violence were met with lynching and profiling of young boys in the

¹⁵⁴ See Baviskar (2001).

neighborhood, who were subjected to torture and police brutality. Similarly, protests in Gujjarpura resulted in '*parchis*' or arrests. In Gohawa, the people consolidated to make committees or *baithaks* to talk to local councilors but were shuffled between different departments and bureaucratic instances. They were incorporated into a 'politics of common sense' peddled by traditional intellectuals which include bureaucrats, a sensationalist media co-opted by the state apparatus¹⁵⁵, religious leaders and academics who, together with an avaricious upper class, demonize "slums" as hotbeds of crime and whitewash the praetorian practices of the state.

My fieldwork in the settlements brought to light the fact that the toiling classes suffer no illusions about their exploitative circumstances. They can fully distinguish between the politics of common sense and politics of resistance and will make commitments to both depending the exigency of their circumstances (Field notes, 30 July, 2015, Lahore; Akhtar, 2008). The harrowing struggles of the everyday life of the urban poor are a testament to their self-determination and resistance to persecution and violence. Beyond everyday modes of resistance, class struggles also take form of mass mobilizations like those in the instance of the Okara farms and I-11 protests. Such mobilizations employ civil disobedience, protesting in government departments and empowering women and minorities.

As explored in preceding chapters, the state apparatus has historically tried to dismantle the collective consciousness of the toiling classes through coercion, patronage and differentiation. This highlights a need for a social and political vehicle that gives the toiling class a unifying political platform of their own. That is where those on the political Left in Pakistan come to the fore, facilitating the class struggles of toiling classes into collective action. An example is the novitiate left-wing party Awami Workers Party and its subsidiary wing; the All Pakistan Katchi

¹⁵⁵ It is common knowledge that different political parties have affiliations with different tv channels and newspapers

Abadi Alliance (APKAA)¹⁵⁶. APKAA works to raise class consciousness, support working class mobilization and organization of the toiling class. Their goal is to unite the fragmented toiling class under a collective consciousness to achieve long-term broader structural change. That task is challenging, requiring years of engagement and sustainable organizational structures that extend beyond the *katchi abadis* and linking them with international forums on squatter settlements¹⁵⁷. The success of such a movement is dependent on the mobilization not only of *katchi abadi* dwellers but also the wider society (Akhtar, 2015). Such mobilization is instrumental in demanding social equity by exposing the informalities and subversions of the state-apparatus and planning departments¹⁵⁸.

The Heterogeneous Subaltern

The theorizations of informal settlements as potential sites of emancipatory social movements for the right to the city, democratic citizenship and participation although venerable, are largely based on distilled prerogatives of class, housing legality, or other moral collectivities (Appadurai 2002; Bayat, 2000; Holston 2008, Chatterjee 2004). Such theories valorize the emancipatory potential of social movements on the basis of a homogenized classification of slums and slum dwellers and thus become complicit in deepening inequalities and dispossessions of the poor by appropriating and limiting their political agency (Roy 2011; Spivak 1999). Similar to how ‘slums’ are accorded a metonymic representation of subaltern poverty (Spivak, 2005; Roy 2011), such grand narratives of social justice highly discount the politicizations of difference and

¹⁵⁶ This is a non-partisan political organization representing squatters across the country that came into existence soon after the Musharraf coup in 1999.

¹⁵⁷ An example is the Slum Dwellers International Movement

¹⁵⁸ APKAA mobilized the I-11 *Katchi abadies* to protest against the demolition. The large scale mobilization drew considerable media attention, highlighting the biopolitical vulnerability of residents and the atrocities of the state. The Supreme Court took due notice of the case and pronounced the action of the CDA as unconstitutional (SC Seeks Proposals to Provide Shelter to Homeless, 2015). It also took notice of the illegal practices of elite that were sanctioned by planning authorities like construction of palaces and housing schemes on agricultural land.

heterogeneity of the settlements as the key factors influencing subject formation processes (Doshi, 2003).

Pakistan, harboring multiple ethnicities and caste-clan networks, and exhibiting a multi-faceted socio-political structure is a crucible for variegated expressions of differentiated subjectivities. The residents of the *katchi abadis* are divided into different religious groups, ethnicities, clans and castes, genders, experience the *abadi* differently, in varying degrees of coercion and deprivation.

The regulated and deregulated practices of planning institutions, which are ancillaries to state neoliberal agendas, promote a politics of difference and rework ethnic and class relations to legitimize state hegemony and governance of settlements through coercive practices. As discussed in the previous chapter, these ethnicized and gendered displacement practices and experiences in turn fuel varied and unpredictable religio-ethnic-political movements reaffirming the dystopic narratives attached to settlements, legitimizing their dispossession. The politicization of ethnic, linguistic, or religious differentiations of social power also limit the ability of working class movements to develop into a broader, coherent national class consciousness (Ahsan Kamal, Personal Communication, 2015, Candland; 2007). Recognizing and addressing the differentiated expressions and experiences of urban change thus becomes essential to organizing deep social transformations.

Faced with such a complex and nuanced socio-spatial entity, a ubiquitous hegemonic state apparatus and an institution coopted by the same hegemonic forces, what then is the role of the planner?

The New Intellectuals

According to Gramsci (1999), every social group has its own strata of ‘intellectuals’ which fosters its class consciousness. Thus for Gramsci, the toiling class, to counter the hegemonic class, has to develop its own stratum of intellectuals in order to forge the class awareness necessary to emerge out of subalternity. In the face of coercion and oppression, this class consciousness has to be facilitated to take form by the advent of ‘new intellectuals’. These ‘new intellectuals’ can supersede existing modes of subservience and inherited preceding intellectual formations (Green, 2003). They help foster class consciousness in the toiling class by actively contesting hegemonic structures and refuting the ‘politics of common sense’. Seeking to learn from the subaltern they submerge themselves in the community and evolve through constant engagement with the *katchi abadi* (Schwarzmantel, 2014).

In today’s society where knowledge is becoming more specialized, planners too may be able to form part of this new intelligentsia. As ‘specialized/new intellectuals’ they have specialized knowledge in planning methodologies but are independent of its socio-economic and political underpinnings in their analyses. As such, these specialists redefine planning as a discipline that is not shackled to its institutional bearings; rather it is a process that seeks to inform itself from the community, practicing new modes of planning from below. Pioneers like Arif Hasan, Tasneem Siddiqui, Aasim Sajjad Akhtar, Parveen Rehman and Akhtar Hameed have already demonstrated that deploying specialized knowledge outside the institutional constructs of planning is possible. The role of the specialised planner is to contest normative hegemonic modes of planning and deconstruct the binaries that segregate and splinter development in the urban and rural landscape. This contestation of the politics of common sense and active mobilization against coercive hegemonic forces facilitates the rise of ‘intellectuals’ from within the toiling class. It serves to

break the passive veneer of consent of the subjugated masses into swelling ripples of mobilized class consciousness.

The planner's role takes into consideration the articulations of patronage, sub-class, ethno-religious, and gender inequalities which inculcate differentiated political social and economic subjectivism. He/she instrumentalizes his/herself to navigate the loci of power and politics within the community, much like the resident, forming liaisons and social networks both within the settlements and with state departments, to relay and lobby for the needs of the inhabitants. Such a paradigm shift wills the advent of other 'specialized intellectuals', some that seek to infiltrate the bureaucratic-hegemonic structure, and re-institutionalize departmental prerogatives¹⁵⁹. The unconscionable target killing of Parveen Rehman reveals that practices that seek to facilitate and mobilize the urban poor to negotiate their entitlement to the city and to assert their needs through exposing the informality of the state, are a palpable threat to the state apparatus and hegemony (Gramsci,1973, Akhtar, 2008). It is to be hoped that there will always be such innovative and passionate intellectuals, to pick up the faltering torch, disrupt the synergies of hegemonic rule and inculcate ethics at the heart of planning.

For now, where the spatial and temporal fabric of the cityscape has been woven with the multi-hued threads of informality and the right to exist mottles down to the ever-elusive right to ownership, there is solace to be found in the everyday struggles, contestations and minute battles waged in the city by the residents and their cohorts. It is in the infinitesimal victories of the oppressed that one can discern the glowing ambers of revolution.

¹⁵⁹ This was demonstrated by Siddiqui who to infiltrate the system of patronage and bureaucratic red tape, and link residents with the resources they need (especially municipal services and tenure rights) joined the government as Director General of the Sind katchi abadi Directorate and re-structured the department to facilitate the initiative. Where such processes are of course susceptible to subversion, they are an essential step to circumvent the bureaucratic red-tape and corruption

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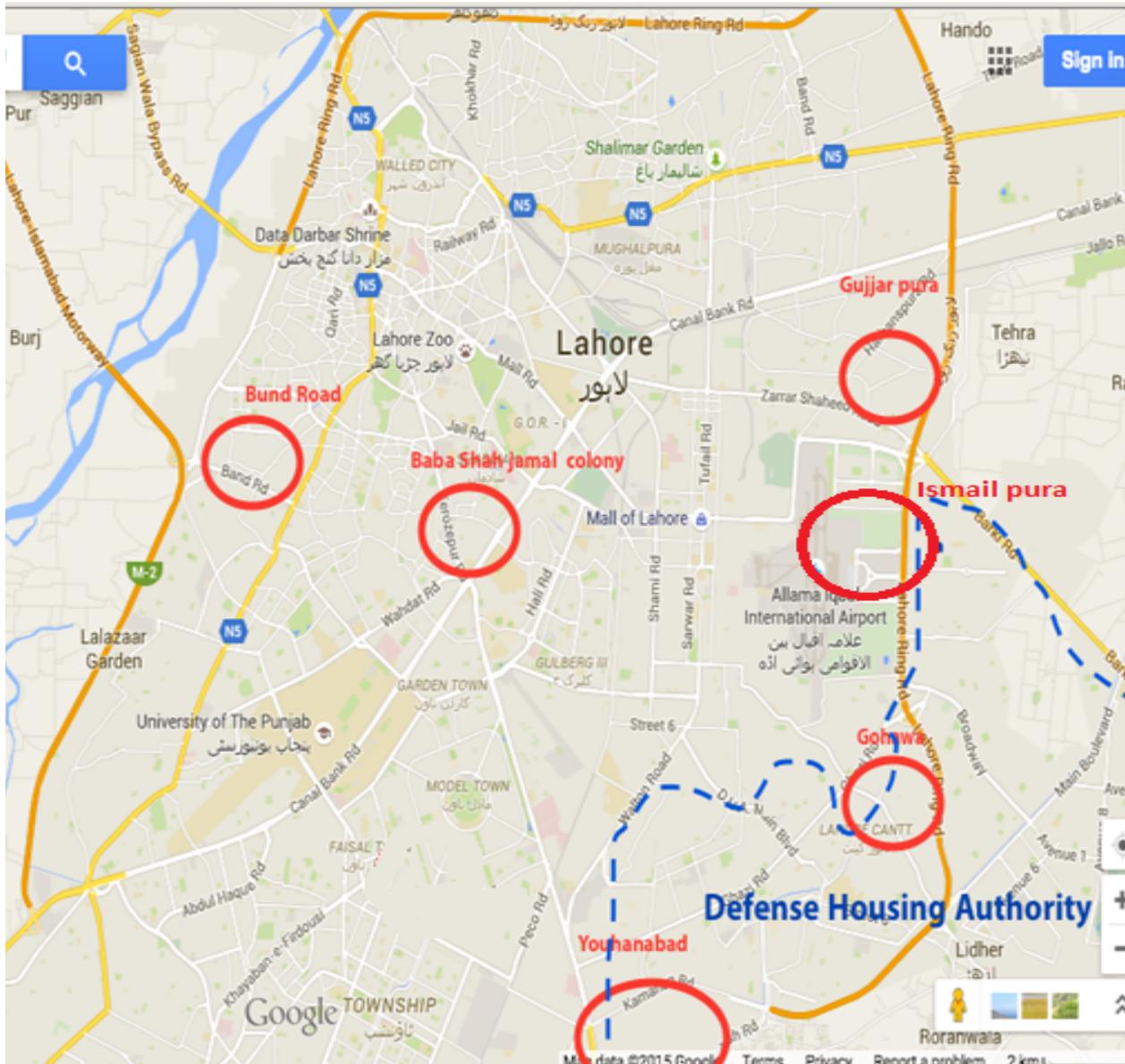
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Appendix A: Katchi abadis: Visited Area of field work



Source: www.google.com

1. Baba Shah Jamal Colony
2. Ismail pura
3. Gohawa Pind
4. Chungi Gujjarpura,
5. Youhanabad
6. Bund Road Jhuggi Clusters

Appendix B: Interviewees

Planners and Urban Experts

Tasneem Siddiqui Chairman and founder of Saiban, an NGO dedicated to low-income housing issues in Pakistan.

Ahmad Rafay Alam- a lawyer and partner at Saleem, Alam & Company. He is Vice President of the Pakistan Environmental Law Association and Director of the Urban Unit and the Lahore Waste Management Company.

Ahsan Kamal Party Leader of Lahore All Pakistan Katchi Abadi Alliance, Awai Workers Party Pakistan

Jawad Aslam, CEO, Ansaar Management Company, Low-income Housing Scheme Lahore

Local NGOs working for Slum Rehabilitation:

Faces. Elaine Alam, CEO

Government Institutions;

Senior Clerk Director, Lahore Development Authority

Amir Khattak, Director General KAIRP(Katchi Abadi Improvement Regularization Program)

Sheikh Alahuddin, Former CEO of Pakistan Land Development Company, Head of Aashiana Housing Scheme, MPA

Naib Nazim (Deputy Mayor) Chungi Gujjarpura, Lahore

Kamran Imtiaz, Head Planner, NESPAK

Ansar ul Haq, Senior Planner, Architecture and Planning Division, NESPAK

Settlements¹⁶⁰

Zulfiqar Ahmed

Yaseen Muhammad

Akhtar Saeed

Abbas Ahmed

Rubina Ishaq

Altaf Hasan

Nazira

Suraiya

Mahmoon Ishaq

Fauzia Ahmed

Appendix C: Maps

Pakistan



Fig 1. Map of Pakistan. (Source: <http://cliparts.co/cliparts/pc5/oXe/pc5oXeaai.png>)

¹⁶⁰ There were numerous residents involved in this research, all of whom participated in community gatherings and conversations.



Fig. 2 Charrar Pind (Source|: www.tanqeed.org)

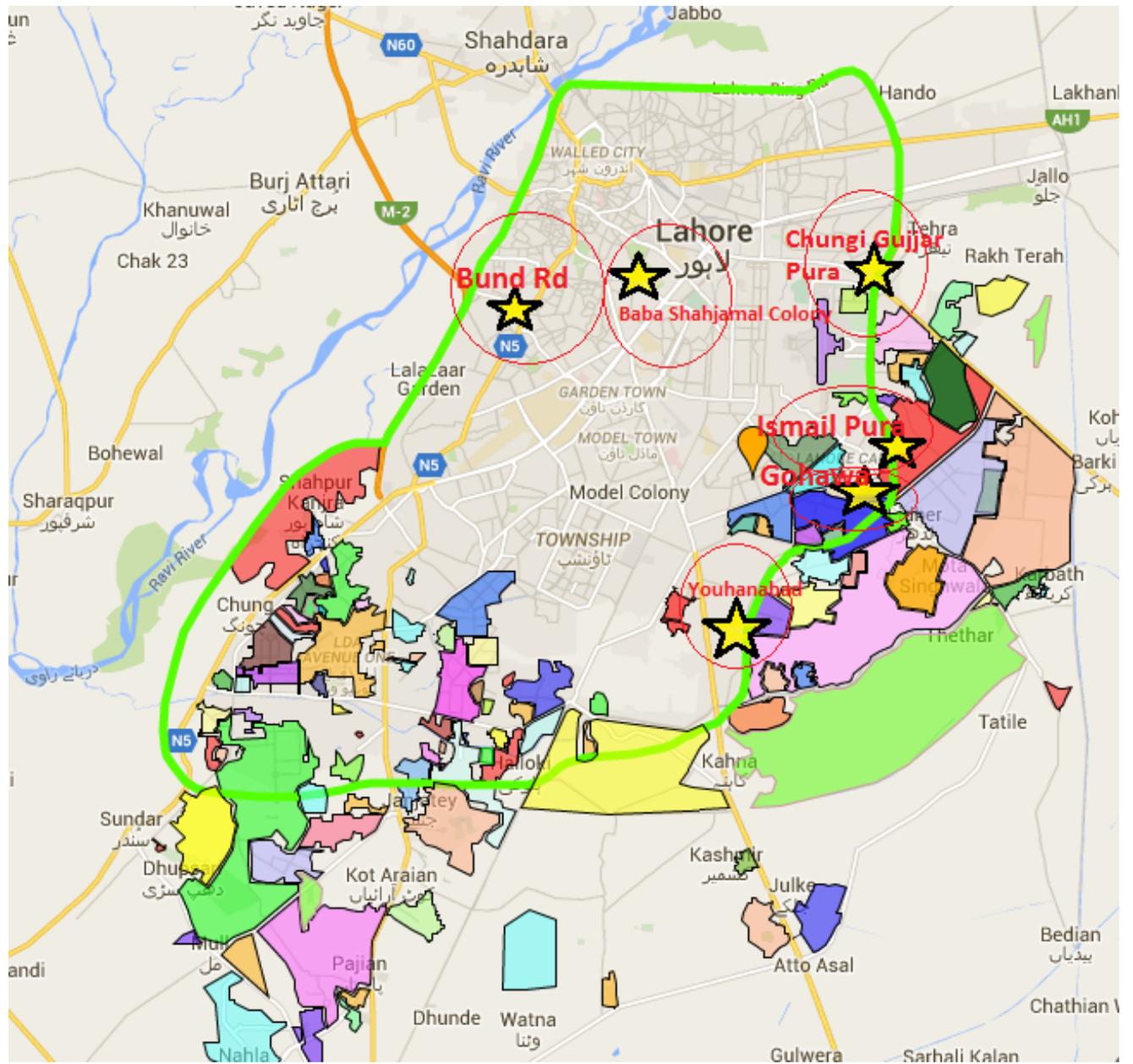


Fig.3. Field Work and Housing Schemes Lahore (Source: www.lahorealestate.com/map)

*The colored areas mark different private housing projects that have been initiated in the city.

Appendix E: Images from the Katchi Abadis

A Formalized Katchi Abadi of Shah Jamal



Figure 1. A regularized Abadi



Figure 2. People taking buckets to get water

Informal Katchi Abadis



Figure 3. Flooded entrance of a residence



Figure 4. Flooded Streets (rain water and sewage overflow)



Figure 5. Flooded streets of Gujjar pura



Figure 6. Community gathering of Youhanabad



Figure 7. Ghurki leaking sewage



Figure 8 Garbage pile with Jjhuggis in the background



Figure 9. On the way to Rubina Bajis House



Figure 10



Figure 11. Out of order city sewage trunk that was left mid project



Figure 12. Cow dung Patties being dried for use in fuel



Figure 13. Walking through Ismail pura

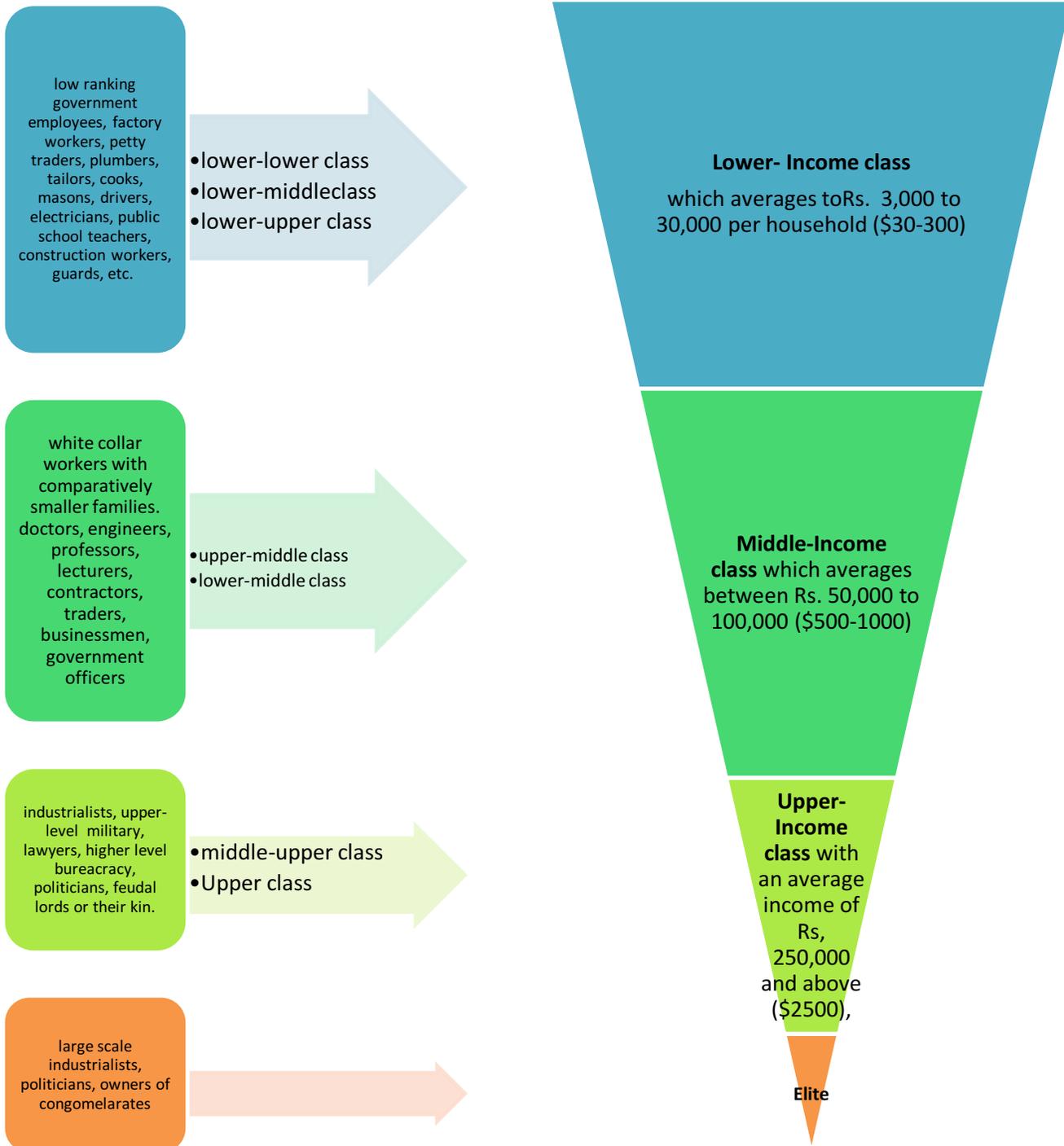


Figure 14

Jhuggi Jhompris (Informal Encroachments)



Appendix F: Income and Class Structure in Pakistan



Source; (Siddique, 2014; Durr-e-Nayab, 2011)

**MONTHLY EXPENDITURE ON HOUSING BY INCOME GROUPS
IN LAHORE DISTRICT URBAN**

Income Group	No. of Households	Average Monthly Household Income (Rs.) 1996-97	Monthly Expenditure on House Rent and Housing(Rs.)	% age of Total Income
Low (up to Rs. 4000)	236,187	2,262	349	15.42
Middle (Rs.4000 to Rs.7000)	359,207	5,504	1,007	18.29
High (More than Rs. 7000)	138,280	12,939	2,945	22.76

Source: HIES, 1996-97.

Source: Lahore Master Plan, 2004

**PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED POPULATION BY OCCUPATION
IN RURAL / URBAN AREAS (1981 AND 1998)**

S. No.	OCCUPATION	EMPLOYED POPULATION (%)					
		ALL AREAS		URBAN		RURAL	
		1981	1998	1981	1998	1981	1998
1.	Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers	2.1	0.7	2.5	0.8	0.2	0.1
2.	Professionals, Technicians and Associate Professionals	6.3	12.6	7.1	14.2	2.3	4.6
3.	Clerks	8.2	4.1	9.4	4.6	2.4	1.2
4.	Services Workers, Shop and Market Sales Workers, Craft and Related Trades Workers	24.5	26.0	27.9	28.4	8.9	13.7
5.	Skilled Agricultural and Fishery Workers	10.6	5.7	3.3	2.1	44.7	23.7
6.	Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers, Elementary Occupations and others	48.3	50.9	49.8	49.9	41.5	56.7

Source: District Census Reports, Lahore, 1981 and 1998.

Source: Lahore Master Plan, 2004

Appendix G: Planning Process



Figure 1. Administrative Units in Pakistan

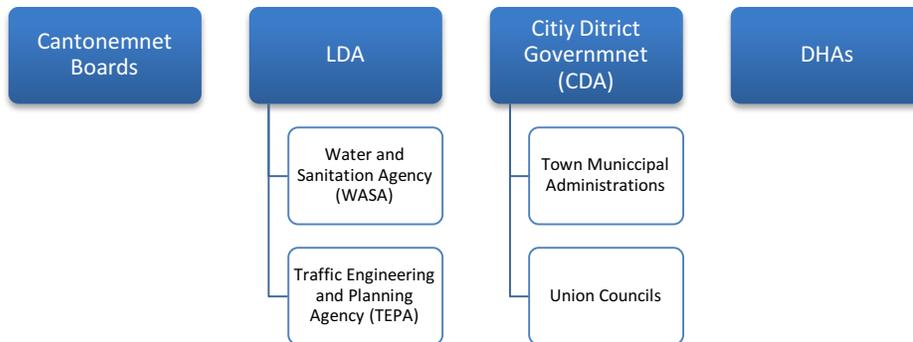


Figure 2. Planning and Development Agencies in Lahore

Organization	Law
City District Governments (CDGs),	Punjab LGO 2001,
Town Municipal Administrations (TMAs)	
Union Councils (UCs)	
DAs	Development of Cities Act 1976,
LDA	Lahore Development Authority (LDA) Act 1975,
PHATA	Punjab Housing and Transport Authority PHATA ordinance 2002,
Cantonment Board	Cantonment Act 1924 and 2002 ordinance,
DHA	Defense Housing Authority (DHA) order 2002
The Model Town Society	Model-town Society Order

Figure 3. Organizations managing City Planning and respective laws and regulation

Appendix H: Housing schemes Lahore

Name	Kanals	Dilkhusha Colony	78.95
Abdalian Society Phase I	972.55	Dream Gardens (Monnoo Housing Estate)	612.73
Abid City	1532.3	Dubai Town	141.43
Abid City 2	134.3	E.B. Land Housing Scheme	613
Abid Town	200.15	Eden Abad	460.92
Abouzar Housing Scheme.	134.35	Eden Abad Ext	453.45
Abpara Housing	635.15	Eden Abad Ext-I(A+B)	505.35
Accounts Group	313.80	Eden Boulevard	535.60
Agrics Town	203.58	Eden Canal Villas H/Scheme	315.84
Agrics Town Ph-Ii	219.85	Eden Gardens	666.22
Agrics Town Ph-Iii	104	Eden Gardens Ext	505.90
Ahbab Coop. H. Society	168.70	Eden Lane Villas	334.25
Ahmed Housing Scheme	442.00	Eden Park	840.30
Ahsan Park	162.95	Eden Place Housing Scheme	169.65
Air Lines Housing Scheme	884.20	Education City	302.6
Aitchison Col.Staff Coop.Ph-I	331.55	Eme Cooperperative Housing	302.6
Akhtar Estate-1	102.00	Engg. University E:C:H:S	1547.3
Al-Asar Housing Scheme	415.6	Engineers Arch. H. Scheme-Iii	389.00
Al-Hamd Forts	375.80	Ever Green Housing Scheme	312
Al-Hamra Town	917.27	Excise-Taxsation	224.2
Ali Town	399.20	Farooq Avenue	56.50
Alia Town	256.80	Fazaia Housing Scheme	4319.00
Aljanat Housing Scheme	486.15	Fazal Elahi Colony	157.5o
Almawa Housing Scheme	561.95	Formanites H/S Ph-I Mouza Kamahan	1191.3
Alpha Coop.Housing Society	148.00	General Sher Ali Khan H.Sch.	48.10
Angoori Bagh Scheme	111.00	Ghause Farm	675
Arch. Engg. H.Scheme-Ii	480.95	Ghee Corporation Of Pakistan	174
Arch. Engineering H. Scheme-I	558.25	Ghousia Town	267.65
Army Welfare Housing P1	650	Gardiono Courts Farm H/S	2220.61
Army Welfare Trust Housing P2	5603.20	Gm Riaz	29
Audit & Accounts	1253.05	Gosha E Ahbab P2	160
Avecinia City	915.90	Gosha E Ahbab P3	306.05
Awaisia Housing	265.72	Gosha-E-Ahbab Coop. H.Society	160.00
Ayubia Town	250.65	Government Supirior Services	714.15k
Azam Garden Scheme	734.87	Govt Officers Co Operperative (C & D Sector)	1582.82
Azizia Town	226.25	Govt Servent Housing Old	318.7
Bagh E Iram	1402	Green Acres Farm H:S	591.6
Bahria Town(Safari Town)	446.10	Green Fort 4	2452.35k
Bahria Town Sector A	684.60	Green Fort1	178.27
Bankers Avenue Co-Op H/S	1272	Green Valley	181
Beacon House	578.67	Greenfort2(Rev)	2487
Campus Colony	213.1	Guldasht Town	686
Campus View Town	1263.00	Gulfishan Town	1001.85
Canal Burg	162.20	Gulshan E Ahbab P2 (Shadab Colony)	559.35
Canal View Coop. H. Society	1865.00	Gulshan E Awan	152.1
Central Park	948	Gulshan E Jinnah	316.4
China Town	152.95	Gulshan E Lahore	380.13
Chinar Bagh H:S	3296.8	Gulshan E Rail P2	

Chinar Courts Farm H:S	595.45	Gulshan-I-Mustafa	507.00
Chodary Khushi Mohammad		Gulshan-I-Shalimar H. Scheme	177.50
City Park H/S	261.8	Dilkhusha Colony	78.95
Class Iv Employees Coop. Sch.	62.10	Dream Gardens (Monnoo Housing Estate)	612.73
Icon Valley	208.1		
Iep M Town Sec B	293.40		
Iep Town Sec A	5610.66	Nfc P1	2565.55
International City Farm Housing	502	Nishan Colony	149.45
Iqbal Avenue Co-Operative Housing Phase-I	467.11 Kanal	Opf Housing	2335.90
Iqbal Avenue Phase-Iii	1093.9	P&D Emp	986.8
Irrigationsociety	651.25	Pakistan Atomic Energy Housing Scheme	1562.76
Islamia College Old Boys H.S	352.00	Pakistan Rajput	100
Ittefaq Town	462.50	Pakistan Technocrates	814.9
Izmir Town	4241.17	Pak Arab Housing Scheme	1145.85
Jaffar Town/Ismat Nagar	122.22	Pcsir Coop. H.Society-I	599.79
Jewan Mal	21.75	Pcsir E:C:H:S (Alflah Avenue-I)	331.70
Judicial Emp P1	408.2	Pcsir Phase-Ii (Revised)	1313.15
Judicial Coop. H. Society Phase 1 Ext	408.40	Pcsir Phase-Ii & Iii)	1261.36
Jodicial Colony P2	276.5	Pgehs P1 Ext	93.66
Judicial Housing Scheme Ph-Iii	213.15	Pia Housing Scheme –I & Ii	2171.70
Judicial Cooperative Ph-Iii (Extn)	213.15	Pindi Raj Putan	66.35
Kakezai Ph-Ii	569.1	Public Health	743
Kemc (Doctor's Town)	1832.35	Punjab Board Of Revnue	621.6
Khayaban-E-Qaid	352	Punjab Co Opporative	253.52
Khayam Mini City Ph-I	205.89	Punjab Govt Emp P-I	1860
Khuram Town	190.34	Punjab Govt Emp P-I Ext	93.66
Khyaban-E-Amin	2760.52	Punjab Govt Emp P-Ii	1278
Khyaban-E-Khair-Ud-Din	423.75	Punjab University Emp P1	855.05
Khyaban-E-Khair-Ud-Din:(Ext.)	71.90	Punjab University Housing P2	1466.25
Khyban-E-Zahra	66.20	Rail Town	679
Khyber Housing State	100k	Ravians Housing	480
Kings Town Housing Scheme	175.3	Raza Town Housing Scheme	233.25
Lahore Avenue	160.65	Regent Park	362.88
Lahore Chamber Of Commerce Phase 1	337k 15m	Rehman Abad	148.13
Lahore Chamber Of Commerce Phase 2	374.75	Rehman Estate	78.87
Lake City Bella Vista	7514	Revenue Emp Block A	543.40
Land Bareze Sect-A	384.14	Revenue Emp Block B	844
Land Bareze Sect-B	1119.54	River Edge (Revised)	765.75
Marium Town	172.17	River View Coop. H. Society	475.30
Mascot Housing Scheme	315.7	Sadat	248.6
Meraj Town Housing Scheme	141.15 Kanal	Saighal Estate	76.65
Mid Land Farm H /S	202.6	Sally Town North	341.55
Millat Tractors Emp	390.65	Sally Town South	341.55
Model Housing Scheme	216.2	Saman Berg Khurd	52.65
Muhafiz Town		Saman Burg	228.5
Muhafiz Town P2	822.1	Saman Zar	118
Muslim Nager	464.45	Sargodha Coop. H. Society	250.00
Naddi Kinaray	1757.03	Saroba Garden	90.15
Nasheman-I-Iqbal C:H:S Phase-I.	830.55	Satellite Town	156.40
Nasheman-I-Iqbal C:H:S Phase-Ii	1031.70	Shahdab Colony	559.35

Nawab Town	1366.72	Shahid Town	247.10
Naz Town	600.00	Sheraz Housing Scheme	546.07
Nespak C Opporative Emp Phase2 Site1	1263.68	State Enter Prisers	1048
Nespak Empl:C:H:S:	1093	State Enterprises Coop.H/S Ph-I	1048.80
Nespakp2	1093	State Enterprises Coop.H/S Ph-Ii	132.59
New Lahore City	346.9	Sui Northern Gas E:C:H:S: Phase I	182.55
News Paper Emp	105.55	Sui Northen Officers Phase Ii	6530.26
Nfc P1	2565.55	Sukh Chain Garden	2132.45
Nishan Colony	149.45	Sun Flower (Revised)	141.80
Opf Housing	2335.90	Sunny Park	349.80
P&D Emp	986.8	Sunny Park (Extension)	120.3
Superior Courts E:H:S:	582.25		
Tariq Garden	1461		
Tech. Society	1076.00		
Tricon Village	314.25		
Tuxedo	391.48		
Valencia H/Scheme Ph I-Iv	7322.55		
Valencia H/Scheme Ph-V	1121.5		
Venus Housing Scheme	602.76		
Wapda Empl:C:H:S: Phase-I	9109		
Wapda Empl:C:H:S: Phase-I Ext	388		
Wapda Retired Officers H:S	1694.15		
Wapda Town P2	1817.55		
West Wood Colony	663.00		
Women Housing Scheme	271.2		
Wyeth Empl:C:H:S:	785.75		
Zaheer-Ud-Din Babar	58.55		
Zam Zam Housing Scheme	1001.4		
Zubaida Khatoon	512.65		

Source: <http://www.realproperty.pk/blog/legal-housing-schemes-lahore/>

Appendix I: Low Income Housing and Outcomes

Year	Government Regime and Policy	Outcome
1987	Federal government National Housing Authority	gave up these attempts in the 1990s
1970	Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto positioned itself as a leftist platform representing the poor and promised the regularization of unplanned settlements.	Bhutto's promise of secure tenure was instrumental in his party's electoral victory in constituencies with a large number of <i>katchi abadis</i> . To garner public favor with the working class he introduced the Katchi Abadi Improvement and Regularization Program and initiated acquisition of land for low income housing schemes and introduced projects like ART (Awami Rehaishi Tanzeem).
1978	Zia's Military regime	To temper his tenuous dictatorial ascent to power, the commitment was made for provision of housing rights and improving the status of <i>Katchi Abadis</i> comprised of 100 households and establishment of Katchi Abadi Departments. Under the aegis of Zia's dictatorship, Junejo government made serious efforts to address the housing deficit by announcing a housing policy aimed at catering to the housing needs of the citizens, and revised Zia's decision of recognition of Katchi Abadis with 100 households to the minimum level of 40 households as of 23rd March 1985. In 1987, his government launched the Apni Basti (my neighborhood) project with the objective to build 150,000 housing units but General Zia dismissed his government in and the project fell into disarray.
1993-1997,	Nawaz Sharif's second tenure	They came up with the <i>Mera Ghar</i> (my house) scheme and the New Islamabad City Project but these too fell prey to corruption and mismanagement.
1997-1999	Benazir Bhutto's	
2001	General Pervez Musharraf's regime; National Housing Policy	He never pursued it
2007	Musharraf's military regime; Pakistan in the Twenty-first Century – Vision 2030	This policy, for first time addressed the future growth and management of urban centers through the implementation of local governance or decentralization. Planners drew plans for improving cities that emphasized inner-city regeneration, decentralization and the building of a 'world class city' that could attract footloose capital, which implied resulted in displacements of unplanned settlements (Anwar, 2013).

Source: (Dowall & Ellis, 2009)

Appendix J: Aashiana Housing Scheme Overview

The Aashiana housing project is a government sponsored low income-housing scheme that presumably aims to help *Katchi Abadi* dwellers by encouraging them to apply for a residence on a ballot basis. In 2010 the Provincial government of Punjab appointed a special committee called the Punjab Land Development Company (PLDC), under the umbrella of the current government of Pakistan Muslim League Noon (PML-N) which promulgated the Aashiana Housing scheme to deal with the burgeoning housing needs of the informal society. This programme entails that the applicants pay Rs. 2000 (\$20) to purchase a ballot form that is submitted in their name in a lucky draw scheme. A total number of 2000 ballots are drawn and the winners are granted rights to purchase a housing facility in the Aashiana housing neighborhood, on monthly installments. The Ashiana project was meant specifically for those residents of Punjab who earn less than Rs. 30,000 (\$300). The total cost of these houses, as set by the government of Punjab, is Rs. 135,000, which is much lower than the asking price of similar housing units in the neighboring areas. The selected applicants will be required to pay 25% of the total amount as down payment and the rest of 75% in monthly installments of Rs. 8,500 (\$ 106). As such, this model has been deemed affordable (by the government) for the segment of the urban poor population with a cumulative income of 30,000 (\$300) and a household of 7 people. More than 40,000 applications have been made, where 2000 houses would be awarded.



Sources :((Field notes, NESPAK, June 2015: <http://www.fjtown.com/ashiana-housing-we-will-eradicate-homelessness-nawaz-sharif/>

Appendix L: List of Interview Questions

Government Officials and Planners

What is your experience/capacity in the Urban field as it relates to IS?

What are the current state initiated programs designed for the the rehabilitation or regularization of IS?

What is the structural organization of the katchi Abadi Program?

Are there any government programs that carry out population surveys, dwelling surveys, service surveys of the Katchi Abadis?

Are there any Provincial programs that deal with them?

To what extent is the LDA's capacity in managing or facilitating Katchi Abadis?

What are the current Affordable Housing Projects implemented by the Government? (will follow Lead)

What is the budget allocated to Affordable Housing Projects?

What are the main restraints to efficient planning for IS in Lahore?

What is the role of planners in Planning for KAtchi Abadis? Is it advocative? Is it equitable? Are they official partisans?

What is the difference between regularized and not regularized Katchi abadis in terms of government services?

What is the fiscal budget allocated to Katchi Abadi improvement?

What is the consultation process with regard to new developments on sites that have Katchi Abadis situated near or on them?

What are the immediate needs of the resients?

Are there any future plans to regularize Katchi Abadis or grant land titles?

Are there any state-led welfare programs or services for Katchi Abadis like sanitation or water connections?

What was the role of planners in designing the Lahore Master Plan?

What resources were used?

What are the current processes related to planning, zoning, urban renewal and granting development proposals on IS sites?

What is the role of the developers?

Do they provide any compensation for displacing the residents of Katchi Abadis?

Non-government and Not for profit Organizations

What are the current grass roots movements underway with regard to IS?

Do they entail resident participation and consultation?

How do you procure funding for these projects?

How do you ensure government involvement?

What are the main challenges?

What is the role of the residents in this process?

What is the role of planners, do you utilize their services or expertise?

What are the immediate needs that the residents face?

Questions for Residents

For the Interviews with the residents I will be using unstructured interviews as well as participant observation.

A few questions that will be used are;

What are the immediate needs of residents like yourself?

Where do you work?

How do you commute to work?

What is the current sanitation system?

What is the main water supply source?

What is your view on being granted land titles, or micro loans or being regularized?

What is the dynamic of the legal plurality as it pertains to different settlements?

What does being regularized mean for the residents?

How are the health needs being met?

What role are NGO's playing?

What are the expectations of the residents from the NGOs and the state?

What are the immediate needs of the women, expecting mothers, seniors?

How do ethnic minorities in the IS feel? What does regularization or land titles entail for them? Do they have a voice in community forums?