

URC KARACHI SERIES

LIVELIHOOD SUBSTITUTION: THE CASE OF THE LYARI EXPRESSWAY

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A. SURVEY DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

1. AREAS AND RESPONDENTS

Surveys were carried out in the areas listed below.

1.2 Settlements to be Demolished

Surveys were carried out in settlements in a one-kilometre stretch along the northern bank of the Lyari River, which collectively contain approximately 2,000 houses. They comprise of both regularised areas as well as unauthorised *katchi abadis*? (squatter settlements) and consist of the following.



A settlement in Lyari Nadi before demolition

- Ilyas Goth (village): This is a 19th century Baloch village which has a sizeable Sindhi community as well.
- Ghosia Colony: This is an ethnically mixed post-independence settlement and contains Bengalis, Pathans and Punjabi migrants.
- Tarbela Colony: This settlement comprises of people who were evicted from the Tarbela Dam Project in the NWFP in the 1960s migrated to Karachi.
- Haji Mureed Goth: This again is a 19th century Baloch settlement which has a number of Sindhi households in it.

Persons from 52 families were interviewed, 12 from leased locations and 40 from unauthorised locations. The 52 families contain 475 members including 217 children, 157 of whom receive some form of schooling.

1.2 The Hawks Bay Relocation Site

Surveys were carried out at the Hawks Bay Relocation Site. The site is approximately 12 kilometres from the nearest point of the Lyari bed. Development work on water and sewage, roads and schools are being carried

out at the site. However, it will take at least six to seven years to complete this work (if it will be completed at all).

Given the acute shortage of water in Karachi, it is unlikely that the settlement will receive piped water or that government schools will acquire adequate teaching staff.

The people resettled come mainly from areas on the northern bank of the Lyari river next to Sher Shah and Akbar Road. These areas have small scale industrial units both in the formal and informal sector. Many of these units have been demolished since they interfere with the alignment of the Expressway.



Rebuilding houses in Hawks Bay

44 families were interviewed. Collectively these comprised 315 family members including 148 children, 63 of whom receive some form of schooling.

1.3 Commercial Units before Demolition

Owners of eight commercial units were interviewed in a one-kilometre belt at Liaquatabad along the northern bank of the River. Here area above the flood line is leased. However, both leased and un-leased units obstruct the Expressway.

7 shop owners were interviewed include 7 shops, 5 furniture manufactures and one soap factory. One of the respondents is leased and the other 6 are unauthorised.

1.4 Commercial Units at Resettlement site

6 shop owners were surveyed at the Hawks Bay Road Resettlement Site. They had all been shop and factory owners in the Akbar Road and Sher Shah area on the northern bank of the Lyari River. They have opened shops on the residential plots they have been allocated. This is strictly speaking illegal but they have no

other option since commercial units which are being demolished are not entitled to compensation or land according to the resettlement policy.

2. Survey Methodology

Interviews were carried out by Zahid Farooq (URC Social Organiser), Noor Jehan (URC Researcher), Rizwan-ul-Haq (URC Programmer) and Adnan Farooqui (URC Social Organiser and Administrator). Initially, the surveyors worked in pairs. However, after an analysis of 20 surveys, they worked individually.

In the settlement marked for demolition, respondent families were identified by

Maroof Sultan, a community leader of the area. At the resettlement site, community activists identified the respondent families and commercial units.

Identifying commercial units was a problem since very few of them had been established. It was difficult to work systematically with the commercial units which were marked for demolition as their owners were not willing to be interviewed. As such, their selection depended entirely on who was willing to respond.



Interviews from the effectees

Although much of the answers to the questionnaires was given by the head of the family, family members, including women, participated in most cases except for the commercial units. The tabulation of the surveys was carried out by Omer Khan (Architect of the URC Mapping Unit) and Rizwan-ul-Haq.

B. SURVEY RESULTS

3. Summary

3.1 Settlements to be Demolished

The important points that emerged out of the survey of settlements to be demolished are given below:

- 40 (77%) out of 52 respondents live in unauthorised settlements and would never have become plot owners (under the present laws) if they continued to live in the Lyari River bed.



Protest against the government's plan

- 24 (46.15%) of the respondents have plots larger than the 80 square yards that they are being offered at the resettlement site.
- The respondents' properties had substantial market value but now there were no buyers.
- 39 (75%) respondents settled in their respective areas to be close to their places of work and 44 (84.6%), of them to be near their relatives.
- 15 (28.9%) respondents earn out of their premises: 8 have rented space and 7 operate shops from their homes.
- 40 (77%) school going children walk to school in the neighbourhood. 100% respondents said that primary school facilities were available in the neighbourhood and 50 (96.2%) said that secondary school facilities were also available.
- 52 (100%) respondents said that health facilities were available nearby.

- 46 (88.5%) respondents had piped water connections; 41 (77.8%) had legal electrical connections; 34 (65.4%) had gas connections; 12 (23%) had telephone connections and the rest made use of public call offices in the neighbourhood; 45 (86.5%) had an underground sewage system.
- 32 (61.5%) respondents said they would like to go simply because they have no other option. They were afraid that if they do not go, they will lose the compensation the government is offering them.

- The major problems foreseen by them at the resettlement site are: 47 (90.4%) employment, transport availability and children's education; 39 (75%) break away from relatives; and 37 (71.2%) problems of constructing a house and lack of services at the resettlement site.



Sanitation conditions at new resettlement site

- All respondents said that their existing social relationship help in obtaining and/or securing jobs, getting admissions to school, resolving conflict amongst residents and providing protection from police harassment.
- Training for the jobs that the respondents were engaged in is available in the informal sector operating in the area except for nurses and teachers, who can only be trained through formal sector institutions.

3.2 The Hawks Bay Resettlement Site

Important points that emerged out of the survey are:

- 40 (91%) out of the 44 respondents lived in authorised settlements. They now have ownership slips although they are not sure as to how they will acquire a 99-year lease.

- In the previous settlement 34 (77.3%) respondents owned houses with more than 2 rooms. Here 13 (29.6%) own a house with more than 2 rooms.
- No house is complete as yet. 32 (73%) say that it is because of a lack of funds.
- Respondents have relocated because they had no option and/or if they had exercised one, they would not have received their plots and compensation.
- During the period of shifting, 28 (64%) rented a house in another locality; 9 (20.5%) lived with relatives; and the rest on footpaths and on the rubble of demolished houses.
- Transport:
 - Transport is not available at the present site after 10 pm. At the previous site it was available around the clock.
 - Transport at the present site is more expensive than at the previous site and costs between Rs.10 to Rs.100 per trip. At the previous site it cost between Rs.10 and Rs.30.
 - Travel time has increased for going to market, for social activities and to school. At the previous settlement it was between 10 to 60 minutes. At present site it is between 30 to 360 minutes.
 - The high cost of transport and its non-availability has disturbed the jobs and social activities of 30 (68.2%) respondents, the market going activities of 27 (61.4%) respondents and the academic activities of children for 19 (43.2%) respondents.
- At the present site, 43 (98%) respondents obtained water from tankers whereas at the previous site, 39 (86.6%) respondents had house connections.
- At the previous site, 42 (95.5%) respondents had electric meter connections while only 13 (29.5%) respondents have meter connections at the present site.

- At the previous site 2 (4.5%) respondents managed solid waste themselves while the rest were taken care of by sweepers employed by them. At the present site 31 (70.5%) respondents managed solid waste themselves.
- At the previous site, 41 (93.2%) respondents had gas for cooking whereas gas does not exist at the present site.

- Primary and secondary schools and colleges were available at the previous site. At the present site, 1 primary and 1 secondary school is under construction.



A family after demolition of their house

- Clinics, dispensaries, hospitals, lady doctors and LHVs were available and accessible at the previous site. At the present site, an NGO has set up a clinic and there is 1 government dispensary.

- Employment and economic conditions:

- 38 (86.4%) respondents felt that getting a job had become more difficult and 18 (50%) respondents felt that getting children admitted to school had become more difficult.
- Out of the 44 respondent families, 62 men and 10 women worked at the previous settlement. At the present site, only 36 men and 8 women work.
- The relocation process disturbed the employment of a number of respondents; 33 men and 4 women were unemployed for more than 3 months as a result of the shifting.

- 39 (88.6%) respondents claimed that their income had decreased and as a result their nutrition had also decreased.

- 19 (42.3%) respondents say that their children's education had been adversely effected and 27 (61.4%) say that their health had been adversely effected as a result of the relocation.



A mosque at resettlement site

- 39 (88.6%) respondents said that

shopkeepers gave credit to them in the previous settlement. In the present settlement, credit from shopkeepers is available to only 7 (16%) respondents.

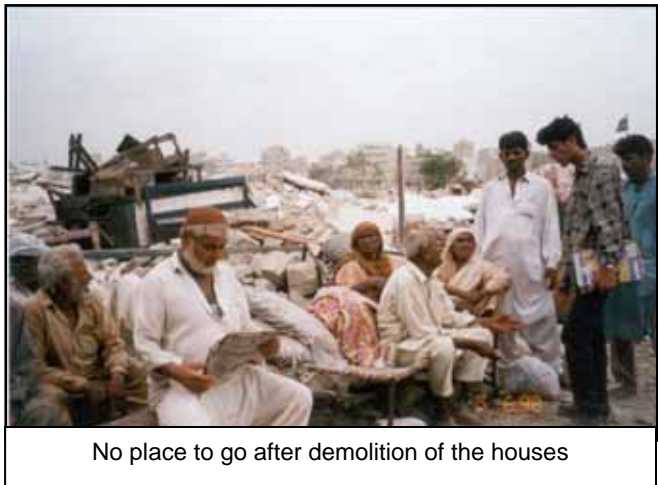
- Major problems cited are: absence of amenities {39 (88.6%) respondents}, absence of health facilities {35 (79.6%) respondents}, distance from relatives {35 (79.6%) respondents}, difficulty in accessing jobs {33 (75%) respondents}, and children's education {21 (47.7%) respondents}.
- Overall 26 (59%) respondents said that their conditions have deteriorated, while 12 (27.3%) respondents said that they had improved. There was no response to this question from 6 (14%) respondents.

3.3 Commercial Units before Demolition

Important points that emerged from the survey are:

- 7 (87.5%) of the 8 survey units were un-authorized.

- The units had made investments ranging between Rs.4,500 and Rs.2.5 million to establish themselves.
- 50% of them were more than 20 years old.
- 5 (62.5%) units will shift to nearby settlements.
- All respondents feared bankruptcy and difficulty in accessing labour. 7 (87.5%) of them said that they will lose their old labour and 6 (75%) said that transport costs of men and material would increase.
- 6 (75%) respondents said that their labour walks to work from nearby settlements and that raw material is also available from nearby areas.
- 7 (87.5%) respondents said that they paid bills for all municipal utilities which means that connections were legally acquired.



3.4 Commercial Units at Resettlement Site

Important points that emerged from the survey of 6 units are:

- 2 (33.3%) of the units were leased in the previous settlement. The others were not authorised.
- All the units had higher land and property values, larger premises and had made major investments at the previous site as compared to the present one.
- 3 (50%) of the units had been established more than 17 years ago in the previous settlement.

- Eviction has resulted in heavy financial loss to all units, with one unit becoming bankrupt 1 (16.7%) unit. Transport and major access to raw material have become major problems.
- All the respondents said that their labour had walked to work from nearby locations at the previous settlement. At the present site only 2 (33.3%) respondents said that their labour walked to work.
- Respondents said that, at the previous settlement; they had 3 (50%) owned a vehicle to transport raw material while supplier had transported the raw material to 2(33.3%) respondents. At the present location, 1 (16.7%) respondent still owned a vehicle and 1 (16.7%) respondent still received materials from the supplier.
- At the previous settlement all respondents had legal electric connections, which is also the case at the present site. However, whereas previously 4 (66.7%) respondents had had water connections, all now received water from tankers. 4 (66.7%) respondents had had gas connections previously but now used wood, kerosene and/or gas bottles instead.

At the previous location they all employed sweepers for solid waste collection but now all of them had to do it themselves. While 4 (66.7%) respondents had had underground sewage previously, only 1 (16.7%) respondents reported the same at the present site has.

- In the previous settlement 4 (66.7%) respondents said that their labour had savings groups. At the present settlement, none of the labour working for the respondents has savings groups.
- 4 (66.7%) of the respondents said that loan facilities had been available for their labour at the previous settlement. Only 1 (16.7%) respondent said that such facilities were available at the present settlement.
- None of the respondents owed any money to anyone at the previous settlement. 4 (66.7%) of the respondents have had to borrow money after shifting to the present settlement, of which 3 (50%) have borrowed money for construction purposes.

4. Analysis

4.1 Social and Economic Conditions at the Lyari Settlements

Surveys of the Lyari settlements that are being demolished indicate that these are well established communities. The Residents chose to settle here because of the availability of jobs (since the area is next to major industrial zones) and to be near relatives and social sector facilities. Over the years they have formed community organisations, political affinities, linkages with the local power structure and with commercial organisations. As a result, they have been able to get assistance in getting jobs, negotiate freedom from police harassment, resolve family and neighbourhood disputes through mediation of local organisations, get loans in time of need and purchase household items on credit from neighbourhood shops.



Hawks Bay: Collecting bushes for burning, as it will take more time to get house to house gas connections

The industrial and commercial units in the settlements also established enterprise. They have a fair

degree of affluence and easy accessibility to the markets. Labour, both skilled and unskilled, is available from the settlements or from nearby areas.

There is a close link between these unit, their labour force, and their suppliers and purchasers, which have been established over a long period of time.

A large majority of the residents of the Lyari settlements have acquired utility connections for gas, electricity, water and sewage. Many of them have telephone connections and those who do not either use mobile phones or have easy access to neighbourhood public call offices. The utility connections are legal and have been acquired incrementally over a long period of time. Large investments have gone into acquiring them.

Water and sewage networks have often been built with funding from elected councillors (after considerable lobbying by area activists) as part of Annual

Development Plans and in many cases they have been built by the communities on a self-help basis.

Despite the fact that the Lyari settlements are well-established, houses and commercial units below the flood line cannot be regularised under law. As such, these units would always be considered un-authorised. According to URC and community surveys, 50 per cent of the affectees live below the flood line.

4.2 The Most Affected Assets

The surveys indicate that the most affected assets are social and economic and that there is a close link between the two. From the social new point most of the respondents have lived in their settlements for two or more generations. They have grown up together and their parents know each other. Strong support systems related to school admissions for children, family and neighbourhood conflict resolutions, lobbying for services, seeking employment, have developed. In the relocation settlements, this long process has to be repeated. People (who are now strangers) have to get to know each other all over again. They have to re-establish a bond born out of group initiatives, suffering and successes. The breaking of these bonds has made respondents in the new settlements extremely vulnerable. They have lost their political power and their negotiating advantages. Social functions and get-togethers will also have to be recreated.

The second major issue is economic. The value of the new properties of the effectees is a fraction of the value of their properties in the Lyari Corridor. Investments made by them in acquiring utility connections and building their homes have been lost. They have to invest in them all over again. Jobs are not available in the relocation settlement or near by since they are far from job markets. As a result, the number of persons working per family has decreased. Credit from shopkeepers for the purchase of household items is no longer available. In addition, transport costs have increased manifolds and so has travelling time to markets, social events, jobs and educational institutions. All these factors have led to a decline in usable earnings and as such nutrition and children's education has been adversely affected. In addition, in the process of moving from the Lyari Corridor to the relocation site, people became jobless for a period of time and children's education could not be continued resulting not only in financial loss but also in considerable physiological and emotional trauma.

The third major problem is the absence of physical and social sector utilities and facilities at the relocation sites. Getting water by tanker, absence of gas for cooking, underground sewage, manage solid waste disposal oneself are inconveniences othat are acutely felt because they were all available at the

previous settlement. There is very little hope that gas, water or solid waste disposal systems will be established within the next five to ten years. Similarly, the absence of schools and especially of health facilities is acutely felt as these were also available previously.

On the other hand, those families that lived below the flood line are now legal owners of the homes they are building in the resettlement locations. This is something that they could never have acquired if they had continued living in the Lyari Corridor, given the existing laws in Pakistan.

The vulnerability of the commercial units has also increased. Most fear bankruptcy, financial loss, difficulty in access to raw material and labour and loss of utility connections which are essential for their functioning. They also feel that it will not be possible for much of their old labour to work for them. They will have to establish relations with a new work force all over again. Labour costs will also increase since much of their old labour now uses public transport. Relationships with suppliers will also undergo a change: Old suppliers will be far away and new suppliers, closer by, may have to be identified until suppliers emerge in the resettlement locations.

Most of the commercial and industrial units that are being demolished are considered illegal. They are not being given plots of land or Rs 50,000 compensation as is being given to like the residential units. Surveys indicate that many of them intend to shift to nearby settlements, which will lead to further congestion in these settlements.

5. Survey Weaknesses and Anomalies

Through the relocation process, people living in areas that could not be regularised under law have now become legal land and house owners. The survey has failed to capture how important this is for the respondents. Do they consider legal ownership more important than the suffering and loss of assets as a result of eviction? This is an important aspect and needs consideration. It would also have been interesting to know what options people would have preferred for getting a plot of land.

The survey indicates that a number of job categories has been lost due to relocation such as *kabari* (waste dealer), taxi driver, polisher, educator, painter etc. The reason for the loss of these jobs would make us understand the problems of commercial development in the relocation settlement and perhaps find ways to address them. Similarly, women have continued to be domestic workers at the relocation settlement as they were in the Lyari Corridor. It is

important to know whether they still go to their old employers or have found new ones.

C. WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE TO DECREASE THE NEGATIVE IMPACT

6. Alternative Planning

In the opinion of a number of academics and planners, the Expressway was not necessary and as such only the residents living below the flood line needed to be relocated. Alternatives to the present design were also prepared by leading engineers such as Professor Shoaib Ismail. These designs curtailed the width of the River and made the Expressway pass within the flood plain thus reducing demolition to less than a quarter. In addition, a number of these and studies by students at the Department of Architecture and Planning at the Dawood College of Engineering and Technology, Karachi have prepared schemes for the rehabilitation of the Lyari Corridor. The Expressway was not envisaged in these proposals and the people living in the Corridor were rehabilitated along the banks of a dredged Lyari River. Studies also showed that these projects were financially viable¹.

The building of embankments at appropriate places could also have protected a lot of settlements from flooding and they could eventually have been regularised. However, for this approach to be acceptable, a change in laws that prevent people from living in the flood plain or water bodies would have to be made. It may be important to mention that a lot of land in the flood plains or water bodies has been acquired for high income and middle income housing by making it “ecologically safe” by building infrastructure². Why should low income settlements be treated differently?

7. Socio-economic Surveys

No socio-economic surveys were carried out in the settlements that are being demolished. The Expressway route was marked on a satellite image. The houses that came within the markings were informed that they would be demolished and shifted. What was required to minimise the negative impacts is given below.

¹. M. Humair Ahmed, *Redevelopment Project for the Lyari River Corridor*; Bachelor’s thesis for the Department of Architecture and Planning, Dawood College, Karachi, 1990

². The flood plain of the lower reaches of the Manzoor Colony *nullah* (natural drain) in Karachi have been taken over by the Defence Housing Authority after paving the *nullah* and channelising it. The land acquired in the process is being used for high income housing.

- Identification of community organisations and consultation with them regarding the Lyari Expressway Project.
- Formation of committees consisting of members of the community, local government representatives and NGOs to carry out a socio-economic survey of the affected areas. These surveys would determine
 - Households to be affected
 - Places of work of the affectees
 - Location where children go to school and health facilities used by the affectees
 - Location and type of commercial and industrial activity in the affected areas and its social and economic linkages with the affected communities
 - Nature and type of social activity in the area



Construction of the expressway goes on

On the basis of the results of such a survey a resettlement plan that caused the minimum of social and economic hardship for the affectees could have been worked out with their participation. In addition, commercial units that were being demolished should have been compensated for rehabilitation at the relocation site and the nature of infrastructure and linkages with suppliers and labour that existed and which were required at the relocation site should have been clearly identified. On the basis of such a survey a support system for the commercial units could have been worked out.

The implementation of such a plan for both commercial and residential units and the use of finances for it could have been the responsibility of committees of representatives of local government, reputable NGOs, local community organisations and activists. Similarly, a coordination committee could have been put in place for a period of five years to ensure the implementation of the

rehabilitation project. Such a process could have empowered people to determine their own development and to negotiate with the political power in the city. It would also have made it possible for them to decide who they wish to live with in the new settlement.

D. LIVELIHOOD SUBSTITUTION

8. Was it a Possibility in the Lyari Case

Livelihood substitution was certainly a possibility in the Lyari case. The process that should have been adopted is described in section 7 above and that in itself would have helped people in continuing with their economic activity to a great extent. However, what has been described in section 7 requires a very different mindset from what exists among the politicians, bureaucrats and professionals in Pakistan. It requires

- A respect for lower income communities and a sympathetic understanding of why they live in un-authorised settlements.
- Freedom from fear of low income communities. Because of this fear these communities are treated with suspicion and hostility and, as a result, an equitable dialogue cannot be established with them.
- Professionals who plan the project are not trained to deal with socio-economic issues or to bring in innovating approaches to existing settlements. They only know how to plan new settlements rather than upgrading or relocating them.
- Projects that are a part of a city plan. In the absence of such a plan that takes into consideration major socio-economic issues, projects can often be inappropriate for the city and especially for its less politically powerful communities.
- A more transparent and democratic political system than what exists in Pakistan today.

9. A Commercial Development Plan

One cannot say for sure that what is being proposed below is workable in the case of a massive resettlement project such as Lyari. However, the establishment of a small scale industrial and commercial zone that generates

employment could have been a part of the Lyari Resettlement Plan. The nature of commercial and industrial investment could have been related to the jobs and skills possessed by the affectees. These jobs and skills could have been identified by the surveys mentioned in section 7.

10. Policy Changes

Under law people are not permitted to live in ecologically dangerous zones. However, experience tells us that many such zones can be made safe by the building of infrastructure and without causing ecological damage. A change in the law would facilitate the adoption of such a process for numerous communities living along river banks and natural drainage channels in Pakistan in general and in Karachi in particular.



A site reserved for a hospital at the resettlement site, awaits commencement for construction

Laws in Pakistan (such as the Land Acquisition Act 1894) entitle market compensation only to leased properties if they are affected by the building of infrastructure or their properties are required for “public use”. Non-leased properties are not entitled to compensation irrespective of how long people have lived there and what they have invested in them.

As a result, major injustices are perpetuated causing an increase in poverty and marginalisation. It is therefore necessary that the **National Resettlement Policy** of March 2002 of the Government of Pakistan should be reviewed through public hearings, suitably modified, registered implemented.

To reduce the negative impact of major infrastructure projects, it is necessary to advertise them at the conceptual stage to hold public hearings and on that basis, to modify them to minimise their negative impact on poor communities. It is also necessary to establish a steering committee of interest groups who should oversee the projects. To curtail financial corruption, accounts of the project

should be published quarterly and a tribunal established for receiving and addressing complaints. It is also necessary to make one officer incharge for the project from its commencement to its completion and the name of this officer should be mentioned on the letterhead of the project and in all correspondence and advertisements related to it. These recommendations should be made law and procedures for their implementation should be developed.

A number of laws exist in Pakistan such as the Katchi Abadi Act of 1978. However, these laws are routinely violated because the necessary procedures for implementing them have not been developed and the necessary institutional arrangements to oversee them have not been put in place. A review and analysis of the non-implementation of these laws needs to be undertaken and, on that basis detailed procedures should to be established.

However, the most important change that is required is in the mindset and training of professionals related to planning, engineering, architecture, law and civil servants. Their training should not only acquaint them with ground realities but also develop in them a social consciousness that transcends deeply entrenched class biases. The Comprehensive Environmental Design Project at the NED University and Dawood College Departments of Architecture and Planning in Karachi has been a successful attempt at making students understand ground realities and overcoming their biases.

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