A strategy for the integrated development of squatter settlements: a Karachi case study

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A STRATEGY FOR THE INTEGRATED
DEVELOPMENT OF SQUATTER
SETTLEMENTS: A KARACHI CASE STUDY

by

QURATUL AIN BAKHTBARI

A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of
Doctor of Philosophy
of Loughborough University of Technology

January 1987

Supervisors: Dr. Morag Bell
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ABSTRACT

A UNICEF sponsored Soakpit Pilot Project was implemented by the author for the upgrading of sanitary conditions, in one of the largest squatter settlements of Karachi, namely Baldia Town. The basis was action research using anthropological field methods. The study identifies and analyses the in-built but unrecognised mechanisms of the urban poor for survival and improvement in the squatter settlements. The study brings out the poor's world view which they demonstrate through their community-based progressive development system. The development system of the squatter settlements is self-reliant, need-oriented and rooted in traditional community organisational patterns. It neither challenges nor wholly depends on the State. The attitudes of the outside agencies and the social distance between them and the poor are examined. It is recognised that the attitudes and approaches of dominant groups have changed considerably over the last decade, as reflected in a growing enthusiasm for the improvement of squatter settlements through community participation. However community participation is not working in a number of improvement projects. There is a crucial need for a practical methodology which links the existing development system of the squatter settlements with the reality of development planning. This thesis provides a detailed account of the Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project including the technology used. It analyses the methods and techniques which evolved as the project was implemented and its impact on women. This research contributes an original field-tested implementation methodology, that can be used by outsiders in the integrated improvement of squatter settlements. It offers community based approaches, which can overcome the technical and social barriers to the acceptance of appropriate sanitation technology. It is argued that such approaches provide a foundation for the general improvement of squatter settlements in non-western countries. One of the major outcomes of this thesis is that the role of women is vital in the achievement of integrated development.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors Dr. Morag Bell and Prof. John Pickford for their constant support, encouragement and active guidance in the preparation of this thesis. I extend my sincere thanks to Dr. Mohd Rauf who was my local supervisor. This thesis is a result of intellectual stimulation and inspiration of my supervisors.

I would like to thank Bob Reed and his wife Janet Reed for their moral and academic support. I am extremely thankful to Eileen Kearins for her prompt and efficient typing. I am also grateful to Mr. Terry Parne for editing this thesis with concentration and interest. I owe my thanks also to Akbar Saeed and Joanne McGregor for their help and support during my stay in Loughborough.

I express my deepest gratitude with respect to Mrs. Lorren Esmail, who extended her total support and encouraged me constantly from the beginning of my research. Without her support this work would not have been possible. I am thankful to the Department of Geography and WEIDC Group for their help and cooperation. I greatly appreciate and acknowledge UNICEF's support and facilitation in completing this research. The financial support from the Agha Khan Foundation to enable me to write up my thesis at Loughborough University of Technology in England, is gratefully acknowledged.

The acknowledgements would not be complete without expressing my sincere thanks to Ms. Shama Aziz, Kauser Javed, Maqsood Alvi, Ali Zaman and Abdur Rehman of the Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project. I also thank the people of Baldia Town who guided me and helped me in my research. I am also thankful to Dr. Michael McGarry for his professional support in the fieldwork of my research. I also thank all my friends and supporters in and outside Pakistan for their contribution in the entire research process of this thesis. I wish to thank Dr. Laique Azam for his intellectual and professional guidance along with constant encouragement that enabled me to complete my thesis.

Finally the memory of my uncle Prof. Q.H. Bakhteari has been a basis and constant source of spiritual strength for me to
remain devoted to my research. Equally significant is the contribution of my parents and my family.
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CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that I am responsible for the work submitted in this thesis, that the original work is my own except as specified in acknowledgements or in footnotes, and that neither the thesis nor the original work contained therein has been submitted to this or any other institution for a higher degree.

(Signed)

(Date)
TO THE PEOPLE OF BALDIA TOWN
CHAPTER 1
DEVELOPMENTAL PLANNING AND THE URBAN POOR

Development planning is commonly taken to be the responsibility of experts, planners or the dominant groups of national governments. It is the planning offices in the national governments, always located in the capital cities, which prepare and publish the formal National Development Plans. Even where there is extensive participation from "below" from individuals, communities, and possibly regional planning officers, the function of development planning is understood to belong to the national governments and development experts. The others are the "objects" of their development planning.

Such top-down development planning demonstrates the views, beliefs and attitudes of the dominant groups, who plan and implement the centralized top-down instant development strategies that are based on their field of specialisation and not what the people's needs and resources are in general and poor people's in particular. Unfortunately, few development experts and planners have had the opportunity to identify closely with the poor, who are supposedly the beneficiaries of their schemes and plans. The development experts mostly belong to outsiders or the dominant groups, and are not familiar with the "view from below". Their approaches and policies are reflections of the belief common among the dominant groups that the poor are backward, apathetic, distrustful and have resistance to change rather than achievement motivation. According to Huizer, (1984) this belief continues to prevail in spite of increasing evidence to the contrary. There is a constant struggle by the millions of urban poor, as squatters, to meet their basic needs of food, shelter etc, in the face of the technical, socio economic, political and legal barriers imposed by the dominant groups. In spite of these barriers it is demonstrated by the poor that they are conscious of their situation and want to improve it by adopting whatever measures they can to survive and improve their living conditions. The creation of squatter settlements as a solution to the need for shelter is a striking example of their motivation, self organisation and desire to change their situation. The existing survival and progressive development system of squatter
settlements, in the majority of non-western countries, is neither seen nor understood by the outsiders or the dominant groups responsible for development planning for these squatter settlements. Despite the rhetoric about community participation in many well intentioned squatter settlement upgrading projects undertaken during the last few decades community participation was not incorporated successfully. The limitation of success or lack of it is considered as inability on the part of the poor to participate in development. But their limitations could be the results of the beliefs and biases of the dominant groups in the development planning agencies, and of the strategies the agencies are utilising, which have rarely been properly considered or analysed.

The development agencies and experts do not take time to study the process of planning and its implementation that leads to a successful implementation methodology. Development from below requires time and a gradual process which is essential for the mutual benefit of the outsider as implementer and the community. The outsiders or the dominant groups responsible for development who are enthusiastic supporters of community participation need to understand that top-down, centralised, time bound, instant development policy will not improve the lives of the masses living in non-western nations because the development process is a learning process. Time and consistency is required to study and understand the views and approaches “from below” that people adopt to fulfill their needs and solve their problems.

Whatever method the planners adopt, the development agencies and researchers have created a “social distance” between themselves and the people, because of their inflexible policies, disciplines, principals and methods, in applied social experimentation in the field. Thus development planning will have very little effect on the lives of the people. Due to these “social distances” development for the people will remain a myth, unless the process and policies look into bridging the gap between the outsiders and the people they are planning for.

This is the main function of this thesis to demonstrate that if scholars, planners, aid-giving agencies, national and international bureaucrats are genuinely interested in solving the
problem of the poor, then they have to engage in a meaningful dialogue. They have to understand the poor's view of the world.

With reference to an upgrading project in a Karachi squatter settlement it is demonstrated that, though participatory action research methods and approaches, "bottom up" development can be implemented successfully. The project described here presents the multiple integrated developmental off-shoots that resulted from community based development planning and its implementation. This research clarifies and creates better understanding of community participation, evolving from within, rather than being imposed from outside. A strategy is evolved through this research that contributes a development approach to improve the living conditions of the urban poor in non-western countries.

Although there is a body of radical literature challenging the conventional development theories and approaches, it is felt that this is not helpful in the present research. The problems that will dominate public concern in the poorer countries over the next few decades are housing, food, health care, education, social welfare and the quality of working life, these being the basic needs of the people. These global problems will often best be dealt with by people doing more to help themselves at the local level. For it is at the personal and community level that the consequences of the above problems are most obvious and acute, the motivation to solve them is most direct, and the benefits from such direct actions are most immediate. People can create local solutions to global problems by taking charge of the process of problem solving and by changing their values and behaviour in the process in response to today's economic and social conditions. These social actions will lead them toward shaping a more participatory and self-reliant society. When people lack confidence in their ability to deal with the economic and social issues that confront them they are easily tempted to turn over more of their rights and responsibilities to authoritarian political movements and to elites who promise quick solutions to complex issues. To avoid this eventuality there is a need to reinvestigate people's ability to solve their own problems by their own planning.

Radical approaches make a valuable contribution to development debate through their focus on economic processes at the macro scale. However the focus of this thesis on social processes at community level does not permit a detailed elaboration of these frameworks.
At present, and in the next few decades, humanity can begin to cope with some of its most pressing problems through local planning efforts. An extremely important beneficial consequence of these activities is and will be, the values created and articulated in the process of meeting basic human needs, for they will shape people's sense of their own abilities, determine their future success in solving problems and ultimately, enable individuals and communities to gain greater control over their lives and institutions respectively.

Individuals have historically relied on their communities for survival, and because of this dependence, communities have traditionally been the source of people's values. Primitive hunters and gatherers lived in tribes and groups. They were self-contained and isolated, but with mutual help, they grew their own food, fought the external dangers collectively, and shared the security of being in a group, under a tribal or group, leadership. In return the leaders or tribal chief would get loyalty and faithfulness from the individuals. Later in agricultural societies the farmer fed his own family and produced a small surplus as well, and the family worked together as a unit, but for needs like protection from external tribes or crises or child-bearing, sickness, death and any social problems like settling disputes he was dependent on the community, his kin and relations. It is this dependency that creates a value system, and it is still found that traditionally communities are the source of shaping the values of their people. It is still very true in and rural African societies, Egypt, Japan, Rumania, Finland, Italy, Ireland, and Brazil, (Mangin, 1970:1) and in India and Pakistan as well.

But as governments, corporations and professional elites have gradually assumed responsibility for the provision of human needs, they have also begun to shape human values, fostering dependence, helplessness and powerlessness. As a result, human problems that were once dealt with informally, are increasingly by the exclusive preserve of experts. Narrowly specialized knowledge has supplanted tradition and common sense as the criterion for everything from designing buildings to educating children. (Stokes, 1981:15). This knowledge of technology and
its expansion have led to a dramatic increase in the number of doctors, lawyers, engineers, psychologists, sociologists and other specialists. This specialization has taken a dominating role in the lives of the people, who previously mastered these issues themselves and in the process had their own power over themselves and were less dependent on the outside authority and state for the needs that affected their lives directly. As Lipton (1977) argues, power in most Third World Countries is held by urban groups who distort the allocation of resources in their favour thereby worsening inequality and slowing development.

These trends towards civilization and specialization cannot continue indefinitely. Bureaucratic, technocratic solutions will not work for many of the problems and needs now facing humanity. Large agribusiness enterprises cannot ensure adequate diets for the rapidly growing populations of the non-western world; only by producing more of their own food can the poor construct a buffer against malnutrition and rising food prices. The major causes of death and illness in western and non-western will not be eradicated by more doctors; better health requires improvements in income, changes in life-style, and a cleaner environment. Inappropriate policies and planning are not viable. They grew out of a centralized system of fulfilling human needs that current economic and environmental conditions have to a large extent rendered obsolete. More important the psychology of dependence has no place in a humanistic world. It is based on depersonalized relationships between people and institutions, not on human interaction within communities. Moreover, dependence leads to a power imbalance in society. As individuals and communities give up control over the issues that affect their lives, political power is concentrated more firmly in the hands of the state. New development approaches, based on self-reliance, individual and collective competence, are needed to replace the ethics of dependence and helplessness. These humanistic values assert the dignity and worth of individuals, whether poor or not, and their social institutions, and affirm the capacity of people and their communities to cope with a complex world. They reflect the growing significance of individual and community problem solving in today's world. Of
course, the creation of new values through local level developmental approaches and efforts can itself pose problems. Community value systems can be restrictive and stultifying.

New ideas develop slowly in most human societies and even the most positive changes can be obstructed by traditions. Individual rights are often not respected. Where traditions are concerned. But the redeeming virtue of community and people-oriented development approaches is that they have created slow organic changes that has permitted people to adjust gradually and understandably.

However, the form of government that reflects the power structure of society in the non-western world, is where the landed aristocracy, bureaucracy and the military have formal responsibility for planning for their masses, and solving their problems of their basic needs, and they will continue to hold political power. However, if individuals and communities can do more to help themselves, and use their participatory actions for self-reliant local level development, and if their role in meeting basic human needs, as defined earlier, can be institutionalized in local social networks, then the power that accompanies the ability to plan development for the poor may be shared and spread among a broad segment of the population. Thus, the challenge of building democratic, participatory societies is not simply a question of revamping the electoral system or reorganizing bureaucracies: it is also a matter of involving people in numerous enterprises ranging from the improvement of education to healthcare, sanitation system etc. To reduce costs, achieve more equitable distribution, and develop basic services which meet the real needs of the mass of people, stress is now put on development from below (MacPherson, 1982:164).

Developmental planning based on self-help efforts has long been considered a prop of the status quo. (Azam, 1984:5). However, they also have the inherent potential to change the system. Historically, violent political revolutions have been based on people's efforts to control their own destinies. Today, there is the opportunity for a silent revolution, one based on people organizing and helping themselves. People can create a parallel system for solving problems at the community level that
provides an alternative to the bureaucratic and developmental agencies. This process of building up the capacity of the community and people's acquisition of power can open up economic and social life and lay the foundation for a society that is truly responsive to the needs and feelings of all its people.

As people take a more active role in local level planning and solving their problems themselves, they can begin to take some of that power back into their own hands. No longer powerless, they can begin to create societies that are truly flexible and democratic.

1:1 Lessons in Development Planning

Experience with development during the past century has led to two fundamental discoveries. First, it became clear that many of the conventional theories of economic growth that had been applied in non-western nations during the 1950's and 1960's, did not achieve their intended goals. Despite the relatively high levels of growth in gross national product, disparities in living conditions between rich and poor nations and between the highest and lowest income groups within non-western countries continued to widen. The trickle down and spread effects, that had been expected to follow increases in industrial output either did not occur or did little to alleviate widespread poverty (Rondinelli, 1983). Thus, they did not establish a base for sustained economic growth effecting the masses in the non-western world. New and more complex strategies emerged during the 1970's to reduce the dependence of poor countries on industrialized economics, spread the benefits of development of lagging regions within developing countries, and increase the productivity and income of the poorest groups. Second, as the strategies became more complex, the success of development planning became less certain. Methods of planning and management associated with earlier strategies were found to be less useful in coping with the complexity of developmental problems of the non-western countries. (Rondinelli, 1983:1).

Governments of non-western countries and international organizations attempt to use planning and management techniques to control development activities, rather than to facilitate and
encourage the flexibility, experimentation and social learning that are essential to implementing developmental planning successfully. (Rondinelli, 1983:4). In the non-western world comprehensive planning is being introduced into cultural and institutional frameworks which differ greatly from those of the western world. It is also being called up to solve some historically unique problems. But in centralized, comprehensive planning the process of social learning is not possible. The perspective and interpretation of planners and administrators, is frequently a result of bureaucratic procedures, which are carried out in the comfortable offices and not with the people in the field. The other alternative a planner depends on traditionally is academic research in policy planning.

1:2 Some Facts And Figures

The first and second development decades have come and gone, but the poor are more numerous than ever in non-western nations. James Grant, Executive director UNICEF, in his presentation to 25th World Congress Society for International Development said, that aggregate statistics mark the fact that the actual number of people afflicted by hunger, ill health, and illiteracy has risen even as the percentage has fallen and, continues to fall. The total of the malnourished in 1970, for example, stood at an estimated 400 million. In 1984, the figure rose probably to 450 million. Similarly, the actual number of illiterate people was estimated at 700 million in 1960, 760 million in 1970, and has almost certainly passed the 800 million mark. Future illiterates - the six to eleven year old boys and girls who are not in school - total 128 million, in 1985, they were expected to increase to 137 million. Percentages are not people. It is not by percentages that the scale of any problem must be gauged. The test lies in the answer to the question, "how severely does it effect how many?" In answer to that, one finds that overall, the number of men, women and children now living out their lives in absolute poverty is estimated at 780 million out of a total world population of 4.4 thousand million.
According to the 1984 World Development Report, fifteen out of every hundred children born in the non-western countries will die before the age of five, and hundreds of thousands of survivors will be stunted physically or mentally. (World Bank, 1984). The pressures resulting from the rapid, unplanned growth of non-western cities have contributed to the increase in poverty level. The poor of the non-western countries are a mixed group of rural and urban people, with fluctuating economic conditions. For instance in a report of World Bank it states that a good crop with a new seed, or the chance to work on a nearby road project may push a poor rural family's income up to the point where they can buy a plough with a metal blade or some clothing for children. But two years of inadequate rain or a bout of illness, may cost them their land or their livestock. Situations like these force migration to the cities.

In many rural areas, as much as one-third of the population is landless. Appropriate policies for land distribution and rural employment could therefore appreciably reduce the rate of urban migration. (World Food Assembly 1985).

1:3 Migratory Process

An abundance of statistical data exists on the migratory flow, most of it taken from censuses. From one country to another the pattern is surprisingly uniform. The differences can be accounted for in terms of geographic environment - the proportion of the country which is rich or poor, the number and location of provincial cities - and in terms of the chronology of national economic development. But such differences tell little about the process of migration.

Some of the most comprehensive and illuminating presentations of migration statistics have been provided by Caldwell (1969) in his analysis of movements into Ghanaian towns, and Balan et al (1973) in their description of Monterey, an industrial city in northern Mexico. Their detailed findings largely corroborate those presented for other parts of the non-western world.

To interpret differences in rates, incidence and paths of migration, 'push' and 'pull' factors have been identified.
The former operates to expel the migrants from the rural areas - poverty and lack of opportunity resulting from a stagnant agriculture and/or shortage of land arising from increasing population or land reforms. The town 'pulls' people by promising wage employment and by its apparent glamour. The 'city lights' may not provide a permanent attraction, but in many rural areas social status is achieved not only through the traditional ceremonies of initiation but also through a brief period of work in the city. (Lloyd, 1979). The push-pull approach has been attacked, not because the factors cited are irrelevant, and not because it suggests a dichotomy between unrelated factors, but because land shortage and city employment belong to a particular mode of economic development.

Some scholars, according to Lloyd, say that the study of migration can safely ignore the individual migrant and his or her motivations. His/her course of action is predetermined by the factors of development and he/she is swept along by forces far beyond their control. The reasons which he/she gives for their actions are rationalizations made after the event, prompted by the dominant ideology (1979). Questionnaire responses from migrants already well settled in the city show overwhelmingly that they came to find work - or, a poor second, to get education for themselves or their children. These are certainly not very illuminating data. Yet, ignoring the decision making of the migrant not only impoverishes one's understanding of the migration process, it also deprives the researcher of an image of a vital element in the life experience of the migrants which will affect their perception of the urban environment and of their activities therein.

Migration studies tend to assume that villagers have a single choice - to migrate or to stay. Yet they have in fact a number of options available and their choice between them in consequence determine future courses open to them. Yet few studies have attempted to delineate these options. Good examples are Salisbury's (1972) description of the migration of Siane from the New Guinea highlands to Port Moresby (See pp.155), and Garbett's (1976) analysis of the circular migration of the
In Third World cities, up to 80% of the population lives in slums, shanty towns and other uncontrolled settlements.

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Korekore of Rhodesia. Both authors, being Anthropologists, give full details to economic factors, but emphasize the manner in which each individual is enmeshed in a network of personal relationships which are involved both in the formulation of his goals and in creating opportunities and constraints in their achievements. The potential migrants are likely to make the decision to migrate, as, like others in their community they aspire to a better life. To a large extent this is expressed in material terms - more food to eat, an improved house and so on. Prestige too is important and this may, as suggested above, be gained from visits beyond the bounds of the community, especially to the city. They may see this better life as being achieved within the village. Alternatively the villager may feel that his home community has little to offer him and that he must leave, at least for the greater part of his working life. Viewing the migration process as the product of people's decisions and actions - rather than blind forces - one can see the urban settings in this light.

1:4 Urban Settings: Some Definitions

It has long been assumed that the majority of non-western world populations live in rural areas, and are significantly disadvantaged in relation to the urban minority, especially in terms of access to services. However, recent figures indicate that the rate of urban growth has reached such a level that by the year 2000, 44% of the population in non-western regions will be living in urban agglomerations, and that 50% of these city dwellers will be struggling for survival in slums and squatter settlements. (Donohue, 1982).

The figures available from cities in non-western nations indicate that in the 1960's and 1970's slum and squatter settlements dwellers represented on average from 30 to 60 percent of the urban population. Estimates are that at present an average of 50 percent of the urban population live at the level of extreme poverty, this figure rising as high as 79 percent in some cities. Assuming that in the year 2000 one-half of the urban population will still be of low income, over one billion people will be counted as urban poor who will live in low income
settlements or slums. (Donohue, 1982:22). On the conditions of shelter a more recent study, in a global review of human settlements, stated that "housing conditions have become significantly worse in most of the developing countries during the past decade, and have become even worse since 1976. This state of affairs was noted after the U.N. Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT) in Vancouver in 1976 (Satterthwaite, 1979). A U.N. study in the mid '70s estimated that in the decade 1970 to 1980, some 223 million houses would have to be built. The non-western countries alone would need 170 million new houses, on the assumption that non-western countries would continue to squeeze five people into each house. To meet the 1980 target, the governments of non-western countries should have been building 8.1 houses per 1000 people per year. In fact, figures from 24 non-western countries show that in 1970 they built only 1.8 houses per 1000 inhabitants. (Mabogunge, et al 1976). The development agencies, planners and urban experts often talk of a 'housing deficit'. This can be a tricky concept. Even the poorest people find some kind of shelter, however precarious. A housing deficit really means a deficit in the number of houses built to a middle-class standard. Those who cannot find proper dwellings in the cities either move into existing slums or build unauthorised homes as squatter settlements. The survey shows that 20-28% of the population of major non-western cities are living in slums or squatter settlements. (UNHS, 1976). Almost 1000 million people will be added to this figure by the year 2000. These will present an immense task of providing shelter, services and infrastructure. (Ramachandran, 1982).

There is no single system of classification for low-income residential areas in the non-western cities. To make a distinction between a slum and a squatter settlement is to study and analyse many various aspects in detail, and still it will be hard to discern uniform patterns. According to a survey report of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT) (1982), whose data are based on 25 case studies of low income urban settlements, squatter settlements are defined as illegal occupations of land. However, not only is legality difficult to
define, but there are many unplanned settlements which have mixed legal and illegal characteristics.

Slums* usually consist of run-down housing in older, established, legally built parts of the city proper. Slum buildings are mostly old and poorly maintained. Most of the residents rent their accommodation, although owners occupy some apartments or detached structures. In some cases many of the buildings have more than one floor and house several families. The slums discussed in the U.N. Survey were formed 60 years ago or earlier. In many cases, considerable areas of the old parts of cities in the Middle East and Asia are occupied by substandard housing, by-passed by the more recent development of central business districts. Densities are generally high because the settlements have reached the limits of their growth. The settlements often serve as reception areas for single migrants since they have small, cheap and centrally located accommodation. Some institutional housing projects where maintenance and upkeep have been neglected have turned into slums and can be classified as such.

Clinard, generally describes a slum by saying that the word 'slum' has long had a negative connotation, has been almost an epithet, implying something evil, strange, to be shunned and avoided (1966:3-4). Partridge (1958) defines in his dictionary that "the word slum itself is apparently derived from "slumber", as slums were once thought by the majority to be unknown back streets or alleys, wrongly presumed to be sleeping and quiet."

Clinard adds "emotional attitudes toward the slum are still reflected in popular definitions and value-laden terms that

emphasize the seamy aspects of slums, its filth and squallor, its poor social conditions, and the presence of vicious characters." (1966:4).

Clinard, describing the slum generally, states "slums constitute the most important and persistent problem of urban life; they are the chief sources of crime and delinquency, of illness and death from disease." He further adds that, slums are of all types, shapes and forms, Bombay has its packed multistoried chawls, New York its Harlem and its lower East Side, Chicago its Black Belt, and London its well known East End. Families in Bangkok crowd together in "pite village," composed of poorly constructed wooden shacks raised on wooden stilts along the water fronts. There are the tin shacks, bamboo huts, and straw hovels along the small lanes of Calcutta, Dacca and Lagos, which steam with the high humidity and stink from open drains. Impoverished shantytowns are those of Rio de Janeiro, Lima, Hong Kong and other Asiatic cities. No slums are more crowded than those of Hong Kong and Singapore, where single rooms are shared by ten to forty families, each with only a "bed space". In areas of Canton, Shanghai and Hong Kong hundreds of thousands of families live in waterfront sampans or "floating slums". (Clinard, 1966).

The squatter settlements are mainly uncontrolled low-income residential areas with an ambiguous legal status regarding land occupation; they are to a large extent built by the inhabitants themselves using their own means, and are usually poorly equipped with public utilities and community services. The usual image of a squatter settlement described by the UN study, is of poor, under-serviced, over-crowded and dilapidated settlements consisting of make-shift, improvised housing areas. The land occupied by squatter settlements is often, but not always, further from the city centre than is the case with slums. Often, but not always, the houses are built and occupied by their owners. The land is often occupied illegally, while in many other cases the legality of occupation is complicated or unclear. United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT) (1982).

The majority of the squatter settlements surveyed were founded no more than 30 years ago. They proliferated with the
rapid growth of cities in the non-western countries after the second World War. (Abu-Lughod, 1977). The prototypal squatter settlement, built by owner occupiers who invaded the land illegally, is found mainly in Latin America. In Asia, squatter settlements usually grow by gradual accretation rather than planned invasion. In both cases, land occupation is illegal, but invasions are more organized and take place very rapidly, sometimes in a few days. Heads of households usually build one structure each and occupy it with their own family, helping to extend and improve it gradually.

The quasi-legal subdivisions found in Latin America are in some respects similar to and in some respects different from the African entrepreneur-built squatter settlements. The latter look like the squatter settlements, but are developed by landlords who sell small plots of undeveloped land to low-income people. Since infrastructure and permission to develop are lacking, the inhabitants are faced with the same problems as squatters.

Drakakis Smith (1981; 1976:297) defines squatter settlements thus: "the illegality of occupation of land, house or both are the most acceptable definitions, while Leeds (1969:44) suggests that the only uniform identifying characteristics are their illegal and unordered origins by accretive or organised invasion and, because of their origin, their continued juridically ambiguous status as settlements." But such definitions include uneasily the many cases of the poor purchasing the land on which they construct their houses. While the purchase itself normally follows legal procedures, such land often lacks planning permission from the urban authorities. Such settlements are well represented in Delhi (Bose, 1973) constitute the majority of squatter settlements in Bogota, where they are known as Pirate Urbanizations, and cover substantial areas of Mexico City, where they are known as 'clandestine sub-divisions' (Losada and Gomez, 1976; Ward, 1976). Doebele, (1975) believes that as more families buy their land where they squat, then any definition of squatter settlements should include this kind of semi-legal transaction. Similarly, any definition should include the common practice in parts of Africa and Melanesia to obtain
permission from local officials or tribal chiefs to obtain access to communal land (Pell, 1976, 1981; Doebele, 1978).

Another definition which is quite common is 'self-help' housing. Although most people would agree that self-help (Turner, 1969) is a vital ingredient in the building of squatter settlements spontaneously, it is inadequate without qualification, since few among the poor build their houses alone. They also hire skilled labour for more technical work, like foundation laying, plumbing etc. As Turner notes, in Bogota low-income settlements the skilled labour was hired (Turner, 1969:525).

The term 'spontaneous settlements', helps to define the sense of innovation behind the settlements by the poor. It gives the idea of the poor acting spontaneously to solve their housing problems, often at first on the fringe of the law, the building usually being done in some measure by the inhabitants themselves when resources become available.

Other sections of the poor are the refugees who many said were pushed out of their homes, rural or urban, during the civil strife that accompanied the Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. About 16 million people fled across the borders that were established. Most of those uprooted from rural areas sought a new beginning in cities. War, the man-made calamity, has frequently made the poor insecure and migrate to cities. In Indonesia the independence struggle, as well as regional rebellions after the attainment of independence, led to a mass exodus from the affected rural areas. Civil war in Korea, Malaysia, the southern Sudan and Zaire made peasants abandon their ancestral lands. In Colombia, La Violencia, the violent conflict in the countryside which lasted for over a decade, was a major factor in rural urban migration according to some observers, (Gilbert, and Gugler, 1982:55-6). Elsewhere droughts, earthquakes, cyclones, volcanoes, or floods have posed immediate physical danger as well as usually bringing threats of hunger and disease in their wake. Droughts in Africa and India made rural dwellers abandon their homes and seek relief in urban areas.

Besides the rural-urban migration being contributing factors writers, scholars and theoreticians consider housing a
highly visible dimension to poverty, the sight of thousands and often millions of people living in accommodation with minimum services. The effect of poverty on housing in most non-western world cities is obvious. On any index of services provision, household density, or physical quality, a majority of the urban population is living at standards that are clearly unacceptable, when compared to the way most Europeans or North Americans live. In India more than half the urban households occupy a single room, with an average occupancy per room of 4.4 persons (Rosser, 1972). In Bombay 77 percent with an average of 5.3 persons live in one room (Misra, 1978:375-6), and many others are forced to sleep on the pavements at night. (Ramachandran, 1974). In Ghana, room densities range from 2.5 to 3.2 in the cities of Takoradi, Kumasi and Accra (Hinderink and Sterkenburg, 1975).

In terms of services provision, it is reported that in Djakarta only 8 percent of houses were supplied with both electricity and water in 1969, 76 percent had neither facility (Oliver, 1973:6). In Cape Coast, Ghana, 73 percent of houses lacked water and 25 percent electricity (Hinderink and Sterkenburg, 1975:293). In Calcutta, 77 percent of all families share lavatories with other families and more than 10 percent have no facilities at all. (Lahini, 1978:43-72).

**Tondo Foreshore** in Manila, Philippines is an exception to the usual rule that squatter settlements form by accretion on land without pressing alternative uses (Sembrano, 1977). In 1940, the Philippine government started reclamation in the Tondo creating an expansion of unused land. Although the government had envisaged other uses for the land, the flood of refugees from embattled areas of the Philippines immediately after the second world war generated rapidly growing squatter areas. Original settlers were later joined by fire victims from various places in the metropolitan area and by immigrant families from rural areas seeking better opportunities and living conditions in the city.

The community has gained world-wide attention as a case where the problems arising from the size of the area are
aggravated by high densities. Tondo Foreshore grew into a high-density settlement very rapidly because of its proximity to the harbour. The squatter community represents about 5% of the total area of the city of Manila. Community organizations were strong and residents had tried to obtain security of tenure and services from the authorities. The residents' efforts in this connection were finally rewarded by the launching of a large-scale improvement project.

George Compound in Lusaka, Zambia, was developed through a combination of processes (Martin and Ledogar, 1977). The owner of an eight-hectare plot allowed migrant families to settle and build dwellings on his land against payment of rent of ten shillings a month. The settlement then grew through invasions of surrounding privately owned land. Since the outskirts of Lusaka are relatively flat and the soil is poor, the suburban squatter colonies can spread over wide areas without any conflict with already established land users. George Compound, situated several kilometres north-west of the city centre, grew rapidly from a few dwellings in 1937 to a squatter area of about 250 hectares with approximately 56,000 inhabitants in 1976. The original one-room or two-room mud-brick structures have been extended to three of four rooms. George Compound was incorporated into the political structure which prevails throughout Zambia by the formation of party sections and branches superimposed on existing kinship ties.

Villa EL Salvador in Lima, Peru, is probably the largest squatter settlement in the world (Bulnes, 1977). Wide open and very flat, with poor sandy soil, the area in the south of Lima provided an opportunity for almost unchallenged invasion. The invasion began on the area of public land on April 29, 1971 spreading to neighbouring areas, both public and private until May 12, 1971, during which time 9,000 families established sites and dwellings. As a result of negotiations with the authorities the squatters
agreed to move from the invasion site to a near-by area where they established the settlement referred to as Villa El Salvador. The process of community organization and the election of representatives led to the first convention of community leader in 1973. Subsequently, the organizational structure was revised to create a central body able to collaborate with the government community development agency.

Rouse Avenue, Mizamuddin and Jai Rani Bagh in Delhi. Before their relocation in 1976, all three settlements were all located in terms of employment opportunities. These small squatter colonies, typical of the colonies found in most Indian cities, were organised to some extent by region of origin, but caste differences appeared to be a more decisive factor in particular with respect to the major division between clean and unclean castes. Thus in the Rouse Avenue settlements there were two sections, namely the western half in which the scheduled castes predominated and the eastern half in which the Rajputs and other clean castes lived (Payne, 1977).

Kom-el-Decka in Alexandria, Egypt, displays many characteristics typical of slums in the Middle East and Asia (Zahran, 1977). The settlement is situated in the centre of the old city, which was partly rebuilt by a group of low-income migrants from upper Egypt after a naval bombardment in 1891. Originally, the location was regarded as rather exclusive since it was on a hilltop.

The population grew steadily until the 1950s, with growth peaks between 1900 and 1910. In the 1920's Kom-el-Decka was regarded by the planning authorities as one of the poorest and dilapidated slums in the city. Bounded by main roads, the slum spread over 27 hectares around a little hill. Masonry buildings of two or three stories are interspersed with shanties. The migrants who re developed the area in the early decades of the century belonged to three ethnic groups, each with its own hierarchy of leaders; each group was concentrated in a particular
place specialising in a certain range of occupations. This has created cohesive communities based upon traditional patterns. In addition, migration from rural areas tends to lead to a recreation of village community structures. These urban communities, based on ethnic or geographical ties, are socially cohesive and stable over long periods of time. Only recently have young, third and fourth generation urbanites challenged ethnic origin as the basis of affiliation and association.

Yan Ma Tei in Hong Kong is a central slum area where redevelopment brought abrupt change (Smith, 1977). Yan Ma was founded in the 1860s because of its waterfront location and grew steadily thereafter; but it experienced a major increase in population; between the end of the Second World War and 1950, when migration from mainland China was brought under control. During this period Hong Kong’s population increased threefold and, as a result of the pressure generated by population growth, building regulations were modified to permit much higher plot ratios. These modified regulations encouraged private redevelopment with lower standards and higher densities.

El-Kangnito in San Salvador, El Salvador, is another example of a small squatter settlement which developed by accretion on slopes close to the city centre, and to middle class and upper class residential areas (Contreras, 1977). Manuel Rodriguez in Santiago de Chile was formed as a result of a planned invasion organized in 1969 by a city-wide organization, the community of the homeless (Soublette, 1977). More families joined the settlement in 1970. The first invaders proved to be strong enough to resist removal and, by 1975, the government was helping residents to improve their settlement.

It is important to study and understand how professionals, planners, scholars, intellectuals, development agencies and research institutions, as outsiders responsible for development planning for basic human needs, view the squatter settlements, and the ability of the poor to cope with the problem
of satisfying the basic need of shelter. The views of the outsiders as dominant groups play a fundamental role in the approaches they adopt to handle the problem.
CHAPTER 2
OUTSIDERS VIEW OF THE POOR

Chambers, (1983:104) in expressing his opinion about poverty, says that outsiders' views of the poor are distorted in many ways, lack of contact or communication permits them to form those views without the inconvenience of knowledge, let alone personal exposure. Poor people are rarely met; when they are met, they often do not speak, when they do speak, they are often cautious and deferential; and what they say is often not heard not listened to, or brushed aside, or interpreted in a bad light (1983:104). Any attempt to understand the poor, and to learn from them, has to begin with introspection by the outsiders themselves. A view from within the non-western world is that the poverty of others is part of a divine order. This idea is embedded in popular Hinduism and is present in the Indian subcontinent generally. In Hinduism it is believed that position in the caste hierarchy is determined by the law of Karma (act), according to which the advantages and the hardships of this life are a consequence of the degree of merit of past actions in a previous life. But it is not only Hinduism which justifies, or has justified, social inequality, the co-existence of rich and poor. In the much quoted words of Mrs Alexander's Victorian Christian hymn:

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
God made them high and lowly,
And order'd their estate.

In other societies inequalities are institutionalized and perpetuated; people do not have all the same opportunities and against some discrimination may be severe. Ideologies are present in many non-western religions, which teach that people should be content with the status to which they are born. Willing acceptance will be rewarded in heaven or in a future incarnation.

The American ideology of success, dominant until the Great Depression of the 1930's, was another convenient belief:
it regarded wealth as a reward for Puritan virtues such as honesty, industry, sobriety, self-discipline, neatness, cleanliness and punctuality, and saw poverty as the converse, most of these beliefs are dead today. On the contrary, in Britain at least, the idea that the poor are to be blamed for their poverty has been widespread. (Chambers, 1983:105).

To further strengthen Chamber's point, a survey in 1976 in 9 countries of the EEC, including Britain, found that 27 percent of respondents in Britain, compared with only 14 percent for the EEC as a whole, were 'poverty cynics' (CEC, 1977:88), that is, they were defined as people who rarely or never see poverty around them. When they mention it, they imply culpability - if poor people exist, it is because they are lazy or lack will-power, and they or their children could well escape from this situation. As far as the cynics are concerned, there is no great need to reduce social inequalities and the authorities are doing quite enough - if not too much. (Hoskins, 1979:14).

Such beliefs are common in many cultures. In many cases they have antecedents in the racial ideologies of colonialism, and in the colonial view of the native as improvident, lazy and fatalistic. They are found among long established elites like those of Bombay or Buenos Aires.

Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler, whose theories have originated from Marxism, but also look at different perspectives, see that poverty and its manifestations are no longer perceived as something attributable to an individual person, city, or country, or remediable by national governments using technical planning processes. Rather, poverty, or more accurately the state of relative poverty, is seen to be a consequence of a historical process of incorporation into the world capitalist system. (1982:3). To use Dos Santos's (1970:231-6) much quoted term, the economics and societies of poor countries have been 'conditioned' by their relationship with colonial and neo-colonial powers.

Alan Gilbert and Josef Gugler further point out that to a large extent, the poor in the non-western world are poor because the rich in the first world are rich. Few indigenous third world
societies were Utopian before Europeans reached them, but there can be no doubt that the arrival of Cortes, Cook, Vasco da Gama, and much later, of Henry Ford's machines and Rockefeller's oil rigs, had a traumatic effect on most of those societies. The superimposition of colonialism and capitalism has hardly created a positive cosmopolitan world. The most that can be said is that poor, unequal, somewhat isolated Africa eventually became somewhat less poor, much more unequal, distinctly more populous, and decidedly more integrated into the world economy. Change there was, but little progress. (1982:31).

Richard Poethig (1972:104) points out that government programmes related to the urban poor have drawn heavily on the pictures of the urban poor reflected in the writings and studies of novelists, journalists and sociologists. The urban poor were first characterized by novelists of the 19th century. Charles Dicken's portrayal of the London slums in his novels and Jacob Riis's journalistic work on life in the New York tenements, how the other half lives, presented the images of poverty upon which latter-day sociologist's based "Dead End", a popular motion picture of the period, which reflected many of the sociologists notions of the social disorganization and the familial disintegration which were to be found in the life of the urban slums. It was filmed on a dead end street on the East River. The title was symbolic of the future of those who lived in the slums. It told the story of neglected children - the school dropouts of that day - beginning their life of crime. "But the image of poverty presented by the picture remains vivid in my mind's eye thirty-five years later - repressive, retrogressive, disintegrated."

The areas where groups of poor people live in large clusters inside the city are called slums. For many writers of the early '50s and '60s the word "slum" has long had a negative connotation, has been almost an epithet implying something evil, strange. So long as the city contains a sizeable lower class, nothing basic can be done about its most serious problems. Good jobs may be offered to all, but some will remain chronically unemployed. Slums may be demolished, but if the housing that replaces them is occupied by the lower class, it will shortly be
turned into new slums. Welfare payments may be doubled or tripled and a negative income tax instituted, but some persons will continue to live in squalor and misery... The streets may be filled with armies of policemen but violent crime and civil disorder will decrease very little. If however, the lower class were to disappear the most serious and intractable problem of the city would disappear with it, (Banfield, 1970:210).

2:1 Culture Of Poverty

The concept of a "culture of poverty" was introduced by Oscar Lewis, (1959:16). An American anthropologist with considerable research experience amongst American Indians, in India, in Cuba and with Puerto Ricans, both in Puerto Rico and in New York City, he is best known for his work in Mexico. Lewis in 1959 first proposed the concept in his account of the life of five families in Mexico City. However, Lewis clearly intended it to be of Universal application.

Under four main headings, Lewis lists a very large number of traits which he associates with the culture of poverty. The lack of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions is one of the crucial characteristics - they do not participate in the larger economic system, belong to trade union or political parties; they display a cynical mistrust of government, the church, the dominant classes. There is a minimum of organization beyond the level of the nuclear and extended family..... there is the low level of organization which gives the culture of poverty its marginal and anachronistic quality; family life is disorganized - there is an early initiation into sex and preponderance of free unions and consensual marriages and mother-centred families. 'On the level of the individual the major characteristics are a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, dependence and of inferiority - the poor cannot defer gratification, the belief in male superiority is widespread, psychological pathology is tolerated, there is little knowledge of other places as part of wider issues. They are not class-conscious, although they are very sensitive indeed to status distinctions'. When they do become
class-conscious and involved in wider political movements they cease to exhibit the culture of poverty. (Lewis, 1967:47-59).

But Lewis argues; "the culture of poverty - is not only an adaption to a set of objective conditions of the larger society. Once it comes into existence it tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effects on children. By the time slum children are six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime". (1967:50).

Lewis' thesis consists of one major hypothesis plus a series of subsidiary propositions. His ruling hypothesis states the culture of poverty is a subculture with its own structure and rationale, a way of life handed down from generation to generation. He also describes it as a culture in the traditional anthropological sense in that it provides human beings with a design for living, with a ready-made set of solutions to human problems. (Lewis. 1966b:19).

According to the psychological hypothesis, the culture of poverty produces individual characters and a "world view" which are weak, disorganized and restricted. The major characteristics are as follows: a weak ego structure; a confusion of sexual identification, lack of impulse control; little ability to defer gratification and to plan for the future; and resignation and fatalism. (Lewis, 1966a:X/VII). Growing up in a subculture of poverty produces the above mentioned characteristics and personality in most of the individuals, thus crippling or destroying their psychological capacity for escaping from poverty, which is said to be self-perpetuating.

2:2 A Breeding Ground For Political Radicalism And Violence

Slums and squatter settlements have been viewed as a breeding ground of political radicalism and violence. This view stems from the basic assumption that squatter dwellers experience of poor living conditions and a variety of socio-economic hardships would, in time, generate feelings of frustration and discontent (Goldrich, et al 1967:83; Huntington, 1968; Portes,
1972:235-48). Such feelings would lead eventually to an eruption of political radicalism and violence (Portes, 1971a). A number of researchers have addressed themselves to the task of testing these assumptions. In their separate studies of Lima, Goldrich et al (1967) and Mangin (1967) failed to find any concrete evidence to support the frustration-radicalism theory. Similar investigations by Portes (1971a) in Santiago, Ray (1969) (not dated, cited in Nelson, 1969) in Venezuela and Weiner (1961) in Calcutta, generally proved to be equally fruitless in this regard. The finding consistently reported, however, was that feelings of frustration and discontent exist among slum and squatter settlement dwellers in general (Marris, 1961).

The outbreak of urban violence in the black suburbs of Harlem and Watts in the 1960's caused the middle class of the non-western world to fear even worse rioting in the squatter settlements of their cities. The affluent of these cities were sitting on a powder keg. Their own poor were experiencing, as they saw the situation, much more extreme forms of deprivation. To them, violence seemed the most logical outcome. Fanon's thesis (1963) on the role of the lumpen-proletariat fitted them into a radical theoretical framework; the abject poverty and the focus on social disorganization - fostered by the popularity of Lewis' (1959, 1961, 1966a, 1966b, 1967), idea of the culture of poverty, and illustrated in Peru by Patch's description of a callejón (1961) in Central Lima - made protest seem inevitable; the political radicals hoped for violence. In the event there were very few outbreaks in the shanty towns and, in fact, the urban guerilla movements, which did develop during the decade in some cities, were recruited predominantly from among discontented intellectuals, clerical workers and the skilled manual workers - not from the very poor (Lloyd, 1979:186). The invasions of land by the squatters demonstrated that collective action by the poor was indeed possible. Yet, when social anthropologists and others began to make a close study of the shanty towns, a very different picture emerged; one which stressed a substantial acceptance of the society with an emphasis on achievement. The invaders of land had become staunch defenders of their own property rights. In a sense this position too was politically motivated by a
desire to show that the poor were capable of and willing to improve their lot and that governments should be encouraging them to help themselves, rather than letting them wait apathetically for government to act (Lloyd, 1980:130).

Speculations concerning the political involvement of the urban poor in the non-western world range from assessments of the poor as disorganized and apathetic or apolitical to assumptions that they constitute a huge frustrated and angry mass, a potential revolutionary force. Belief in such assumptions on the part of the elite and the policy makers inside and outside of the non-western world is largely based on a body of self-perceived political and socio-psychological theories and the ready acceptance of the values, motivations and behavioural strategies of the elite.

Wayne Cornelius (1971:102) refers to the widely accepted ideas about the socio-political implications of urban migration as 'eclectic' and as 'borrowed theory'.

2:3 The Poor Are A Burden

The slums and squatter settlements of non-western cities are said to be marginal. The population of these are not integrated into wider society, but they exist on the margin of socio-economic patterns of the city.

Peter Lloyd says that marginality is associated with deviance - especially in a pejorative sense. Used thus the term is ethnocentric one, implying that the structure of the dominant sector of society provides the norm, and those acting according to differing norms are deviant. (Lloyd, 1979:60).

"It is a common belief among scholars, development experts and administrators that the poor form one of the main stumbling blocks on the road to development in most Third World countries. Their increasing number and worsening poverty are becoming a nightmare to national and international agencies. Behind such considerations exist the belief, current among development experts, planners and scholars, that poor are backward, apathetic, distrustful and have 'resistance to change' rather than 'achievement motivations'." (Huizer, 1984:14). Economists describe the inhabitants of the slum and squatter settlements as not being
wage earners or useful producers of goods. The goods or services which they do provide could be better supplied in other ways and thus the poor are parasitic upon society and should be eliminated, that is excluded from the town or transformed into wage earners. The fact that these people produce enough to keep themselves alive - a sufficient goal for them - is usually overlooked.

Deriving from this is the belief that poverty can be eradicated. The poor are thus a problem. Such a belief dominates the thinking of the educated members of the dominant group of the non-western world; but the recent immigrant socialized in the rural areas, will not usually share this same intellectual heritage. Many hold much more 'traditional' views about social equality and will not see status as a social problem.

2:4 Culture As A Way Of Life

The cultural behaviour of most rich people is different in many ways from that of most poor people in the U.S.A. or in any other society. Much of this is due primarily to the differences in wealth and access to power. The persistence of much cultural behaviour in a particular class has been demonstrated over and over by social scientists, novelists, newspapermen, and others.

Oscar Lewis (1966b:19), in a comment on the misuse of the phrase 'culture of poverty', says that he uses it as a "label for a specific conceptual model that describes in positive terms". He further explains "the intolerable repetitiveness and the iron entrenchment of the "lifeways" of those in the culture of poverty..... In the same sense almost any culture shows inexorable repetitiveness and entrenched lifeways". The objection to such cyclical theories as Lewis's is that they do not account for change, yet change is more the rule than stability in any observation of a culture over time. (Lloyd, 1979).

In terms of cultural views of the world, ideal family and kinship patterns, aspirations, values, language habits, and even body movements, the poor of a country have more in common with the rest of their country (or culture) than they have with the
poor of another country (or culture). The British poor described by Booth (1902) were more like the British middle and upper class than they were like the poor of Istanbul or Naples. The poor of Appalachia and Harlem today are more like the "average American" in cultural values and responses than they are like the poor of China, Vietnam, or Germany.

Poverty is a relative concept, relative to place, time and to one's reference group. (Mangin, 1970:xviii). The London or New York poor of generations ago were very different from today's poor in regard to what material things and what services they had. However they were in about the same situation, or perhaps a worse one, in relation to their total society and with regard to their hopes for the future. Poverty is not an absolute amount percentage of wealth. As Miller and Rein wrote (1964), "It is a moving escalator, reflecting the values of society....".

The major elements in definitions of a culture are that it is learned by a person as a member of a society and it is shared and transmitted by the members of a society. There is also general agreement that cultures develop as a response to human needs—biological and social—and that, in one way or another, practically all cultural behaviour is related to those needs. If a wide enough definition of human needs is made, it is hard to argue with that position. All societies have to solve the same problem of feeding, housing, and clothing their members; protecting them against each other and outsiders; raising and teaching children; caring for mothers during the period of intensive infant care, controlling aggression and sexual behaviour; relating their members to the world and the universe; and motivating their members to repeat the process each generation.

When rural migrants come to cities, however, the type of limited aspiration encountered in the closed community can rarely continue for more than a generation. At the risk of appearing contradictory, it is also a fact that even in many of the rural closed communities, most of the people are well aware of the disparities in wealth that exist in their areas, and they have deep resentment towards local patrons and officials (Mangin, 1970:xxviii). The conditions are often so oppressive, for
example in the Peruvian Sierra, that migrants to urban areas, although appearing to be in an appalling economic state, are often pleased with the relative improvement in their status. The realisation of certain goals such as acquiring property in a squatter invasion, getting children into school, or above all, getting steady work, can more than overcome substandard living conditions, low pay, poor quality education, and so forth, for a time. There is supporting data from Peru (Mangin and Turner, 1968; Turner, 1965), Mexico (Butterworth, 1962), Chile (Goldrich, 1965; Goldrich et al, 1970), and Venezuela (Peattie, 1968,1974) and Latin America (Butterworth and Chance, 1981). According to anthropologists say that same situation exists in Guatemala, Colombia, Bolivia and Pakistan.

2:5 Examples of Outsiders' Attitudes:

Peter Lloyd (1979:48-49) gives three quotations one from each continent, to exemplify the range of attitudes. Mangin quotes an American doctor who, reflecting the views of his Peruvian colleague, wrote:

"In this enormous slum lived some 15,000 people, many of whom had come down from the mountains, lured by communist agitators. Why starve on a farm, the agitators asked, when well-paid jobs, good food, housing and education were waiting in Trujillo? This technique for spreading chaos and unrest has brought as many as 3000 families of farmers to the barriados in a month. Once they arrive (on a one-way ride in communist-provided trucks) they are trapped in the festering slums with no money to return to their farms." (1967:66).

"Less emotional yet no less dogmatic are the remarks of the mayor of Lusaka, Zambia, who said that the squatter settlements which housed nearly half of the city's population were a 'positive threat to the health of our city.... as a whole'. Seymour (1975) (personal communication) also cites a Zambian government report which argued that unless the tide of migration was checked the decade of the seventies may see an intensification of misery, the spread of epidemics, and political unrest can threaten the stability of government. As cholera spreads through Africa the infection of middle-class suburbs from
the insanitary adjacent slums becomes a growing fear. (Lloyd, 1979:48-49). A patronizing view is expressed by two Indian sociologists.

"Ahmedabad City is known for the architectural beauty of its lavish homes, mansions and luxurious bungalows of its rich citizens. But very little is known about the ramshackle hovels of the poor. The outstanding physical characteristic of Ahmedabad City is the sharp contrast between its housing for the rich and that for the poor - out of every ten citizens of Ahmedabad five live in slums - slums are a matter of culture. If (the people) lack culture; they will defile and degrade whatever place they occupy, even though it be a suite at the Taj Mahal Hotel... no amount of money spent in slum clearance would really solve the slum problem unless serious efforts are made to change the human attitude and habits (Bhatt and Chawda, 1972:39).

The views of outsiders about the poor, and their attitudes towards them, tend to be negative, narrow and based on social distance. It seems that the sustaining, expanding, and growing capacities of the poor go unnoticed by outsiders. The reactionary believes in repression and such primitive measures; he must emphasize deviancy from the norms of society - a deviancy which cannot be corrected by education. The paternalist emphasizes the incapacity of the poor - they can do no better. The liberal believes that with their help the poor can better themselves and succeed. The radicals, though opposing the existing standards as seen by them, and wishing to transform society, similarly expect the poor to accept their interpretation of the changes necessary and to follow their leadership. None of these four favours independent action by the poor, planning on their own initiative, solving their own problems and determining their own progress in the process and thus evolving a developmental approach from within.

It is apparent that the approaches of the dominant groups reflect their views and make little allowance for a developmental approach from within. In consequence, these approaches create further misunderstanding and distance between the dominant groups and the poor. An investigation of these approaches demonstrates
how the dominant groups have created, maintained and promoted the social, technical and institutional barriers, that further limit their vision and understanding of the "view from below".
CHAPTER 3
OUTSIDERS APPROACHES

The ideologies propagated by dominant groups, are all part of the environment in which the poor's own ideas are formulated. Equally influential are the policies pursued by the outsider or the dominant groups – punitive slum clearance, obstruction to or encouragement of individual effort, charitable works to alleviate suffering or planned attempts to raise the levels of social consciousness.

The settlements of squatters are deemed as an assault upon private property. The obvious desire of the poor squatters to own their own home is overlooked by the outsiders or dominant groups. The affluent outsiders live in terror of the unstructured violence of the mob. These fears are increased by western radicals, who in hope, predict that the urban poor will spearhead, or at least sustain, the coming revolution. (Lloyd, 1979:31).

The scholar's explanations of the poor imply poor immigrants are marginal to society – not fully integrated with it. The causes of their poverty are associated with the values which they hold – values which are the product either of their traditional society or of their present poverty. The culture of poverty is seen as a self sustaining system, a vicious circle.

These attitudes are in turn mirrored in the policies adopted towards the slum and squatter settlements. Complete eradication is often demanded. Ignorance towards the slums is always found easier – in many cities, they do not feature in the town plans except as unexplained blanks. The policies towards the poor settlements range from repression, to tolerance, and benevolent encouragement. "These policies reflect, in turn, the social opinions of the dominant groups, the political persuasion of contemporary governments and their resources. This diverse character of the dominant groups in non-western nations and of the policies adopted are then reflected in academic approaches". (Lloyd, 1979:41).

Marion Glaser (1985:409) in her case studies in Bogota, Colombia, says how the social and economic elites appropriate and
change certain axioms in the policy discourse and so constrain the chances for development of the lower income groups even before actual policy decisions are taken. In Bogota, any building not constructed from concrete and bricks is regarded as substandard, and not considered appropriate for public housing programmes. Using pebbles from local rivers, unskilled labour and very simple machinery, elements are produced in small factories, which can be assembled into a basic unit by a simple and fast method. While poor Bogotanos appear to find this type of house attractive, when they discussed this housing method with the government, it was dismissed by labelling it as low ‘quality’ or ‘slum housing’.

Self-reliant methods and technology that depend on people’s traditional capability to build for themselves, are a solution to the problem, and have been applied widely by the poor squatters, but they have failed to win wide acceptance because they do not conform to elite values.

Some experts advocate the policy of destroying the slum and squatter settlements, tearing them down physically, erasing the houses and shacks. Others believe that providing charity and welfare services to the dwellers is the best way to bring about changes in the life style of the poor, and to solve the slum and squatter settlements problem. (Clinard, 1966).

3:1 Charity Oriented Welfare

Buried beneath the surface of attitudes about the welfare approach lie centuries of experience of how to deal with the poor. This has been the central issue of the state. Before the state, it was an issue for the religious groups and feudal institutions. In all the religions and societies, alms-giving and charity have always been advocated. In Islam the Quran constitutes the basic socialization standard for attitudes, and values within Moslem communities. In Islam religion is the behavioral model for life’s past, present and future. Laws are clearly enunciated for everything from taxation to relations between one’s community and another. Attitudes and rules towards the poor are emphasized. There are two organizing principles in Islam that form the basis for a cross cultural provision of
community services to the poor. The first is the concept of Sadaka which is equated with alms-giving, and thus, is voluntary. The second is the notion of Zakat, whereby members of the community are obligated to contribute 2% percent of savings from their income for the poor and destitute. The Muslim countries have a deep rooted cultural base in their religious beliefs, and they are practised by the rich of the poor Muslim countries in an institutionalized manner.

In other religions many feel that something has to be done for the poor. It is necessary for those who are more fortunate to share with the poor. This sharing should take the form of gifts and contributions, for which the poor would be grateful. This is the myth of charity. It is a traditional way of addressing inequality and maintaining goodwill between the rich and the poor. This charity approach has taken a modern turn as welfare. In non-western countries the concept of welfare is dominated by charity for the disabled, orphaned, poor, widows and destitutes. This charity oriented welfare depends on the commitment of the government and other dominant groups to help the poor on behalf of its more prosperous citizens. Poor people thus became dependent on outsiders, and lose both their self respect and self-reliance. Many feel that it is advantageous to remain charitable and "do-gooder", rather than face the demands of equality.

A charitable attitude and approach by the outsiders inevitably discourages the poor from organizing into communities that can take effective action, and present a more self-reliant image of the poor. (Angel and Benjamin, 1976). The most immediately gratifying forms of charity are those where direct action yields quick results, against visible physical weakness, such as eye camps (where those who are blind receive sight), and feeding programmes for the poor (where the malnourished are fed). Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs and women of the elite class, and their equivalents, subscribe to such campaigns where direct physical benefits can be seen. The direct approaches of charity oriented welfare adopted by outsiders are preferred, because they will gain and not lose.
Despite the enormity of the problem of poor settlements and slum dwellers, most of the western and non-western countries have continued to rely mainly upon the "social welfare centres" approach to bring about improvements, by providing services of various types. The social welfare centres of today had their origin in the 'settlement houses' that were established in the nineteenth century, for the poor of England and for immigrants in the United States. (Woods and Kennedy, 1922). These centres are referred to more recently in United States as "Neighbourhood Centres" (Hillman, 1960). These centres give the slum dwellers the feeling that something is being done for them and make both government and the wealthy citizens feel more secure about efforts to improve the life of the poor. The role of the centres is seldom carefully defined. Theoretically, a centre, or settlement house, is supposed to change the slum by providing services and exposing the poor people to a different set of values and norms. Typically, centres are rooms or even separate buildings where services like sewing, handicraft, and literacy classes, as well as occasional cultural activities are offered. Usually there is a school for younger children. In India and in other non-western countries, often free prepared milk is given to children and to certain adults. (Clinard, 1966:101). Space and fund limitations, however, make it impossible for a centre to serve more than a fraction of the residents in what is often a large area. The staff usually consist of a few professional social workers and a number of volunteers, most of whom do not belong to or live in the area served. These volunteers, and even some of the professional workers, are usually from a higher social class, with more economic advantages, and are almost without exception better educated than the typical resident of the area. The policy board generally consists of people who reside outside the area, although there is sometimes token participation by area residents (Clinard, 1966:104). The number of people actively involved is normally so small that the per capita costs are actually quite high.

A contemporary centre in a lower class Italian area of Boston has been described by Gans,
"Elizabeth Peabody House was the largest settlement house (welfare centre) in the area, its eight floors over-towering the tenement blocks it served. Although its programme had been cut sharply in the 1950's in 1958 it still conducted activities for children of all ages, adolescents and adults. The policy-making board and most of the staff came from outside the neighbourhood. The board itself was made up largely of upper-class business men. The staff consisted of professionals as well as students from Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology". (1962:146).

These attempts of charity oriented welfare are from outsiders, without any attempts to encourage initiatives from the poor people themselves. "The assumption has been that people cannot raise themselves by their own efforts. Thus all the fund raising, making programmes and recruiting of staff, and all other plans, are made from outside without asking the prospective clientele." (Wood, 1955:191).

Too often, not only in India, but also in many other non-western countries in particular, this type of "Welfare work" appears to involve a particular channel through which the wealthier people, particularly women, are able to achieve special status or even political prestige. The welfare approach has been strongly criticized, as it is entirely inadequate to serve the poor at large, in view of the massive nature of problem. Such approaches tend to create dependency among the people on the Centre's Staff, rather than to develop a desire on their own part to work out solutions to their problems. Accepting "alms" and "charity" from the centre minimizes the pride and aspirations of the individuals.

3:2 States Responses: Ignorance, Segregation, Uprooting And Relocations

Distinct phases have been apparent in government reactions to the poor settlements and housing question; but it is difficult to place these phases into time periods, since some governments were faced by particular phenomena much earlier than others and needed to modify their policies accordingly. For example, shanty-towns or squatter settlement expansion affected
Latin American cities much earlier than most African countries; what was happening in Buenos Aires, Rio, or Mexico City in the 1940s was often of little concern to Lusaka, Lagos or Dar es Salaam until the 1960s. In addition, generalization is complicated by the fact that within the same country different attitudes have been manifest at different levels of government. Not infrequently the national government has maintained one policy, often one of benign neglect, while the real issues and policy decisions have been apparent at the local level, often in the form of slum demolition and residential segregation.

Despite these reservations, it is possible to make some generalization about government policies for housing the poor. At the national level the typical governmental response for many years was to ignore the housing problem of the country, and to restrict the growth of low-income housing in the main cities by limiting city ward migration. In parts of the British Empire population movement was controlled carefully through Pass Laws, a device intended to keep as much indigenous housing in the rural areas as possible. (Peil, 1976:155-66; Tipple, 1976:167-9). Where native urban labour was required it was allocated employer-built rental housing (as in Zambia), or segregated into distinct residential areas (as in India) or forced into workers hostels as in the Republic of South Africa. (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982: 97). While this attitude eased over time as the labour demands of industry and mining increased, the neglect component remained paramount in colonial policy for many years. The policy of neglect of the shanty towns, slums and squatter settlements was the simplest for most of the non-western governments even after independence. This has been justified by the policy makers and planners of these governments, on the grounds of the illegality of the settlement and their supposed non-contribution to the economic life of the city.

The other reason for this neglect was that if conditions remained bad in the poor settlements, it was hoped that these settlements would fail to attract new migrants and the flow would decrease. But the flow continues and governments are faced with the challenge of squatter settlements. In almost all non-western countries squatting has strict legal connotations, referring
either to the occupation of land without the permission of the owner, or to the erection or occupation of a dwelling in contravention of existing legislation. This juridical interpretation is valuable, because it clearly defines the nature of the relationship between the squatters and the authorities, and provide the latter with complete legal justification for any action they choose to take. The insecurity generated amongst the squatters by this situation has important effects on their lifestyle.

In many ways the local authorities are relatively content to allow these irregularities to persist, because the basic illegality and insecurity of squatter settlements gives the authorities a considerable degree of direct and indirect control over the inhabitants. For this reason no matter how temporary or established a squatter settlement may be, all are vulnerable to legitimate demolition and clearance with minimal warning and little or no compensation. On the one hand, the low cost of squatter housing and the money earned from clandestine occupations ensure the large masses of the urban poor survive with minimum demands on the public exchequer. On the other hand, the illegal nature of so many aspects of squatter life enables the authorities to retain a strong, although not always tight, control over the inhabitant. Indeed many government officials are deliberately lax in enforcing laws and regularisations, provided they receive financial recompense. It is important to note, therefore, that extensive urban squatting may not necessarily be a manifestation of weak political or administrative control. As long as some laws are contravened the squatters remain in a precarious position.

Smith discusses the reactionary policy of the governments of non-western countries, by saying that reactionary responses are those concerned simply with eradicating slums and squatter settlements because they disfigure and disrupt the city. Such policies cover a wide range of activities, but normally involve no construction of housing for the displaced families. In some countries, reaction takes the form of preventive measures which attempt to check the flow of migrants to urban areas, in
others demolition of existing squatter dwellings is the most prevalent government activity. (Smith, 1979:26).

3:3 Residential Segregation

The local counterpart of national and international neglect was, and in modified form remains, a policy of deliberate segregation. In India the British planned their cities carefully; Delhi was built for two different worlds, the "European" and the "natives", for the ruler and the ones who were ruled. (King, 1976:263). Only the European sections were planned and constructed by the colonial powers. They built comfortable residential accommodation, wide roads and open spaces for those who knew how to use these facilities. The indigenous areas were left to look after themselves, probably on the assumption that nothing could be done to help them. Often the areas allocated to the native population were too restricted and led, under conditions of rapid immigration, to very high housing densities. In Zaria the European residential area was clearly separated, grouped around a club house with a racing track, a polo field, and a golf course. In Tunis there was an almost self-sufficient city outside the original indigenous centre. (Abu Lughod, 1976:35-6). Since independence, this pattern of complete racial segregation has begun to break down as the new indigenous administrators have begun to occupy the European residential areas. Segregation of another kind has persisted and grown. As Evers (1977) argues for Asian cities, racial segregation is giving place to class segregation. Urban authorities no longer zone their cities according to race, but implicitly according to income and housing density. According to Agarwal "All third world cities are divided into two parts Maputo, Capital of Mozambique, has a cement city with modern tall buildings, which the Portuguese Colonists built for themselves. There is a second Maputo, a cane city, where mud and cane houses are built for the African workers". (1981:5).

African and Asian cities are moving closer to the pattern, long apparent in Latin America, whereby income determines where people can live. In case this form of segregation should fail to operate effectively, elite groups are
additionally protected by zoning laws. As a consequence, beautifully planned elite barrios, the equal of and better than the colonial townships, have emerged in all Latin American cities and are clearly separated from the spontaneous settlements.

A case can be made, in fact, that planning has become popular in Latin America mainly as a method of protecting elite barrios from the incursions of squatter settlers and the like (Amato, 1970; Violich, 1944). Today zoning, income, and government housing projects maintain residential segregation on the basis of class, not only in Latin America but throughout the western and non-western world.

3:4 Uprooting And Relocation

Linked with the policy of segregation has been one of demolishing the poor areas with undesirable housing. The destruction of low-income housing is as old as the policy of separating populations according to their origins. In Singapore, for example, there are recorded cases of demolition occurring as early as 1840 (Wee, 1972:220). Sometimes demolition was to discourage migration into the city, but more often it has been part of an urban renewal project or used to maintain the zoning laws. Unfortunately, urban renewal and demolition projects have never been effective in the sense of helping the displaced population. Often the displaced people are not given any residential areas with housing; they are often left out on the city's periphery. In countries where rehousing policies prevail, most government programmes are unfortunately alien in nature, in that they seek to apply standard western solutions to the urban housing problems of the non-western world. Such schemes are characterised by their reliance on capital intensive, technologically sophisticated industrial methods, and invariably take the form of massive high-rise blocks. (Smith, 1979:26).

The planners do not realise that the urban poor are often disturbed by the cultural change involved in relocation to high-rise housing. The outsiders' approach considers that relocation or demolition of the poor settlements is merely a phenomenon of physical relocation and should be handled and discussed in a physical improvement context. The impact of
uprooting that is caused by the relocation and slum demolition is very severe and damaging socially and psychologically to the individuals who are uprooted during the demolition process. (Coelho, 1980) says that uprooting disrupts, however temporarily, the sense of security and self-continuity of an individual moving through a changed physical and social environment.

Harris (1980:97) draws from his experience in urban planning to emphasize the importance of "the structure of meaning" in socialization. The structure of meaning is defined as the conceptual organization of understanding of one's physical and social surroundings. It consists according to the author, "of the unique understandings which the individual forms out of his experiences, as well as the shared knowledge which individuals learn about a culture that provides them with ways of solving the problems of crises and change. Structures of meaning may be highly specific, as they are embodied in unique emotional attachments and commitments to persons, places, and political entities." Harris further argues that uprooting produces emotional stress by disrupting this structure of meaning. A key health issue which has been raised in urban renewal programmes is that the loss of neighbourhood and community can lead to grief and mourning syndromes.

Too often the new housing for the poor, after removal from their settlements, has been unsuitable. This is owing to its distance from work places, the regularity with which rents or mortgage payments have to be paid, and because of the limited house space provided. The most frequent reaction among the removed populations has been gradually to move back to areas similar to those from which they were removed. In the massive Favela removal programme in Rio de Janeiro, large numbers of Favelados sold their homes to higher income families or 'fiddled' the system in other ways (Valladares, 1978:18-23). In Nairobi, most of the former squatters required to move to new sites in Kariobangi sold their lots to more prosperous applicants who moved instead (Weisner, 1976). In Manila, of the 5,975 squatter families moved 35 kilometres to Sapang Palay in 1960, only 41 percent remained in 1969 (Hollnsteiner, 1977:313). Such removal programmes have come under considerable attack in recent years as
it has become obvious that the removed population seldom relish their new accommodation and that the reasons for the removal are often motivated less by interest in the conditions of the poor than in clearing land for prestige buildings or for speculative projects*1.

Frequently indeed, demolishing housing is the worst of all possible strategies. As Abrams long ago pointed out, in a housing famine "there is nothing that slum clearance can accomplish that cannot be done more efficiently by an earthquake. The worst aspects of slum and squatter life are overcrowding and increases in shelter cost." (1964:126).

Unfortunately, it seems that vested interest and/or ignorance on the part of planners has prevented this common sense from being heeded in many cities. In Nairobi the main squatter areas outside the Mathare Valley and Kibera were demolished in 1970, and President Kenyatta later defended the local council by arguing that he did not want Kenya's capital to turn into a Shanty town (Stren, 1975:272-3). In Cape Town 20,000 blacks living in the squatter settlement of Crossroads are regularly threatened with removal to the Transkei, 1,000 kilometres away, 'where they are legally entitled to be'*2.

Even the coloured population, the non-white racial group permitted to remain in Cape Town, is subject to urban-removal programmes. In its wisdom the government is building two new cities for coloureds at Mitchells Plain (27km by road to the south of the centre), and Atlantis (45km north). While by non-western standards the accommodation being built is both cheap and of reasonable quality the facts remain that the new cities have few commercial or industrial employment opportunities, the proposed rail links to Cape Town are nowhere near completion, and it is less than evident that the poor actually want to move. (Ellis et al, 1977; Dewar and Ellis, 1979).

The views and approaches of the outsiders or the dominant groups are based on lack of clear understanding of the poor's view and their real situation. It is clear from this chapter and will become more obvious in the next one, that what is apparent to the outsiders is not real, and what is real is not understood by them. The creation of the squatter settlements,
and their survival in spite of the approaches adopted by the dominant groups, is a development-oriented expression by the millions of urban poor in non-western countries. The outsiders responsible for the improvement and ultimate development of the squatter settlements urgently need to re-examine their approaches and policies. They must reinvestigate the existing potentials within these settlements and accordingly reframe their development planning and its strategies for implementation. The next chapter discusses a development approach that is community-based, for the integrated upgrading of squatter settlements in non-western countries.

*Note: Numerous examples exist of governments having demolished centrally located low income housing to allow private enterprise to develop the area. All too often the grounds on which such decisions were taken have been problematic.

CHAPTER 4
THE POOR'S WORLD VIEW OF THEIR SOCIETY

Policies with respect to squatters and slum dwellers are made by the dominant groups in society. They reflect the social origins of these groups, their current economic interest, their interpretation of their own needs and those of the nation. Policies that originated from charities and range from demolition of the poor settlement to segregation and neglect leading to uprooting and rehousing, have in return created a "world view" by the poor towards the outsiders or the dominant groups. They have evolved and demonstrated their own strategies to solve their problems and meet their immediate needs, and in the process have developed an attitude of self-reliance.

The poor themselves make their own interpretations of the dominant attitudes and policies towards them. To the best of their ability, they try to exploit legal, social, economic and political loopholes - especially when invading land and building their settlements by squatting. These interpretations form an essential ingredient for the outsiders understanding of the poor's abilities and their views towards society at large, as well as their ability to solve their problems. They do not become discouraged or lose hope but continuously struggle to demonstrate their point. The outsider believes that poor are fatalistic and do not make decisions for their betterment but the invasion of land and the improvement, so often seen in squatter settlements belie this implied passivity. Outsiders frequently overlook the poor's creation of their own environment in spite of all the externally imposed constraints set by the wider society.

It is at the grass-roots level that the problem of meeting basic needs is felt most pressingly by the poor masses in most countries, so the motivation to solve and handle this problem lies with the poor, which they demonstrate from time to time in all situations. "To look at the world from the squatter settlement dweller's eyes, may not seem too difficult a task. In fact it would seem to be harder to understand an exotic culture,
using concepts and symbols so different from our own". (Lloyd, 1979:69).

Poor persons use the same language as the dominant culture in their society. Their interests in finding work, paying for a house, educating their children - are similar to those of all other members of the society. The problem is the ease with which a middle-class observer imputes to the slum or squatter settlement's residents his own view of the situations. It is expected that the poor will react to poverty in the same way as the outsider would do, if suddenly thrust into such a plight. The expectations are conditioned too by the explanation which the outsiders hold of the root causes of poverty, such as capitalist, marxist marginality, exploitation and colonization's impact. George Foster (1965b), an anthropologist with extensive experience in Spain and Latin America, presents the poor's world view as the image of limited good. He further describes the limited good orientation this way:

"I mean that broad areas of peasant behaviour are patterned in such a fashion as to suggest that poor people view their social, economic and natural universes - their total environment - as one in which all the desired things in life such as land, wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honour, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, exist in finite quantity and are always in short supply, as far as the poor are concerned. Not only do these and all other "good things" exist in finite and limited quantities, but in addition there is no way directly in urban or rural poor's power to increase the available quantities". (Foster, 1965:296).

He says that an individual and his family can improve their position only at the expense of others. He also points out the importance of envy in influencing economic and social relationships among the poor. But Mangin (1970) argues that this is not the only way to look at the poor communities. From their perspective, according to Mangin, a much more common block to economic progress is the impingement of outside forces -
landlords, government officials, armies, foreign investors - on
the urban and rural poor. The peasant and urban poor suspicion of
community members and the subsequent internal hostility and abuse
cannot compare with the abuse and corruption from outside.

4:1 Anthropologist's View

To see the world through the eyes of one's subjects is
the task of social anthropologists. As Malinowski stated, "his goal
is to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to
realize his view of his world" (1922:25). The anthropologist in
the city has simultaneously to maintain satisfactory
relationships both with informants and with mentors and officials
in the local university and government departments, because the
urban anthropologist, unlike rural anthropologist, cannot wish to
preserve the way of life of his/her subjects unlike rural
anthropologist, but is likely to become personally involved in
schemes to alleviate their poverty and distress. It is this
involvement of action oriented anthropology's approach through
which the poor's view of their world can be demonstrated, as the
"poor do not bring out their points and views in concepts and
ideas in books, articles and journals, nor they have access to
communication media".

Their views are "demonstrated and expressed by their
actions, which they take to solve their immediate basic problems,
such as housing, education, jobs, sanitation, health, community
and social relations etc". They neither confront the state nor
retaliat against the policy of the authorities. The fundamental
question is: what do they do? The poor organize themselves on a
need-oriented-basis and respond to the direct actions of the
State with a positive approach, that is they reorganise and
reconstruct from the "fall-out effect" of State without directly
confronting and defying it.

The poor are most of the time involved in creating,
constructing, manipulating, lobbying and organizing to improve
their environment. They do not retaliate or confront the
government or authorities. They rather try to make use of any
opportunity, or loopholes present in the outside system. Active resistance comes from the poor only when they have to defend their houses and settlements at the community level, or their cultural and religious identity and independence at the national level.

In Peru, Lima, the poor demonstrated their views and their approach in dealing with outsiders. To meet their basic need of shelter they planned out their strategy and organised groups for land invasion. Lawyers among the recruited group searched land titles to find a site that was owned, or at least could be said to be owned by some public agency, preferably the national government. The organizers then visited the place at night and marked out the lots assigned to the members for homes and locations for streets, schools, churches, clinics and other facilities. After all the plans had been made in the utmost secrecy to avoid alerting the police, the organizers appealed confidentially to some prominent political or religious figures to support the invasion when it took place; they also alerted a friendly newspaper, so that any violent police reaction would be fully reported. On the appointed day the people recruited for the invasion, usually numbering hundreds and sometimes more than 1,000 rushed to the barriada site in taxis, trucks, buses and even on delivery cycles. On arriving, the families immediately began to put up shelters made of matting on their assigned lots.

More than 100 such invasions to set up barriadas have taken place in the Lima area in the past 20 years. The settlers have consistently behaved in a disciplined, courageous, yet nonprovocative manner, even in the face of armed attack by the police. "In the end popular sympathy and the fear of the political consequences of too much police violence have compelled the Government authorities to allow the squatters to stay". (Mangin, 1967a:23).

The poor of Peru's barriada's demonstrated to the outsiders by erecting a settlement for themselves, that they need homes like the rest of the people in the world. They showed that they have remarkable capacity for initiative, self-help and
community organization. The important aspect is that the poor people of the *barríadas* are not resentful or alienated; Mangin (1967a) reports that they are understandably cynical yet hopeful. They describe themselves as "humble people", abandoned by society, but not without faith that "they" (the powers that be) will respond to people's needs or help to create a life of dignity for them.

The people of the *barríadas* believe that their present situation is far preferable to what they had in the provinces or the slums in the centre of the city, and that they have an investment in their future and that of their children. The squatters have produced their own answer to the difficult problems of housing and community organization that the governments have been unable to solve. Mangin claims that what is demonstrated, achieved and felt by the poor squatters of the *barríadas* in Peru, is supported by investigations of squatter settlements around the world (1967a). Perlman in her study of Rio de Janeiro helps to bring out the Brazilian's poor's viewpoint. The people of this community formed their organisation as the Residents Association, SOMAC (Sociedade dos Moradores e Amigos de Cataumba). It was founded in 1961 and has held elections for officers every two years since then. Its membership in 1968-1969 was registered as 1,600. The statutes of the organization give some indication of its priorities. The following were the rules framed on the walls of the headquarters:

1). Respect the association and its premises.
2). No drinking on the premises.
3). Playing of checkers, dominoes and the like is permitted but not for money.
4). No-one may appear at headquarters after 6 o'clock in shorts, bathing trunks, barefooted, or shirtless whether a member or not.
5). Anyone getting into a fight will be immediately suspended from the association.
6). Anyone who does not pay his dues for one month will have three months punishment of not enjoying the association’s benefits. (Perlman, 1976:29-30).

The energy and work that the residents of Catacumba show is defying the myth that the poor are lazy, apathetic and inactive people, and that they are responsible for their own poor state. "At five in the morning Catacumba begins to disgorge its inhabitants. Butlers, cooks, and nursemaids descend the steps leaving for the homes of the "ladies". Workers, in large part construction labourers, form lines at the two bus stops or set off on foot in the direction of Capacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon....A little later those who came down from their houses have a different appearance: it is the time of the public functionaries, of the children who are going to school, and of the enormous number of washerwomen who leave their homes early to take advantage of the weak morning sun for their scrubbing and later the strong sun to dry the clothes they've washed.... The Favela almost in its entirety already shows - by eight o'clock in the morning - ample proof of its energy and head work.

This work and struggle of the people to improve their life was not recognised by the Government; instead the Federal Agency decided to remove all Rio Favelas within three years, and to clear all the settlements. Although the poor families bemourned their fate, no opposition was voiced publicly. This attitude of the poor has developed due to centuries of repression and powerlessness, and is further embedded by the charity giving approach that keeps the poor always at the receiving end, and trains them to accept poverty as their fate, as part of religion, caste or class. (Perlman, 1976:31).

4:2 Traditional Values And Integration

Most rural-urban migrants make their first move to a city where they expect to be received by a relative or friends. They will be offered shelter and food for a while, they will be introduced to the urban environment, and efforts will be made to find them opportunity to earn their living. This pattern of
initial urban association encourages persons of the same origin to form residential clusters. A tight housing market or allocation of housing by big public authorities or employers constitute countervailing tendencies. But even when residually dispersed, people of common origin frequently maintain close ties. Butterworth (1972) describes a group of men in Mexico City who migrated from Tilantongo, an isolated Mixtec community 300 miles away. Almost every weekend they meet at the house of a member who is the undisputed leader of the group. A member in need of aid turns to him first. The group mustered considerable financial resources and spent a great deal of time and effort on gaining access to public agencies. Repayment of assistance is not expected, and even loans go mostly unpaid, but continued affiliation with the group and willingness to help all other members is implied.

The poor have their own way of doing things that leads them to integrate in larger city networks. They share information and plan out strategies for coping with problems in the city and introduce new arrivals its complexities.

The leader of Tilantongo critically analyse the needs of the community and possible ways of meeting them. They plan schemes to get rid of the reactionary incumbent in the community offices, and weigh suggestions to be made at the monthly meeting of the formal organization of Tilantongo migrants in Mexico City. Their leader makes regular calls on the president of the organization of Mixtec migrants in Mexico city, a former state deputy in the Mexican legislature with influence in government circles. Considerable efforts are directed towards getting him and officials from various government commissions to accept invitations to fiestas at the leader's home. Once present, the officials will be supplied with liquor and a sumptuous barbecue a la Mixteca in an attempt to extract promises of aid to Tilantongo.

The example of a refugee colony in Dacca, Bangladesh, shows that poor people have strong hopes for their future in spite of strongly negative attitudes from the government. In
1948, 565 refugee families migrated from different parts of India to then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and were settled in Azimpur and in Nikhet area of Dacca City. The government decided to build a girls college on this site, and planned the eviction of the refugee families. The poor people organised themselves to resist the eviction. As a result their leader was arrested several times, and tortured to give up his leadership role. In 1958 the authorities compelled the refugees to vacate the land, and shifted them to an other Refugee Rehabilitation Zone. Later in the 1960s, during the political unrest and agitation the refugees again received notice to vacate, but they did not respond and kept quiet due to the unrest in the country. In 1975 about 60 trucks with 500 labourers came to evict and relocate them away from the city. The leaders of the community went to court and were able to keep the court open till 10.00 at night. Finally, the order was issued from the District Commissioner of Dacca not to evict them at that time. Seeing their successful resistance from probable eviction, the leaders adopted different strategies to face foreseeable threat. They started writing to newspapers about their problem of land rights. They became more strongly organized. They were successful in making it clear to the authorities that they were not a problem, but as a community of 8,000 people they could play an active political role. The political leaders came and assured them that they would solve their problem if they would vote for them. The community voted in 1973, 1977 and 1981 for these politicians but there was no change in their situation. This history of struggle for shelter by the people of Kazi Wahab Colony, for the last 36 years, expresses the will and determination of the poor to deal with the outsiders' policies. "They still do not have the legal rights but they have great hope of getting them as long as they are united". (Anzorena, 1984:5).
A Strategy For Integrated Development Of Squatter Settlements

The poor have produced their own answer to the difficult problems of housing, community organisation and their participation, that neither government nor outsiders could solve. This shows that only the people themselves can solve their own pressing problems. If only government and outsiders would help the poor to help themselves instead of ignoring, repressing and imposing their top-down development schemes on the people of squatter settlements and slums. The improvement projects for squatter settlements by outside development agencies and experts must realistically consider the existing structures and dynamics of these settlements. They have to look at the overall situation through the eyes of the dwellers in these settlements. It is exemplified in the field work chapter of this thesis that when outsiders are prepared to give time and energy and are genuinely concerned for the people, the upgrading projects and programmes are successfully implemented, this builds its own momentum of growth, which results in integrated off-shoots of development, with their roots in the community's existing development structures. The spin-offs of such approaches have surprisingly encouraging effects on the most traditional barriers and obstacles, especially in the case of women and their role in development in traditional societies like Pakistan or others in non-western countries. The people of squatter settlements, being outside the formal development framework of their governments, have evolved their own social, technical, economic, cultural and institutional system. Not only has this system helped the urban poor to survive, sustain and consolidate themselves, but the whole process has created a development structure that is self-reliant and community based. It is an outcome of a slow and gradual but continuous progressive process, that depends on the people's own resources, skills and organisations. To the outside development agencies, experts and others, this progressive community based development structure and its dynamic are not seen and if seen is considered to be unsystematic, inefficient,
unhealthy, disorganised, illegal and chaotic. But examined from the communities' point of view, such a self-help system is proved to be an immediate solution to their basic needs, according to their resources and abilities. They deal with repressive, unsympathetic and unrealistic policies and approaches of the outsiders in most development oriented way, i.e. instead of challenging and retaliating against the state policies, the squatters reorganise themselves and their resources to build their homes and settlements on their own. Maybe these homes and settlements are not according to the standards laid by outsiders, but they served their purpose for the people who live in them. To a conscious, sensitive and realistic outsider involved in development work, the existing progressive development system of these settlements provides a perfect example of community participation in its development. This development strategy is discussed in detail later.

The outside development agencies, while planning and implementing projects or programmes, should take time to understand the potentials of squatter settlements, for dynamic self-development. The existing systems provide directions and an operational base for outside interventions for improvement projects. The outside interventions must upgrade the community's existing social, technical and institutional structures in the same progressive manner and at the same pace, as that of the community, so that the entire process is within the latter's capacity, control and understanding. This slow and gradual movement builds up mutual understanding and minimises the chances of manipulation, misguidance and confusion on either side. A project implemented by building on the existing situation of squatter settlements, becomes self-generating and continues on its own, because it is knitted into the community's system.

It is demonstrated in the field work of this thesis, that using the existing skills and resources of the people within the communities, and upgrading them with technical, social and institutional assistance were the key factors that led to successful implementation of sanitation upgrading in the squatter
settlements of Karachi, exemplified in this study. The upgraded system can further be utilized in broader improvement policies, and slowly and progressively an implementation methodology can emerge from within that not only bridges the gap between outsiders and the people, but also prepares a sound and rooted foundation for more broad, basic, comprehensive and integrated community development of squatter settlements in particular and the poor in general. The problem of replicability, affordability and recovery of resources is automatically solved by the people themselves as they integrate the whole process of outside intervention with their own ongoing progressive development system.

Unfortunately, however, most of the development agencies and experts are biased, with a sense of superiority regarding the poor and illiterate. They are prepared to teach, to utilize their own skills and technologies of communication and development, but not to listen, to learn and to communicate in a form of dialogue. Another major reason for limited success in development projects is lack of a realistic understanding and application of community participation. The outsiders consider community participation only when the community participate in their (the outsiders') top-down implemented projects. What the community does itself for its own development, is not considered community participation by the outsiders.

A fundamental limitation that is inbuilt in nearly all the development projects is that they are time based. Their planning execution and rate of implementation has a time limitation. The funds are to be spent within a given period, but the development agencies and experts do not understand that the people and nations they are dealing with are not time conscious in the same way as the outsiders, especially the poor people for whom time has no meaning or value as compared with the planners' concept of time. The development projects have very limited time to develop successful implementation approaches and these approaches are not synchronized with the pace of the community based progressive system.
It is obvious that it is the outsiders who have to re-examine their policies, approaches and methods, if a practical, genuine and deep rooted solution is to be found for the problem of squatter settlement upgrading. This has been proved in the fieldwork experience of more than five years while implementing the pilot project discussed in this study. The top-down instant development approaches not only limit the learning process that is essential for upgrading projects, but also introduce or impose a policy that the people of squatter settlements in particular cannot relate to, afford, control or integrate in their own progressive development structures and systems. This is one of the basic reasons why most of the development schemes and projects had limited success in achieving their objectives.

There is a crucial need to study and understand the reality of the situations from below from the poor people's point of view. It is only thus that the outsiders can achieve their objective of securing community participation in the development process of squatter settlements.

4:4 The Reality Is Not Understood

In view of the tremendous body of literature attesting to the destructive nature of the contact of the poor migrants with cities, the remarkable thing is the efficient way so many poor people have adopted and contribute to city development. In many cases it is hard to see how they could have done better. (Landsberger, 1968). The vast peripheral squatter settlements often founded by "invasion", are classically a Latin American phenomenon. These settlements are seen as "bridgeheads" places where the new migrants first settle, close to their kin and employment so that they can seize upon an opportunity suddenly presented for squatting. (Lloyd, 1979:26-27). The invasions of squatters are deemed as an assault upon private property. The desire of the squatter to own their own home is not understood, instead the affluent live in terror of unstructured violence and predict that the urban poor will spear-head or at least sustain, the coming revolution.
To describe squatters indigenous terms have grown up in the non-western countries. The squatters and their colonies are considered illegal occupation of land. Spontaneous settlements is one name given to the illegal housing of the poor, that has emerged since World War II. They are also referred to as uncontrolled, unauthorized, unplanned, self-generated and marginal settlements. (Ward, 1982:1). To make matters even more confusing, each country has a local generic name for them: Geakondus in Turkey, Bustees in India, Pueblos Jovena or Barriados or Ranchos in Peru, Favela in Brazil, Colonies Proletarias in Mexico. In Tunisian cities, they are termed Courbivilles in Algerian cities the Casbah in Casablanca and other Moroccan cities, Bidonville. In Pakistan they are termed Katchi Abadies. All the countries listed above contain squatter settlements which have arisen by land invasion (Leeds, 1969) or by sub-divisions of land which lack services or title registration. But the settlements are serving the immediate needs of the millions of people in the non-western world, a direct solution to an immediate problem by the people at their level. This attribute of the settlements of the poor is not generally apparent, although it is real.

The middle-class visitor usually perceives urban poverty in distorted terms which are encapsulated in the notion of the slum. This is how Perlman (1976:13) recalls Whyte's (1943; 1981:XV-XVI) famous introduction to his study of a Boston "slum", which contrasts the outsider's perception of a squatter settlement in Rio de Janeiro with an insider's view:

"From outside, the typical favela seems a filthy, congested human ant-heap. Women walk back and forth with huge metal cans of water on their heads or cluster at the communal water supply washing clothes. Men hang around the local bars chatting or playing cards, seemingly with nothing better to do. Naked children play in the dirt and the mud. The houses look precarious at best, thrown together out of discarded scraps. Open sewers create a terrible stench, especially on hot, still days.
Dust and dirt fly everywhere on windy days, and mud cascades down past the huts on rainy ones." (Perlman, 1976:13).

Things look very different from inside, however. Houses are built with a keen eye to comfort and efficiency, given the climate and available materials. Much care is evident in the arrangement of furniture and the neat cleanliness of each room. Houses often boast colourfully painted doors and shutters and flowers or plants on the window sill. Children although often not in school, appear on the whole to be bright, alert, and generally healthy. Their parents place high value on giving them as much education as possible. Once again when outsiders judge poor peoples living environment it is mostly through their housing and living conditions. The criteria for judging are usually subjective and ethnocentric. The poor live with a rational of their own and if this is explored with empathy and understanding, one will see the point of view of the poor in setting priorities. While the poor of India would no doubt welcome flush toilets in their houses, it is unlikely that they would view the lack of such a facility in the same cataclysmic way as would a European or North American. Families unaccustomed to such "luxuries" often view their needs differently. For many non-western poor, "outsiders" standards are often irrelevant because they have more urgent needs. To a hungry family food is of far greater importance than shelter, especially where the climate is dry and warm. But the needs of the poor, at least the ordering of priorities, are frequently misunderstood by development professionals, let alone by those who have lived most of their lives in comfort. Judgements about housing conditions must also take into account different cultural, social and environmental conditions within the non-western world's cities.

The differences in housing conditions in different non-western cities are a function of differing levels of per capita income, the distribution of wealth, the rate of urban growth and the form of social organizations. But they also reflect differences in the responses of the poor in each city. Such responses vary dramatically according to the poor's own
expectations of their chances in life, their own view, reasonable
or untenable, of what kind of housing they want, and the degree
to which they are organized to improve their housing situation.
It is difficult for the poor to escape their poverty given the
economic and social situation in most non-western countries. But
the poor's response to their poverty is rational, innovative and
nearly always more perceptive than often they are given credit
for.

Also, unapparent to the casual observer, "there is a
remarkable degree of social cohesion and mutual trust and a
complex internal social organization; involving numerous clubs
and voluntary associations".

Negative evaluations of the behaviour patterns of the
poor come about in two ways. The poor themselves are usually
aware of middle-class values, and frequently aspire to live by
them, while in fact following different standards. Middle-class
observers tend to perceive lower-class behaviour as inferior. An
appreciation of the conditions the poor face helps to understand
the gap between ideal and actual behaviour and goes some way
towards calling into question such judgements made by outsiders.
(Gilbert and Gugler, 1982:132). What is required is a balanced
perspective which has to be based on an appreciation of elements
of the subculture of the poor that carry a positive connotations
by most standards. Recognition of recurrent patterns of mutual
aid and of solidarity action among the poor merits special
attention from such a perspective. Hollnsteiner (1972:32)
reports from a neighbourhood in a lower-class Tando Section of
Manilla:

"Being poor forces a closeness beyond mere sociability,
for crises arise frequently enough to encourage strong patterns
of neighbouring. Mutual aid consists largely of contributions of
food, money or service upon the death of a household member or
the happier celebration of a baptism or marriage. It surfaces
again in the borrowing and lending of household items and money,
maintaining surveillance over a neighbour's house or children
while the mother runs an errand, notifying one another of job
openings and (particularly for adolescents) support in the event of a gang fight with rivals from other blocks."

Lomnitz, (1974:146-54; 1977:131-58 and 1978) argues strongly that the urban poor in Latin America find their ultimate sources of livelihood in market exchange, but cannot survive individually: the market fails to provide any security and the poor are not in a position to accumulate savings. They survive by complementing market exchange with a system based on resources of kinship and friendship, which follows the rules of reciprocity, a mode of exchange among equals embedded in a fabric of continuing social relationships. She describes such a pattern in Corrada del Condor, a small shanty town in Mexico City. Here the prevalent rural pattern of individualism and mistrust are superseded by powerful tendencies toward integration, mutual assistance and co-operation. Recent arrivals are housed, sheltered and fed by their relatives in the shanty towns; the men are taught a trade and oriented towards available urban jobs, in direct competition with their city kin. The migrants thus become integrated into local networks of reciprocity. Such clusters of neighbours practise continuous exchanges of goods and services on an equal footing. They are made up of three or four - less frequently two, five, or six - nuclear families, and nearly all nuclear families belong to a cluster. Ideally, each cluster is composed of neighbours related through kinship, but a third of the clusters were partly or totally based on friendship. Ties within the clusters are reinforced through godfather relationships (compradazzzo) and through drinking companionship among men (cuatismo). The exchange is underpinned by a strong ideology of assistance: "The duty of assistance is endowed with every positive moral quality; it is the ethical justification for network relations. Any direct or indirect refusal of help within a network is judged in the harshest possible terms and gives rise to disparaging gossip. People are constantly watching for signs of change in the economic status of all members of the network. Envy and gossip are the twin mechanisms used for keeping the
others in line. Any show of selfishness or excessive desire for privacy will set the grapevines buzzing. There will be righteous comments, and eventually someone will find a way to get the errant person straight". (Lomnitz, 1974:151). Patterns of mutual aid are common among the urban poor and appear as an effective adaption to their circumstances. A more profound change in their condition requires solidarity action. Indeed, in many third world cities great numbers of the apparently powerless have grasped a measure of power through collective action; they have organized as squatters. (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982:133).

It is often said that the poor do not make decisions - things happen to them; but the invasions of land and the improvement so often seen in squatter settlements belies this implied passivity. The squatter settlement's poor are creating their environment, in spite of the externally imposed constraints set by the wider society.

The role of Mangin (1967a) and Turner (1969) in advocating and drawing attention to the rationality of the poor with respect to their housing situation has been very important. In their work in Peru they demonstrated the poor's view in meeting their most basic need with their own rationale. The poor of Peru and their shanty towns, were so often, and of course sometimes rightly, denigrated as the ultimate in poor living conditions in Peru. However their housing was frequently the basis of an adequate shelter. Rather than merely being a shack without services, a house was the foundation upon which the more fortunate, better off, or more innovative sought a way out of their poverty. Over time, spontaneous housing tended to improve as inhabitants built outside walls, extra rooms, solid roof and sometimes a second floor.

In favourable circumstances the poor could produce substantial, spacious and reasonably serviced homes. Turner and Mangin did more, however, than merely show that with time many poor families are able to consolidate their housing. They also demonstrated that the reaction of the poor to poverty was rational and that families recognized the most sensible ways of
improving their living conditions. But ways and means of linking the energies of squatter settlements and outside development programmes are not being looked into. How does one bridge the gap of social distances?

Mangin and Turner showed how the poor responded sensibly and rationally to the choices and opportunities open to them in their housing situation. While the poor undoubtedly contribute at times to their own poverty, the basic causes of that poverty are beyond their control. The poor are not a separate sub-society but act much like anyone else. In Perlman's (1976:234) words: "In short, they have the aspirations of the bourgeoisie, the perseverance of pioneers, and the values of patriots. What they do not have is an opportunity to fulfil their aspirations".

The poor have produced their own answer to the difficult problem of housing and community organization, that government or outsiders could not solve it shows that only the people themselves can solve their most pressing problems. If only government and outsiders would help the poor help themselves, instead of confronting and repressing the people of squatter settlements and slums.

4:4 Rationality Of The Poor

During the past three decades ethnographic research in squatter settlements in Latin America has provided data that contradicted the widely accepted postulates cited by Cornelius Mangin, 1968; Perlman, 1976; Goldrich, Pratt and Schuller, 1970.

Alejandro Portes and John Walton (1976:70-72) postulate, and the literature demonstrates, that the political responses of the urban poor are rational adaptions of the existing social situation:

"By 'rational' I mean a strategy of calculated pursuit of social and economic goals through available means. This strategy adapts to the existing situation by taking it as given to be coped with and not as a contingency to be challenged. Patterns of political behaviour exhibited by the urban poor in Latin America can more easily be characterised as deliberate
manipulations of available channels for survival and mobility than as either careless abandon (sub-culture of poverty) or military opposition (radical potential)."

Food, water, shelter, health, education and safety are basic human needs. The ability to attain and maintain these needs constitutes a primary goal for the urban poor, as it does for all humans. Affiliated with but secondary to these goals for many of the impoverished are those of education and ensuring social advancement for their children, and improving economic and social status and material benefits for themselves and their children. One very important strategy of 'calculated pursuit' of social goals is that of political demand-making. Wayne Cornelius defines this behaviour as 'individual' or collective activities aimed at extracting certain types of benefits from the political system by influencing the decision of incumbent government officials (1974:1125). Thus, demand-making is an action to alleviate a perceived need by those who are experiencing. Janice Perlman, who studied two favelas and a suburbio (Which she defines as outlying dormitory communities) in Rio de Janeiro, looked at both participation in Favela associations and political involvement outside the Favela. She found that political associations are "train members in the ritual of election of officers, rules of procedure, formation of charters, constitutions, and by-laws and the process of collective decision-making. But the critical dimension which determines their political nature is that participation in either type confers broad experience in bargaining for benefits from the outside world". (Perlman, 1976:163). Looking at the measure of political awareness, she concluded:

"The amount of information the Favelados have about international politics may not be great, nor is political discussion valued over other topics of conversation. However, the Favelados are led by persons who are more keenly aware of politics and its ramifications than they are, and their attention is astutely selective, focussing on the local arena where their
concern is more likely to produce results". (Perlman, 1976: 169-70).

In summary, the major political activities of the urban poor consist of voting and political demand-making. Portes and Walton (1976:72) have pointed out that these activities constitute a rational adaption to the existing social situation. From the perspective of those outside these national political systems, government responses to such political demand-making constitute a means to co-opt the squatters. As a result, one might expect them to perceive themselves as pacified, but not satisfied. The attitudes of impoverished urban agglomerations may be favourable or unfavourable assessments of the actions and efficiency of the government in meeting their needs and those of the country. We do not, however, see evidence of the anticipated and often highly feared radicalization of such settlements. Portes and Walton's (1976:81) review of the evidence from Peru, Venezuela, Chile and Brazil finds no signs of radicalism either at the polls through affiliation with leftist movements or through strong political organisations acting independently of political parties and using either the electoral process or tactics of limited violence. Scholars who have studied squatter settlements consider the inhabitants to be aware of the deficiencies of the government and of the minimal input they have at the policy-making level. Nonetheless, they see them as supportive of the system. They also see them as perceiving their needs as individual and local ones and their political strategies as aimed at serving the immediate needs of their community.

Michael Whiteford (1974:177) observed of the families he studied in Tulcan Barrio, 'Their concern is with themselves and their immediate families and not with implementing change on a large scale. While they might regard their situation as precarious, they are not revolutionaries: their feelings of neglect have not led them to violence. Perlman (1976:243) states, that any signs of radical ideology, or propensity for revolutionary action, are completely absent. Favelados are generally system supportive and see the government not as evil
but as doing its best to understand and help people like themselves.

While the explanations for the lack of political radicalism are numerous and cannot be explained in detail here, Cornelius, Leeds and Mangin identify some of the factors. Cornelius (1975:233) notes deference to authority and realistic fears of government retribution as contributing to lack of radical activity. He also cites a deeply held conviction that it is more productive to try to manipulate the system to satisfy needs than to confront it or overrun it. The low income settlement areas, examined collectively, are, to a marked extent, organisationally centrifugal and are separated from or divided against each other. Thus, there is little incentive or option for class consciousness or class action. Finally, Mangin (1967:83) offers this insight:

"My own impression from the studies cited and my experience in Lima is that a paternalistic ideology, combined with a "don't let them take it away", slogan, would be more appealing than a revolutionary "let's rise and kill the oligarchy approach". Probably not many inhabitants of the squatter settlements would have regrets if someone else took the latter action, but they themselves are too busy".

Though scholars may formulate their problems in different ways, one finds a substantial uniformity in the general attitudes of dominant groups towards the slums and squatter settlements and their people. Whether they are a long established oligarchy or nouveaux riche they, like the European upper-middle classes of the nineteenth century, fear the dangerous lower classes, seeing in them a threat to their property and to their health. However, the reality of the situation is that the poor are not really a dangerous class but simply striving to improve their lot.

To cope with the constraints imposed by the dominant groups, and to survive, the urban poor reorganise their traditional social, organisational and institutional patterns, and combine them with their resources to evolve their own survival system. This system is gradually improved according to
their socio-economic and legal situation. On close examination this community-based survival system reveals the progressive improvement stages that lead to consolidation and ultimate community development of squatter settlements in general.
CHAPTER 5

PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS IN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

Progressive development is a process adopted by the urban poor to satisfy their basic need for shelter, outside government policy, by squatting in the cities. The entire process involves migrating to the cities, surviving in isolation as illegal squatters, and then gradually over a long period consolidating themselves to improve their homes and settlements. In the process the people are self-reliant according to their needs and resources at their own level, through their own community organisational system, which they evolve to survive in the face of the external pressures as well as to satisfy their basic needs within the settlements. In cities in which the poor are not threatened by eviction, the squatter settlements have presented plentiful evidence to show that they are capable of improving their housing conditions, which results in overall improvement of the environment of their settlements. Let us expose now this progressive development. Many settlements which began as unserviced collections of huts have gradually achieved the status of a suburb of the city. Slowly, little by little, the huts were transformed into solid dwelling units, and the organised community efforts influenced the politicians by putting pressure on the authorities, until electricity, water, basic drainage, schools and health centres were provided. Although this type of improvement process is slow one can see the consistency. It is this gradual and consistent nature of progress, that enables the people of these settlements, to build their houses according to their needs and technical, social and material resources. The community is built and developed in stages, depending on people's priorities and capacities. Through this progressive development process the community strengthens and organizes itself. Gradually and constantly it consolidates itself to satisfy its immediate basic needs of shelter, which the outside system does not provide. Needs like health, education, social welfare and legal
protection, water, and land tenure, are met according to the priority and capacity of the people and their resources, gradually and progressively. Progressive development results from the limitation in the formal state system.

The procedures followed by these communities in improving and developing their areas, in that they are free to act in accordance with their own needs, enable them to synchronize investment in building their homes and community facilities with the rhythm of their social and economic changes. Progressive development takes place at individual family level and at community level, simultaneously. For instance, the very decision to migrate and squat in the city's periphery is an individual decision and need, to improve living conditions. This need takes a collective action sometimes by invading land as in Latin America, or through accretion with the assistance of relations and friends in the cities as in Asia or Africa. The process of progressive development continues, simultaneously at both levels, by invasion, consolidation and adaptation based on solidarity and self-reliance.

Individuals by squatting are free from paying rent, as they had to where they lived before, so when times are hard they are not faced with a threat of being evicted by the owner. In times of inflation the price of food and transport may rise, but at least their investment in their squatter huts, which they improve incrementally, is safe. It is common for squatters to use their houses as a source of income, either through renting the front room or turning it into a shop. Attempts and approaches like these consolidate the squatter's position slowly and progressively. The very basis of this progressive improvement is the individuals' self-reliance in meeting their basic needs.

The roots of this progressive development exist in the squatter settlements, and in their traditional organizational patterns of kinship, friends, and ethnic or religious affiliations. Apparently disorganised to outsiders, on a closer look one finds that the squatter settlements consist of small clusters that are composed predominantly of residents from one
cultural, tribal, religious, linguistic or ethnic group. Usually the squatter settlements are organized on these traditional social organisational patterns which they bring with them when migrating to the city. In squatter settlements that are formed by planned invasions, where squatters organize themselves long before the invasion, the process creates the solidarity necessary to defend the settlements against removal. This is the first stage of progressive development in the lives of the squatters in establishing the settlements. Defending their settlement against removal or demolition, is the collective interest of the inhabitants and in the second stage that follows, it creates the basis of their community organization. This self-reliant and spontaneous emergence of a community-based social organisation, for planned invasion, has its organisational structure established before the settlement is formed.

Community organisations and their solidarity are strong in the early stages of an invasion, because the residents are united in their primary task of land invasion for their housing. But as the threat of eviction diminishes and basic purposes of community organization are achieved, the degree and nature of the organization changes, towards consolidation. The community organization, also strengthens progressively, by making its links with government officials and political leaders, for lobbying to get land tenure, and other facilities.

The community organisations also provide health, education and social services, at their own level, to help the community in giving immediate relief. In this way they help to fill the gap in the city’s service agencies. But on the whole one of the major functions that leads to progressive development of these settlements is that the members of community organizations defend their local interest and that of their community in the various government ministries, and are usually in the forefront of attempts to obtain good schools, roads, sewers, water and other public services and advantages for the town or district. In Brazil the self-built houses, along with cooperatively built community facilities, represent significant
capital through the use of their labour. They built houses, schools, churches and cooperatively built water networks in 185 Rio favelas incrementally and progressively over a long period. (Perlman, 1976).

The role of community based formal or informal groups and organisations is vital in progressive development of the squatter settlements. They act as buffers that cushion the shock of the impact of urban life on the recently arrived migrants, by providing them with a familiar environment in otherwise strange situations. Another important aspect is that the organisations promote and create links between the urban system and the squatter community. This helps in the modernization of the communities of their origins through their stated goals of hometown improvement. These organizations are therefore contributing to the social and political integration of the poor into the nation, slowly but progressively. It is a developmental attitude that does not confront or challenge the state, but depends on their own self-reliant way of life. Mangin (1972) says that lobbying among the bureaucratic institutions in Lima is an important function of the community groups. Foster, (1971) states that squatter settlements' ability to organize, and meet basic needs is demonstrated by the number of well established community voluntary organisations in these settlements. According to him the informal community organisations in Mexico include credit systems, burial aid groups, child-care arrangements and well-developed information network. The people in squatter settlements build on their existing social organization system and try to fill the gap of formal institutions, sometimes collectively and sometimes individually, but each action is towards improvement and development. As Foster further describes, social contacts are particularly important for devising economic and health strategies. The problems of unemployment and under-employment are dealt with, in part, by small business operations that depend to a large extent on social contacts. The role of the formal welfare agencies is filled largely by a system of reciprocal agreements - agreements between
kin, friends and organization and the individual, and some of the institutions, primarily small businesses within the settlement. Thus by creating a social network of economic ties that are legitimised by settlement residents, and that persist from generation to generation, the lack of formal economic dependence on the wider social institutions is compensated for, in a self-reliant way.

Similarly, medical and child-care problems find a partial resolution through the same social contracts. Community organization ties with doctors or members of other professional classes are important. Mutual dependency between mothers in the squatter settlements plays a major role. The specialization of certain individuals in the ability to deal with sickness is a further adaption, and one that increases the value of the individual concerned in exchange relationships. All these ties, as far as they are effective in coping with illness and with child-care, are informal attempts to fill the gap that the formal institutions leave among this population.

The consequence of these informal networks is to insure households against economic and medical dangers. Through these processes women clearly provide themselves with a source of power. The networks are of lasting importance because they constitute a set of alternative institutional arrangements for the poor squatters. Because access to banks, hospitals, lending institutions and so forth are largely limited to members of the middle class, these new arrangements are necessary for survival. But progressively and ultimately these survival arrangements result in strong cohesive community groups, which build the squatter settlement's basic institutional structure, and collectively help and sustain the speed of development.

It is this type of community based social organizational group that brings stability and a sense of belonging, within the poor community, that facilitates and sustains the process of consolidation. Although most of the self-built communities contain highly heterogenous populations, residents may range from the illiterate and chronically unemployed or under-employed, to
professionals, such as lawyers and doctors (Higgins, 1971:19-38), there is a sense of community. There is a continuous flow from rural areas and from inner city slums, but despite this continuous inflow of people, the core of old timers, made up of the original settlers, contributes greatly to neighbourhood stability. These old timers form a stable nucleus to whom new migrants can attach themselves, and they also provide an important source of leadership and continuity for the community's development. (Safa, 1974:13).

5.1 Leadership And Community Organisation.

Community organization and leadership is of crucial importance to the process of survival, improvement and progressive development of the settlement. The most clear-cut example of organizational abilities and leadership qualities is that of "organized land invasions" in Latin America, Peru. (Mangin, 1972). There are situations in which groups of people, consisting mainly of young families, plan and execute the invasion of a particular piece of property. These invasions often require months of preparation. Frequently the squatters recruit the aid of lawyers or law students, clergy, and members of the press. Most often the land to be squatted on is public unused land. Less often the land may be privately owned or the title of the land may be in question. (In Mexico and Peru many land titles go back to immediate post-conquest land grants). Lawyers are invaluable in determining the status of the property, and the sanction of the clergy is frequently sought to strengthen the squatters' moral claim to the land. Squatters attempt to capture the attention and support of the press in the hope that if their invasion or clandestine move is favourably covered police retaliation will be minimized.

The process of squatting and self-built housing in poor communities generally has the same organizational system. Sometimes it is strong and visible to outsiders, although not always understood by them, but for the very survival and incremental improvement of a settlement a formal or informal
pattern of leadership and community organization must exist. Community organizational patterns and their leadership are based on kinsmen, friends, and people of similar ethnic or religious affiliation that tend to move into the same community, particularly in settlements that grow through accretion. Some squatter settlements are composed predominantly of residents from one cultural, tribal, religious, linguistic or ethnic group. Other settlements have two or more distinct sections, each dominated by a particular group of people.

The example of Indian squatter settlements demonstrates how an integrated organizational system is present in these settlements, which becomes the basis of progressive development. In the absence of some system at community level, any improvement and development, without external support, is impossible. Despite the poverty that prevails in them, squatter settlements in most Indian cities are marked by the remarkable ingenuity, social cohesiveness and richness of cultural tradition of their inhabitants. Since most Indian squatters migrate directly from their villages to a squatter settlement rather than going first to a central slum area, traditional forms of social organization and patterns of behaviour continue to prevail. Moreover, the organization of space within a squatter settlement often reflects and reinforces those traditional patterns of interaction. (Payne, 1977:88).

Households tend to cluster together on the basis of kinship ties, caste affiliations, religion, village or region of origin and occupation. Leadership within each cluster and within the settlement as a whole is also based on these traditional groupings. Temples and trees serve as meeting places, and in some cases each tree in the settlement marks the meeting place for a different caste group and is protected by the members of the caste concerned. Water supply outlets are important socializing points for women, who must go there at least once a day. Members of various scheduled castes and Muslims often live in squatter settlements, since they are frequently poor and landless. In the Ahmedabad river bank squatter area, for
example, Muslims constituted a large part of the population until they were relocated. The spatial arrangement of households within each settlement reflects a segregation of groups along caste and kinship lines.

Leadership in the squatter settlements of Ahmedabad is organized largely along traditional lines, the leaders being heads of religious castes and kinship groups. Group leaders often affiliate themselves with a political party in order to gain access to the wider patronage system and sources of power. Collective efforts that lead to progressive development in these settlements are effective in respect of activities such as the establishment and maintenance of common space in each caste's or religious group's neighbourhood. For other physical improvement, people lobby and look to the government or other outside agencies in accordance with the traditional patron-client pattern. However, the outside authorities are rarely called upon to solve internal disputes or control anti-social behaviour. Thus, as far as social and religious activities are concerned, and these are very basic in the Indian context, the squatters are often self-contained, whereas for economic and political activities, linkages with influential outsiders are readily sought and maintained. In effect, these squatter settlements represent an important social base required for adaptation to the complex urban environment in which they are located. There is a continuity of cultural traditions from the villages in terms of social organization and leadership patterns, yet in typical Indian fashion the residents have developed links with the wider urban system through an often extensive network of hierarchical, patron-client ties. This gives these settlements a blend of both rural and urban ways of life, and it is this characteristic which helps migrants make a successful transition from village to city life, and thus the process takes the shape of progressive improvement in the life of the individual migrant and the community as a whole. (The details and information are based on United Nations Centre for Human Settlements) (HABITAT) Survey (1982) and the Author's own field experience in India (1986).
According to U.N.C.H.S. (HABITAT 1982:92) Ayigya village in Kumasi, Ghana, began as a rural Ashanti settlement, but grew substantially as a result of immigration that began in the early 1950s. Migrants now make up almost 60 percent of the settlement's population. The traditional leadership has a judicial function and also serves as a forum for the discussion of locally important issues, while the development committee deals with physical improvements in the settlements. There are also tribal organisations that provide aid to needy members. No change of leadership structure has taken place. Despite religious and ethnic differences among the population in Ayigya, no significant internal conflicts have been recorded. The people in the settlement have undertaken improvement projects involving, for example, cleaning up the settlement and building pit latrines. The stable and effective traditional leadership in the area is responsible for this degree of social cohesion. It is this existing traditional social organization that helps people solve their day to day problem and meet basic needs, and in the process improve their environment.

There is a very limited amount of anthropological literature that deals precisely with the social community organization in squatter settlements, and their role in the development of such settlements. Traditionally, the planners and intellectuals assumed that development has to come from above and outside. The existing development potentials of the people within the settlements have always been underestimated, ignored or maybe never understood, mainly due to the outsiders' views of the poor already discussed.

Mangin (1959), while admitting the above limitation, was impressed by the proliferation of the regional organizations known as clubs in Peru. There are such clubs (organizations) representing different villages in almost every town and city in Peru. It is these clubs, Mangin says, that defend the local community's interest in various government ministries, and are in the front line in lobbying and pressurizing the authorities for civic amenities for their squatter settlements. Lobbying among
the bureaucratic institutions in Lima is an important function of these community groups. (Mangin, 1959:29-30). Mangin interprets the role of the community organizations, that are formed by the squatters as important in the process of successful adaptation to the urban environment, which is essential for progressive development of the settlement. Doughty (1968:1972) and Ronald Skeldon (1976:233-4) have looked at the Lima situation, and agree with this interpretation.

But challenging Mangin and Doughty's conclusions, Jonkind's (1971:1) investigation of community organisations or clubs in Lima threw doubt upon the importance of the functions they ascribe to them. His analysis of the data demonstrated that the proportion, of the total migrant population of Lima who are community club members is considerably less than is generally supposed; the community clubs organize fewer activities than is commonly supposed; very few of these organized activities are related to the aims that might produce the supposed functional results; and participation of members in the institutional activities is substantially less than is normally supposed.

Arguing against the statements of Jonkind, it is important to note that the very survival and existence of the squatter settlement, in the face of extremely harsh government attitudes, is a clear demonstration of the squatter community's participation and solidarity in their development. Every family is involved in constructing their own house, in spite of being removed several times, or living under constant threat of removal. Mutual self-help and traditional ways of helping each other mean the entire population of the settlement is involved in developmental activities. This results in slow and steady improvement in their houses and environments, as seen by recent studies of U.N.C.H.S. (HABITAT) (1982); Turner (1965, 1966, 1967, 1968) and Perlman (1976) and many other writers who have spent years studying squatter settlements from squatters' perspectives. It is the initial entire community's solidarity that leads to ultimate social, physical and institutional improvement of the settlements.
In the squatter settlements the people created their own community based development structure which is self-reliant. This structure is an outcome of the process of squatting, by using their traditional ties of kinship, religion, place of origin etc. They constructed their own houses with their technical skills. It is the self-reliant spontaneity, for improving their lives, that is most striking. It provides a base for further institutionalised improvement of these settlements.

The social organizations of squatter communities look less to the outside service giving agencies for their basic needs. Instead they lobby to get the services, and at the same time struggle to provide these services themselves to the community. Thus in this process the organization slowly and progressively builds its leadership and strengthens the community depending on its own resources and priorities. It also fills the gaps in the services provided by outsiders such as professionals, bureaucracies or the state. Services provided by outsiders to the poor, takes a long time and if provided are seen as deficient. The providers lack appropriate knowledge and technical skills to deal with the local communities in the squatter settlements. This localism creates an important pattern of community based developmental activities among the squatter settlement's dwellers.

5:2 Defining Community Voluntary Organizations

Some investigators do not include churches and unions in voluntary organisations while others do so (Babchuk and Thompson, 1962:648). Some consider voluntary associations to be only those groups with completely voluntary membership participation and absolute independence of formal governmental contacts (Rose, 1954:52-70; Axelrod, 1957:723). Voluntary agencies in the slums direct their energies largely to the education of the poor, to the inculcation of those values, which will enable them to take advantage of the opportunities which urban society is supposed to offer (Lloyd, 1979:32). Norbeck attempts to avoid these definitional obstructions by taking 'common-interest associations' as his subject (Norbeck, 1963). His position is
consistent with the classification of social groups into these three large categories: (1) kinship, (2) locality or residence, and (3) activity or shared interest. It seems the best working definition to date. At all events, common-interest associations are the subject matter, with two further qualifications. Keeping in view these associations as locally based social institutions, which serve the people in satisfying their immediate needs and objectives, then one deals with associations which have a formal or informal organization. But simple friendship, kinship, traditional and religious groups, informal youth and sports groups are also included in this study.

5:3 Barriers In Progressive Development

The view and approaches of outsiders towards the poor, poses conceptual, structural, procedural and social barriers in the process of progressive development in squatter settlements.

Unfortunately what is apparent to the outsiders is not real in the poor settlement. On the basis of the huts, shacks and filth that the outsiders see, they draw the conclusion that a culture of poverty exists, but the real situation is quite different. The existing technical, social and organisational structures of community based models of progressive development are not seen or understood by outsiders. They describe the poor as chaotic and unorganised having deviant behaviour and high crime rate as a normal pattern, and low morality with marginality as the basis of their culture. These are some of the serious misconceptions of outsiders, that are reflected continuously in Government and state policies towards the poor as squatter settlement dwellers, which result in barriers to progressive development of the poor and their settlements. Most unfortunately few development experts identify with the poor, who are supposedly the beneficiaries of their schemes and plans. The experts mostly come from outside and have an upper or middle class background and therefore, could not be familiar with the "view from below". (Huizer, 1984:14).

These policies and approaches although changing, have been and still are regular practice in some countries, creating
obstacles instead of facilitating and assisting the human, technical and material resources of the poor in squatter settlements. Academics and researchers frequently carry out their research and develop concepts that are dominated by the social, physical, geographical and cultural distances that exist between them and the poor. These distances lead to conceptual, technical and institutional barriers, in understanding the existing social, technical and organisational structures of the squatter settlements. Later these distances lead to distorted views of the poor in general and squatters in particular. With these views, the outsiders, as dominant groups, adopt implementation approaches for the upgrading of squatter settlements.

The procedures of planning and implementation, that are carried out in bureaucratic offices specialised universities and institutes that are far away from the people, are also a reflection of their views as outsiders. Unfortunately, the realities of squatter settlements are not understood by the outsiders responsible for planning and implementation of improvement programmes for these settlements. Yet the entire process from development research to implementation is carried out by outsiders. The limitations and barriers caused by such processes is illustrated in Government policies for housing, which is the most basic need of the urban poor.

Although different groups within any urban areas of low income population will have their own unique housing needs, some generalisations can be made, in view of the case studies and literature discussed earlier. House location within easy reach of income sources is often the most pressing need, especially for households lacking a steady and secure source of income. Location is often more important than the quality of the unit or the services provided. Other important needs in relation to housing include access to drinking water, security, safety from environmental hazards such as floods, privacy, regular removal of household and human wastes, access to family and friends, access to cheap building materials and perhaps access to small loans. In Lusaka's squatter settlements live about 40% of the population
of the city. Between 1969 and 1972, 22,000 houses appeared there. But only 4000 conventional dwellings were built. Thus, unofficial housing construction was five times greater than official housing.

Meanwhile, Government projects do not respond to these diverse needs. If a family wishes to build their own house, no legal site is available at a price they can afford and within easy reach of income and employment sources. Cheap, good quality building materials are not available, largely because governments have sponsored little or no work on developing such materials based on local resources and on encouraging their use. Indeed, using local materials may even be forbidden in official building regulations. No loans are available without the sort of collateral that such families do not possess. But if the family resorts to squatting or buying an illegal sub-division (the most common response), no drinking water, sanitation or refuse removal services are provided. Even if the public authorities do not eject squatters from the land, the threat to do so hangs over their heads and deters attempts to improve their living environment, thus creating obstacles to community development.

If such a family decides to take part in a public project - be it for a serviced site or for a conventional dwelling unit - it will have to go and live where the government decides the project is to be located. This is usually a long way from income sources, family and friends, because public agencies can acquire land cheaper and more quickly in remote locations. Participation in a public scheme usually demands regular repayments, which many households with fluctuating incomes cannot provide. Regulations often forbid the renting out of rooms or the use of rooms for small enterprises such as a bar or a workshop, even though such enterprises can provide a valuable boost to household incomes. There have been many case studies showing that low income families who have moved to subsidized public housing or serviced sites have actually become worse off by doing so. In 1973, in Brazil, a considerable proportion of households with National Housing Bank financed loans were behind with their payments or had informally sold their new dwellings. Many of those
defaulting on their payments were families forcibly moved to new estates when their homes in the favelas were destroyed. In Rio de Janeiro, many estates reported three quarters or more of their families behind with their payments. Perhaps nothing reveals more clearly the inappropriateness of publicly financed schemes than the fact that the intended beneficiaries are often forced to return to their former illegal solutions.

The major barriers are the maze of regulations - minimum plot or room sizes, building codes and so on - which house builders have to follow if the unit they construct is to be legal. Comparable regulations also guide public works departments and other government departments in their provision of infrastructure and services.

The original intention of these regulations was supposedly to promote better quality living environments, by ensuring that basic health and safety standards were met and basic services provided. Yet in most non-western nations, they play the opposite role. Only a small elite can afford houses built to official standards because their demands bear little or no relation to local incomes, skills and resources. Building regulations in some African and Asian nations even date from colonial times. (Blitzer, Hardoy and Satterthwaite 1981).

A lower income family seeking a home in an urban environment wants secure land tenure and community services in that order. The state offers the exact opposite; a modern (but minimum) house, some community facilities (generally at later stages) and eventually, title to the property after the mortgage has been paid off. The solution that has been evolved by the poor is to squat on a piece of land near to their working place in the city, and improve the house and the community slowly, according to their priorities and resources. On the other hand, government official policies for housing and planning development programmes attempt to constrain and narrow down the progressive development process, by imposing minimum modern standard structures and installations prior to settlements (Turner, 1967). The efforts made by the governments of non-western countries to provide low-cost houses to the poor have almost invariably ended
up becoming housing schemes for the middle-class. The role of governments it is argued, should be to provide the environment for this self-help process to flourish, not to build houses.

Such instant development procedures aggravate the housing situation and hinder progressive improvement of the environment by disregarding the economic and social needs of the masses of poor in non-western cities. Such procedures and planning concepts are derived from western countries and are inapplicable in non-western cities. The Government's imposition of minimum standards is the biggest barrier to progressive development of these squatter settlements. Under such standards, the squatters will be considered outside the law and their attempts and struggle for improvement and meeting basic needs will be seen as illegal activities. The squatters' priorities are the reverse of those required by official standards, and the self-reliance of the squatters is opposed to the Government's "instant development" policy. It is highly required to integrate the existing manpower, material and social resources and match it with people's consent and participation in order to devise a plan which the community can administratively "relate to", economically "save for" and can "socially afford". (Azam, 1986a:118).

The most striking thing about progressive development is the spontaneous mobilization of human and material resources - spontaneous, because it has taken place independently and in spite of the public institutions' and outsiders' approaches involving neglect, uprooting, segregation and relocation. If only the government could induce the same initiatives, efforts, and sacrifices for their own housing and developmental planning policies, both living conditions and the rate of economic growth would be immensely improved.

Turner states (1967:17) in his article about the U.N. document on self-help that "the unutilized talents of their people constitute the chief waste and future hope of the developing countries. Only a small fraction of these populations participate actively in national life today."
5:4  Myths, Principles And Beliefs

The barriers based on or misconceptions by outsiders have led to inappropriate methods of development planning and implementation for the urban poor.

The current approach to the housing and environmental improvement problem is crowded with myths, principles and beliefs that are in fact obstacles to its solution. The solutions already exist, but, due to traditional method and social distances, the solutions presented by the existing population of squatter settlements are overlooked, or due to middle class and elite values, the problems of basic need of shelter has not been solved by formal institutions. Modern construction costs, including overheads, put low-cost housing out of range of the poor people.

In Tanzania, for example, the National Housing Corporation, the country's lowest cost builder, can build a traditional type house for U.S.$ 2,230. A similar house is being built by squatters for roughly half this figure. (Leaning, 1971). In Thailand, the lowest-income people, comprising 15 percent of the urban population, earn less than 1,000 baht (U.S.$ 50) per month. (NHA, 1974). This income group cannot afford to pay more than 100 baht (U.S.$5) for housing each month. No modern construction method can meet their housing needs without heavy subsidies.

Cost reduction through the development of new materials and methods is difficult to come by. Often other costs - services, materials, land, energy and skilled labour - rise so fast as to overshadow these savings. Clearly modern technology by itself has not yet provided an answer, and very few realists now believe that it will. (Angel, and Benjamin, 1976).

On the other hand, based on their own self-reliant methods, energies and skills, numbers of squatters throughout the non-western world's cities have demonstrated that people can construct housing themselves, in ways that they can afford. The millions of squatters are estimated to be growing as much as 12 per cent annually in some places. (Turner, 1967:168). Most of these people are building their own shelter, albeit humble,
without the benefit of modern technology, but many professionals think that this cannot possibly be a serious answer to the shelter problem. "The professionals and economists, sociologists, architects and engineers are all trained to solve special problems. They are not the people most fit to solve housing problems comprehensively". (Angel, and Benjamin 1976:123).

To be realistic about meeting the need for shelter by the poor people, the energies of the people, who are able and willing to build their own houses and environment, must be used. The technological transfer is the largely unsuccessful attempt to take housing solutions from western societies and modify them for application in the non-western world. It has the great advantage of fitting well into elite middle-class aspirations. But it fails on three important counts: lack of realism as to how adaptive technology is; a complete misunderstanding of peoples' needs and their capacities; and a poor use of available resources.

Self-reliant technology, that depends on people's traditional capabilities to build for themselves, based on their traditional organizational system, is successful in overcoming these three difficulties. It has been widely applied by squatters everywhere, but unfortunately has failed to win acceptance as a solution to the problem by outsiders.

However, attitudes are changing. Several governments have realised that the slums and squatter settlements of non-western nations are not slums of despair, but really slums of hope. The majority eventually finds some kind of shelter, and although it might be ramshackle to begin with, built of tin, cardboard and pieces of sacking, if there is security of tenure, if there is no threat of the house being bulldozed away, the slum or squatter settlement dwellers gradually improve their houses.
CHAPTER 6
EXAMPLES OF CHANGING APPROACHES

The very success of local efforts and voluntary community based organization generates self-confidence and encourages squatters to demand greater and more fundamental rights. The constant demonstration of surviving and solving their problems by the squatters, and the advocacy of some researchers, anthropologists and writers, has managed to bring changes in attitudes of outsiders.

Increasing attention to the urban sector eventually led the World Bank to initiate a programme of urban lending in 1972, at the request of member governments. Similar concern was reflected in the United Nations decision to hold a conference on human settlements in Vancouver in 1976, where many of the issues including shelter provision, planning and development of urban policies were considered.

It was acknowledged that individual housing projects in many non-western countries had been largely irrelevant to the growing needs of the urban poor. Most housing solutions appeared to be too expensive for the people, and their standards implied costs beyond the intended beneficiaries' capacity to pay. While there were many economic and financial criticisms levelled at shelter programmes, there was also important criticism from the architectural, social and applied anthropological point of view. They argued that many projects were imposed from above, with a form of architecture which was coercive, and did not respond to the cultural needs and priorities of the intended users. There was no provision for community development and participation in overall social and environmental improvement. The models from western countries simply did not work in dense and poor cities such as Calcutta, Cairo, Jakarta, Lagos or Manila. (Cohen, 1983:90).

As it became clear in the late 1960s that capital-intensive industrialization policies had been ineffective in promoting growth and improving the economic condition of the poor in non-western countries, new strategies and goals appeared. National governments like those of India, the Philippines, Thailand, many African countries and the Middle Eastern countries...
began to stress the importance of employment generation and wider distribution of income (Nigam, 1965; DAS, 1973:430).

Bilateral and international assistance organizations also modified their aid strategies in the early 1970s. The United States Congress issued a new mandate to the US Agency for International Development (US.AID) in 1973, to give the highest priority to activities in developing nations that "directly improve the lives of the poorest of their people and their capacity to participate in the development of their countries". (US AID, 1973:2811).

Aid would be used to promote changes that effect the lives of the majority of people in developing countries: in food production, rural development, nutritional standards, population planning, health and educational services, public administration and human resource development.

In the declaration of principles of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly United Nations specialized Agencies such as Habitat made strong recommendations.

One of the guiding principles that was strongly recommended, was that adequate shelter and services are a basic human right, which places an obligation on governments to ensure their attainment by all people, beginning with direct assistance to the least advantaged through guided programmes of self-help and community action. Governments should endeavour to remove all impediments to these goals. Of special importance is the elimination of social and racial segregation, inter alia, through the creation of better balanced communities which blend different social groups, occupation, housing and amenities. (United Nations, 1976:2-9).

As a result of continuous advocacy for the improvement and upgrading of squatter settlement and slums by authors like John Turner, (1967, 1968, 1969, 1983) Perlman, (1976) Portes (1971,1972b) Mangin (1959, 1967, 1968) and others, a start was made to take up the issues of squatter settlement and slum improvement projects and programmes. But one point should be very clearly understood that it was in fact the people at the grass roots of these settlements and slums who demonstrated their need
and ability to cope with most repressive and confronting situations, in the creation of their settlements. While national governments and international agencies, were changing and modifying their approaches and their planning methods, and re-examining developmental techniques, the slums and squatter settlements, survived, consolidated themselves and most of the time progressed. It was this active demonstration that paved the ground for the supporters of the squatter settlements to plead their case. Solutions were being evolved by the people themselves for their own shelter, long before any outsider came to know and understand the urban poor's view.

6:1. Improvement Projects: Some Examples

One approach, which seems to offer a viable solution involves what is now termed the "site and services" concept, embodied in the writings of John Turner (1972), who highlighted the fact that substantial amounts of housing were being created in non-western countries outside of the public domain. Most housing was built by private individuals and/or groups without the benefit of public housing finance, frequently in violation of building codes and on land whose tenure arrangements were haphazard and often illegal. The housing process in developing countries was not effectively controlled by public authorities.

The energy and vitality of this process was considered to be an asset by John Turner, (1965, 1966, 1967, 1968) Charles Abrams, (1964, 1965, 1966) and William Mangin (1959, 1967, 1968) and others, who argued that the next step in improving housing in these countries was not to impose new controls and regulations, but rather to lift the barriers to the housing process. This lifting of barriers involved removal of obstacles such as restrictive building codes, zoning regulations, and service networks which were not linked with housing developments. Most importantly occupants of housing required security of tenure if they were to be encouraged to further invest in improving their housing.

A complementary approach to the sites and services notion was "slum improvement" or "upgrading", which implied that rather than knocking down the houses of the poor, even if they were not
durable or sanitary, they should be improved in situ. This approach involved the introduction of infrastructure networks, such as roads, water supply, electricity and sanitation, into frequently dense settlements. Infrastructure improvements would then be complemented by loans to residents to improve the housing structure themselves. This approach was considered a much less disruptive approach to the existing housing of the poor.

The above approaches also reflected a continuing discussion about the relative roles of the public and private sectors in the process of housing in developing countries. The project prototypes suggested above implied that governments should do what people could not do for themselves, that is, provide infrastructure networks. Housing construction or improvement is a private matter the design and finance of which need not involve the public sector.

The acceptance of this approach is reflected in more than seventy projects in the house upgrading sector financed by the World Bank over the past decade, and others financed by bilateral and multilateral donors. Many of the projects were intended to serve as demonstrations, i.e. projects that would illustrate the possibility of the model of community participation for development, whereby the housing would be improved slowly over time in response to the capacity of individual households.

An attempt was also made to plan and provide basic services, like health care, education, welfare etc. to the urban poor through the new programme of slum improvement and squatters upgrading schemes. During the last fifteen years, a variety of such programmes and projects broadly defined as physical improvement programmes have attempted to provide social services for the urban poor.

Indonesia has an explicit national programme for improvement of urban environmental conditions affecting the poor through the Kampung Improvement Programme (KIP), which began in the early seventies (Tarigan, Soedarjo and Sacheh, 1984:4-6). The KIP has provided basic physical improvements such as walkways, drainage, access roads and public water taps in urban Kampongs of two hundred cities. Kampongs are traditional unplanned settlements, containing over half of the urban
population, including nearly all of the urban poor. They are recognized as a legitimate form of urban residential settlement. KIP has received strong political, financial and technical support from national and international agencies, local governments and the Kampong themselves. The extensions of social services that started in 1980 in the Kampong also received strong support as a part of the integrated KIP. However, the need for multilevel and multisectoral coordination, and a limited level of community participation had restricted it to only seven major cities by 1984. Sites and services, low cost housing and construction of mid-rise apartment blocks are also continuing, but these are seen as primarily serving middle income groups.

In 1956, India began slum clearance and rehousing, but two basic problems emerged. Most of the poor could not afford ready-made housing, and the housing improvements rarely provided the social and economic improvements that poor families needed. (Goel, 1984:6). In 1972, policy shifted from slum relocation to environmental improvement in existing slum settlements. Public water taps, drainage, public baths and toilets, widening and paving walkways, and street lighting were provided. The urban community development project has now spread to 40 cities of India covering 300,000 population. However, it is not implemented with community involvement due to rapid expansion. It has lost its original approach of community development.

The environment and housing improvement in Lusaka, Zambia, where the World Bank assisted projects in some seven slum neighbourhoods in the Lusaka area, managed, with extensive community participation. Significant improvements in infrastructure were designed and implemented. However, it is not certain how to maintain community participation in the projects. Other examples include bustee (slum) improvement in Calcutta, slum improvement programmes in Madras, and upgrading of the Tondo area of Manila. In the latter case, streets were realigned through a reblocking system, where some durable houses were actually lifted and relocated in order to permit the introduction of infrastructure networks. The massive migration of population accompanying the independence of Pakistan created large
settments of refugees in urban areas. The Pakistan case will be studied in a later chapter.

While the planning approaches did change towards the squatter settlements during the 1970s, it is apparent that they had some severe limitations, the primary on being that they remained very small in relation to the scale of the demand for housing and environment improvement in most of the cities in which they occurred. While the projects offered considerable benefits to many, these beneficiaries typically represented only a small proportion of the total number of households in need of improved shelter. That is 8.1 houses per 1000 people per year should have been built, but in fact only 1.8 houses per 1000 habitants were built. (More details in Chapter 1). By the end of the seventies it was obvious that on this scale it will not meet the demand of the poor. Even where financial resources were available, it was evident that public institutions themselves did not have the technical capacity to deliver the various components of housing including the land, provision of infrastructure, the organization of mortgage financing, and the complementary services necessary for integrated urban communities. Even countries which were very active in their provision of housing, for example the Ivory Coast in the 1960s and early 1970s, were never able to provide more than 10 percent of the annual demand for urban shelter. While governments (e.g. India) financed a substantial number of units, they found that the public sector share of formal housing construction remained surprisingly small.

Thus, it became increasingly clear that solutions which did not rely on the public sector offered a more promising prospect for shelter. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, serious concern was being shown in the areas which all these projects did not attend to. These areas were not perceived as priorities in initial efforts to focus on policy changes, such as affordable standards and cost recovery and orienting public sector schemes towards the urban poor. These efforts include training of personnel in non-western countries, promotion and development of the construction and building materials industries, community participation in neighbourhood development and self-initiative, the development of housing finance
institutions beyond the conventional type, the exchange of information and technology, and social aspects. (Cohen 1983:95-99).

There is an obvious gap in the social and technical aspects in all the programmes which were implemented. Technical solutions without social base are like structures of cement and concrete, without their users. The reverse case is social development without technical support. This is like giving sermons without concrete practical solutions to the immediate problems of the people. The technical and social aspects have to be interrelated from the very beginning of a project, so that the community and the outsiders do not see them in isolated compartments. As the houses and people are inter-related, so the technical and social aspects should be seen as integrated solution. In a rush to design and initiate demonstration housing projects, less attention was given to the social side of the development, which creates community participation and community involvement in planning and implementation. It is this aspect of development that not only sustains it, improves it, maintains it, but ultimately it results in rapid expansion of the programme. The problem of cost recovery is solved by the community itself. Unfortunately insufficient effort was made to blend the social and technical strength together and to evolve a community based development approach. The lack of understanding and community involvement creates gaps between the needs of the people and the outsiders policies and methods. It slows down the process of existing progressive community development, and usually results in lack of maintenance of the structures and services provided by outside agencies.

Turner (1983) himself pointed out during his visit to Kampong improvement programme in Indonesia, that unless people of squatter settlements participate from the beginning of the programme, it is unlikely that improvements and services provided by outsiders will be used or maintained. In spite of the strong support and enthusiastic acknowledgement of community participation for squatter settlement upgrading, community participation in many projects was limited or less successful in most cases. Examples of such unsuccessful projects are in Kuala
Lumpur, the NADI integrated services project. (Hai, 1984). In Indonesia the Kampong improvement programme, (Tarigan et al, 1984) in Lahore Pakistan, the Lahore Development Authority LDA Katchi Abadies improvement programme, (Ahsan, 1984) the Korea Livelihood Protection Protection (LLP) in Seoul, (In-Joung, 1984) the Chaani upgrading project and Dandora Community Development project in Nairobi, (Kayila, 1984) and the upgrading projects in Olaleye-Iponri in Lagos. (Adebusoye, 1984) The shanties improvement in Colombo, (Tilarkaratna et al, 1984) and the squatter upgrading in Lusaka were started with extensive community participation but the planners do not know how to sustain the present spirit of community involvement. (Martin and Ledogar, 1977).

Most of the low cost housing projects have lost the component of community participation as they have been implemented. Some of the major aspects of lack of community participation can be concluded, that although frequent exclusion of all land, financing and administrative costs from project accounting may be considered to represent positive discrimination in favour of the poor and therefore a socially progressive approach, in practice, however, it is often an excuse to maintain unrealistically high standards, irrespective of their appropriateness. Even realistic initial standards have a habit of rising over time, forcing costs up with them. Naturally, the more that is provided, the more this inflationary pressure is likely to exclude poorer households. Higher standards also make it more likely that large-scale contractors will be required to carry out works which otherwise would be undertaken by small, locally based contractors. By failing to distinguish between standards appropriate for initial and subsequent consolidated development, many early projects failed to stimulate the 'progressive development' which lay at the basis of sites and services and settlements upgrading concepts. (Payne, 1984).

Therefore there is a need for a methodology, that provides a practical field-oriented approach of community participation, which must evolve from within the squatter settlements, rather than being proposed and imposed from outside. The following chapter presents in detail an implementation
approach through community participation for an integrated upgrading of squatter settlements.
CHAPTER 7
BUILDING ON THE EXISTING SITUATION: AN IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH THROUGH COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

People's involvement in planning and implementation of improvement projects, can be a major instrument not only for their community's development, but also for their personal development and for the development of their nation. Ultimately it can serve the development of the overall global system. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and present in detail approaches to the development of implementation methods, for community based development planning.

7:1 Definitions

Community-based refers to face-to-face groups within communities working and living on their own initiative in their settlements. Planning means deliberate analytic efforts designed to guide future decisions and action. The distinction between planning for action and the action itself is important here. Some community-based development activity is based on plans formulated elsewhere. Some activity is unplanned. The focus here is based on planning itself, on the process of reflection which precedes and guides action or implementation of the plans.

The meaning of development here, as in the current literature, is amorphous. It derives from traditional interpretations concerned with increasing levels of industrialisation and from modern conceptions of the western world, but the meaning here looks more towards the transcendent interpretations, based on ideas of human dignity and fulfilment. In social work literature, development is defined as the process of mobilizing and organising resources of a country or a region for purposes that usually involve the attainment of more material and financial gain and, in general more social well-being and greater individual fulfilment. (Feliciano, 1971:96).

Herman, (1971:103) defines development thus "the purposes of development are the happiness and the well-being of people, the manipulation and the utilization of change to serve the needs of individual human beings as they strive to live in dignity, raising their living standards and economic prospects".
However, development has been considered synonymous with economic growth by a large number of countries especially during the first U.N. development decade. This "undirectional" concept of development has a rather limited horizon. As Fred Riggs has stated, "we are beginning to realise that the term 'development' refers to a variety of dimensions of change, and that change in one direction may not easily be reconciled with change in other desired directions. The quest for greater social justice, for more equality of participation in the making of decisions, and for a fair share in what is produced seems often to be incompatible, with the desire for increasing productivity for more efficiency and larger outputs". (1968:197-226).

The ECAPES expert group on social development emphasizes the urgent need to "evolve a genuinely unified theory of development which would serve to eliminate the false distinction between the 'economic' and 'social' which has until now undermined planned development efforts in most Asian countries". (Jain, 1971:80).

A very appropriate definition by Russel L. Ackoff is presented: "Development, contrary to what many believe, is not a condition or a state defined by what people have. It is a capacity defined by what they can do with whatever they have to improve their quality of life and that of others". (1984:195-197).

Using this definition, therefore, development is possession of a desire for improvement and the ability to bring it about. It is more a matter of motivation and knowledge than it is of wealth.

This is not to say that wealth is irrelevant to development; it is very relevant. How much people can improve their quality of life and that of others depends not only on their motivation and knowledge, but also on what instruments and resources are available to them.

From the examples discussed in relation to development policies it is confirmed that development is a product of learning, not of production; the outsiders in the case of squatter settlements, were constantly learning, and re-modifying their approaches towards the urban poor and the learning process
is still continuing. Learning how to use oneself and one's environment to better meet one's needs and those of others, should be the main object of a development planning and implementation process. Because the development process is essentially a learning process, one person cannot develop another. He/she cannot learn for another, but he/she can help another learn for themselves. The conditions of squatter settlements and slum dwellers could not have attracted and changed the attitude of the outsider, had the residents not showed their determination, to improve their lives. "Therefore a government cannot develop a country; it can only help its country develop itself." (Ackoff, 1984:195).

7:2 The Importance of Process

It is important who does the planning, because the principal benefit of planning is not derived from consuming its products, but from participating in the planning and implementation process. In planning and implementation "process" is the most important product. This was earlier discussed in the improvement projects of squatter settlements. Therefore, effective development planning cannot be done for some by others. The 'some' being outsiders do not know the 'others' for whom they are planning, the others must do it for themselves, but they can be helped by outside professionals, planners and implementers etc.

Such development planning will analyse and solve the subjects own problems. In these terms, community based planning for implementation can be seen as a direct means of development, not for the product it yields but in its process. (Lappe and Collins, 1977:369).

7:3 Community Participation

Participation in planning and implementation, is advocated very often and with strong support, but it is acknowledged that popular participation has been less successful when the improvement projects in squatter settlements have been implemented. As Kent, puts it; "One may wish to consult broadly
on whether a bridge should be built, but gladly leave its technical design to the experts". (1981:314).

Moreover, many people simply do not want to participate. The outsiders might look towards this choice as defective and apathetic, but it can be completely a question of choice, or that the people take their own time to make up their minds and understand the outsiders’ intentions. By any realistic measure then, the objective cannot be to maximise public participation. More moderately, the hope is to somehow to optimise.* The crucial point to be accepted from the advocates of popular participation is that, while it is not unlimited, public participation does have intrinsic value. As Arnold Kaufman says "the main justifying function of participation is development of human beings essential powers - inducing human dignity and respect, and making them responsible by developing their powers of deliberate action". (Kaufman, 1969). It is true that popular participation in the beginning slows down the implementation rate, it is inefficient and costly at the initial stage. But if these deficiencies are tolerated in exchange for benefits, the results can be very encouraging. As Mary Hollnsteiner recognises, participation yields important benefits not only for individual but also for community consciousness. This benefit from participation:

"...derives from the very process itself. For if it is genuinely mass-based, it builds up the self-enabling character and co-operative spirit of the community. Facing common problems as a solidarity group, and finding solutions collectively leads to great self assurance and pride over the groups ability to act productively. Consciousness of a larger whole welfare which is every individual's concern is more likely to evolve into organised participating groups... Further when people learn to operate and even manipulate the institutions of modern urban society, to interact as peers with its technicians, manager, and government officials, and to grapple with technological problems

Public participation in planning is advocated in many quarters, but most advocates support a very constricted form of participation. It is generally assumed that participation means some public engagement in planning activities, initiated and undertaken by planning professionals. The argument here however, is that one should go much further to support local initiative and local control of the planning and implementation process. As far as possible, planning for implementation should be based in the community rather than in the bureaucracy. The community participation has to come from within the community, not be imposed by outside planning. The professional planners' role should be redefined, so that his or her task is understood as being that of a facilitator in the implementation of progressive development. The example of changed approaches to the squatter settlements upgrading programme in some degree fulfils this need. People have constructed their houses the way they wanted, the government provides them tenure, and physical improvement like roads, water pipelines, drainage and electricity etc. The community can organise collective health, environmental sanitation and education programmes, and the government can provide staff or guidance on how to run such programmes, and so on.

In this perspective, the community-based planning and implementation approach engages people much more deeply than the usual forms of public participation. Centralised planning could not solve the problem of lack of community participation, because of its complexity and strong hierarchical administration. With all the economic and professional support committed to community participation in improvement projects, it did not produce the desired result, its top-down policy does not affect the people at the grass roots. Huizer reasons that the outsiders "were hardly trained to look at the overall situation through the poor's eyes. Biased, with a sense of superiority regarding the poor and illiterate people, they were prepared to teach, to utilize communication techniques, but not to listen, to learn, and to communicate really in a form of dialogue". (1984:14). If
planning is based at the community level, the solutions and strategies for implementation will evolve from within; and they will be used and absorbed by the existing system of the communities for their own improvement.

This study seeks and test methodology for implementation of improvement projects for the squatter settlements, by building on the existing progressive development system that consists of social, technical and organisational approaches. This will involve gradually strengthening the system, knitting it with outside improvement interventions and thus generating community participation from within the existing social, technical and institutional structures of the squatter settlements, for an effective implementation of improvement projects. As William Cousins says, while giving an account of the Hydrabad community development project, "the implication of a grassroots community development is that urban poor people themselves and the municipal authorities, more and more, begin to see the urban poor as legitimate citizens fulfilling important functions, and having power, rather than as merely nuisances or objects of charity". (Cousins, 1979).

7:4 \textbf{Social, Technical And Organisational Structures Of The Squatter Settlements}

To defend and protect their squatter settlements from outside formal authorities, the squatter organise themselves. Subsequently this survival oriented organisation gradually consolidates itself, to provide basic needs and solve immediate problems, because the outside service giving agencies do not readily provide these services. The squatters, instead of challenging or confronting the official policies of the State, lobby them while in the meantime they continue to satisfy their basic needs through their own collective efforts.

The whole process of squatting and building up the settlement gradually according to the plans and resources of the local community, is an existing community development system, that shows and provides directions for the actions needed for outside intervention in improvement projects. Their organisational capacities, which are mostly based on their
original traditions, help them to consolidate in the urban society. Cornelius (1973) confirms that the self-improvement, security of tenure and overall community development depends largely on the organisational abilities of the squatters. He found that the fact that demand making by the squatters was organised affected the success of that demand making. The squatters self-help organisations demonstrate greater awareness of political processes and a propensity to participate more fully than do populations of other housing sub-systems. Similarly in all three squatters settlements that he studied, an understanding of leadership was crucial in interpreting the relative success and failure of each community. The role of leaders as political "brokers" and the active participation of squatters in petitioning for tenure, and for the installation of services is a common feature of squatter settlement consolidation (Mangin, 1967).

These community organisations have their roots in the social need oriented interaction, as well as in kinship and family ties. The organisations attend more to the needs of individuals who need support in community type groups. Many of these community based self-help groups or organisations resemble traditional family and kinship organisations. Networks are formed, members are accessible, groups are named and seem to endure, and help is provided reciprocally on the basis of affection and mutual obligation rather than fees for services or any professional skills or expertise. Since the basic mode of human organisation for all of mankind, through most of history has been the small kin groups, why should it not persist in new forms of development?

On the technical side the squatter settlements have their own structures, that is demonstrated in the construction of their houses, drains, lanes, community centres, water reservoir, soakpit latrines etc. Basically the majority of the people in these settlements are skilled or semi-skilled labourers, technicians, carpenters, mechanics, electricians and craftsmen etc. The entire construction of houses, physical layout of the area, provision of water line and their connections, water storage tanks, the electricity network is done by these people
using their skills in the physical improvement of their communities. It is true that the technologies lack efficiency, and are not up to outside standards, but a basic technical infrastructure exists that is working for the people in squatter settlements. The squatter settlements are not just aggregations of dwelling units; they constitute a system that is self-reliant based on its own integrated improvement structure.

In Zambia the squatter settlements upgradation project found it striking that the squatter settlements in Lusaka, by being outside the law, were compelled to evolve their own social and political system, which has subsequently proved to be valid and effective. One of the main considerations in this project is how to retain the social dynamism while incorporating them into the legal system, and how to retain the spirit of self-determination and self-reliance in the face of massive input of external agencies. (Martin, 1976:232-237).

The number of examples discussed in the previous pages demonstrates that there is a need for action research experimentation, for evolving an implementation methodology for the upgrading and improvement of squatter settlements.

7:5 Action Anthropology: Role And Value

Community based development planning and implementing can take place autonomously. At times, there may be interventions by outside agents, whether government officials or professional planner etc. However anthropologists as outsiders brought the maximum information empathetic way, and advocated the poor's views to the world.

"The essential challenge an action anthropologist faces is to observe and learn while helping people cope with their problems that confront them" (Gearing, Netting and Peattie, 1960; Piddington, 1970). The action anthropologist eschews "pure science". For one thing his/her work requires that he/she should not use people for an end unrelated to their own welfare; people are not rats and ought not to be treated like them. Not only should we not hurt people, we should not use them for our own ends. The development projects need an integrated action oriented field approach. This approach not only overcomes the
barriers to progressive development, but enhances the capacities of the people. At the same time, the outsiders involved in the project keep learning in the process, as they implement the project at the grass root level. The most important aspect of this approach is that a tested methodology is evolved.

7:6 **Pilot Projects: As A Learning Process**

Pilot projects can perform a number of important functions that can test the applicability of innovations in places with conditions similar to those under which experiments were performed; they can test the feasibility and acceptability of innovations in new environments, and they can extend an innovation's range of proven feasibility beyond the experimental stage. They may also serve as small-scale prototypes of larger-scale facilities and test the market for goods and services to be produced by proposed projects.

In pilot projects, the acceptability and usefulness of innovations are paramount issues. The Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) project in Kenya demonstrated that as long as individual farmers retain control over the allocation of their own resources the factors most directly determining the acceptance of innovations are profitability, costs of adoption, and the risk involved in using them. (Rondinelli, 1983:83-92). In land consolidation and redistribution programmes in Latin America even land holders with unproductively small plots refused to cooperate because they were not informed of the project in advance and were not prepared to participate. The planners had announced the projects only after they had been fully developed.

The projects assisted in sites and services and slums and squatter settlements upgradation during the 1970s, but their implementation revealed a number of bottle-necks and serious obstacles, which were not foreseen. (Cohen 1983:95-104).

As with most development projects, there have been delays resulting from shortages of trained staff and the difficulties associated with public agencies seeking to provide infrastructure and community services for private households. Achieving cost recovery through collection of monthly charges, an important project objective, has been fraught with problems. In the site
and services schemes, even though households are largely self-selected, and therefore should be prepared to pay, experience has demonstrated, according to Cohen, that the payment of mortgage charges declines if project areas are not sufficiently maintained and if there is no adequate follow-through in support of complementary services, such as schools, clinics and markets. In slum improvement and squatter settlement upgradation schemes, cost recovery has also been troublesome, as many households lived in the neighbourhood prior to the introduction of improvements, and consequently find little incentive at this point to pay additional charges.

Projects and programmes of social service that were assisted in a number of countries, as has been discussed, face two major problems, (1) multi-agency coordination and (2) developing effective linkages with poor communities. (Schubert, 1985:9). Although the structure of administration necessarily varies from one project to another, these two problems are common to all. There is a need to develop pilot projects based on basic knowledge, information and wisdom of people concerning their own living conditions, perception of problems, identification of needs, and desirability and practicability of new methods.

Hapgood (1965) says very correctly "that pilot projects do not engage the prestige of the national bureaucracy, if they are unworkable they can be abandoned or drastically altered without serious loss of face". But if the pilot project works it serves as a very effective demonstration of innovation to the government bureaucracy, political leaders, formal and informal organisations and the local community. In fact it achieves a breakthrough if the methods used in the pilot phase depend on community based development approaches. The community itself takes the lessons of the pilot project and duplicate them on a large scale.

A need for pilot projects for squatter settlements was felt when the government of Pakistan declared in 1979 that all the squatter settlements that existed on undisputed land would be given land titilements. The city of Karachi, having the largest number of these settlements (Katchi Abadies), was most affected by this decision.
CHAPTER 8
GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN KARACHI (KATCHE ABADIES)

8:1 Background Data

The population of the regions that now constitute Pakistan, at the beginning of the century (i.e. 1901) was 16.6 million. In the last 80 years, the population in those regions has increased five times. The population growth rate between September 1972 and March 1981 (8.46 years) works out as three percent. Pakistan's urban population in 1981 was estimated at 28.2 percent of the total population (Government of Sind, 1982:1). Sind is the most urbanized province of Pakistan with 43.4 percent of its population residing in cities and towns. Shelter is a basic human need; growth of new units of shelter in Pakistan has been much slower than the growth of its population. The provision of new shelter is predominantly an urban problem and the province of Sind is the worst affected; in Karachi it is most acute. Karachi's population has risen by about five million since 1947, an increase unparalleled in the history of urban growth (Graph 1). The major reasons for this growth are partition of the sub-continent and the fact that Karachi contains 47 percent of the industrial establishments of Pakistan.

8:2 Karachi

Karachi is the only sea-port in Pakistan, Capital of Sind province and the largest city in the country. It has at present a population of 6 million (official figures) who reside in the urban portion of Karachi. (Graph 1). Currently the population of Karachi is increasing at a rate of 6% per year, which is largely influenced by rural urban migration. Prior to 1947, besides the planned sector of the city, small goths (villages) existed on what was then the periphery of Karachi. Even at that time these goths consisted of migrants from Baluchistan, North West Frontier province, Gujrat and Kutch. Karachi's importance as a city grew rapidly after independence in 1947. It was the first capital of Independent Pakistan and became the hub of activity, which increased its attraction. Karachi's access to a harbour promoted commercial activity and augmented its growth. It
Graph 1.

SIND'S URBAN POPULATION

- Residing in Authorized Settlements
  - 69%

- Residing in Katchi Abadies
  - 31%

DIVISION OF POPULATION IN KARACHI

- Residing in Authorized Settlements
  - 63%

- Residing in Katchi Abadies
  - 37%

Population Distribution and Growth

Source: Department of Housing, Town Planning, Local Government of Sind, 1981
became a base for industrial development, and through this sequence of events acted as a magnet both to refugees and migrants from all parts of the country.

8:3 **Income level**

A sample survey conducted by the Joint Research project IV, gives the following general pattern of income levels in Karachi.

Household incomes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income in Rs</th>
<th>% households per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 300</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 - 499</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 - 999</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 - 1999</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 -</td>
<td>2.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jan van der Linden, The Bustees of Karachi: Types and Dynamics, (PhD dissertation submitted to Amsterdam University) Amsterdam, 1977:p.4.

8:4 **Housing in Karachi**

The ability and willingness of low-income groups to pay for housing and related services cannot easily be estimated as they do not depend on mere income. Other factors like security of income, the situation and the composition of the household and its priorities are at least as important as determinants of what the household can and will spend on housing. Still, one figure may give some idea of such spending.

Central Statistical Office's national data indicate that income groups below Rs.500 per month spend approximately 15 percent of their incomes on housing, lighting and fuel, but diet should spend less, as they were also found to consume a diet insufficient in calories and nutritional value by minimum international standards. (Master Plan Department, 1974:178).

Linden in his thesis on the Bustees of Karachi, stresses that although in certain situations low-income households can,
and indeed do, spend a much higher percentage of their incomes on housing plus related services, the figure of 15 percent appears to indicate a sort of average ceiling of what is spent on housing. In other words, this figure - with all its shortcomings - gives some rough idea of what 50 to 75% of the Karachi population can afford to spend on housing. At least, from this figure, it should be clear that the low-income groups have no access to the official private house market, and hardly to the government "low-cost" housing market, as the following figures may shown in the table below.

Table: unsubsidized prices and rents of "low-cost" house types in Karachi in 1973. (Cost of land not included).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price</th>
<th>Monthly Rent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 room flat</td>
<td>Rs. 10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 room house</td>
<td>Rs. 7000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jan, van der Linden, The Bustees of Karachi: Type and Dynamics. (PhD dissertation submitted to Amsterdam University) Amsterdam: 1977, P.5.

In Karachi there is a housing problem for low-income groups. The low income people hardly have any possibility of settling legally. This is one reason for them to be excluded from formal means of obtaining loans for house building. The House Building Finance Corporation of Pakistan (HBFC), a state-sponsored institution that provides loans for house building, does not give loans for building on unauthorized plots. It is of interest to note that the average loan per unit given by the HBFC in the period 1.7.74 to 31.12.75. amounted to Rs. 27,000 (HBFC, 1975). "The fact however remains that the HBFC as well as commercial banks have only been able to help middle and lower middle class income families and rules and recovery difficulties have not allowed any assistance to the very low income groups for low cost housing". (Kazmi, S.R. 1975:19). Van der Harst found
that almost 50 percent of the low-income houses had come about with the help of (small) loans (over 60 percent of these loans amounted to less than Rs.1000). Sources from which these loans were obtained, were mainly friends and relatives (69 percent), employers (39 percent) and suppliers of building material (18 percent). (1974:57-61). On the whole, the low-income groups have been confined to informal ways of financing their house building, just as they found informal ways to settle. It is of interest to note that these informal ways are apparently being found on a large scale, as a part of the process of progressive development, in spite of the obstacles and barriers from the formal sector.

8:5 The Role Of Government

It is difficult to describe the role of the Government regarding the housing situation in Karachi. Besides national and provincial authorities at the local level, there were over 60 government and semi-government organizations involved in planning and execution in the fields of public works, house building services and economic development. (Segaar, 1975:27). Generally speaking, the co-ordination of these organizations was poor. As a result, during the 60s and 70s there was not a complete consistency. Thus the attitudes and policies regarding the unauthorized settlements vary greatly. In 1972 the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation's approval was given in an ordinance where several main institutions that were dealing with planning and execution were merged.

For a long time government did not recognize the informal system of low-income housing and they attempted to remove the so called illegal settlements. Segaar gives the main reasons for their attitudes as follows:

a). the danger to public health these settlements pose.
b). their (perceived) unaesthetic appearance which sometimes affects the quality of the immediate surroundings,
c). their occupancy of economically valuable land that could be more profitably used.
d). their occupying land that is needed for other more urgent purposes.
e). their illegal status: the dwellers have no (formal) right to occupy the land they live on. (1975:47).

It is difficult to estimate the effect of the Government's attempts to remove the "squatter settlements". One may argue that these attempts have absolutely failed to attain their purpose, as the number of squatters has only further increased.

"The Government has tried for many years to resettle population from the Jhuggi (shacks) areas. Over 10,000 Jhuggi or shack huts have been removed, but still the number is increasing." (Master Plan Department, 1974:183).

The Government's attempts in the past have been:

a. **Simple Bulldozing**
   This method was applied in many squatter settlements of Karachi. In most cases, the inhabitants, having little choice, settled again on the same spot, or in another nearby colony. Quite often, the inhabitants managed to stop the bulldozers by legal or illegal actions. Many examples can be found.

b. **Bulldozing Plus Offering An Alternative House**
   For this purpose plans were made and partly executed to build satellite townships, Korangi and North Karachi, with planned populations of 400,000 and 200,000 respectively. When in 1964, 45,000 dwelling units had been built (i.e. somewhat less than 50% of the total planned), this programme was discontinued because it could no longer be financed.

   "In Korangi and North Karachi only Rs.10,000,000 have been realized and Rs.11,620,000 are in default in spite of the fact that both these projects were heavily subsidized." (Master Plan Dept. 1974:178). One of the reasons for this lies in the location of both projects far from the city. This entails high expenditure on transport. In fact many of the resettled people came back to the city to settle again in a squatter colony.

c. **Bulldozing Plus Offering An Alternative Plot**
   After the Resettlement Programme (Korangi and North Karachi) had been stopped, a much more realistic attempt was made
to resettle inhabitants of demolished squatter settlements in plot townships, for example in parts of Baldia, Orangi and Qasba. Here, the planned service level was much more modest. For instance, instead of house-to-house water connections (as in Korangi and North Karachi) community standpipes were planned. Also the plot area in these townships is smaller than in Korangi (80 sq. yards instead of 120 sq. yds). To some extent these plot townships have been a success. However, they could by no means cater for all the needs in the 4 year period 1965-1969, when only 16,000 plots were distributed. (Karachi Development Authority, 1969). Alternative plots were also offered in the unbuilt parts of North Karachi and Korangi, where again the high transport costs made the site unattractive to many of the allottees.

To some extent this same situation also applies to allottees of plots in Baldia, Orangi and Qasba. Although the location of these townships (closer to the centre of the city and close to the main industrial area) is much more favourable than that of Korangi and North Karachi, it may not be attractive to those who were forcibly shifted from places in the centre of the city, where in fact most of the demolition took place.

As a result of all this: "KDA (Karachi Development Authority) notes that about 50% of the households leave the open plot site after resettlement." (1978:14).

Sometimes, when inhabitants of a squatter settlement are removed, the authorities indicate that occupying a plot in a specific squatter area will not meet objections from their side. As the location of such colonies is often convenient and as prices of land in such colonies tend to be much lower than in the plot townships, this solution appears to work reasonably well. It should be noted that this system is quite unofficial, which may well be the very reason for its relative success. It is the need of the people for shelter which they fulfil by their own system, and thus makes a beginning for progressive development.

d. Site And Service Project

Karachi Development Authority executed a site and service project called "Metroville". The location of this first Metroville is convenient, as it is located next to the main
industrial area of Karachi. 5000 plots - for the greater part measuring 80 square yard - are provided with a "wet wall". Every plot has connections to water-supply, electricity, gas and sewerage. The prices of the plots with "wet walls" will be close to Rs.40, per sq. yard. Again, the high service level and the implied high price will exclude the real low-income groups from making use of this offered alternative.

For some reason, the proposed (cheaper) component of Open Plot Development (MPD, 1974:338), has not been included in the first Metroville. Also up to now, the number of plots delivered has been very limited. Instead of the target scale of 40,000 plots per year, up to now only 20,000 plots have been developed, and these are not yet occupied. Weijs, in his study based on 200 interviews, says that none of the 200 interviews had ever heard of, and hardly any of them showed any interest in, the Metroville. It should be noted that these interviewees live in the Jacob Lines Area, the houses of which are proposed to be demolished and replaced by flats which the majority of the inhabitants would be unable to pay for. Thus, these people could constitute a potential target group for a site and service project.

"Those classes of people most in need of it seem to be much less familiar with the programme than is supposed by the authorities. ....only 24.5% of our informants would be willing to go (to the Metroville) if necessary. Some of them would go only because they would obey the Government through lack of alternatives". (Weijs, 1975:44). In its development plans, the MPD concludes:

"The low income groups are denied access to housing credit, cannot obtain plots in locations of their need and are subjected to resettlement and harassment when they live in alternatives". (MPD, 1974:196).

It is obvious that the government's approaches were interpretations of perspectives due to social distance, which results in inappropriate actions and policies. In return these government policies result in barrier and obstacles to people's progressive development of their living environment and their lives. As the Government failed to solve the most basic and
immediate problem and need of the people the low income groups managed to deal with the situation quite successfully in an informal and progressive way, which is sometimes officially considered illegal. That is squatting, organizing, bribing and lobbying the formal system. These squatter settlements are called "Katchi Abadies" an Urdu expression for temporary settlements. (KMC-DAM, 1979). The word "abadi" means settlement. The word "Katchi" means in the first place, the non legal nature of the settlement, but at the same time "Katchi" also means "unfinished", "imperfect", "below a fixed standard", implying that the settlement is in need of improvement.

Katchi Abadies in Karachi

Due to a backlog of unfulfilled need for housing and the government's failure in planning for this basic need, almost 40% of Karachi's population and about 31% of Sind's urban population are squatting on public and private lands. There are 912 squatter settlements (Katchi Abadies) in the province of Sind. These Abadies are spread over an area of 18,684 acres. The breakdown of Katchi Abadies in various divisions of Sind is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Number of Katchi Abadies</th>
<th>Population in Katchi Abadies in Millions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karachi</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>2.00 approx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukkur</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>2.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Katchi Abadies are unplanned and haphazardly developed because of their differing requirements and resources. Plots are mostly very small, streets and public amenities are almost non-
existent. The conditions of life in **Katchi Abadies** are substandard. These conditions are the results of long neglect and negative attitude from the Government. In spite of the people struggling to improve their living conditions, frequent changes in Government policies, and insecure status remains a major obstacle to improving the physical environmental conditions of **Katchi Abadies**. This situation has created physical congestion and an extremely unhealthy living environment for the majority of people of **Katchi Abadies**.

Nearly two million people, or 37% of Karachi's population, reside in **Katchi Abadies**, (map of Karachi showing Katchi Abadies) which cover approximately 14,000 acres of land. According to the survey of 1981 by the Government of Sind the total number of **Katchi Abadies** were 362. They vary in size from a few dwellings to an agglomeration of several communities in one place.

A brief profile of **Katchi Abadies** in Karachi based on the Government of Sind's reports is given below:

- **Population**: 2 million (approx)
- **Population increase**: 200,000 per annum
- **Average Density**: 150 persons per acre 1986
- **Family size**: 6.5
- **Occupancy ratio**: 9 per dwelling
- **Average income per household**: Rs.500/- 50$US per month
- **No. of dwellings**: 223,000
- **Average plot size**: 60 sq. yards.
8:7 Occupational Profile Of Katchi Abadies Of Karachi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labourers</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and clerical</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous and unemployed</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Govt. of Sind (Katchi Abadies Challenges Action 1982).

The census record of 1981 indicates that the city has grown ten fold since 1942; the figure is approaching 4.3 million (Census dept. 1981). In Karachi there are 362 Katchi Abadies, which include the ubiquitous "mini-slums" and some 60 passively "urbanized villages". These Katchi Abadies are located all over the city, although some areas of concentration can be distinguished. (Ref map of Katchi Abadies). Almost everywhere in the world, squatter settlements tend to be located in areas of second choice, e.g. on river beds, and at the periphery of the cities. In Karachi, indeed, one of the areas where squatter settlements are concentrated is alongside water courses. Katchi Abadies on the periphery have also been created in great numbers over the past 35 years. However, as the city grew rapidly, many of the formerly peripheral settlements found themselves right in the city, and new squatter settlements tend to be located ever further away from the city centre.

Living conditions in Katchi Abadies vary enormously. Over the years examples of progressive development are obvious as some of these settlements have become very decent places with fairly good houses, having quite a reasonable level of facilities, such as water-supply, sewerage, garbage collection, storm water drainage, electricity, etc. In other Katchi Abadies, practically all these services are absent and sometimes the housing stock consists of mere reed huts, or of double storeyard shacks made of wooden planks and tin sheets.

The main factor that determines progressive development in Katchi Abadies, and whether a Katchi Abadi develops into a
decent place to live or not, is security of tenure. This security does not necessarily have to be of a formal nature: 'Katchi Abadies' residents perceive some degree of security when the government provides for certain facilities in their settlements. For example the provision of a community water standpost can be regarded as a sign of a certain degree of recognition, of the settlement on the government's part. This in its turn leads to the conclusion that the government is not likely to demolish the settlement shortly. Based on these vague and unsure indications the people improve their houses and spent more in the development of their community, a basic step in progressive development. When more facilities are provided for, the feeling of security increases, and so does the residents' participation in upgrading their houses and settlements. It is evident in the Katchi Abadies that as barriers are slowly lifted, the progressive improvement is accelerated by the residents of Katchi Abadies.

According to Van der Linden, the feeling of security increases in the Katchi Abadies dwellers, the dwellers mostly react by investing in the improvement of their houses and often the dwelling environment. Settlements that do not manage to obtain some degree of informal security stagnate in their development. The constant threat that the houses may be demolished at any time, prevents the inhabitants from investing in improvements (1977).

Katchi Abadies emerge in two forms according to Beijaard (1979): "Unorganized invasion" and "illegal subdivision".

8:8 **Unorganised Invasion**

Settlements that came about by unorganized invasion were the most common type in Karachi when large scale squatting was a new phenomenon. During the days of partition and shortly after, when several hundreds of thousands of refugees from India had to shelter themselves, the most obvious method was to select a piece of vacant land and squat on it. Typical of this method of settlement is the very low degree of security of tenure, at least in the initial stages. As a result, many settlements of this type have been uprooted, as is the other case with some 60 Katchi
Abadies which lack security. They are stagnating in their development, since the residents are reluctant to invest in their houses that may be destroyed any day. Yet another 80 settlements that came about by unorganized invasion have not only managed to survive, but have also seen the level of security of tenure increase, so that all kinds of improvements in houses and environment could be, and indeed have been made. It should be noted, however, that in many of these settlements, part of the security is derived from the fact that the land on which the settlements are built is not very much wanted by other (for example commercial) interests. For instance, 36 of these 80 settlements are located on the banks of water courses or by the sea. The word "unorganized" is referred only to the inception of the settlement. Even then some form of organization may be there, e.g. the first settlers were relatives or had the same village background. What is meant by the expression "unorganized invasion" is that neither protection nor layout is organized. By implication, initially, the squatters do not pay for their move to illegal and very insecure tenure.

Often, organization takes shape very quickly. Informal leaders start inviting more families to settle, thus seeking some sort of security in numbers. Strong organization is also needed in order to try and obtain protection for the settlements, to lobby for the provision of facilities, etc. Especially because of the very insecure tenure, strong organization and participation of all the dwellers are essential for the very survival of the settlement. Thus this community based survival system is present from the very beginning of the settlement, and later becomes the basis for progressive development. If outside obstacles are removed the development process can be faster.

Illegal Subdivisions

Illegal subdivisions of government land by private persons, although it was practised from the time of Partition onwards, has gained increased application over the years. The main characteristics of this system are:
a) Protection against eviction is guaranteed by leaders, who - in their turn - obtain protection from politicians and/or key persons in the administration. Although settlers do not get any documentary proof of their unofficial tenure rights, de facto their security of tenure is high. This type of planned subdivision for squatting shows a systematic pattern which includes provisions for lanes, mosques, playgrounds etc. The organized and planned layout reflects the people's long term planning for their community. Their social organisations and leaders take care of basic facilities of the settlements such as water supply and transport.

b) Settlers have to buy their plots with money. Often, the first settlers pay a nominal price only, depending upon location. By the time the sub-division becomes inhabited, prices of plots rise, particularly of the potentially commercial plots which the leaders have reserved along the main road.

8:10 The People Of Katchi Abadies

In Karachi, the people of Katchi Abadies comes from provincial, tribal parts of the country. Most of the time the reason for the move is economic and socio-cultural as well as political.

1. Pathans

Pathans of rural North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P) migrate to Karachi for better economic and social prospects. In N.W.F.P. job opportunities are very scarce as compared to Karachi, and life in general is hard in this mountainous region. Pathans are a very close knit ethnic group, who always live together within close geographical boundaries with their own kinsmen. They are extremely orthodox traditional muslims, with extremely severe values concerning women. Pathan women are kept indoors from the age of 9 or 10 years, and never come out, without a veil that covers them from head to foot. But in cities one finds that now quite a number of Pathan girls attend schools. This one very important function of Katchi Abadies. That have modified the traditions affecting rural women and have provided opportunities.
ii. **Punjabis**

Poor people from the rural Punjab province migrate to Karachi's *Katchi Abadies*, basically for economic reasons, but also because of the ruthless feudal system of rural Punjab. The feudal land system is extremely strong and powerful in Punjab, and the poor landless do not have a chance to upgrade their lives. The tribal feuds and enmity that run for generations, forces the powerless to migrate to the cities. The Punjabis also prefer to live predominantly in their own cultural and ethnic *Katchi Abadies* but they are comparatively less traditionalist than Pathans concerning their women. The Punjabi woman is more active and progressive, but as a woman in a traditional society, on the whole is suppressed and dominated. The Punjabis also live in culturally mixed *Katchi Abadies*.

iii. **Bihari**

The Biharis of former East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) originally migrated there before and after 1947 from the states of Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh in India. Biharis selected Orangi town, a *Katchi Abadie*, in the western part of Karachi. They settled and organized themselves not only for economic reasons and shelter, but also for their security, safety and cultural identity, the Biharis were housed in Karachi at different times in different phrases. During March to December 1971, while East Pakistan was in political turmoil and Pakistan military action was in full swing, many Biharis migrated to Karachi for their personal safety. They squatted in Orangi town, and reorganized themselves, erected their shacks and started living there without any civic amenities of life. This provided a social base for more Biharis to migrate and concentrate in Orangi town. After the downfall of East Pakistan more Bihari refugees came and the Government helped them camp in Orangi town. Thus today Orangi town is largely occupied by Biharis.

iv. **Baluch and Sindhi**

People from Baluchistan and rural Sind do not usually migrate in large numbers as compared to Pathans and Punjabis, because of the traditional values of not leaving their villages
and land of their forefathers. Generally speaking Sindhis and Baluchis live and settle in areas where people of their own villages live. They are not at all in competition with others in land occupation, because of their inherent inertia, non-enterprising nature and contented life-style.

8:11 **Socio-economic Culture:**

The people in Katchi Abadies are not only proliferative in terms of economic activities, but also productive in capital formation. It should be noted that the entire process of socio-economic development of these people is developmental in nature as it diffuses or spawns the socio-economic development process at grass roots level without any central and external investment. The Katchi Abadies settlers provide shelter for themselves at low-cost, according to a study conducted by Joint Research Project -IV and Urban Development for Slums Improvement, to estimate the investment made by 318 Katchi Abadies dwellers, spread over 14 different settlements of Karachi. The study revealed that as an average these people had invested Rs.2,669 in their homes (1974, Rs.10 = .1 U.S. dollar). The investments range from almost nothing to well over Rs.5000 - and thus illustrate the flexible response to housing needs, which the people themselves solved by incremental improvement of their houses and communities. It is obvious that Katchi Abadies dwellers themselves find the balance between their needs and what they can spend while the formal system responsible for providing low cost housing could not do so. This shows a marked difference between progressive and instant development, as well as a demonstration of rationality in the poor's understanding of their world.

In the Katchi Abadies, the migrant has the best chance of finding employment. Firstly because in or near most of the spontaneous settlement job opportunities are available, the very reason for the location of these colonies (Linden, 1982) Secondly because the fresh migrant to the city can get help from other Katchi Abadies dwellers who already have contacts and have gained experience. Thirdly because the Katchi Abadies itself is a source of job opportunities. Many of the unskilled labourers have irregular work in workshops, houses and road building, in the
A number of them can be found sitting on the footpath every morning and waiting for somebody to employ them. Most of them irregularly employed, however, find work through established contacts. No doubt, many of the Katchi Abadies dwellers have regular employment in factories or workshops. Many semi or unskilled labourers are found in areas close to an industrial establishment employed irregularly. (Linden, 1977:241).

A study conducted by Mientied, Meijer, Linden (1982:53) for evaluation of Baldia upgrading programme, showed that in Baldia (a spontaneous settlement more than 70% of the heads of households are occupied, mostly in low-paying jobs, for example skilled labourers 5.4%, sales workers 15.9%, jobless 2.7%. It should be noted here that the official banks hardly operate in the Katchi Abadies, either for saving, or for credit. This is an unfortunate situation for both the banks and for the potential customers, as the accumulated savings in Katchi Abadies amount to fairly high figures which the banks could take their profit from, and as the Katchi Abadies dweller does not get the service that banks could offer. Fortunately, within the settlement itself there is their own existing savings system, with a number of ways to make small savings productive. The above figures on investment in houses illustrate this fact. (Linden, 1975:5).

Also in all the Katchi Abadies, one will find shops, small workshops and home industries. All these income activities exist by the efforts of Katchi Abadies people themselves. "Especially noteworthy in this connection are the part-time shops and workshops", in which people manage to earn some extra money, after they return from their daily work. For families who had some savings, it was found that these would be spent on repair and improvement of houses, furniture and household appliances, children's education, clothing and further business investment. One of the basic reasons for this upward mobility, and the amount of money spent on family and house, is that culturally and religiously alcoholic drinks are prohibited. This prohibition automatically saves money and maintains cultural and social discipline in the poor. It was noticed that in Indian slums and squatter settlements, drinking was a major source in stagnating
the poor's living conditions, and there was a marked difference between the socio-economic conditions of the poor in India and Pakistan. (Author's observations during her internship in urban community development, India March-April 1986). Thus cultural and religious values play a major role in the formation of socio-economic attitudes and cultural stability among the poor.

Efforts and struggle in the lives of Katchi Abadies people, for economic uplift, is usually a combined family input. One finds informal arrangements designed to stretch the family's income. Cheap ready-to-eat food is sold at a middle or corner shop. Many vendors selling fish, vegetables, low quality fruit and other produce hawk their wares from door to door, making it possible for housewives to buy small quantities for each meal. Another important point that was observed in the economy of squatter settlements is the fact that, as in rural areas of Pakistan, the whole family, and not just the main breadwinner, is a productive entity. Aside from the father, the mother and children also earn, though this varies from family to family, and also in ethnic groups. The mother may wash dishes or clothes, do washing as a cleaning woman, run a small grocery store etc. The children pick up extra money by selling home-made cookies, selling newspapers, shining shoes, cleaning cars etc. Various opportunities are available to the poor people to strengthen their socio-economic condition. It is interesting to note that due to poverty women have to work outside, and thus cannot be kept in the veil, as the traditions demand. This gives an opportunity to women to play an active role in the socio-economic development of their families, which is an important and a basic unit of the community although this role of women is very rare in Pathan women. The people use all the opportunities available to stretch their income and accumulate savings. (The above descriptions and observations were made by the author during her field work in Katchi Abadies from 1979 to June 1986).

The people struggle to solve their housing needs by squatting and creating Katchi Abadies, with a socio-economic system of their own, and demonstrate their willingness and attitude towards development. The whole process produces an ecosystem which can be understood only through the inter-
relationships between people, their actions and their environment. It is an existing socio-economic culture, that has evolved in the process of people solving their own basic needs according to their planning and priorities. In this spontaneous system the people move forward together in a mutually supportive and progressive way.

Initially, they may be among the poorest of the urban poor. But such a description takes no account of their creativity, ingenuity and capacity to meet the changing needs and priorities which are associated with their changing economy and environment. These urban migrants use their ingenuity and dexterity so effectively and independently, as to be able to support their families both in the city and back in the village. When the Katchi Abadies in Karachi are studied in their cultural terms, their self-generating and diverse economic activities are, on balance, of considerable value to themselves and to others.

8:12 Katchi Abadies And Their Organizational System

Although from a formal point of view, practically all the Katchi Abadies came about illegally as settlements, this does not imply that they were disorganized, or lacked organizational skills. Precisely because they are illegal, often much organization is needed to resist all the Governments' attempts to demolish a settlement. The people of Katchi Abadies are organized according to their need. The nature of these organizations vary from Katchi Abadies to Katchi Abadies, but some organization always exists. First, settlements that have come about more or less spontaneously, are often small groups of people who erected their own huts. Right from the beginning, these people have to defend themselves against the Government's attempts to evict them. Often they invite as many people as possible to join them to live in the settlement, seeking greater safety in numbers.

Once they become somewhat successful in their efforts to be allowed to go on dwelling where they are, the next step is to lobby and try to obtain some basic facilities (firstly water) in the Katchi Abadies. Both types of activities call for strong
organization and much participation on the part of individual dwellers. The participation is already involved with the risk the individuals run when erecting their huts in such a Katchi Abadies. There are cases known, where at crucial times, a planning meeting of the Katchi Abadies dwellers was held daily, to discuss the problem of eviction. Once the threat of being evicted diminishes and the basic facilities have been obtained, the degree of organization also diminishes, but a traditional pattern of organizational behaviour tends to prevail, based on kinship and ethnic background or place of origin. It is this invisible form of organization that reappears when the government decides to legalize the Katchi Abadies, because some organization is needed to bargain with the government about prices and fees to be paid for the land and facilities. (Linden, 1977:253-82; Portes, 1972a:272-77). (Observed by the author during her fieldwork 1979-1984).

In an illegal subdivision, on the other hand, participation on the part of the inhabitants is often very weak or completely absent. Those who have organized the settlement continue to act as middle-men between residents and the government, when further improvements are required. By definition these middle-men are the ones who have access to the government machinery, and there is little reason for the individual dwellers to actively participate in residents' organizations.

Quite often, the inhabitants regard the middle-men as evil, but as an unavoidable channel to the government since they lack better spokesmen. But in unorganized invasion, even though there is a middle-men initial control, the organization tends to be more democratic, participatory and of a voluntary nature. However, there is no hard and fast rule, and one can find a mixture, as the people continuously go on evolving their own strategies, to deal with uncertain emerging situations. It has been seen that the middle-men are important during the early stages of the settlement, when the number of dwellers is small and people are weak in their socio-economic status. However, once the community is stronger and gets some recognition from the authorities, it turns to its original traditional community organizational pattern. These traditional patterns of
organization, serve as the basis for sustaining and maintaining progressive improvement, along with socio-economic and cultural stability in Katchi Abadies. Because in the early stages the migrant is not familiar with the urban ways of coping with the authorities, temporarily they depend on the middle-men to gain a foothold. But as they get settled, and feel more secure with their increase in numbers, their traditional pattern of organization tends to take root in an urbanized form. This form is a process that takes shape gradually and progressively. These deep rooted forms and patterns of community based organization are usually not apparent to outsiders, unless continuous informal empathic association is developed with the Katchi Abadies dwellers.

Since most of the Katchi Abadies dwellers migrate directly from their villages to the spontaneous settlements, traditional forms of social organization and patterns of behaviour continue to prevail. An example is the Jirgha system (Community Court) of Pathans in NWFP Province, where government authorities are not approached for community and family problems. The Jirgha (community court) decides the issues and conflicts. When the people migrate to urban centres they still practice this system, which is commonly found among the Pathans. The refugees of 1947 who migrated from rural areas of Junagarh, India, have the Jamat system for the same objectives. Wherever they go and settle they have their own Jamat for community and family needs of arbitration, a healthy and constructive continuity of cultural traditions from the village in terms of social organisations and leaders.

Moreover, the organization of space within a Katchi Abadies settlement often reflects these traditional patterns of interactions. Migrants from the mountains, on arrival in the cities select the hills to squat, and they use stones for the construction of their houses. The houses have large court yards, having passages into other houses of the communities, so that women when visiting each other do not go out of their house but go through the small doors in between the houses. In the case of Punjab's rural migrants they will have their houses large enough to accommodate buffaloes and wells inside their yards.
Households tend to cluster together on the basis of kinship ties, tribes, village or region or origin and occupation. Usually a Katchi Abadie is named after the tribe or their original village, such as Swat Colony in Baldia Town which consists of migrants from Swat in North West Frontier Province. There is Delhi Colony all the residents come from Delhi, India, and have been refugees since 1947. There are three large concentrations of Kumhars (traditional clay pottery makers) in Karachi's Katchi Abadies, who live and work in the same place.

A large Katchi Abadie known as Afridi Colony is named after Afridi tribal areas in the north of Pakistan. It is interesting to see that one will rarely find houses of Indians or Sindhi families in Pathan clusters. These clusters are called "Mohallas" (neighbourhood) and are also named after their villages, tribes or place of origin. The mohallas often function as an intermediate stage between village and city. Here people live amongst their own community, can speak their own language and retain at least part of their traditional customs. As a Pathan from Ajab Khan Colony puts it, "we live here quietly amongst our own people. At night, one has not to be afraid of theft and such things. In other areas the purdha (veil) of our women could not be maintained. Here we can remain what we are. For the children this is a good place; there is no traffic and no danger as all of our own people can keep an eye on them". This is a clear illustration of the semi-village atmosphere which persists in the middle of the metropolis, and which makes urbanization possible without socio-cultural breakdown. Due to cultural and social control in the environment there is little criminality, the concept of informal cohabitation does not exist, and the people generally practice Islamic life, mixed with rituals. Strong social accountability exists because of religious and traditional values the people have, which they build on for their progressive survival in the city.

These traditional values maintain a feeling of belonging within the people in huge urban agglomerations. Most of the time the first sign of a collective effort that emerges in a new Katchi Abadie, is a mosque. Even if there are just a few mud dwellings, a small mud structure, with thatched roof, or semi
pucca (wall of cement concrete and tin sheet roof) will be put up. A mosque committee is formed, usually of elderly members of the community. They contribute to the funds, and step by step the mosque is given a permanent shape as the settlement takes roots. In the early stages of the settlement the mosque also arranges the distribution of water, being the immediate need in the early days of Katchi Abadies dwellers. This indicates that a sort of social organizational system is always present from the very start of a settlement. But spontaneous expansion in Katchi Abadies increases the problems and needs of these settlements, and they becomes more complex. Examples are pressurising and lobbying the local authorities for water, electricity, lease, garbage collection and sewerage etc. These responsibilities are beyond the capacity of old and traditional mosque committee members. They limit themselves to prayers or teaching the Quran to children. In some communities they continue to distribute water and conduct religious activities.

The people reorganize and strengthen their existing mosque committee to take up these urban problems, an example being the case of Loharwara mosque in Baldia town. This mosque, along with its religious role, has undertaken related community development responsibilities. But as usual the ethnic clusters grew in number and space, and they reorganized their traditional social organizations, such as the Jirga system (Community Courts) or Jamat (Organisation) or anjumans (Associations). Sometimes even these traditional organizations lack the capacity to extend their roles. In such cases people create new organization like young students organizations in Baldia Town or Tanzaem-e-Naw of Camblepur Mohalla, who reorganized themselves with new young members, after they migrated from the rural Punjab to Baldia. (Azam, 1985a). Their main objective in reorganisation was to settle community disputes without outside interference. The community's social and organizational initiative was in the hands of the Camblepur people, because they were the largest ethnic group in their section of Baldia. They also reorganized the social conflict/disputes resolution mechanism locally because they retained some of their rural socio-cultural values and structure even in an urban Katchi Abadie. The above socio-
cultural problem solving activities were in addition to the fulfilling the basic needs like civic amenities, water sanitation, health, electricity, and schools. The need to arrange for long-distance travel to bury their dead in their own village was a major factor in their reorganisation.

When the community, realizes the need for stronger organisation, they reorganise themselves with new leadership. Once the need is fulfilled they usually, go in the background, for example the case of Tai Colony in Baldia Town, which had a den of drug addicts and a centre for vulgar men, who often misbehaved with passing women. The existing organization of older people was afraid to get involved, so a group of young students under the name of Young Volunteers of Tai Colony organized themselves. They not only completely eliminated the drug centre, but also helped few addicts to get treatment. Once the job was done, the organization was no longer active. However, the large traditional Tai Khidmat Committee is still there fulfilling its traditional role, of settling family disputes plus lobbying the government for land tenure and other basic services. Similarly other traditional organizations and Jamats has extended their roles, for example Patni Jamat in Anjam Colony is operating an excellently organized health centre, a community hall, educational centre and also collaborating with the government for land tenure, water and electricity for its communities. The same is true of Memon Jamat in Baldia. The community organisation had to reorganize themselves to deal with the police and outside authorities who often threatened them and interfered in their community affairs. Appropriately, the people extended the role of their traditional organization in an urban context. Basically the need for survival of the residents of Katchi Abadies determines the role of organizations and leadership.

8:13 Leadership Patterns

In the Indian sub-continent it was observed that leadership is part of an all-prevailing system of "patron-client relationship". "Patronage is an institutionalised, albeit often informal, transaction between two persons who differ regarding the degree to which they can influence the allocation of goods
and services. The transaction implies that the one who has more influence will use it for the benefit of the other party, the client who, in return, will render all kinds of services in the interest of the patron". (Galjart, 1969:402).

In the Katchi Abadies of Karachi as well, this same pattern of Patron-client relationship is present, as it is in the rest of the country, as well as in most countries with a similar background. But it was observed in Katchi Abadies that leadership from traditional organisations, only forges its relationship with the authorities or political parties, while basically it remains on traditional lines, continuously involved in their immediate community's improvement and interest. The leaders often affiliate themselves with a political party in order to gain access to the wider patronage system and sources of power. The support is genuine when the political leader belongs to their kinship or ethnic group. But usually the people of Katchi Abadies temporarily affiliate themselves. For example, Orangi town one of the largest Katchi Abadies of Karachi, got half of its area regularised by affiliating themselves with the former people's party. The same happened in Lyari and in Baldia town, and in fact Lyari and Baldia town were given highest priority for the improvement programme of Katchi Abadies. In Anjam Colony the Minister of Finance was invited by the Baldia community organisation. Later they got water for their community. Currently during her fieldwork the community organiser, met one of the organisations, Abbasi Mohalla committee, who were active for PPP (Pakistan People's Party) and are now working for the present regime for reinforcing the Islamisation process. At their community level they still settle their disputes in their traditional way, and do not allow the outside authorities to enter. However, they assist the authorities in providing water and gas pipelines to their community. Frankly they said that "what can we do? We need these services so we let the present government believe that we are working for them". This was said by the President of the organisation. Most of the community organisations hold religious gatherings to please the present regime.
For basic needs like water, health, transport etc, the people look towards the government or other outside agencies for assistance, in accordance with the traditional patron-client pattern. For example in Pathan communities, they were very anxious for a lady doctor to visit their community or open a health centre for their women, but when asked for a woman from their community to help in the health programme, they replied that it is not their tradition to let their women go out. However, they extended their complete cooperation for a health centre, by offering a free place, furniture and support. In the case of family disputes or community fights, they rarely call the police authorities, while they pressure the authorities, for other services and take an active part in politics. As far as social and religious activities are concerned Katchi Abadies dwellers are often self-contained, whereas for economic and political activities, linkages with influential outsiders are readily sought and maintained as long as these serve their immediate needs. In effect, these Katchi Abadies represent an interesting and progressive adaption to the complex urban environment in which they are located.

In 362 Katchi Abadies more than 854 social welfare community organizations existed (Ref. Appendix-1) before any law enforcing or other service-giving government agencies came in (Khan and Azam, 1986:27). In Orangi town, it was observed that the residents planned out their entire area without any outside assistance. Plots were marked out, the lanes and main roads were planned, and even today there is no demolition of any house for physical improvement work by KMC. (Bahtear, 1978)*. In Kokan Colony the Kokan Jamat of 300 families planned out their entire neighbourhood with plots, open space for a Community Centre, mosque location, and a small recreation centre. All the physical planning was done entirely on a community basis in 1956, when they migrated from small rural areas in India of Junaghar. They were relocated in Baldia town by the authorities, after a slum

*Note: The author was involved in community development project of Karachi University as a student of social work 1977-1979.
clearance programme in the inner city of Karachi. Nearly every home has a soakpit latrine, and the community has a clean well-planned look.

Another Katchi Abadie, Osmania Mahajir Colony, has taken care of its human waste disposal by constructing soakpits in every house. The same is the case with Musa Colony. The residents here installed underground sewerage lines, connecting them to the city's main sewerage outlets. In Orangi town 63 community organizations are on record with the social welfare directorate. It was told by one of the local leaders, Mr. Ramzan Khan, that more than 100 water reservoirs have been constructed by the Community's organized efforts, and most of the time an organizing committee exist for each water reservoir for water management in the community.

While the middlemen take the role of political brokers and land speculators, the community at large reorganizes and strengthens its traditional organizational system, for its social, technical, physical, environmental and cultural improvement. This developmental attitude provides a strong and smooth basis for transformation of a rural traditional organization into an urban community development system, which becomes the foundation of a self-reliant progressive development process. Although to outsiders the Katchi Abadies are disorganized, unsystematic and inefficient way of living, this progressive development system of Katchi Abadies is functioning. Outsiders tend to forget that this way of life evolved due to the failure of their planning and implementation approaches, in spite of the obstacles and barriers, the people instead of falling into apathetic chaos and stagnation in their poverty, demonstrated a progressive development model, by building on their own human and technical resources, for the solution to the problems of their basic needs, thus creating a self-reliant progressive development strategy for their community.

The nature and scope of organizations in Katchi Abadies may vary, but they all reflect a capacity and will to determine their own needs and solve to their immediate problems. According to a survey the range of services offered and the level of efficiency and success may not be uniform, but the desire and
consciousness for amelioration is more than apparent in the 536 community welfare organizations and 283 sports clubs, (Ref. Appendix-1). The diversity in the mode of working, from autocratic to ideally democratic cannot over-ride the fundamental fact that resignation to fate is rejected. Whether the membership of an organization constitutes a handful or a few thousand cannot divert one from the spirit of collective efforts. The size and scope of concerns and services, the financial resources and methods of mobilizing them, presents a rich variation. (Ref. Appendix-1,2,3,4). The ever-increasing numbers of grass roots organizations during the last six decades prove an inner strength, energy and determination of the people at the grass root level. Though a rapid growth in numbers can be detected from the sixties onwards, organizations were established in the thirties and early forties. One organization present in Katchi Abadies was established in 1880. (Khan and Azam, 1986).

The organizations in the Katchi Abadies of Karachi can be divided into two distinct groups according to the survey, (Khan and Azam, 1986). On the one hand there are the welfare and service oriented organizations and, on the other hand, there are the sports clubs, with football as the most popular game. (Ref. Appendix-2 and 3). Such healthy fusion of interest and concern is a tribute to the people and their resilience in working for their betterment. Their efforts to cater to their own needs and those of others in their community and/or neighbourhood, reflect the government's failure to provide the same for them, and also it confirms that the basic needs can best be met at the local level, where the people are. The community organisations pooled their own resources that shows in their budget. (For details tables in Appendix-5).

The people of Katchi Abadies embody a vitality and dignity and self determination which together forms a basic component of progressive development of their community. The organizational capacities of the people in seeking solution to their problems, in a development oriented approach rather than radically challenging and confronting the system, presents a model of community based development. If only the outsiders could build on this existing system, and integrate it with their
own, channelize it and link it with broader urban development policies, then the development could come from within rather than be imposed from outside. Thus a foundation of a truly democratic society will be laid.

8:14 Physical and Environmental Conditions

The physical condition of the Katchi Abadies varies from settlement to settlement, according to its legal situation and the technical skills of its people. There is a difference in the layout of the new and old Katchi Abadies.

The old Abadies have no regular plans. The streets are narrow, in some cases less than 4 feet wide, open spaces for schools, playgrounds and mosques are non-existent, and the plot sizes are irregular and sometimes as small as 12 square yards. Some of the oldest settlements are in Lyari which is very well known. Other areas are old Golimar, old parts of Baldia town, Bhutta village etc. Since these settlements were unplanned they developed in a haphazard way. Also these settlements are near to river beds, and large natural drains, with huge amounts of refuse collected at their sides, giving the settlements a very unhealthy appearance. Because of their illegal status for more than 35 years, the settlements have developed a shabby and stagnant appearance. The government was reluctant to provide basic services. The poor condition of many houses and lack of infrastructure give these settlements an image of marginality and dirtiness.

The housing presents a mix of pucca that is asbestos sheet, or galvanized iron roofs and sometimes a mixture of mud and cement walls. The katcha or temporary units are very poor. They are usually made from assorted salvage materials. These are often scraps of wood, gummy sack, cardboard, straw or sticks supplemented by mud and stores and a roof of straw and mud. The new abadies such as orangi, part of Baldia, Qasba Landhi and malir etc. are better planned. These planned abadies in grid form. The streets are wider and the sizes of the plots are identical. Open spaces for playgrounds, schools etc. are often set aside and planned markets exist. Official planning
regulations would have little disagreement with these town plans. (Hassan, 1985:2-4).

Houses in the earlier abadies were originally of mat and reed construction. They were improved step-by-step over a period of time by the residents. Houses in the more recent abadies have a uniform technology, while the quality of construction is much better. Concrete blocks for walls, and asbestos cement or GI sheets for roofs, are the most common building materials in Karachi. Overall the physical conditions of the houses over the years has improved slowly, in spite of the protracted insecure tenure situation of the Katchi Abadies. The individuals have invested substantial amounts on their houses. In 1971, it was estimated that 70% of the houses were 'Jhuggies' i.e. huts with mud and reed. 10% were clay-built and 20% were semi pucca (Rauf, 1971:11).

In 1983 almost 76% of the houses were built semi-permanent, that is concrete and cement blocks were used for the unplastered walls, and roofs were of asbestos or corrugated iron sheets, while 7% of the households had solid cement and concrete structure with reinforced roofs. The physical improvements demonstrate the existence of a technical structure present in Katchi Abadies.

8.15 Water and Sanitation

The city of Karachi as a whole has water and sanitation problems. Only 48% of the households in Karachi have inside connections for water. On average the per capita per day domestic supply is 22 gallons but in Katchi Abadies areas it is less than 10 gallons. About 52 percent of households are without piped water facilities. Similarly about half of the total households are without waterborne sanitation facilities. The position of sewerage treatment is alarming, as treatment capacity is available for 40 mgd only against the total water supply of 320 mgd. (KDA:1985). In older Katchi Abadies water is supplied through tanks or transported to the settlement. This was arranged as the result of a considerable amount of lobbying with the government by the people. In Orangi town only, a daily supply of water of 1000 tankers was provided till 1980.
The existing level of these services varies from settlement to settlement. There are a number of settlements where water supply through community taps exist, but is irregular. There are other communities where only drinking water is supplied from the authorities, while no other services exist. (KMC, 1984). The water distribution system is hydraulically inefficient; there is contamination of water due to leaking pipes; resulting in high incidence of water-borne diseases. In Katchi Abadies water is provided on an ad hoc basis, that is mostly through the standpost. But still a large number of Katchi Abadies do not have these standposts, or they are not installed at a convenient location. The supply is inadequate, intermittent and erratic. The bacteriological quality of water being supplied is also unsatisfactory. Reinforcing of trunk/feeder mains and extension of networks still needs to be done and much improvement is needed. (KMC, 1984:2-3).

In some cases, the Katchi Abadies dwellers purchase water from street peddlers. This is the most common form of water supply to households. These peddlers, however, fill their containers at public standposts. For most families in Katchi Abadies fetching water at communal taps is a daily chore. The demand for water is so enormous that taps are always overcrowded and usually most community fights are over water, with long lines of people who sometimes wait for several hours. Residents of the Katchi Abadies consider the regular supply of piped water a basic first priority.

Sewerage reticulation is largely available in the city. However, sewers are not well maintained and are under-sized at present. The system is incomplete in the absence of trunk sewers and proper treatment/disposal facilities. The sewers area-wise are conveniently terminated into nearby drains or "nallah". Drains in the centre and down-town are inadequate. Nallahs are virtually acting as raw sewage carriers. Katchi Abadies mostly do not have sewerage facilities. Drains are also provided in certain parts of Katchi Abadies and there are services for sewage as well as for storm water. Sanitation in Katchi Abadies is very poor. Usually Katchi Abadies are located in low lying areas and are near the bank of nallahs. The conditions of the nallahs are
deplorable. During heavy rainfall, overflowing nallahs play further havoc. The overall conditions of collection, treatment and disposal are thus far from satisfactory. (KMC, 1984). There are still no definite plans for future sewerage and drainage works in the city. Currently improvement, replacement and additions are in progress on a year-to-year basis. The existing sewage treatment plants built in the 1950's are being repaired or rebuilt.

Organized garbage collection by municipalities is not usually extended to Katchi Abadies. Common forms of unorganized disposal consist of burning or dumping in front of the house and in gulleys, drainage ditches, pit or nearby open drains or nallahs and creeks. Sometimes the households pay a sweeper to carry their garbage to the collection point, but usually the children and women carry it. From where the municipality truck picks it up. Inadequate garbage disposal is the prime cause of clogging in open drains in most Katchi Abadies.

8:16:1 Night Soil Collection

The most pressing need of the Katchi Abadies from the health point of view is some form of sanitation, especially related to the disposal of excreta. (Survey report, Agha Khan Medical College, 1984). The existing excreta disposal is mostly from the households' individual latrine, which are cleared by sweepers on the alternate mornings or more frequently. These are called bucket latrines.

8:16:2 Bucket Latrines

The bucket latrine usually consists of a used battery shell or case, which is placed in the latrine. This case or a gallon tin is placed in a rectangular channel in which faeces are collected. Most of the time the bucket overflows. Another common practice is for the latrine to have a plinth on which defecaation takes place. This plinth slopes towards a hole in the outside wall through which faeces are removed; urine and cleaning water run off to the road or open ground outside the plot. These containers or channels are then emptied by self-employed sweepers or scavengers, who collect the excreta in
Picture: Traditional Soakpit

bigger tins or buckets. Then the house-owner throws water into the channel, to clean it. The water usually runs through the outside face of the boundary wall and stays there. When the containers are full, sweepers take them to the main disposal points, or dump the contents into the nearest drain or vacant land. The conditions of these latrines gets worse when the sweepers do not come for two days. Excreta and wastewater flow onto the narrow streets. Sometimes a small pool of stagnant sewage and excreta is found outside the plot near the latrine. The sanitation situation is extremely bad, unhygienic and is a potential cause of many diseases. It is one of the environments biggest pollution sources in Katchi Abadies. Apart from creating severe environmental pollution and health hazards, the owners have to pay Rs.15-20/per month to the sweepers, who in most cases are becoming difficult to find. (Pickford and Reed, 1979).

8:16:3 Soakpits

The more affluent and health conscious people have dug soakpits in their lanes. The existing soakpits were found to be technically unsound. (Ref. diagram of traditional soakpit) The following reasons were listed by a WEDC report, 1979.

1. A great part of the volume is occupied by large stones which effectively reduce the storage capacity by 50-75%.
2. Because of the stones the people using it will find it very difficult to re-excavate the pits when they are full and the solids are stabilized.
3. The ventilation is poor, leading to fly nuisance.
4. Their location in roadways in often unsatisfactory if the roads are to be improved or open drains constructed. (Pickford and Reed, 1979).

Due to lack of technology and knowledge on construction of pit latrines, the people have spent sometimes Rs.1200 to Rs.2000/- per pit. A pit gets filled within 3 to 5 years. The cost of emptying these pits, on a continuous basis, whether manually or by a suction truck, is expensive.

Almost 25% of the Katchi Abadies people have attempted some sort of sanitation system. In Lyari, Orangi, Golimar and
other areas, people tried to install cesspools and underground sewerage systems, but the most common is the soakpit. In one of the Katchi Abadies, Usmania Mohajir Colony, it was found that people had solved their sanitation problem to a great extent by constructing soakpit toilets on their own. Almost 95% of the people of this Katchi Abadies have soakpit latrines. However, because of lack of technical and maintenance know how, the people of other Katchi Abadies have not tried the soakpits so extensively.

8:16:4 Underground Sewerage Lines

In some Katchi Abadies people tried to construct an underground sewerage line, but it was seldom that the whole community would undertake the work and connect to the line. The attempt had technical shortcomings, and was in most cases substandard. Consequently the drains clogged up frequently or their different elements weathered badly. In the absence of secondary and main drains the outflow was a problem. Although the people's efforts in solving their sanitation problem was not always 100% successful, the attempts were always there. If only these attempts were supported by technical advice and social education for sanitation by the outsiders, instead of putting up barriers, the people would solve their sanitation problem during the initial period of settlement, as they built their homes, and would thus gain confidence in their own technical solutions. This would save the community environment, as well as creating social trust and confidence between the people and the outsiders. This relationship could have speeded up the process of progressive development of the Katchi Abadies at a very low cost, but effectively.

There are two major reasons why the authorities of Karachi Municipality could not and cannot solve the sanitation problem of Katchi Abadies:

1. The local authorities (KMC) do not have the necessary finances for constructing a sewerage system. Where International finance is available the problem of repayment arises. Even if the repayment were not a problem, international loans could only deal with a small
part of an immense problem. This can be appreciated by the fact that there are 362 Katchi Abadies in Karachi alone, with more than 2 million people in them.

2. The cost of urban services as developed by the local authorities is nine times the actual cost of labour and materials required for such development. Users in Katchi Abadies cannot afford to pay these charges in one go as do their counterparts in Karachi's more affluent areas. Furthermore, experience has shown that it is impossible to recover development expenditure from low income users in instalments. (Hassan, 1985:3-4).

For a long time the existence of such a large number of people living in Katchi Abadies was not recognized by the Government, as if these people did not exist. The government felt no obligation towards their developmental needs and accordingly no attention was paid, until a Directorate of Katchi Abadies was created in 1981 (its role will be discussed later) to look into the possibility of providing the Katchi Abadies with basic services such as water supply and sewerage etc.

8:17 Experience in Environmental Improvement

The improvement of Katchi Abadies in terms of providing water supply and sewerage has involved large sums of money*. The government agencies responsible for this task, first the Karachi Development Authority (KDA), and since July 1981 the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC), have faced difficulties with regard to funding of these improvement projects.

There have been two possible sources of funding available to them, either through foreign borrowing (from the World Bank, the United Nations, or the like) or by raising the required amount, running into hundreds of millions of rupees, from the local residents in the form of development and improvement charges.

Note: *According to a rough cost estimate Rs.1,650 million is required for the initial development of Katchi Abadies (Katchi Abadies in Sind: Challenges and Actions Plan, May 1982: Department of Housing, Town Planning and local Government, Government of Sind).
The difficulty has not been so much in finding a lender, as in finding the ways and means of recovering the loan money for repayment. The Government would have to either repay the loan from its own resources or recover it through the beneficiaries (local residents of Katchi Abadies). Experiences from Korangi and North Karachi projects of the 1960s show that for foreign financial assistance only U.S.$ 17 million was collected, leaving U.S$ 11.7 million in arrears. (Herbert, 1982:94).

A more recent experience is Baldia improvement Project of Karachi, which shows that recoveries from lease charges lag behind expenditure. In the first three years KMC spent Rs.30 million but it recovered only 33% of this amount from the residents, who are reluctant to pay lease charges so long as they do not see improvement works actually carried out. (Govt. of Sind, 1983:40).

The problems involved with foreign borrowing have been best illustrated in the case of Lyari. In 1974 the World Bank was approached for the financial assistance for the Lyari Early Action Project (LEAP) which involved essentially the construction of sewerage and drainage systems. A foreign consultancy company was retained by the World Bank to review the Lyari sanitation sewerage system prepared for KMC by a Karachi Firm. Large sums were spent for the many missions that came from the World Bank for preparation and appraisal of the project. In August 1976 the appraisal report was approved by the Bank loan committee. The World Bank proposed a credit of approximately 36 million US dollars or about RS.400 million* and a team of Pakistan experts and officials were invited to go to Washington for settling the terms of credit.

The question arose as to how the loan money would be recovered. The proposal suggested recovery from the

beneficiaries in the form of lease and development charges. Eventually, the problems of repayment made it impossible to accommodate the credit in the Annual Development Plan (ADP) of the Government. The plan had to be abandoned, indicating the near impossibility of improving a low-income community through borrowed resources. All the money, energy and time spent on preparing a very fine integrated improvement plan seemed to have been wasted.

As for raising the necessary funds from the local residents of Katchi Abadies in the form of development charges, the major obstacle has been the prohibitive rates charged by the KMC and KDA planners, engineers and contractors. If a house is built on 80 or 100 sq. yards for 15 or 20,000 rupees, and that too on an incremental basis spread over many years, then the owners of these houses find it impossible to pay 3 or 4000 rupees per house for the development or improvement of drains, sewerage etc.

The residents also feel that it is the duty of the local councillors or the KMC or KDA to provide these basic facilities for them. The KMC, on the other hand, being unable to recover the development charges from the residents of these low-income areas leaves things as they are. Neglect, to that extent, becomes the government's official policy, and the result is further deterioration of the sub-standard and unhygienic conditions in the area.

Under these difficult conditions as noted earlier, some people and communities of Katchi Abadies have themselves made several attempts in the form of soakpits and underground sewers. However due to lack of technical support many of these efforts have been unsuccessful. It seems that despite good intentions and some investment the government authorities have not been able to bring about any substantial changes in the Katchi Abadies environmental conditions. The main impediment is said to be lack of resources. Because of limitations mentioned earlier foreign credits cannot be implemented, and the KMC or KDA or the Government of Sind have no organizational mechanism to successfully and effectively mobilize the local community resources from the Katchi Abadies on a large scale and bring
down the cost of development. However, as Dr. Akhter Hamed Khan, director Orangi Pilot Project, puts it:

"Whatever may be the reason, there seems to be two sets of rules operating, one for the affluent section of the society who need and get all the facilities of healthy living, and the other for the poor who have been made to live without the basic facilities of running water, sanitation, drainage system, roads, electricity etc". (Khan, 1983:3).

It seems obvious that the government needs demonstration models of integrated community development, to understand the potentials of the people and their energies and ingenuities in solving their environmental problem. In any case the unhygienic sanitary conditions and high infant and child mortality and morbidity rate that persist due to unsanitary methods of human waste disposal and lack of social education and training forces the authorities to look into the problem of sanitation in Katchi Abadies.

More than one in nine babies born in the Katchi Abadies of Karachi die before reaching one year of age. One in four will not reach the age of five. Those that do survive suffer frequent illness and ill health. This is mainly due to such problems as gastro-enteritis, amoebiasis, worm infestation etc which are precursors of malnutrition and heightened susceptibility to other diseases and the severity of them such as measles.

8:18 Upgrading Policies Of The Government

The government's attitude with regard to Katchi Abadies changed in the seventies. The method of eviction and demolition is applied less and less, although this threat has not been lifted everywhere. Both Bhutto, the ex-Prime Minister, and General Ziaul-Haq the President, announced recognition of existing Katchi Abadies. In 1978 a Martial Law Order was declared that announced legalisation of Katchi Abadies existing before January 1978. According to the Master Plan Department, extensions and encroachments after this date on the Katchi Abadies located in dangerous spots (like river beds etc) or on non-residential areas would be removed. With the regularization of the Katchi Abadies through legalisation of the actual land-use
and improvement of the physical infrastructure, a reluctant start has been made.

The views of John Turner*1 advice of a Dutch team headed by Dr. Linden in 1971, political pressure of a potential electorate in Katchi Abadies and the possibility of obtaining a World Bank loan, led to a new policy of the Karachi Municipal Corporation in 1977 known as the Karachi Slum Improvement Project (KSIP) (KMC, 1977). Prior to this a study of the slums of the Free University of Amsremdam, Holland, in collaboration with Karachi University, resulted in a Joint research Project (JRP IV). This study consisted of a detailed analysis of the conditions and problems of these areas, with a series of recommendations for implementation which were beyond the scope of JRP IV*2. In 1974 the Master Plan of Karachi suggested guidelines to decide whether a particular slum area should be cleared or allowed to stay and the occupation of land be given legal status (MPD, 1974). In 1976 the Directorate of Katchi Abadies was formed and, together with other departments of the KMC, is responsible for the survey and planning of the regulation of Katchi Abadies. According to the new policy (KSIP), Katchi Abadies would be regularised by providing security of tenure to the residents through legalization of their occupancy.

The increased security of tenure and the improved level of facilities are expected to encourage the inhabitants to improve their own houses and locality, thereby creating a more permanent housing stock. The policy is aimed at the creation of legal and environmental conditions in squatter settlements which would encourage the people to further improve their direct surroundings.

*1 The theoretical debate on policies for low income housing in the third world cities is polarised between two points of view: the convivalist and the (neo) marxist (Lea, 1979). Turner, the main spokesman of the convivalist view advocates a policy which respects and supports informal housing systems (Turner, 1976).

*2 Kauser S.K. discussed the scope of the study in "Involvement of a Dutch person with our Slums", DAWN 16 Dec. 1983.
Some Options For Upgrading The Sanitary Conditions

Baldia town was the first Katchi Abadie to be regularized. The Dutch Planning Commission with technical assistance from the WEDC Group, explored the possibilities of improving the sanitary conditions of the Town. The technology for Baldia required is one that immediately affects the unsanitary conditions, because when people live a long while in an unsanitary way, the unsanitary conditions become accepted so they will not maintain a sanitation system that is later introduced. There is an urgent need to bridge this gap, from crude bucket latrines to ultimate sewerage systems if conditions allow. But what do people do in the meantime?

8:19:1 Sewer System

Initially, the feasibility of an underground water borne sewerage system was examined. However, besides its very high cost, the disadvantage of a water borne system is that it will get blocked, unless enough water is available to flush the system, Baldia does not have sufficient water for such a system.

Such a sewerage system is most favoured by the users, as it disposes of excreta without smell and flies, and flushing is immediate. With flushing the squatting plate is easy to keep clean. The waste water from kitchen, bath and washing can also be taken in by sewerage system. It can operate in all soil conditions and natures of ground and can serve any housing density, although pumping is often necessary. But the most important aspect is the amount of knowledge that is available on an underground sewerage system, on its treatment and maintenance. It is because of all these advantages that a water borne sewerage system is selected by the engineers who are trained outside.

Sewerage is good and appropriate for prosperous cities and towns with an ample water supply, but sewerage is not appropriate for the majority of squatter settlements. (Pickford, 1984:164) (Wagner and Lanoix 1958).

In the case of Katchi Abadie dwellers it is even more inappropriate, because it is too costly if the residents have to bear the cost, as in the case of Baldia. Water is always scarce in poor settlements. The smallest quantity of water for flushing
A water-carried system is 50 litres per person per day. Some engineers suggest that the minimum should be 75 litres per person per day. Whatever the exact figure, it is highly irrelevant in the case of poor people and their settlements, where most of the time even the limited amount of water through standposts is irregular. How can they use it for flushing? Even if their supply of water is improved at high cost, why not use it for drinking by treating it, rather than use it for flushing. In many places water is scarce. There is a strong possibility of blockage. In Karachi blockage is a very common sight. This is mainly because of inadequate refuse collection. Manhole covers are lifted and rubbish is dumped in them.

The most fundamental disadvantage of the sewerage system is that it is carried out by public authorities; the construction and maintenance is done by the outside agencies. Community attempts to provide their own sewers are dismal failures. The only exceptions are where there is ample gradient and a surveyor or engineer gives technical guidance. In many congested areas in town centres and Katchi Abadies, the streets and alleys are narrow and anything but straight, making construction of sewerage difficult and costly. The community has to depend on outsiders for underground sewerage, and the outside agencies will not attend to the problem unless the settlement is legalised. The legalization of Baldia town took more than 20 years. What do the people do during these years? They must have a sanitation system that is relevant to their whole process of self-reliance that is self-built and maintained. As they build their houses, the community should be able to build their own sanitation system, with appropriate technical assistance, to bridge the gap during the unpredictable transitional period.

The main reasons for the rejection of a sewerage system for Baldia were the low water supply and the very high cost, which is often ten to twenty times as great as simple on-site systems. Sewerage systems require 50 L/pd of water and Baldia does not have any possibility of such an amount of water for a long time. (Pickford, 1983:212). Although part of Karachi is sewered, and there are two well built and designed treatment plants, the sewage treatment works is badly maintained.
8:19:2 **Septic Tanks**

In western countries the most common method of dealing with excreta in unsewered areas is with septic tanks (Pickford, 1980). It is said that there are over 30 million septic tanks in the United States alone. Septic tanks work well where there is enough space for drainage of the effluent into permeable soil. The treatment processes in septic tanks are said to work better in hot climates, as the high temperature aids the treatment process.

But the conventional septic tanks have the same disadvantages as sewerage, they are costly, and need open fields with permeable soil for drainage and lots of water. They do not work in high density and high water table areas, and most of the time the squatter settlement has both these disadvantages, Baldia being no exception.

8:19:3 **Aqua-privy**

An aqua-privy is very similar to a septic tank. The basic difference is that whereas the waste to a septic tank comes from the w.c's along household drains, excreta is deposited directly into an aqua-privy from a latrine immediately above. As a consequence water is not required for transportation and an aqua-privy operates satisfactorily provided enough water is added each day to make up for losses due to evaporation and leakage.

Both septic tanks and aqua-privies were rejected for the majority of the household in Baldia because the size of the plots was far too small. Septic tanks were deemed to be particularly unsuitable because they required water-flushed drains with water closets having a demand for water similar to that for conventional sewerage. (Pickford, 1984:215).

8:19:4 **Compost Latrines**

The compost latrine is the one that needs vegetable matter which has to be placed in the container with excreta. Three times as much vegetable matter as excreta has to be deposited and this would not be available in Baldia where the plots are too small to grow any foodstuffs. Also the people are not at all familiar with its operation, and it has not been seen
in the cultural context. However, compost latrines are successfully used in parts of East Asia.

8:20 The Most Appropriate System For Baldia: WEDC's Intervention As An Outside Institution

The survey by the WEDC group on the existing sanitation in Baldia studied the physical aspects, geology and hydrogeology of Baldia. The group made recommendations for improvements as well, as for the alternative solutions for human waste disposal systems. Mr John Pickford was the consultant to the Dutch Planning team, and is the group leader of WEDC. He recommended the "improved water-sealed soakpit", based on the soakpit system already used by some residents in Baldia. Thus an appropriate technology was introduced that was based on the existing technology of the people of Baldia, a major step in strengthening and promoting progressive development. There was intervention from outside but not the imposition of an alien, costly and controlled technology. Instead there was assistance in upgrading the already existing sanitation technology of the people, by improving the design and techniques of construction. The practical application of these principles is essential for lasting progress, in urban squatter settlements' sanitation. As Wagner and Lanoix says:

".....field experience shows that a specific local project or activity in sanitation initiated in response to a local demand or action can serve as a very practical basis for stimulating local interest and participation in attacking other basic problems and thus act as an important spearhead for the promotion of community development. (1958:18)".

8:20:1 Pour-flush Water-seal Pit Latrines

The pour-flush water-seal pit latrine consists of a hand­ dug hole in the ground, that is covered either by a squatting plate with a water-seal under it, or a slab provided with riser and seat. A superstructure or house is then built around it.

The function of the pit is to isolate and store human excreta in such a way that no harmful bacteria can be carried from there to a new host. The pit is usually round or square for
the individual family installation and rectangular for the public latrines. Its dimensions vary from 90 cm to 120 cm (36in to 48in) in diameter or square. The depth is usually about 2.50m (8 ft), but may vary from 1.80m to 5m (6ft to 16ft). In Iran, and elsewhere, some pits have been dug to a depth of 7-8m (23-26ft) in soils which are very stable (Wagner and Lanoix, 1958:43).

8:20:2 Life Of A Pit

One of the very important aspects of the pit is its useful life. The longer a pit latrine will serve a family without being moved or rebuilt, the more certain is the health protection which it can give and, therefore, the more value it has to the family and community. It is important, by increasing the capacity and efficiency of pit latrines, to extend their useful life and thereby to reduce the annual cost per person of the installation. The life of a privy depends on the care with which it is built, the materials used in its construction, and the time required for the pit to fill.

The critical factor, usually, is the time required for the pit to fill; this in turn, depends on the method of anal cleansing and on the volume of the pit and the conditions within it. The latter are the level of efficiency of bacterial decomposition and the degree of abuse to which the pit is subjected, by stones, sticks, mud balls, garbage, coconut husks etc., thrown in it.

The volume of the pit depends whether the pit is wet or dry. In any case the decomposition process starts as soon as the excreta are deposited in the pit and through decomposition and compaction the volume of the slowly accumulating sludge is smaller than the total amount of excreta deposited (for more details see Richard G. Feachem, David J. Bradley, Hemda Garelick and D. Duncan Mara 1983). The pit needs to be lined to prevent the sides from caving in, especially in the rainy season. Even in stable soil formations, it is desirable to line the top 40-60cm (16-24in) of the pit in order to consolidate it and to prevent it from caving in under the weight of the floor and the superstructure.
Materials commonly used for this purpose include bricks, stones, concrete blocks, laterite blocks, adobe materials, lumber, rough hewn logs, split cane, and bamboo. (Vagner, and Lanoix, 1958:48). The water-seal consists of an ordinary concrete slab in which a specially made bowl is incorporated. Usual practices call for a seal 1.25-3.75 cm (0.5-1.5in) deep. Such a slab may be installed directly over or at a close distance from, a pit, borehole, or septic tank. In the case of the septic tank, the bowl is connected to the tank by a short length of pipe. One to three litres of water are sufficient to flush the contents into the pit. Because of the water seal, flies cannot gain access to the contents of the pit, and odours cannot escape.

Where water is used for anal cleansing and the size of the plot and the position of the latrine on the plot are suitable, pour-flush water-seal latrines have many advantages. They are widely used in India and other parts of Asia. In Bihar and some other states in India there have been very successful programmes for the conversion of dry latrines to pour-flush latrines. (Pickford, 1984:213).

The practice in Baldia where pits were in use was to place the pit outside the plot (usually in the street) because there was insufficient space for an on-site offset pit. It was considered that location of pits in streets should be abandoned if other improvements to the infrastructure were to be implemented. In particular streets should be left clear for passing vehicles and pedestrians. Consequently a pit in the usual position under the latrine was seen to be most suitable.

The advantage of the off-set pit is that it can be easily emptied from outside. But the practise in Baldia is to dig pits of such a large size that if they were not filled with stones they would last an average family of 9 persons for many years. (Pickford, 1984). This will fill the gap beyond the planned life of the proposed improvements (1990). During the WEDC survey it was very clear that many householders were aware of the unsatisfactory construction of the commonly-used type of offset soakpit latrines. They needed advice and technical help for better designs which they were unable to get.
Soakpit Design A

Joint between slab and blocks to be sealed with mortar

Fully mortared blockwork

Backfill behind blocks with sand and gravel

Blockwall mortared on horizontal joints only, but every third course to be fully mortared

Concrete blocks 6 inches thick

Water seal squatting plate mortared into slab

Concrete slab 5 ft or 6 ft dia. depending on design

Depth depending on design (either 11 ft, 14 ft or 16.5 ft)

Boundaries

Source: Originally designed by J.A. Pickford WEDC, University of Technology, Loughborough, later on locally 'tanduri', i.e. oven with corbelled brickwork design was evolved by H. Meyerink in cooperation with Pakistan Jaycees.
8:20:3  **WEDC Designs For Baldia Town**

Study of household size showed that the average in Baldia was 6.5 persons. Some households less than 16% had more than 9 members. The size of pit should therefore be large enough for 9 persons. Two standards were proposed - one to last 15 years and the other 20. The pit walls would be lined to prevent collapse, and the filling of pits with stores was not recommended. Since most people preferred to use water for anal cleansing, a water seal could be provided to prevent nuisance from smells, flies and mosquitoes. For households where it was customary to use other anal cleansing material a straight-down chute was required and the pit would be ventilated. The following details were the basis for WEDC design:

- **Contributing population:** 9 persons
- **Life of pit:** 15-20 years
- **Locations of pit under latrine or offset but on householders plot.**
- **Type:** Water-seal except when water is not used for anal cleansing in which case the pit should be under the latrine and should have an ample ventilating pipe.
- **It would be 5 feet in diameter inside the lining and 14 feet deep. For a 15 year life the depth or the diameter could be reduced.** Suggested details of construction included the structural design of reinforced concrete slabs and details of a locally-made water-seal. WEDC suggested that these recommendations for lining of the walls of pits with bricks and details of slabs and water seal were only tentative. Trials should be carried out locally to develop the most suitable design. (Ref. Soakpit Design A).

When these recommendations were given to KMC by the Dutch planning mission, KMC was unwilling to include this human waste disposal system in its improvement package for Baldia. The pits have to be dug on the private compound and this falls outside the scope of work of KMC, another example of rigid policies that limit the possibilities of experimentation for developmental policy planning at the top. However, the recommendations were actually put into action by the researcher in Baldia township.
The next chapter provides a detailed historical, physical and socio-economic background of Baldia town.
CHAPTER 9
Baldia Township: Existing Situation of Project Area

9:1 Background

Although the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation (KMC) was involved in the planning of other areas like Lyari, Old Golimar/Gulbahar and Bhutta village, Baldia was in an advanced stage of progressive development. The selection of Baldia town as a Katchi Abadie to be upgraded, fell outside the scope of the work of the physical planner. The priority of Baldia is not based on physical criteria, but has a mainly political background. The period in which Baldia was selected was quite chaotic; it was the time just before the elections. Baldia was probably selected because the government officials concerned did not run any risk by choosing this remote and politically rather heterogeneous area.

9:2 Baldia Town: A Historical Perspective

According to the DAM-KMC Evaluation Survey Report in 1979, the present Baldia Township emerged on arid land, which is away from the civic amenities of Karachi metropolis. (DAM-KMC, 1979b). Probing into its history the report revealed that Baldia is not a town that emerged overnight, by squatters who occupied pieces of land and erected their hutments.

Some residents say that a cluster called Lassi Para (Ref. map of Baldia town) was the oldest settlement of Baldia. It was this settlement that used to be called Deh Moach until the mid-fifties. It is a spontaneous settlement created by the people coming from Lasbella (Baluchistan) along the Hub River road area. Kumhar Wara is the first organized settlement that emerged in 1953. (ref map of Baldia town). 26 families of clay potters migrated from Run Of Kutch in India, in 1947, and settled in Lyari, the oldest squatter settlement in Karachi. These potters were evicted from Lyari, because a police station and its quarters were to be built on that land. Plots of 80 sq. yds. were allotted to these people, on which they made their hutments. Currently this Kumhar Wara is reported to have 250 families. The third settlement, that was next to Kumhar Wara, was Delhi Colony. (ref map of Baldia town). Tracing back the history of this colony, it was discovered that how the name Baldia originated.
Map of Baldia

Baldia Town with Mohalla Boundaries

JONT RESEARCH PROJECT IV
In October 1956, which was the beginning of this settlement, then the Mayor of Karachi inaugurated this settlement, by officially allotting 500 plots to its residents, and giving the name Baldia Colony to the settlement (Baldia means municipality).

Another cluster, which came up by rehousing the fire victims of 1500 huts that were reduced to ashes in December 1951, was Anjam Colony. The newspapers of that time reported that more than 1500 people demonstrated and stopped the car of the then President Iskander Mirza and Prime Minister Suharwardi while they were passing through, and demanded a permanent settlement. The President and Prime Minister inspected their living conditions and suggested that these people should be settled in Landhi, an area just outside Karachi in the remote semi-rural areas of Sind. On the request of these people to give them plots near their workplace, they were rehoused in what is now Anjam Colony (ref. map of Baldia town) out of the debris of what was Anjam Colony emerged Baldia town, some seven miles north-west of Karachi on Hub River road. It was selected as part of the administrative plan to resettle displaced persons.

In 1957, the Ministry of Rehabilitation prepared a scheme for resettlement, and constructed 80 sq. yds. quarters in what is known today as Anjam Colony. In total, 777 quarters with only one room, without kitchen or latrine were, constructed by the Public Works Department (PWD). About 10,000 fire victims were shifted in 1957 after an extensive fire accident in the city. Whatever improvements and addition one sees today have been made by the residents themselves, according to their resources over a period of 25 years.

No public taps were provided in Anjam colony, until 1962. No shops, no markets and no adequate facilities were provided. The majority of the people in Anjam Colony (ref. map of Baldia town) migrated from Gujrat Kathiwar in India. There is no exact census data to show how large the population was around 1957, but early settlers say that it was very small and scattered. However, a survey of Baldia town conducted by K.M.C. in 1977 reports that an organized settlement was taking place, (i.e. from 1958 to date). Migrants from the rural areas, and from the inner city who used to work in the neighbouring SITE (Sind Industrial
Trading Estate), started to encroach in what are now sectors 1, 2, and 5 (ref map of Baldia town) which are the most ideally located areas of the township, that is close to Hub River road and SITE. The settlement that emerged as a result of these encroachments were Haji Qasim Colony. This colony has a mixed population, unlike Kumhar Wara, Anjam Colony and Delhi Colony. People in Haji Qasim Colony came from various parts of inner Karachi on their own will and squatted. Then came people from Mianwali and Cambelpur district (Punjab). The name of this colony was adopted after Haji Qasim Abdulha Patel, who constructed the first and the only water tank, from his own money. Trucks from inner Karachi City used to bring water to this tank where people were given water free of charge, until 1972 when some public water taps were installed. This "squatter" town officially assumed the name of Baldia Township in 1965 when Baldia was launched as a plot township by the K.D.A. (Karachi Development Authority) under scheme No.29, K.D.A. started planning Baldia by dividing it into 21 sectors. In sectors 3, 4 and part of 5, plots (ref map) were allocated to low-income groups. These sectors are called Saeedabad. No plot planning was made for the remaining sectors.

During the India and Pakistan war in 1965, about 4300 families were shifted to Baldia from old Muhajir Camp, (refugee camp) which was near Mauripur Air field. Since most of the people come from the Camp, this new area in Baldia was called new Muhajir camp. These people had gone to live in old Muhajir camp after their houses were ruined in the floods of 1955. Baldia has since been growing geographically and in population, because of availability of land, and increased inflow of migrants. The colonies that were already populated before 1965 are Kumhar Wara, Delhi Colony, Haji Qasim Colony, Turk Colony and Junagarh. All other settlements are reported to have been created after 1965.

In all 32 small settlements, popularly called Mohallas or Colonies, exist. People usually live in their own ethnic, social and economic clusters. In 1974 the development of Baldia Town was taken over by K.M.C. In 1977 the chief minister ordered regularization of all Katchi Abadies in and around Karachi city. In July 1977, K.M.C. started planning for regularization and
improvement of Baldia Township. In December 1978 the first leases were issued to 21 residents of the Muslim Mujahid Colony and Saeedabad Sector 3 of Baldia town. (ref map of Baldia town).

9:3 Location

Baldia township is located in the north-west of Sind Industrial Trading Estate (SITE). The Hub River Road, connecting Karachi to Lasbella (Baluchistan) forms the Western Boundary of Baldia, and the Orangi Hills are located on its eastern boundaries, while in the north are tracts of open land for further extension of Baldia township. The area is very closely located to SITE. The mohallas are mostly identified either by the ethnic background of their respective population or the old name of the mohalla from where the residents have moved out to settle in Baldia. (ref map of Baldia town).

9:4 Population

At present Baldia has a population of 200,000. Baldia is a good representative of Karachi's Katchi Abadies. It has a mixed population from all over the country. About 8.60% of the population come from inner Karachi city, 21.55% belong to N.W.F.P. (North West Frontier Province) 17% from Baluchistan, 8.60% Sindhis, 6.83% from Punjab 41.58% from India, 1.30% from Azad Kashmir, while 0.71% are made up of the religious minority groups; 70% of the households live in a nuclear family, against 30% living in a joint family system. (JRR IV,1978).

9:5 Ethnic Composition

The population of Baldia is socio-culturally and economically heterogeneous. People from all over the country live in geographically defined Mohallas (1). In contrast, these Mohallas are extremely heterogeneous, as the people belonging to one region or village will prefer to live within their own community. Predominant are the Pathans (2) and the Punjabis (3), but substantial numbers of Gujrati (4) and Urdu (5) Speaking people also live there.

It is very interesting to note that each community has distinctive but informal geographically designed boundaries.
This physical geographic segregation has no impact on communal social-cultural interaction or mutual accessibility to each other's areas. Each community has its distinct traditional customs and cultural traits which they practice in reasonable social harmony with inter and intra-communal interactions. They have well established face to face relationships, characterised by mutual self-respect and good neighbourliness at both family and community levels.

It has been observed that they share common problems and struggle collectively for their solution. The rural migrants have a strong association with their extended families in the village. They prefer to bury their dead in the village graveyards if they can afford it.

(1) Close-by settlement unit
(2) People from the North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.)
(3) People from the Punjab, one of the provinces of Pakistan.
(4) People who migrated from India State of Gujrat.
(5) People migrated from Indian State of U.P, C.P. and Bihar, etc.

9:6 Physical Description (Before 1983)

On entering Baldia, the road is replaced by a worn out stretch of tarmac badly in need of repair. The gullies, lanes, and narrow alleys that branch off, to weave their way intricately through this Katchi Abadi, are often not wide enough for more than two people to walk abreast. Even then they are strewn with stones and bits of glass, and bordered by open drains, loose bricks and piles of rubbish. There are few proper roads in Baldia. The majority are formed through constant use, under the weight of human and animal feet and vehicles wherever possible.

The type of housing ranges from temporary dwellings made of planks of wood, stones, and unplastered cement blocks, to the permanent type with plastered walls and a cement roof. When one walks through Baldia, dust is a common feature, so is a sudden rise or dip in the earth, an almost undulating effect. Tiny confined houses with small court-yards and few rooms are a common sight. Public water taps are situated in lanes, often close to open sewerage drains. Bicycles, scooters, donkey carts, an occasional jeep and a few cars are usually visible.
An aerial view of Baldia would show a vast expanse of closely knit houses, an intricate system of lanes and alleys, and a complete absence of formal planning. The population is settled on 24,200 plots of various sizes. (DAM, 1979a:3).

9:7 Land Tenure
According to the plans of 1977, Baldia was the first Katchi Abadie to be improved and regularized. But a series of obstacles were encountered in the implementation of these plans. By 1979 the concept plan was still not approved, no effort toward improvement was made, and leasing had yet to start. Finally, work began in 1981 with the construction of drains, roads, and the issuing of leases started in late 1982.

9:8 Housing
The term 'Katchi Abadi' is indicative of the type of housing present in an area. 'Katchi' literally means 'impermanent' and in the housing context implies uncertainty of tenure. Katchi Abadies are dominated by 'katchi' or semi-pucca' houses i.e. dwellings made of mud, a few bricks, wood, sheets of corrugated iron or asbestos sheets. In Baldia the following type of housing can be identified:

1. Juggies: Dwellings made of straw, weed mats, planks of wood, pieces of cloth, mud, stones, etc.
2. Katchi: (i.e. impermanent). Mud walls, with occasional straw mats for sheeting, Roofs are usually of tin sheets, planks of wood and weed mats.
3. Katcha-pucca: (semi-permanent) walls are made of cement blocks, with asbestos or corrugated iron for the roof.
4. Pucca: (i.e. permanent) Cement walls, and reinforced concrete cement roof.

The proportion of these houses is changing as their inhabitants improve the existing structures whenever financially possible. On average each house had 1.82 rooms (KMC:1981)*1 per household, and the average number of persons per room was 3.35.

*1 Statistics after 1981 unavailable.
In Baldia the majority of houses are owned and a small percentage is rented. The owners are the original squatters, i.e. those who constructed their houses on vacant land with payment to an illegal subdivider. In terms of facilities available the government provides electricity, Sui-gas\(^*\), and water. Electricity is available to 71% of the plots, Sui-gas to 13%, and water is supplied through public taps for 2 hours on alternate days. Baldia covers a total area of 10,000 acres, and most of the settlements are the result of squatting and encroachment. People moved into deserted land, erected shacks for the time being and gradually built their houses.

9:9 Occupation and Income

Baldia Township is in the vicinity of Karachi's main industrial zone, S.I.T.E. providing most of its people with employment opportunity. Most of the people are unskilled labourers: that is potters, labourers, assistants to masons and carpenters, loaders etc. engaged in different technical fields in the S.I.T.E. areas. Quite a substantial number of people are involved in petty business, both in a structured (formal) and non-structured (informal) way. Again all types of hawkers are also included. They do their business both in and outside Baldia. There is also a large number of small shopkeepers.

The women are also found to be involved in different income-generating activities: selling snacks and home-made cookies within the community; sewing and embroidery work both for local and external use; contract work for garment factories. Quite a large number of women do dish washing or housekeeping in the city. Children are usually engaged in odd jobs, for example, as assistants to hawkers, shopkeepers, etc. Employment, by and large, is not a serious problem, although income varies widely and considerably. The proximity and availability of these types of employment opportunities explain

\(^*\) Sui is a place in Baluchistan province that produces natural gas, which is used as cooking gas in the houses as well as in other commercial purposes.
why many of the households in Baldia, despite their low income, do not belong to the lowest income group, which earns less than Rs.300/- per month. According to a survey (DAM, 1977:4) only 14 percent of households in Baldia are in the lowest income group, 43 percent have a monthly household income of Rs.330-558 (low-income group), 27 percent Rs.600-999 per month (middle income group), while the remaining 16 percent of households have monthly incomes of Rs.1,000/- and above.

9:10 Educational Level

Like other Katchi Abadies literacy rates are low in Baldia. 59% of the head of the households are illiterate. (JRP IV, 1978). The report further indicates 78% of female are illiterate, while 21% can read or write (10th grade or higher). Of children in age group 5-9 years only 31.79% are attending school, the main reasons being lack of interest in girls education. There are not enough schools in the area, and the parents are too poor to fulfil all the requirements of formal schooling, while many children work to earn money and help their parents. Girls are preferred to help mothers at home than to go to school. (JRP IV, 1978). Among the age group of five to nine years, only 32% attend Government schools, and 10% go to private tuition centres. The reasons for these low figures are a combination of factors.

9.11 Community Organization And Leadership

In Baldia town, leadership and community organizations have the similar pattern to those of other Katchi Abadies discussed earlier but varying in the nature and degree. There are two types of leadership that have been closely examined by the present study.

1. Linden (1983) says that illegality of the Katchi Abadies is the very reason for an organization in the settlement. For Baldia he further says that the role of such organization usually diminishes after the threat of eviction is over; it emerges only when need arises. The settlements where such patterns of organizations are
found, are the ones that have emerged slowly and on the basis of kinship, friends and place of origin. These are called traditional organizations.

2. The second type of leadership and organization, is that which emerges by sub-dividing of the land by a "broker or middle man". A few middle men become leaders due to their contacts with political parties, friendships through contacts through their relatives, and relationships outside the community, in higher socio-economic groups, or even through bribery. Such leaders are land speculators as well, who move into an area when it is only sparsely populated and set out plots which they will later sell or lease to newcomers, thus making lots of money in the process and gaining influence. Such leaders are called modern leaders by Schuringa (1983:225-236).

Baldia town has a very practical mixture of traditional and modern leadership and organizations. This is mainly due to the fact that part of Baldia arose as a sub-division and part of it was planned by the authorities, while most of it slowly grew by squatting of the groups based on kinship, friends and place of origin, tribes and occupation.

Schoorl et al (1983) when dealing with community leaders and organizations in their studies, tend to explore the nature of community organizations in relation of dealing with the authorities, so that improvement of the Katchi Abadies and Baldia in particular could be undertaken by the government. But they somehow missed the already existing examples of improvement and development, that the people through their organized efforts have brought about themselves. More immediate effect would be to link these efforts with the relevant authorities. True, the government should undertake the improvement of Baldia town and other Katchi Abadies, but Yap (1983:263-271) towards the end of his article on "Possibilities Left" says that some sort of community organization must arise, to assist the residents in planning with the Government, for the improving and development of their community. He further says:
"One of the continuous and perhaps the main tasks of a community assisting organization will therefore probably be to help residents and local leaders to exert pressure on KMC and other government bodies, to not only announce, but also promptly execute, its Improvement Policy for Substandard Urban Areas Katchi Abadies:"

But pressure and lobbying, without simultaneous improvement by the people themselves, will not solve the whole issue of Community development, it will only increase the gap that exists between the people of Katchi Abadies and the outside authorities. Furthermore the potentials and resources of the people will be underutilized. One needs to assist the people in such a manner that, whatever steps they have undertaken in solving their problems and satisfying their needs, these efforts should be underpinned with social and technical assistance and guidance, without control and imposition from outside. The outside agencies can build on these existing community structures and initiatives. This approach needs to be demonstrated and experimented along with the community.

In Baldia town out of 32 clusters of Katchi Abadies 43 community organisations exist. Most of them are traditional, as explained before. Besides these organizations, the very first socially recognized organization is around a mosque. A mosque is frequently a visible expression of initial community organisation in Baldia. (The role of the mosque is given in detail in the previous chapter). The existing community organizations of Baldia town are organized around meeting and solving their needs for education, health, sanitation, lobbying for electricity, sports, rehabilitating the orphans and widows, social control against drugs, women's skills, development programmes, burial services, solving disputes, decoration and other services for marriages and community functions, and assisting the development agencies from outside.(Ref. Appendix-6)

They have most of the time regular elections, and raise most of their resources from within the community, sometimes getting donations from outside. But they do not try to take grants from the government's welfare funds, to which they are entitled. The main reason for this is the lengthy and complicated
procedures involved. This is also a reflection of the attitude of the poor towards the outsiders. As Yap, (1979:21-24) brings out;

"...regularizations and improvement of squatter settlements generally take place in an atmosphere of confrontation between the residents and authorities and are dominated by mutual mistrust. The residents cannot but see the authorities as an adversary who at the worst always wanted to demolish their houses and shift the occupants to some far-off place, and at best promised improvement of their living conditions, but never kept that promise. The authorities see residents of Katchi Abadies above all as trespassers, who occupied private or public land and constructed their dwelling without prior formal approval from the authorities". Unlike the modern leaders, the traditional organizations and their leadership in Baldia, do not readily get involved in Patron-client relationships with any outsider, unless it happens to be that some of their own people are in a richer position in the city. The existing organisations did not collaborate with the soakpit project, unless they were convinced of its motives. (This will be discussed later).

Out of 43 organizations 26 are registered by the Government of Sind under the Social Welfare Act. 5 more of the organizations have applied for registration and 12 have not approached the government for registration. (Kauser and Azam, 1986:26) (Ref. Appendix-7). This demonstrates the transformation of traditional organizations of rural orientation into urban oriented progressive organizations. They want to be recognized by the authorities but not controlled by them. That is the reason why the organisations do not take any assistance from the government, a clear demonstration of the self-reliance of the poor. During the period from 1980-1986 most of the organizations were re-established, that is 23 of them emerged during this period as offshoots of the traditional organizations. (This is the period of the pilot project in Baldia town for sanitation which will be discussed later). While 12 of these new organisations were formally registered and 5 have applied for registration. (Ref. Appendix-8). 16 of them have a yearly budget
of Rs.1001-5000. (Ref. table), while seven organizations spent Rs.10,000-15,000 per year, and one spent Rs.20,000 to 25,000 Rupees per year. Eleven organizations have no exact figures, the budget is not formal and an ad hoc arrangement is made when need arises. (Ref. Appendix-9).

There were no women's organizations before 1980 in Baldia town. But 8 community organizations are operating programmes of sewing, embroidery, knitting and cutting for the young women of their communities. The of membership of these organizations in Baldia town varies from 10 to more than 1000. Usually the head of the household is the member who represents his whole family.

9:12 General Characteristics Of Baldia's Community Voluntary Organizations

Organizations based on ties of ethnicity, kinship and hometown have attracted much of the attention in Katchi Abadies of Baldia. They are an index of the continued attachment of the migrants to their origins. At the same time they have been important in providing social security and welfare services, and in providing a nucleus of social life for migrants in a strange environment.

One could analyse the community organisations on two levels: first, the socio-economic characteristics of the social organizers of the community organizations and, second, the structure and function of the organizations.

1. The socio-economic characteristics of social organizers are given below:

a. All are residents of Baldia.
b. Occupations are varied: petty businessmen, skilled and unskilled labourers, accountants, technicians, clerks, etc.
c. Their average income is Rs.1375/- per month.
d. All are literate and two are also arts graduates.
e. The average age is 32 years.
f. All are married and have three children on average.

2. The structure and functions of organizations.

The structural characteristics in a broad sense are the enduring and identifiable characteristics of organizations. Such characteristics include the amount of organizational income, the source of income, the amount of organizational expenses, the nature and type of organizational functions, the renting out of the utensils, equipment and establishment etc.

a. All the organizations have a written constitution.
b. All have membership fees and monthly subscription rates varying from Rs.1/- to 5/-
c. The sources of income given by most of the organizations are donations from the members and philanthropists, apart from members' monthly subscriptions, and return from utensil rents.
d. Most spend money or income on social services and social activities.
e. The social service activities include the provision of aid to widows, handicapped, etc.
f. All the organizations possess and maintain an office.
g. All are constitutionally committed to holding general elections of office-holders once a year. (Azam, 1984:144-145).

Some of the organizations in Baldia had their counterpart organizations in other Katchi Abadies, for example, the Meman Jamat, the Turk Jamat, Swat organization, Anjuman-E-Tanzeen-e-Naw, Baloch welfare organizations, and few others. They will be discussed in detail in a later chapter in relation to the pilot project.
The very unhygienic conditions prevailing in Baldia are mainly caused by the inadequate functioning of water supply, sewerage, drainage and garbage collection. All these services are beyond the capacity of the existing organizations, and thus they are dependent on outside agencies for their provision. The provision of these services from outside is the main reason for their inefficiency.

Water

The shortage of water in Baldia is enormous. The water shortage, of course, the result of a general shortage of water in Karachi, but it is aggravated by the unequal distribution of available water over the city (Meyerink, 1983:163). Public standposts supply water for only two hours on alternate days. The water pressure is very low and consequently the amount of water supplied is rather small. In the hottest months of the year (April to October) the situation is even worse. Sometimes no water is supplied for a whole week. In such instances, private water carriers make huge profits and residents have to pay dearly for their water. Most of the community organizations have constructed large community tanks for storing water, when it comes, or when the water tankers bring water. Usually there is a committee responsible for water distribution and maintenance of the tank. The community pays the organisers for this maintenance and service. It reflects people's organisations attention to their basic need, after getting shelter. The location of Baldia on the periphery of Karachi, its hills and the quality of the water supply network contribute to a further deterioration of the situation. In 1970 about 900 cubic metres of water was provided in bulk to Baldia each day. Some additional water was brought in by tankers and part of the piped water was passed on to areas outside Baldia. Allowing for expected losses of 30%, in the system, the average water consumed by the 68,000 people then living in Baldia was about 9 litres per person per day (Pickford, 1983:211). The bulk supply of water was increased during 1977 by four times, but the population also increased to 150,000 people,
and only 19 litres per person per day was supplied. A new pipe line was laid according to the zoning of the areas. The pipeline was 2mm diameter, the supply increased to two hours daily, but due to low pressure, it was still insufficient. By cooperative efforts some people in higher areas built tanks which were filled by water tankers and donkey carts. About a quarter of a rupee (US.$ 0.34) was charged for each 18 litre tin full. (Pickford, 1983).

9:13:2 **Sanitation**

According to the survey of the existing sanitation conditions in Baldia during 1978, which was carried out by the WEDC Group*, sanitation conditions, especially the excreta disposal system, were extremely unhygienic and unsanitary. As a result of such unhealthy living conditions, there is and was definitely a disease pattern affecting the health of the residents in general and children in particular. One out of every nine babies born dies before reaching the first year of age. The majority of these deaths were due to unsanitary conditions of human waste disposal. (KMC, 1977). The majority of the illnesses children suffered from were dysentery and gastroenteritis. In Baldia all the distinguishing features of an unhealthy environment were present. There was an inadequate and irregular water supply and most of the time water was contaminated because of the points from where it is supplied. Accumulation of excreta, sullage and solid waste were to be seen all over the area. Their removal, if at all, and final disposal, were done in such a way that fly nuisance was inevitable.

9:13:3 **Dry Latrines And Conservancy**

Almost 70 to 80 percent of the houses in most of the communities of Baldia used dry latrines, and most of them were extremely unhygienic. (Pickford & Reed, 1979).

In the latrine the user places his/her feet on concrete steps and excretes into a trough between them. From time to time

*Note: The WEDC (Water and Engineering for Developing Countries) Group at Loughborough University of Technology, England.*
a sweeper visits the latrine and the accumulated excreta transferred from the latrine, through an opening behind the trough, to an old Kerosene tin, whose top has been removed, or an old battery case. From this they are put into a larger container, which is usually carried on a bicycle. These containers are then emptied in a Nallah (water course) or on a vacant plot. There are sites in the hills to the north of the inhabited parts of Baldia where the main dumping ground is. The excreta are simply tipped in low-lying places, fresh material on top of old. The other main site is on the bank of a flowing Nallah in the (SITE) area to the south of Baldia.

In addition to the excreta this Nallah was grossly polluted with household refuse and industrial waste. Sometimes the containers in the latrines were too small, and the excreta would overflow. Whether a container was used or not, the trough was often washed out after a sweeper had removed the main part of the excreta. The householder poured some water into the trough and this, with the washed-out excreta, usually trickled down the outside wall of the latrine into the street or vacant land. Some householders had built shallow lined open tanks outside their latrines, usually in the street, and discharged their wastewater (sullage) into these. The sullage was collected by sweepers from time to time.

Almost forty self-employed sweepers collect the excreta. They charge Rs.7-20 per month (U.S.0.80-2.). Usually the sweepers collect the excreta between 6 a.m. and 2 p.m. They are supposed to come daily but most of the time they were irregular. These latrines were surrounded by millions of flies.

9:13:4 The Existing Sanitation System

The above extremely unsanitary conditions were not without improvement efforts by the people. The remaining 20-30 percent of the people of Baldia tried to solve their latrine problem by constructing a soakpit or septic tank. A soakpit or a septic tank was the only solution that the householder could undertake independently, without involving the complications of underground sewerage, which cannot be undertaken individually. Some of the residents had dug a deep pit on their compound or
outside in the lane, mostly in the latter. The pit was filled with stones, and a slab was laid on it or it was covered with stones. The pits were commonly 1.2 metres in diameter. They varied in depth from 2 to 8 metres. Some times in the Pathan area were dug 10 to 15 metres deep, depending on ground conditions. The stones were put on to support the walls of the pit, and prevented it from collapsing when vehicles pass over. These stones usually filled up the whole of the pit, but in a few cases holes were left in the centre. Usually large stones were placed at the top of the pit and these were covered by a thin layer of cement mortar. A few pits have concrete slabs on top, and in some the slabs were built up above the road level. The objective of raising the tops above the street level was said to be to prevent vehicles passing over the pits.

The vent pipes when provided were usually made of sand and cement and so were brittle. They were normally 75 mm diameter and about 2 metres high. Even when they remain intact they did not seem to provide good ventilation and the tops were below the house roof level. (ref traditional pit, drawing in previous chapter).

Almost all the squatting slabs were made of concrete and most latrines were clean and tidy. Normally only faeces, urine and water used for anal cleansing were put in the latrines, but in a few areas bath and kitchen wastewater were also thrown in. These soakpits seemed able to deal with the problem of excreta disposal at the individual level. In general the pits were reported to last for about 6 years, but their life obviously depended on their size and numbers of users and the porosity of soil. There was no evidence of fly breeding in the pits. (Pickford, 1983:209) and authors field observations).

Each of these self made soakpits cost Rs.800-2000 (U.S.$80-200) (1980 exchange rate). Sometimes the labour was done by the family, and material is purchased locally. There had been attempts at underground sewerage lines installed by the people, using 9 inch diameter concrete pipes and laying them almost three feet under the ground. At every ten feet a manhole was inserted. The household latrine waste and the other wastewater was connected with this manhole directly by a 4 inch concrete pipe.
The main line was taken to a nearby open *Mallah*, where the waste from the main pipe flows out. There was often chokes and blocking of the flow because the residents constructed the lanes without any technical support or outside assistance. The local masons and plumbers, who had been working with the contractors in sewerage construction, helped the community. The community spent Rs.20,000 on the system (U.S.$2,000) in all. There are 5 lines constructed in this way, by Pathans from the North West Frontier Province who live in their cluster called Rasheedabad in Baldia town. Their organization is *Anjuman-e-Swat*.

However, these efforts of the people resulted in too expensive and inefficient technology. The overflow of a soakpit, and the problem of emptying it, and the blocking of the underground sewer, discouraged the community at large from undertaking sanitation improvement on their own, thus creating technical barriers. There is a need for a demonstration for the people and for the outsiders, that explains how and what assistance people need from outside in solving their sanitation and environmental problem. One can see that demonstration effect has a strong role in the communities. The failure of the soakpits technology and the sewerage, discouraged the majority of the people from doing anything about their environmental and sanitation conditions, encouraging them to wait for outside solutions.

9:13:5 **Sullage Disposal**

The problem of sullage disposal also persists in Baldia town, as there is no network of drains for the sullage to be carried out. In large plots sullage soaked into the open ground around the house. Sullage from other plots was discharged into the streets or open ground. Where the discharge was small it soaked into the ground, but in areas with high density and small plots and where water was easily obtained, open drains were formed with slopes towards the *Mallah*. Some drains had been lined, especially in the older areas where the roads were narrow or where there was a *bazaar* (market). Although the KMC employed a number of sweepers, part of whose job was to keep drains clean, cleaning was usually done by householders whose plots the drains
ran through. Drains crossing open land or behind properties were generally unattended and were blocked with refuse.

9:13:6 Refuse Collection And Disposal

One truck was under contract to the KMC to collect household refuse in Baldia, but it was rarely seen. Refuse was dumped and left on vacant land and in drains and Nallah, where it attracted vermin, stray animals, birds, flies and mosquitoes, besides preventing the flow of water in drains and Nallah. The official dumping ground for all Karachi refuse was at north Karachi, 24 kilometres from Baldia. However, most of the refuse removed from Baldia was dumped on the north west of the township.

The following chapter provides details of sanitation upgrading approaches, by construction of long life soakpit latrines for human waste disposal. The project was undertaken as a pilot project for Baldia town's sanitation improvement as recommended by the Dutch Planning Mission and the WEDC Group. The Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project was sponsored by UNICEF, Pakistan. The programme, process and outcome of the project is used as a basis of this research study.
CHAPTER TEN

BALDIA SOAKPIT PILOT PROJECT:
An Action Research Intervention In Community Development

The sanitation improvement of Baldia town has three basic barriers, at the top outside as well as within Baldia town's people, to solving their sanitation problems. These barriers are the outcome of the deep embedded views and attitudes of outsiders towards the poor and vice-versa.

1. First, there has been as always, an institutional, administrative and bureaucratic barrier, that construction of a soakpit is beyond the government's framework, while an underground sewerage system is too expensive and needs sufficient water to operate it. The attitude and approach of the Government has its impact on the people of Baldia. It has been strengthened by the manoeuvring of opportunistic leaders. The result is that people who did not attempt to improve their sanitary conditions expect the KMC or the KDA to do the work for them. They also feel that in any case the work of sanitation, water supply and drainage is beyond their own abilities and resources.

2. The second barrier, connected with the first, is the cost barrier. As pointed out earlier the cost of constructing soakpits that people attempted was too high, while the conventional method of sewerage involved public works departments, whose cost was also too high for the people to afford.

3. The third has been the technological barrier. This means that where residents have been interested and motivated in constructing a soakpit, they lacked the technical know-how to do it competently and satisfactorily. The result has invariably led to dissatisfaction and failure.

For removal of these barrier to Baldia's sanitation improvement there was a need for an action oriented pilot project that could demonstrate the low-cost appropriate technology of soakpit latrines to the people. The people can see the impact of sanitation on health and the environment of the area. It was obvious that the whole project would be outside the government,
but with its blessing. It would be implemented through non-
governmental organisations. As Wagner and Lanoix (1958) point
out:

"When it is not possible, from the findings of the
Sanitation Survey, to arrive at a safe conclusion regarding the
type or types of designs and units of latrines, their costs, and
the construction procedure to be used, a Pilot Project should be
carried out first. This method offers the quickest and most
economical way of discovering the answers to these questions.
Pilot projects are often desirable and may be undertaken
especially in conjunction with the training of the sanitation
personnel who will ultimately be employed in the programme. The
use of such projects for demonstration purpose has also proved to
be valuable in many countries, "selling" the programme to the
people concerned".

10:1 Beginning Of The Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project: Some
Approaches And Methods

In 1979 UNICEF Karachi showed interest in the sanitation
of Baldia town. This intervention was an outcome of the Water
and Sanitation Decade at the international level, the
government's decision for legalization of Baldia town, and the
availability of financial resources from the Dutch Government,
who were committed to implement their findings for Baldia
improvement plan. But it was due to the unsanitary condition of
latrines and their effects on infant and child mortality, plus
the lack of government commitment and understanding, in
approaching the sanitary problem, that UNICEF intervened. The
evolution of the Baldia soakpit pilot project was a process that
did not have defined and preconceived ideas for soakpit
construction to begin with. Even the pilot project was developed
through several social and technical action research phases. An
anthropological approach was used for community mobilization by
the community organizer, who was the main implementor of the
project, and author of the present study. She was involved from
the very beginning, since August 1979 as a Volunteer from the
social works department, University of Karachi. The Data in the
present study is based on her five years of field work (1979-1984
and from March '84-June '86). She was planning a urban basic services programme for UNICEF based on the Baldia example, in and outside Baldia Town. The expansion was carried out by identifying, exploring, organizing, training, demonstrating and transferring and linking the community based development approaches for soakpit construction. In the experimental phase in Baldia town she used the appropriate technology recommendations by WEDC for Baldia's sanitation; and built them into the twenty existing community organizational systems, thus reorganizing and restrengthening the community-based technical, social and organisational structures, and linking them with the outside institutions such as government, international and non-government development agencies. (The process will be discussed in detail in this chapter).

10:2 Action Research

Research is a powerful tool in the armoury of any organization purporting to be involved in social change. Finding out the facts, and then using them to publicise a cause, to lobby and put pressure on the decision makers, to make people aware that a situation exists and then to use the force of argument to make them do something about it can be extremely effective.

The construction of soakpits was not an end in itself, but a means to an end, a vehicle for improvement in overall social and technical aspects of sanitation, to break down the cost, management and technical barriers. Design, approaches and methods need to be tested, experimented, demonstrated and replicated in action along with the community. All these are actions in a research oriented way. The aim of action research, is not simply to provide a detached assessment. over time, of some aspect of performance, but rather to set up a dynamic interaction between the social scientist and the practitioner as part of the ongoing experimental process. This approach has been described in the following ways by Clark (1972:4):

"Action research is a type of applied social research differing from other varieties in the immediacy of the researcher's involvement in the action process. It aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people, in an
immediate problematic situation, and to the goals of social science, by joint collaboration within a mutually acceptable ethical framework.

It follows from this definition that action research is concerned with ongoing developmental work, rather than with a one-off evaluation of routinized activities. In the context of community development through sanitation in Baldia, this would suggest that action research would be typified by an essentially flexible relationship between the researcher (community organizer) the householders, local community organizers and technical advisor. Together they would be trying to solve problems in improving the effectiveness of the sanitation in the community. This process is adaptive rather than controlled, with changes evolving out of increasing awareness and emerging opportunities as the action research proceeds. In these circumstances the researcher is not following a pre-conceived experimental research design, but is making her special contribution to an exploratory process of developmental approaches. This is not to abandon the role of pilot project in the soakpit construction, but it is to accept the dual responsibility of executing the project that results in community sanitation improvement and simultaneously studying the process of improvement.

This kind of procedure could go on as a continual process of action research in development planning. Action research skills will not ensure success or resolve all development dilemmas, but this method can make an improvement and an integrated contribution to an on-going development process.

The tendency to define a situation simply from one's own point of view is a difficulty that is also recognized in the previous chapters, in relation to the attitudes and approaches of outsiders towards the poor. The action researcher needs to be aware of what his/her own interests and biases are, and, in so far as this is possible, why he/she has them. Action Research is concerned with influencing practice, but since the researcher must be willing to be proved wrong, he/she should always try to set out the evidence for his/her conclusions or for the statements that he/she is making, fully and fairly, together with
some indication of his/her own value assumptions. This is desirable because it is nearly always possible to interpret the significance of data in different ways. Action Research represents a way of defining and solving problems, but the way that this process operates in practice will always be influenced by interests and value judgement. The essence of an action research method for development activities would be the efforts to integrate the skills of social research with actual community development work in practice. This would require studies of need in a particular locality, co-operation with community workers in the area, detailed participant observation of the activities and social settings in the community in a particular situation, attempts to assess their effects and to promote a coordination between the community itself and the action researcher. This methodology contrasts sharply with much conventional research, which is based on accounts given through questionnaires and interviews, and is reported in publications, which are removed from the real constraints of the actual situations of interaction between the action researcher and the community's people. The professional contribution of an action researcher needs community work skills as well as knowledge of research techniques.

10:3 **Action Anthropology**

The social research methods used in this study through the Baldia pilot project are action research with an anthropological approach. The action anthropology method, as one of the approaches of social research methods, was developed in the course of a project of Sol Tax and his associates of the University of Chicago among the Fox Indians of Tama, Iowa. This was set up in 1948 as a field training situation for research workers, that is as a project in "pure" science. As the work advanced, the research workers became interested in the human problem of the Fox and were attracted to them as people. From this arose a desire to help in the resolution of their practical difficulties, and the formulation of a policy and a set of techniques designed to achieve this.

Returning to the philosophical basis of action anthropology and its application to Baldia project's action
research for sanitation improvement, it should be noted that it is not an "applied" science in the sense of being totally separated from "pure" research. On the contrary, it emerged in a context of pure research and holds the pursuit of this to be an aspect of the work complementary to the practical programme. Neither is given priority, and they are not mutually incompatible. As increasing knowledge enlightens actions, so the social changes produced in action provide new data on the nature of Katchi Abadies and shed new light on their fundamental characteristics through the process which has been called "learning through action". Piddington (1970) notes that as a scientific discipline action anthropology is clinical rather than predictive. It does not aim to apply general anthropological principles directly to a body of observational data existing at any one time so as to produce a "blueprint" for the future. Instead, by picking up series of cues (in the light of general principles, of course) it allows concrete plans for action to emerge progressively from the ongoing processes of social change. Piddington stresses that the action anthropological research requires in the first place complete independence from Government control, and therefore from Government finance. Secondly, it needs specific kinds of actions. But the limitation with this is that these specific actions require funds on a large scale which anthropologists usually do not have. Thirdly, as an originally conceived goal it might not apply in communities. All these circumstances have limited the general application of Action Anthropology. The essential challenge an action anthropologist faces is to observe and learn while helping people cope with the problems that confront them. (Gearing, Netting and Peattie, 1960; Piddington 1970; Borman, 1979).

Tax (1952:103-105) defines Action Anthropology as "an activity in which an anthropologist has two co-ordinate goals, to neither one of which he/she will delegate an inferior position. He/she wants to help a group of people solve a problem, and he/she wants to learn something in the process. He/she refuses ever to think or to say that the people involved are for him/her a means of advancing his/her knowledge; and he/she refuses to think or to say that he/she is simply applying
science to the solution of those people's problems. One may characterize action anthropology by saying that the community in which it works is not only its subject but also its object.

10:4 *Justification And Methodology For Action Research*

The method of indigenous participatory action research in Baldia was carried out with an anthropological approach by studying and breaking the barriers in sanitation improvement. The very emergence of action anthropology was a result of efforts of finding ways and means to help the community in helping themselves. Anthropologists have demonstrated empathetically communities' world view, their actions, their existing organizational systems and their role in resisting or accelerating their own development.

The Baldia community's world view and the social distance between the outsiders and the Baldia people was studied by the researcher in an Action Anthropological manner and interventions were made in sanitation. No information was available that gives a Baldia community view. The Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project did not have a blueprint on how to overcome the barriers to sanitation improvements. When it started, the only goal identified was to improve the sanitary conditions of household latrines, by introducing an improved design of soakpit latrine. Information and methodology on how to implement, whom to contact, what approach to use, where to begin from, what are the social, cultural and traditional patterns of the communities in Baldia, and their relation to sanitation did not exist.

On the technical side improved design of soakpits by WEDC, their technical survey report of ground conditions and some instructions for the construction of pit latrines was available. The present project used this sanitation technology as an entry point for social organisation and development in Baldia town. The community organizer moved into the field without a ready-made plan. Her directions were not guided or directed from above or outside, but were exploratory and not always predictable, as all the decisions, solutions and evaluations came from within the community. To know, understand and develop a relationship with
the people of Baldia was the first step by her, in line with the Anthropological participatory action research process.

In conducting action research as an indigenous participant, the community organiser was successful in implementing the sanitation project and at the same time endorsing a community based development approach. The reason for these achievements was that the project was not time bound, she had invested more than six years in the field. She identified herself with the women of Baldia to become accepted and gain their trust and confidence. Her being a woman and a national of the country provided acceptance socially, but this happened only when for two years she demonstrated her skills, knowledge and intentions in the social and technical aspects of the project, and at the same time moved at a pace such that the people could understand her and the project. As participant observer in action research a woman has to be extra cautious, sensitive, knowledgeable, respectful and humble. The community organiser continuously demonstrated respect for and approval of the existing development structures of the community. It was seen that a woman in a society like Pakistan can make major successes in community based development, provided there is scope for her to become well equipped technically, socially and institutionally in the whole process. The community set her difficult tests, but ultimately she was totally accepted. She could work with the men and women of the community in promoting integrated development. The community organiser, as a participant researcher, had to identify herself with the local people for acceptance and respected their progressive development system, by learning from it and then building on it gradually and progressively. To gain respect and acceptability from the people, the researcher moved along with the people so that they did not see her as an expert and distance themselves. To make a break-through in women's development, such a gradual understanding and low profile approach is essential. To gain trust the community organiser worked intensively for more than two years only with men. It was only after this period that they were satisfied and let her work with their women.
She explored the organizational system of the people and how they solved their day-to-day problems and fulfilled their needs. At the same time she needed to be helpful in any way she could. She dressed in the same way as the women of Baldia generally do, covering themselves with a large veil over their heads. This approach is slow and steady, but it moves with the people, learning with them, and applying the knowledge learned in the process of community development. This was the only way to progressively build up knowledge of the community's structure and experience for intervening in the community's existing development system, and to build on it to overcome the barriers to sanitation improvement.

Another reason for action anthropological intervention, was that the whole project was outside government control and finance. The situation had all the flexibility and freedom and time to build a model in progressive community development, through sanitation, from within the community, that will result in breaking the barriers to sanitation improvement, as well as community development on the whole. The third reason was that funds were available to experiment, using the action anthropological approach. As the project did not have a blueprint, the methodologies and policy had to be evolved from the process itself. All these factors combined provided a justification and methodology for a participatory action anthropological intervention which the researcher applied as a participant observer as well as in action for nearly five years. The process required that the community organizer worked face-to-face with the people and assisted them in improving their sanitary conditions by identifying their local community organizational system. She used the field work as a continuous learning process which enabled her to move the project from experimental to pilot phase, from pilot to expansion and institutionalization. The whole process was slow and gradual but progressive and action-oriented. All the decisions, directions and plans evolved from the field, as the project was implemented. There was learning and flexibility in applying the knowledge. Simultaneously the social gap was bridged between the outsider and the people of Baldia on sanitation techniques. All these
activities were guided by the basic tenet of action Anthropology, that people know better than the outside expert or specialist what are their basic needs and what strategies are needed to fulfill them. As a woman in Islamic society the researcher did face difficult and confronting situations, but with time, patience and compassion she overcame these temporary obstacles.

To use the action anthropological approach one does not necessarily have to have an academic anthropological background. Schwimmer studied the role of Maori leadership in New Zealand, who already see clearly the main outlines and are well-informed of the problems and are involved in solving them neither by adherence to traditions nor by passive acquiescence in the total way of their life style. The people from outside can be teachers, social workers, clergymen, doctors, public servants or simply a special person to whom the community has become attached. The person in each category has a specified goal in relation to the members of the community. For this they have to win the acceptance of the community, and then slowly work with them to help them. Schwimmer calls such people "mediator". This is not to devalue the work of mediators but to suggest that, even though they may not have any anthropological training, they might well bear in mind the more objective, more passive, approach of action anthropology. (Schwimmer, 1958:335).

10:5 Operational Methodology: SANITATION A Vehicle For Change

The construction of soakpit latrines, was undertaken in three phases:

1. Experimental phase that developed the methodology of the field work from August 1979-October 1980.
2. Intervention and testing the methodology by consolidation in five more communities and improving the design of soakpits. October 1980-1982.
10:6 Technical And Social Experimentation Phase:
(Case study)

Once KMC showed its inability to undertake a soakpit construction project in Baldia town, UNICEF started contacting other relevant agencies, such as the Directorate of Social Welfare, Government of Sind and Department of Health, but could not get a positive response. Finally UNICEF contacted the Department of Social Work, University of Karachi, as well as Pakistan Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees), a non-government organization.

10:7 Department Of Social Work, University Of Karachi

Social work education at the post graduate level was introduced in Karachi University during the early 1950's. The two year course is divided into one year of field work in community development, and hospital settings, while one year is spent in the theory of social work. On average the department has 50 to 80 students each year. The majority of the students are girls. The community organizer was one of them in 1979-80.

10:8 Pakistan Junior Chamber Of Commerce, (Jaycees)

Pakistan Jaycees is a voluntary organization of businessmen, industrialists, and professionals such as lawyers, engineers, architects etc.

They sponsor programmes for the poor in a charity oriented service giving manner, such as setting up a dispensary or a clinic and providing health services to the poor communities. The approach is to do something for the poor, as philanthropists. They provide books and materials for education to a few people in the Katchi abadies, but because of limited resources, the majority of the poor people cannot be served. They constructed soakpits before UNICEF or Karachi University became involved. Because they have international contacts, the Dutch mission met them during their search for a non-government organization for the construction of soakpits in Baldia town. When UNICEF, through Karachi University entered Baldia for soakpit construction, the Jaycees had already been involved in it, for eight months, in one of the communities the Muslim
Mujahid Colony. Their approach in such soakpit construction will be discussed in detail in this chapter.


Muslim Mujahid Colony (MMC) is a large concentration of heterogenous communities of Punjabis, Balachis, Gujrati, Katchi and Pathans. All these ethnic groups live homogenously within their own clusters. It is not easy to identify exact boundaries between each cluster in this community.

10:10 Socio-economic Conditions

There are no data available of the exact socio-economic situation of each community within Baldia. But one can make some estimations. The entire population of MMC would be about 10,000 to 15,000. Most of them are Katchee, Gujrati and Balachi people, and the majority are fishermen or work at the harbour, while others are unskilled labourers. One does find skilled labourers like masons, carpenters, mechanics etc. Generally the population is poor, although there are some well off families, launch owners who do good business in fishing and in illegal transportation to Dubai and other Gulf countries. The literacy rate in general is low, and for women it is close to nil.

Housing is mainly a mixture of semi-pucca huts and mud houses, but some are good quality cement and concrete structures with large compounds. Most have extended family patterns.

10:11 Water And Sanitation

Water is supplied through standposts as in other parts of Baldia, one or two hours in 48 hours. There are few taps. Sanitation is the same as in other parts of Baldia, that is bucket latrines.

The cluster in which Jaycees worked for soakpit construction had 19 soakpits of traditional design outside, while almost 100 households had bucket latrines.

10:12 Community Organization And Leadership

Each cluster in MMC is informally organized, on the traditional kinship pattern, but one strong registered Jamat of
Katchi community has existed for a long time, under the name of Muslim Katchi Jamat. People say that this Jamat has been there ever since the community came to Baldia. The leadership pattern is based on the traditional system, the office bearers all mostly elderly people, giving the traditional service of solving domestic disputes, charity for the orphans and widows, and keeping social control to avoid any misbehaviour by any of its community members. But besides these traditional roles, the Jamat has started a primary school for its children. The children from other communities also attend it. There is a large piece of land for this purpose.

Besides the Jamat, there are two mosques under construction, with a semi-pucca structure. The mosque committee, besides the religious duties of prayers and religious meetings, holds religious classes for the children. It provides drinking water to the community from its water reservoirs. The maintenance and operation of these reservoirs is under the mosque committees. There is also modern leadership as discussed earlier. They have occupied large pieces of vacant land, which they use for their business of construction material as well as land speculation. These modern leaders usually approach the outsiders as community representatives. Most of them have political and administrative links, for their personal benefit.

10:13 Soakpit Construction By Pakistan Jaycees

Most of the Jaycees members were business men, or busy professionals. They had time constraints on their charity oriented approach, that limited their true orientation of community leadership. With these limitations they entered the Muslim Mujahid Colony, for soakpit construction. The leader that came forward was a building contractor and the owner of a block making yard locally called "Thalawala". Most of the building material was supplied by him to the local community, and many residents were in debt to him. The Jaycees, not knowing this background, found it convenient, because all the construction material required was available from this "Thalawala", who was also a resident of Muslim Mujhid Colony. The Jaycees contracted with him for 30 soakpits to begin with. The selection of the
houses and entire construction was left to him. He would often make visits to the business places of the Jaycee members responsible for the soakpit project. This further limited the field visits by Jaycees, and increased the social distance. For these initial 30 soakpit Jaycees had raised its own funds, on the assumption that later they could become the executing agency for soakpit construction with Dutch funds.

Technical supervision was carried out by one of the engineer members of Jaycees, who would visit the site occasionally. The contractor was good at his job as a skilled mason, so there was really very little technical supervision required. All these factors suited the busy business men, for their charity outlets. Within less than six months Jaycees constructed 30 good quality soakpits according to the improved design. All these soakpits were provided free of cost to the residents. Each soakpit, with pour flush water seal WC and cement plinth with superstructure, cost Rs.1700-1800. Every house assisted with a Jaycees soakpit had a small blue plate with (Jaycees) written on it nailed on the door. The entire construction labour, digging of the pits, and purchase of the material was done through this local contractor "Thalawala". The people did not have anything to do with the whole process, nor would they dare oppose him because most of them owed him money.

10:14 Construction Of Soakpit Latrines By The Social Work Department, Karachi University

Almost three months later, the Department of Social Work of Karachi University also agreed to undertake soakpit construction, as part of the fieldwork project of community development for its students. Ten postgraduate students were assigned for the soakpit construction in Baldia town, and with UNICEF's assistance the students were supervised by two teachers from the Department. UNICEF provided funds for 30 soakpits to the Social Work Department (SWD) for construction.

The teachers and students, one of them being the author, paid several visits to Baldia, but they did not know that Jaycees were already working in Baldia, nor did UNICEF inform them. In these initial visits, they talked to the people to discover how
they viewed their sanitary conditions. Generally their reply was that they were waiting for the KMC to do something about it. During these visits a person asked the reasons why the students of the University were visiting Baldia, and what they could do about improving the sanitary conditions. The teachers explained the method of soakpit construction. The person, who was a resident of Naizi Mohalla (neighbourhood), asked the University team to come along with him to his community and help him make a soakpit, since he was already digging a pit for his latrine. The University team followed him to his community in Naizi Mahalla. He took the team to his home which was a huge double storey house of rural style. The host, whose name was Gulab Khan with a lot of respect offered tea and biscuits, and later he showed them the site where he was digging his pit. The pit was outside and already more than ten feet deep, but hardly three feet in diameter. He was advised that he needed to increase the diameter by at least 3 feet, and that pit should have been inside the house. He could not understand why it should be inside the house while there was so much space outside. As this discussion was going on a small crowd collected around, and entered into discussion. Gulab Khan was the head man of this community, and people looked up to him for all guidance and advice. The University team was formally invited again to the community by Gulab Khan.

10:15 Naizi Mahalla

Naizi Mahalla is a small community consisting of Punjabi rural migrants. It is situated on the boundary of Haji Qasim Colony (ref. Baldia map), next to the Sind Industrial and Trading Estate (SITE). The community is not marked because it was too small a cluster that time. The migrants were very fresh from the Punjab province district of Mianwali. The community is based on 300 homogeneous families. It had its own informal rural oriented community organization, and a mosque that was constructed in 1966 when the community had 20 families. The look of the area was unhealthy and unsanitary, with 69.29% bucket latrines and only a few community water taps. Most of the children did not go to school, but only to the mosque for religious education. 98% of
the women were illiterate and were not active in any community work except for fetching drinking water from the community taps. The mosque carried out its traditional religious duties or supplying water from its reservoir tank to the community. The existing community organization was not visibly active in their community development. It continued its traditional role of solving family disputes, or protecting its people from police involvement in time of community fights, which was quite frequent in this community. It was traditional to fight and to take revenge. As a resident of this community, Haseeb Khan said "Baji, it is due to these family fights, and the tradition of taking revenge, that I left my village and came to Karachi. One of my brothers was murdered by another tribe, and now I am being forced to kill a man from that tribe just to prove that I am a man of dignity and self-respect." (Discussion held in the Community with the community organiser). Most of the people worked in the nearby factories or were involved in the transport business. In seeking to find out if people had done something to improve or to solve their human waste disposal problems, the community organiser found through the base-line survey that almost 30.7% tried to construct soakpit latrines outside their house. These soakpits were attempted by families who had some sanitation consciousness and were better off, but they lacked the know-how to construct them efficiently so that they could last a long time. When asked why the rest of the families did not construct soakpits as well to solve their sanitary problems, the answers and comments were interesting:

Answer No.1:
Soakpits do not work, they keeps filling up very fast.

Answer No.2:
You need to call the suction truck from the local municipality, and sometimes the lanes are too narrow for the truck to enter.

Answer No.3:
The families who constructed soakpits are not wise, because their soakpits overflow into the lanes and cause problems for others.
Answer No. 4:
When these soakpits are manually emptied, it cost Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/- each time (U.S. 30 to 40 dollars).

Answer No. 5:
We have seen that human waste disposal cannot be solved by the community. It is the municipality's job to provide underground sewerage or to assign more sweepers to collect nightsoil from bucket latrines regularly. Otherwise we as rural people can go out on the nearby hills. (Community meeting during field work, 1979).

10:6 Motivation And Obstructions
When the construction started there were serious bottlenecks. Pits were to be constructed inside the yards of the houses because moving traffic used to damage the pits, and besides each pit was individually made, used and maintained by each family, so it could not be constructed outside the property walls. There were instructions by the KMC that because of future physical development, like roads or waterlines, it would demolish anything in the lanes, so no soakpits should be constructed outside. But the people did not have knowledge of these instructions. They did not want a pit inside their house, thinking it would overflow just like the traditional pits. The failure of the traditional pits created the biggest obstacle. The community strongly believed that soakpits could never work, and that the only practical method was the system used in central city, that is a sewerage system. They would have to wait for this system. These views were expressed by another community leader of Naizi Mahalla, during an informal discussion in his home. (A lunch meeting, 1979).

As discussions and exchange of views proceeded in the community meetings, a very interesting viewpoint of the community emerged. They said that they were surprised as to why the University team, as outsiders, were interested in sanitation, while the more expressed needs were hospitals, schools, electricity and increased water supply? Some of the people started doubting the University team. On one occasion a man called Dilawer Khan, who was an active member of the community,
questioned the community organizer, then a student: "Why do you want us to construct soakpit latrines? A few other men answered before the university team could respond, saying "they want us to construct soakpits so that when a plan for a sewerage line comes, there will be an excuse for our community to be excluded from it because our area is already clean". (Residents of Niazi Mahalla—dialogue during the initial meetings in 1979).

The man, Glub Khan who, who invited the university team, took only part of the instruction as he continued constructing his soakpit outside his house. However, he widened the pit up to 5 feet and used bricks for lining the pit. He covered the pit with a 2\% inch thick reinforced cement and concrete slab. His latrine was to far inside the house, and he was told that he would require a lot of water to flush excreta all the way from the latrine to the pit. But he insisted that he had used a 4" diameter pipe with a good slope. Inside the latrine the WC pan was connected with an asbestos pipe to the pit without a water seal. He insisted that the water seal is an obstruction when flushing.

The university team did not persist in trying to persuade him to follow the instruction, as he was using his own money, and because they did not want to offend him and thus lose an influential person in the community.

The objective at this stage was to somehow demonstrate the improved design of soakpit construction. The process would help the university students to understand and learn, about both the social and technical aspects of sanitation. To begin with 10 soakpits were offered free of charge on the community's recommendation and selection of the poorest of the poor residents, who were living in the most filthy sanitary conditions, and are thus causing a problem to the rest of the neighbourhood as well as to the people who passed through the lanes.

This offer was made in a large community meeting of Naizi Mohalla, where a series of small and informal meetings were held. The offer was immediately accepted by the people, and in a small way the ice was broken. The tone of discussions turned to how the selection should be made. The university team departed on
the promise that the next day the community would prepare a list of destitute families for soakpit construction, the people promised to do it. This promise was not undertaken by Gulab Khan or other vocal leaders, but by ordinary residents who observed the whole process from the beginning.

10:17 Construction Of Soakpits

Next day when the community organizer arrived in the community, there was no-one present at the agreed place and time. She went around the houses to find out if the people remembered, about the list for soakpit construction. The news of her arrival reached the people and after an hour the people started to arrive. They showed their surprise that the community organizer, as an outsider, had kept her promise and commitment of time and purpose. The people openly said that when the university team left, they thought that they would not come again, because they did not mean to actually start construction and clean up the filthiest conditions. One of the residents even said that, he did not believe that they would actually go to these lanes and families, to improve their sanitary conditions, because it is just too filthy even the other residents, who also avoid passing those lanes. Such expressions about outsiders was a common point of discussion by the people with the community organizer.

Finally a list of ten families was handed to the community organizer. The next step she took was to request the person who prepared the list to take her to visit the families. There was an immediate mixed response by the people; one could feel that the process of minimising the social distance has begun, and the people's attitude was shifting from traditional respect for an outsider to gradual acceptance of the university team and community organizer.

On visiting the selected families the need for immediate action was obvious, as the condition of the latrines was extremely filthy. The sweeper had not come for a week to collect the night soil, which was flowing in the lanes. There was hardly enough space to walk without stepping on excreta. Most of the families had six to eight children, and one had eleven children. The men of the families were either low paid unskilled workers,
were still looking for jobs. A few wives had ad hoc assignments from nearby factories for filling match boxes with match sticks, and pasting labels on tea boxes. One or two who had sewing machines did some sewing work for the neighbours. But on the whole the families were in extremely poor shape. They were on the Zakat (Islamic Tax on Wealth) list of the government, but no decisions had been made yet as how much money they would get. During the visit of these families many men, women and children were crowding round to know what was happening. The residents who had made the list took over the role of communicator between the community organizer and the poor families because the poor families were reluctant to talk and were confused. There was no sign of the previous leaders, like Gulab Khan and Dilwar Khan. The community organiser suggested improving the sanitary condition of their latrines. A soakpit could be built that would take in all the human waste and clean the area. Nearly all of them said that they were not interested, as they did not have energy, time and money for it, and besides they did not know who the visitors were and why they had selected them. "There is no-one to help us, only God will help us, it is all Gods will the way we are today." It was explained to them by the residents that they would not need to spend anything, all would be free. They pointed out the community organizer, saying that she belonged to the university who wanted to do something about this filth. On hearing this, most of the crowd that had collected, started to persuade the men of the poor families that they must agree to it. It was filthy around there and nobody can walk in the area, and besides what had they to lose. But one could see the doubts and fears in the eyes of the poor men of the selected families. They did not respond further due to the social pressure.

Following this major breakthrough, the community organizer paid five more visits to the selected poor families, along with the active residents. She explained the relationship between disease and excreta, the flies being the carriers of most of the intestinal and respiratory diseases. The reason for the concern to improve the toilets, was explained to them, and the benefits they could have by getting rid of the sweeper. Finally
the families felt at ease with the community organiser and the idea of a soakpit. Seeing the understanding sympathetic and respectful approach the community began to have more confidence in the community organiser and the university team. It was after a whole month of continuous meetings that agreement was reached to start the digging of the pits inside the courtyard. The design of the pit was discussed with a mason that the residents identified. He seemed to be a seasoned mason and knew his job well. In each house an area was marked out for the digging by this mason, along with the university team and community organiser, none of them having any experience of construction. The mason and the residents who had some experience in construction joined in the venture. Then pits were dug up to ten feet deep. Each pit dug cost Rs.300 which was paid for by the university teacher directly to the digger in front of the whole community. The next step was to buy the material, the active people of the community, who by now had become sort of operational leaders as far as soakpit construction was concerned, located a place within the community where the blocks, cements and asbestos pipes could be purchased. But to buy WC pans and water seals, one had to go to the other side of Baldia where the market was. The community organiser along with the heads of the households of selected families, the local residents and the masons, purchased all these materials. Two donkey carts were hired, with the men of the selected families sitting on the construction material, as the donkey cart brought the material to the Naizi Mahalla. The payment for the material was made directly to the shops, while the community people were there.

The local active residents suggested that material for each family should be given to them, so that they became responsible for it, until the construction was over. Everyone agreed to this, that instead of storing it in one place, it was better the selected families should be responsible for it. So the material for each pit was distributed to each selected family, and again the whole process was undertaken in the presence of the community. A large crowd gathered and many people could not believe that it was real. Later the active residents said to the community organiser that the construction should start
immediately. Because the people were so poor, they might misuse and sell the material, and then there would be problems for the poor families and for the honour of the community.

Acting on this suggestion the construction began the next day. There was a continuous flow of men and women from all over the community to see the construction, and meet the outsiders who were involved. In less than fifteen days all the pits were constructed, with a lot of voluntary labour and management from the families themselves. The community organizer was present daily, from 9.0 a.m. to 8.0 p.m., observing the construction and learning the process. The people of the community offered tea and lunch to her, which she had with them in their houses in spite of unsanitary conditions. She never bought her own food, because it would offend the people and increase the social distance between her and the people. She was present all the time for any information that the people required, if they wanted to have a soakpit.

Once the construction was over the pits were completed and connected with water seal WC pans. The people of the community were still somewhat doubtful, and waited to see what the university team demanded in return. But instead they saw that the team was orienting the families on how to use the latrines and how to flush the excreta. The families were extremely grateful and happy. The earth that came out of the pit was used in filling up the lanes thus covering up the filth and providing a dry clean lane. Within two days of the soakpit toilets being completed, the people noticed the marked change in the cleanliness of the whole environment. The children played freely, and people walked without covering their noses. The hygienic environmental change in these lanes did not go unnoticed, as the people were just waiting to see what came out of the whole process. The community organizer and the university team gained acceptance, respect and credibility as outsiders. It was not long before people approached the active residents to help them as well in constructing soakpits, as they were tired of the sweeper who did not come.

The active residents by now understood the entire technical aspect of soakpit construction, and began motivating
other families. Within a month almost twenty more families wanted to convert their existing bucket latrines into pour flush pit latrines. They all saw the construction process, and the quality of construction. This time as the people were not so extremely poor, they were asked to dig their own pit. The rest of the expenses would be paid for by the project. Nearly everyone agreed to this proposal. They extended their co-operation to the community organizer in all possible ways they could. This time the community residents purchased the material, for which the project paid. Nearly 20 pits were dug by the families themselves. During this family involvement in digging and participating, the community organizer and the university team became closer to the community, and they imparted more information on health, sanitation and how they could improve their health by changing their sanitary habits, and the need for collective action to solve their problems. Finally, towards the end of 1979, 30 soakpits were completed by Karachi University in Naizi Mahalla.

10:18 **Beginning Of Social Acceptance: (A Case Study)**

An interesting development emerged, when the university team was halfway through the construction of these 30 pits, the mason, Mr Karim, who was helping the students and the community organizer in Naizi Mohalla, belonged to another neighbouring mohalla called Turk Colony. He requested the team to start a similar soakpit construction programme in his community, and offered them his support. His motivation was due to his having become fully convinced of the efficiency of the upgraded design. True to his word he extended his full co-operation to the project when the team went to Turk Colony.

10:19 **Turk Colony — The People And Community**

This community is right in the middle of Baldia Town (ref map). It is a compact homogenous community who call themselves "Turk Sepoy" because their ancestors originally came from Turkey as soldiers of the Muslim Army that conquered India.

The area was inhabited by the Turk Community in 1958 when Baldia was a large area of vacant land on the outskirts of
Karachi. In 1960 after the devastating fire in the city in which a large number of huts were burnt down, the government resettled them in the present area. About 250 small houses were allotted to them. The area now covered by this community is 70,000 sq. ft. with more than 500 plots, accommodating more than 600 families.

The people had migrated from Veraval near Junagarh State (India) in 1947, at the time of partition of the subcontinent. The community is like a big family because of inner-marriages within the community. One finds each family somehow related to the others. Their language is Gujarati but they can speak Urdu too. The total population of this colony is about 4000 to 6000 people. The family pattern is the joint-family system. There is no government school. Illiteracy is high. Eighty percent of the women cannot read or write. Most of the men comprise skilled or unskilled labourers, e.g. masons, carpenters. Others are shopkeepers, hawkers or peddlers. There are two school teachers, a compounder, and a clerk. The average income is Rs.400 to Rs.1,000 per month (US$ 25 to 60). But the few who work in middle eastern countries remit home a handsome amount. Women are also involved in income-generating activities within or outside their area, by preparing hot snacks and selling them to the community or by sewing and embroidery work. Some work as housemaids and cleaning women. Water is supplied by six standpipes in eight lanes of the area. These taps receive water every second day for two hours. There is an extreme shortage of water. With the exception of a few houses, the majority of the houses are single storey. It has five lanes and all of them except one, have sanitary lanes. Lane number two, is paved and has street lights.

10:20 Community Organization Of The Turk Colony

Turk colony has a local social organization. The name of social organization is Veraval Turk Jamat. This organization is a traditional form as the Turk community always had a Jamat organization. Its main function was to solve family disputes within their community. It has its office in Turk Colony. The organization consists of elderly people of the community who represent the community in the Jamat.
The elections are often held with two or three year gaps. The Jamat has strong social control over the Turk community. Each community member subscribes Rs.2/- as a membership fee to the Jamat. The other source of income of this Jamat is rent of crockery, cutlery, tents and other decoration material for all happy and sorrowful occasions of their members and their families.

The major community social services the Jamat provides for are as follows:

1. Social policing and social arbitration within their community is the most formidable and decisive role.
2. Resolving the individual or family conflicts in such a way that their own internal matters do not go either to the police or to court. The Jamat resolves conflicts at three levels:
   a. individual vs individual
   b. individual vs family
   c. Family vs family.
   The Jamat decision in a conflict resolution is final.
   In the case of disobedience, the person or the family is completely ostracised even at times of weddings and death.
3. Holding social and religious functions and arranging visits for their spiritual leaders.
4. Providing all types of assistance in the arrangement of marriage and the rehabilitation of orphans and other destitutes.
5. Operation of a night tuition centre for boys.
6. Operating a sewing centre for girls.
7. Distributing charity to the widows and orphans.

10:21 Existing Sanitary Conditions
Sanitation in TC is similar to the conditions existing in other parts of Baldia. A study has shown that the community has more than 80% bucket latrines, i.e. out of 600 houses, 575 had bucket latrines. The people lack health-consciousness and awareness of child care. But the presence of local soakpits shows that the community had initiated some efforts to solve this
problem. However, these soakpits which they constructed lacked the proper technology. Thus the pits did not function properly, and were of poor quality.

On the whole the community had basic skills to construct their houses. There are a few water taps, but these do not do much in sanitation. They had no support from the government or from other authorities. The councillor did not pay any attention to them, because they voted against him in the elections. The people lacked confidence and determination in undertaking complicated problems like sanitation. But the basic technical social and organizational structures were present. As one could see the construction and maintenance of the houses was good. They needed technique and guidance in organizing themselves and their efforts for sanitation.

10:22 Veraval Turk Jamat And Sanitation

When the community organizer contacted the President of Veraval Turk Jamat, through the mason of the community, Mr Karim Daya, and explained to him about the sanitation solution by constructing soakpits, the president responded to the soakpit idea critically and said he had neither the time to collaborate with this project nor the constitutional mandate to take up such construction work. Then Karim explained to him the whole process that he had experienced in Naizi Mahalla. But the president replied that it was too hectic a task to convince the people and go door-to-door, and besides no organization had ever undertaken such work. It was the responsibility of the KMC. Although Karim tried to convince him that all the organizing motivation for this work, could be done by the young boys of the community, the president was too traditional in his ideas of the role of the Jamat to agree to a new idea in one meeting.

10:23 The Cricket Club Of Turk Colony

Karim was disappointed with the Jamat's attitude. He said that these people were not even holding elections. so that people with new ideas could come in. He then took the community organizer to meet his cricket club, of which he was president. This was a group of young boys of Turk Colony, who had organized
their cricket team, and were also interested in the welfare of their community. When Karim told them the whole story of the meeting with the Jamat's president the team members were quite upset. They asked Karim to show them what a soakpit was and how it was constructed. Karim took them to Naizi Mahalla and showed them the cleanliness, and the design of the pit. The people of Naizi Mahalla happily declared how clean their neighbourhood was, and that still many people were constructing soakpits now according to their design. They also said that the project has given them a clean environment but had not asked anything in return.

The young men of Turk Colony were themselves discontented with the filth and environment condition of their area. They were frustrated with the traditional role of the Jamat which was not pressurising the KMC to clean the community and collect refuse. The sweepers were never regular in collecting nightsoil. One of the members said "we feel ashamed when someone comes from outside, and sees our unsanitary living conditions".

They held long detailed discussions with the community organizer, and showed her how their efforts to construct soakpits has failed in the past. Nearly all the traditional pits the community organizer saw were on the street, were either too shallow or to deep and narrow. Usually they were filled with stones. Since the pit was already filled with stones it got filled up quicker and overflowed until the vacuum truck came to empty it. When the traditional pit is emptied by the suction truck, all the stones have to come out and then be replaced again. This was a big problem to the family. Each time the truck came they paid Rs.100/-. 

The new design was explained to the young men by the community organizer in meetings. She explained to them the reason for using bricks in a vertical disjointed manner, with a gap of two inches in between the bricks (ref. WEDC design A, in Chapter 8).

It was after several group discussions, clarifications and certain modifications, that an arrangement was reached that first the member of the cricket team would construct their pits. This would be undertaken with the project's material assistance,
while masonry labour and digging of the pit would come from the family. The community organizer agreed to it.

The cricket club would undertake all the motivational, management and organizational work for the construction of soakpits. They were interested to show the Jamat that young people could undertake community improvement work, as the Jamat was not changing its role, according to the need of the community. This group of young community workers started digging their own pits. This provided an opportunity for other community people to observe the new design, construction and utility of pit latrines. Within a month 10 pit latrines were completed. The pit W/C was 10 ft. deep by 7 ft. in diameter, and was dug by the people. This saved 30 to 40 US$ per pit. Masonary work was done by the mason from the community, and the materials were provided by the project. The total cost of each pit was Rs.1,200 to 1,500 (US$ 120 to 150).

Within 2½ months, 30 soakpits were completed by this active group of the community cricket club. The process of the families involved in digging the pit, and then the construction by this group, gained them confidence and publicity. Their efforts were acknowledged and appreciated by the community and project members. The constant visits by UNICEF and government officials gave them recognition. Seeing this, more people joined them. They are now not only a cricket team but are looked upon as community leaders. The cricket club organized themselves as the Turk Welfare Society. They started lobbying for more water taps and street lights for their community. They constructed a water reservoir for the increased water supply. Along with these activities they constantly went on monitoring and constructing soakpits with the university's assistance.

The change in the leadership pattern and its role in progressive development will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Observing this development, the community organizer helped them to form an organization and train more masons and workers, by involving more people in doing the masonry. This facilitated the distribution of functions and responsibilities in the construction of soakpits.
The group was organized to assist the project in motivating the people to construct soakpits and also guiding them in its proper use. Moreover, this group helped the community organizer in identifying the poorest residents, and selecting the places inside the house for digging. While the community organizer was able to motivate and organize the people in the Turk Colony, there were technical difficulties in construction such as:

1. obtaining a cement subsidy permit,
2. use of cheaper materials, e.g. PVC pipes,
3. constant deviation from the technical design,
4. variable quality of construction materials and the U trap to W.C. bowl.
5. inadequate depth of pit due to sub-soil water and
6. need of a cheaper design to reduce the cost.

10:24 Confusion And Mistrust

The pit latrines that were under construction by Jaycees in Muslim Mujhid Colony, which is not far from Turk Colony (ref. Baldia map), created confusion, because the Jaycees pits were completely free of cost, but for Karachi University's pits the people either had to do the digging themselves or employ a digger and pay him.

This created confusion, mistrust, confrontation, agitation and frustration among the residents of Turk Colony, causing a great setback to the cricket club and community organizer. The people of Turk Colony openly challenged and wrote on the walls that someone is holding the money for digging. The construction came to a stop in Turk Colony. The community organizer explained to the people that people must participate, and that there was not enough money to provide free soakpits to all. The UNICEF representative, the teachers of the University and a few government officers attended a long community meeting that the cricket club had organized, to clear their name over money bungling. The situation was explained that the Jaycees were using their own resources. But even they could not go any further like this, people had to contribute. This direct dialogue with the community and outsiders pacified the whole
situation in the community, while a uniformity in approach of Jaycees and University became essential. There was a need to evaluate the experimental phase based on the lessons learned during the process.

10:25 Evaluation Of The Experimental Phase

The project was evaluated after the completion of 120 soakpits in Turk Colony, Niazi Mohalla and Muslim Mujahid Colony in October 1980 by Dutch consultants. The Pakistan Jaycees (PJC) constructed good quality soakpits in Muslim Mujahid Colony (MMC) as they had the technological know-how, but they could not organize the people in bringing social awareness and development. On the other hand, the Karachi University Social Work Department (KUSWD) created a social welfare organization through the construction of soakpits. They also followed up and trained the people on how to use them, and assisted in other activities of social organization and development e.g. education for women and children. The KUSWD had motivated the people of TC and Niazi Mohalla but lacked the technology, so the pits constructed by them were not of good quality.

As of 1st August 1980, a total of 125 soakpits had been constructed. Funds for an additional 60 soakpits were called forward on 11th August 1980. The total UNICEF input for these 185 amounted to $32,400. The average cost of these pits works out to Rs. 1744 in the case of Jaycees and Rs.1885 ($1 - 10Rs. 1980 exchange rates), in the case of the university. The reason for this disparity is that all Jaycees personnel work in an honorary capacity whilst some of the University personnel are paid. Offset against this is the fact that University pits are dug by local residents whilst Jaycee pits are dug commercially. (Yap, 1980).

Technical Aspects Of Construction

With soakpits constructed in 1979, there was marked difference in quality between SVD soakpits and Jaycees soakpits but the soakpits constructed by Jaycees and SVD in the Turk Colony were of a similar quality. The soakpits constructed in Turk Colony are much better than those constructed in Naizi Para.
in 1979. But they are still not according to the DAM/WEDC design, i.e. the pit underneath the latrine. Some of the recently constructed soakpits in Muslim Mujahid Colony are of the same design as those constructed in Turk Colony the pit next to the latrine and connected to the toilet pan by a pipe. Therefore, once again the following points were stressed:

a. If (according to the engineer) the pit can be dug underneath the latrine, it has to be dug underneath the latrine, or else the soakpit just cannot be constructed at all (Yap, 1980).

b. If because of danger of collapse of existing walls, the pit cannot be dug underneath the latrine, it should be dug as near to the pit as possible. Site selection for the pit on the plot cannot be left to the residents, nor, for the moment, to mason or supervisor.

c. The pit should not be dug on the street, as streets are public space.

d. The traditional soakpits in Baldia have a ventilation pipe to get rid of smells, flies and mosquitoes. The DAM/WEDC designed soakpits have a water seal, which makes ventilation pipes superfluous. Moreover for a vent pipe to function well, it has to have a diameter of not less than 15 cm. it should stand 2.5 metres (8 ft.) high, and at the top it should widen outwards to approximately 25 cm. The pipe has to be painted black and covered by a wire gauze cap.

Utilization

a. The soakpit latrines in almost all houses were in use at this time. In some houses, where the pit had been completed only recently, a super-structure had not yet been constructed; but this seemed to be a temporary situation only.

b. In most latrines, in particular in those latrines where the pit had been dug underneath the latrine, the water-seal functioned well. However, in some houses, the occupants did not use sufficient water to flush the excreta and consequently the excreta remained in the
toilet bowl, exposed to flies and mosquitoes. When asked why they did not use more water to flush, the occupants replied that they did not have enough water. At present, people use "drinking" water from the public tap to flush their latrine, and given the short supply of water in Baldia, it can be understood that they are reluctant to use their (valuable) water for flushing. It was therefore proposed to use wash water and other used water for flushing. Wash water could be used to clean the toilet at least once a day; or wash water could be collected in a bowl to flush after the toilet has been used.

Need for methodology
a. Uniformity in the provision of soakpits is required, so that no confusion is created amongst the people of Baldia Township.

b. A criterion for the selection of the households in need of a soakpit, but unable to afford it, is required; selection should be made preferably after visits and interviews by a community worker.

c. A study should be made of the possibilities of reducing the cost of materials and construction of soakpits.

d. The selection of the site for the pit in the courtyard has to be made by an engineer.

e. Proper instruction of the beneficiaries about utilization of a soakpit by a community worker has to follow the construction of the pit.

f. Instruction of the beneficiaries about utilisation of a pit latrine and about personal hygiene could be followed by more general public health campaigns by community worker and local organizations.

Some recommendations
The soakpit project has not only attracted the attention of the residents of Baldia Township but also of sponsoring agencies, with the result that in the future more funds for the soakpit project can be expected. Although it sounds rather
contradictory, the more funds become available, the more careful and economically the money has to be spent. The first 125 soakpits constructed in Baldia up to now should rather be considered as experiments. Now that larger amounts can and will be allocated for soakpits, more attention will have to be given to such aspects as:
1. Primary objective of the project
2. Organisational structure of the project
3. Financial arrangements for the project
4. Quality of the product supplied.

1. Objective
The direct objective of the project could be formulated as:

Improvement of the sanitary condition in Baldia Township by:
a. Introducing soakpit latrines in houses which do not have a latrine facility;
b. replacement of bucket latrines by soakpit latrines;
c. upgrading of traditional soakpits into DAM/WEDC designed soakpits;
d. construction of soakpits in new houses under construction in Baldia township.

Since there were approximately 25,000 houses in Baldia Township and a soakpit latrine costs Rs. 1500-2000, approximately Rs.4-5 crores (40-50 million rupees) would be required to attain this objective, if all pits were to be supplied free of charge. Obviously this was not possible, because sponsoring agencies do not have that much capital. Also, this was not necessary, as there are many people in Baldia Township who can afford to pay all or part of the cost of a soakpit. Consequently, instead of persuading residents of Baldia to "accept" a soakpit from Jaycees and SWD, attention had to be shifted to convincing people to construct a soakpit of their own according to the WEDC design with technical assistance by the soakpit project. This objective could be achieved by:
a. public health education campaigns;
b. distribution of information about improved soakpits;
c. visits to houses without latrines or with bucket latrines only.

In this way, many residents in Baldia Township could be motivated to finance and construct their own soakpit without any financial input from outside. What the soakpit project would provide was information, motivation and technical assistance. Although the financial costs would be far less, time and energy spent by project workers would increase considerably.

2. Organizational Structure

The above first part of the project made it clear that the time had come to establish a core of paid workers, part-time engineer and full-time community organiser, employed by the project, who would be responsible for the daily work in the project. They together in fact would form "the project".

When they considered it necessary, they would requisition the services of Pakistan Jaycees and SWD for community development programmes, supply of materials, additional manpower (students), organization of public health campaigns, contacts with other organizations (like KMC) etc., The work of the community worker and the engineer would be supervised by a committee, consisting of representatives from SWD, Pakistan Jaycees, UNICEF, and the Dutch Advisory Mission to KMC.

3. Financial arrangements

As more emphasis is put on information and technical assistance for soakpit construction than on soakpit construction itself, more money had to be spent on information campaigns and less on actual construction of soakpits.

However, there would always be a large number of families who could not afford to pay all or even a part of the cost. For such families, some arrangements had to be made, the least preferable being the provision of soakpits free of charge.

4. Quality of the Product

After the first 125 soakpits had been constructed, some experience had been gained with regard to feasibility and implementability of the soakpits as designed by Dutch Advisory
Mission-DAM/WEDC. In the past year, a number of technical questions came up, alternative designs have been proposed and practical problems have been faced. The time was ripe to evaluate the soakpits, not as a project, but as a "technical design". It was therefore, recommended that John Pickford of Loughborough University, who designed this soakpit, be invited to carry out a technical evaluation of the soakpits in Baldia to see whether modifications in the designs were required and costs could be reduced.

One possibility of cost reduction could be the mass production of certain components like the toilet bowl. To encourage people to construct a soakpit, toilet bowls could even be provided (as the only item) free of charge.

10:26 **Summary**

Almost one year of experiment in appropriate technology for sanitation brought to light some extremely basic and important findings in technical and social development in the community at the grass roots level.

1. There is no one way of entering the community with a programme for sanitation as a progressive development. The people are interested in improving their living conditions, but lack confidence in their own technical skills and do not trust the outsiders easily who want to help. The appropriate recommendation by WEDC for soakpit construction, for gradual improvement in sanitation, not only lifted the barrier to sanitation solutions but presented an approach for entering the community as an outside agency and minimizing the social distance.

2. It seems that incompetence with money for development in Katchi Abadies is common. People do not believe that outsiders really want to solve their problems without personal interest.

3. There are not only technical barriers but social as well, the local leaders, who can do a lot to benefit people, in fact obstruct the initiatives taken by the general public in Katchi Abadies. If the meetings the community organizer held were not cut in the open in Naizi Mahalla,
and not many people were listening, the leaders Gulab Khan and Dilawer Khan would not have given out the information correctly to the people. Gulab Khan wanted a soakpit for himself. That was the reason he asked the University team to come to his area. But there is no need to depend upon established leaders and organizations, as the experiment showed. If one wants to break the barriers to progressive development, the beginning can be made from anywhere with anyone in the community. The important thing is that information reaches the majority of the people.

4. The technical barriers were there due to the failure of the people's attempts in sanitation in Naizi Colony, but it was also seen that practical demonstration is needed to make the people see that what they tried was right; they just needed some more technical knowledge. This was obvious when Karim the Turk Mason became so convinced that he transferred the whole project from Naizi Mahalla to Turk Colony, and despite having no support from his Jamat managed to get the soakpit construction going through his cricket club.

5. Existing organizational system, if not helpful in new approaches, do not create obstacles for new people's organization who adopt the approaches. This experience was seen in both Turk and Naizi Mahalla cases.

6. The way outsiders approach the community in any progressive improvement, depends on the views the outsiders hold towards the poor and the approaches they adopt to solve the poor's problems. There were fundamental differences in Jaycees and the University's approach. The poor are extremely conscious of the attitudes and approaches the outsiders apply to them when they enter the community with any development plan. The people only bother much when they are asked to contribute in some form. If they do not have to contribute, and get something free, the problem is different, and people show lack of interest in the programme, as in Muslim Mujahid Colony. The Jaycees being rich and wealthy class,
believed in giving and providing for the poor from the "top". This is the traditional charity approach. But in modern times the charity organization wants to gain a name for itself, which is entirely against the whole concept of charity in Islam. No-one should know who is giving charity Zakat to whom, so that the receiver does not lose his/her self respect and the giver does not show themselves off and thus gain power. But the Jaycees went around putting name plates on the door of each house they assisted with soakpits. In reality they never met the residents. These attitudes lead to social distances between the implementor and the people. "No-one knows how much money the middle man (contractor) made out of Jaycees soakpit construction".

7. The technical and social aspects are the most important, but they are not effective in isolation. Working in isolation the impact on progressive development will be highly deficient, and sometimes damage the process of the community's progressive development. The person responsible for social aspects must know a good deal about the technology that is being introduced in the community. It was always the case that the community organizer was more with people who wanted information, and there were often times when immediate decisions were to be taken on technical aspects, such as depth of the pit, purchase of material, quality of blocks, prices of the material purchased, slope of the pipe, reasons for slow flushing etc. In cases where there was no trained mason and the family was constructing the pit, the community organizer had to help in following the design.

Soakpit construction continued in Turk Colony after the experimental phase. It was not only that more than 100 pits were constructed, but other community development activities sprang up. This will be discussed in the next chapter. The evaluation by the Dutch consultant proposed loans to the poor for construction of pits. This will not work, it is again a proposal from an outsider who did not understand the priorities of the people which they set for progress development. The poorest
will not take a loan for sanitation at this stage. They feel that they have other more pressing needs, and usually they are already in debt. In the case of Naizi Mahalla, the people said not to leave the construction material too long with the poor families, they might sell it, because their needs were so urgent. The measure administrators use in recovering the loan, damages the relationship between the poor and the project organizers. This the community organizer studied in Hyderabad Community Development project India, (March-April, 1986). The houses were constructed by giving loans to the poor. Related to housing were other social development projects based on community participation. But the pressure for loan recovery by the project staff created barriers between the people and the urban Community Development Project Hyderabad. (Bakhteari, 1986).

Last, but not least, government cannot undertake projects of this nature that involve people at the lowest levels, and also to remain flexible and patient with the technology and people. But it is necessary to have the government's blessing, so if a crisis arises like the problem of cost between Jaycees and the KUWSD, the Government officials can provide support. The non-governmental organizations, university and community group professionals must be co-ordinated in supporting and facilitating programmes for progressive development at the community level.

The experimental phase served effectively in setting up methodology for the pilot phase intervention of soakpit construction, as a vehicle for progressive development, by breaking barriers to sanitation at the community level.

10:27 Methodology

The August 1980 evaluation report (Yap, 1980) of 120 pits, so far constructed, stated, interalia, "the contrast between old and new latrines accentuated the considerable improvement in sanitary conditions in the houses, since the construction of the soakpit latrines". The project is becoming known in Baldia and there is a strong demand from local residents. In some cases, better off residents have built their own pits according to the improved design. Based on such progress, UNICEF expressed its interest in expanding the
programme. The government of the Netherlands agreed to donate US$200,000 dollars for Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project through UNICEF, Karachi.

10:28 **Collaboration In Social And Technical Aspects Of Sanitation**

According to the evaluation the technical strengths of Pakistan Jaycees were not used in the process of community development. The soakpits constructed by Jaycees were of better quality and more according to the DAM/WEPC design. This was because they had engineers and technical experts in their organization. Besides all the pits were constructed by skilled and professional masons, and not by families themselves as was in the case of the Social Works Department pits. But Jaycees could not involve the people and use their technological support in strengthening the community development as a whole. It was a major limitation in the Jaycees approach that it depended on the middleman and contractor rather than on the people who are vital in the progressive development process.

On the other hand the experience of the Social Work Department showed that the Department has expertise in community development and mobilizing the community resources in sanitation. They managed to spread the project in one year into two communities, and organized a new community organization that undertook the responsibility of sanitation and other related community development activities. The approach was more towards self-reliance than charity and dependence. But because most of the pits were made by families and under the supervision of community organizer and university team with a local mason's guidance, the pits were not up to the standards required by Dutch consultants who were also the donor of this project to UNICEF.

The social and technical expertise of the Social Work Department and Jaycees were combined in the Baldia soakpit pilot project.

10:29 **Objectives**

The basic object was to improve the environmental conditions of the communities in Baldia town, by creating
sanitation consciousness in the people so that they would construct soakpit latrines in their individual houses with their own resources.

A further objective was to identify and develop community-based developmental approaches, based on progressive development of the community at large.

The strategic objective (as laid down by UNICEF) for the project was to reduce to the minimum the infant mortality rate and to reduce child morbidity due to water and sanitation related diseases. Related objectives are to create community-wide acceptance of soakpits through community organization and to develop later other social sector improvements benefitting women and children.

The implications of this are that baseline data need to be collected with regard to current mortality and morbidity patterns and the progress of the scheme needs careful monitoring and evaluation for its impact on reducing child mortality and morbidity. It is also well understood that the provision of soakpit will not in itself significantly reduce mortality and morbidity. There is a need to ensure wide-spread coverage of pits to avoid cross-contamination. There was also a need to study utilization of the latrines and related behaviour contributing to illness and death (water-food storage, personal hygiene etc) and to design a programme mechanism to change behaviour.

10:30 **Replicability**

Providing free soakpits to each of the households in Baldia is neither possible nor required. The experimental phase demonstrated that most of the people can build their own latrines, provided they get technical and social assistance. Thus instead of providing soakpit latrines, attention should be on enabling people to construct a soakpit latrine on their own, but according to the improved WBDC design.
10:30:1 **Strategy**

1. Identifying the existing social and technical methods the people adopt in solving their problems and removing barriers to community development.

2. Identifying, exploring, and organizing the existing social, technical, organizational and communicational approaches of the people in Baldia.

3. Building on the existing organizational system of the community, by sanitation intervention.

4. Exploring new groups along with traditional and religious groups, and strengthen them by sanitation intervention in their community.

5. Building community based models of improved sanitation, thus breaking the barriers, with technical and social support from the project.

6. Beginning with, the poorest of the poor should be selected for technical demonstrations. Then the example should be transferred to other communities and residents, through existing community channels for progressive development.

7. Expanding horizontally and vertically at the pace of existing progressive development process in the communities. This can be achieved by building communication with the people, understanding their system, and motivation organizing the people and existing organizations, demonstrating the construction process for improved soakpits and transferring to other communities, with strong technical and social integration.

8. Finally sanitation intervention should be used in removing the obstacles and barriers to progressive development at the community level, later linking it with the large city system for institutionalization.

10:30:2 **Structure of The Project**

To achieve the above objectives social and technical integration was essential in the field to achieve the objective of the project and the present study.
A slum improvement committee was set up with the following structure to execute the pilot project in Baldia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTITUTIONS</th>
<th>NATURE OF RESPONSIBILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commission, Karachi</td>
<td>Chairman,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNICEF - Government Committee for slum improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Karachi's Social Work Department:</td>
<td>For social aspects the department will provide the community organizer to the project on a full time basis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Jaycees:</td>
<td>For technical support Jaycees will provide a part-time engineer to the project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>Funding agency for the project. The community organizer and engineer will be paid by UNICEF during the pilot phase.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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10:31 Role And Responsibility Of Community Organizer: (Author of this study.)

In the experimental phase it was obvious that the fieldwork that the community organizer was doing could not continue on a voluntary basis as a student. There was a need for her to be full time in the field, for actual setting up of demonstrations of soakpit latrines, and then transferring to other communities. The official responsibility of the community organizer was for social organization in the community for soakpit construction, in the following way:

The community organizer was to select Mohallas to be covered and phase them according to the following criteria for priority:

1. Mohallas with a large number of poor families;
2. Mohallas with large numbers of children;
3. Mohallas with the most inadequate sanitation;
iv. Kohallas expressing most interest in the scheme and most willing to provide their own resources from better off families.

4. The community organizer would undertake baseline surveys.

5. The community organizer, the Technical advisor and the chairman of Jaycees and the University would prepare a slide/sound set on the soakpit scheme and influence local leaders/community.

6. The community organizer would, with the local leaders and residents, select those houses to receive pits free of charge according to the following criteria:
   a. Having no male head of household/wage earner;
   b. Having a large number of children;
   c. Being poor families with inability to pay;
   d. Being houses with poorest existing sanitation.

   A maximum of 200 of all households in the Kohalla would be allowed free pits.

7. The community organizer/local leaders and residents would select houses which were:
   a. able to do their own digging;
   b. able to do their own digging and provide half the cost of materials (materials to be specified);
   c. able to build their own pits.

   A Kohalla-wide plan would thus be prepared and would only be approved by the committee if the average cost of each latrine to be constructed (either by local residents fully or in part/not at all) was below Rs,500/-. The lower the average; the higher the priority.

8. Activities 4-7 above would be done simultaneously in at least 5 Kohallas to enable mohalla prioritisation.

9. Based on the Kohalla plan, the technical officer would prepare a detailed plan and cost estimate for production phasing etc. Cash would be disbursed by UNICEF.

10. Jaycees, under the supervision of the Technical officer/and community organiser would commence construction.

11. The community organiser would simultaneously (along with activity 10 above) orient the families in proper utilisation of the pits, and would identify and try to change existing behaviour
of the residents (children, mothers and fathers) which were contributory to infant mortality and morbidity.

12. Upon completion of construction, the Community Organizer would investigate utilization and would monitor it from time to time for one year. After one year, she would undertake an impact evaluation.

13. The community organizer would, together with the local leaders and residents, investigate felt needs and possibilities for community involvement (possibly with UNICEF support) for other development activities.

Once the community organizer has prepared the plan for the Mohalla for soakpit construction, the engineer plays his part in demarking the site of the pit to be dug, orienting the mason or family on the design and during construction paying a visit to see the construction. The money was given to Jaycees by UNICEF for construction material, and the Jaycees engineer in time would give the money to the community organization or sanitation committee which the community organizer identifies. Later the accounts are given by the organization to the engineer, who submits to Jaycees and in turn Jaycees to UNICEF.

But in the actual field situation the role of community organizer was not just that of a social organizer. Since she was in the field for long hours daily, so she was the one usually approached for any technical and supervision problems. The engineer being part-time would come three days a week and spend two or three hours on each visit.

The role that emerged in practice for the community organizer was overlapping and integrating the social and technical issues of sanitation and community development. Her technical role was:

1. Demarcation of pit site:

The technical role is integrated in the social role of motivation and organization. While motivating the family to dig their own pit inside the house, she has to be prepared with all the technical answers. When the family is ready, she could not ask the family to wait for a day or two till the engineer comes, the motivation might subside or the family may change their
minds. The community organizer marks out the site to start the digging.

2. **Explaining the design**

   It was part of motivation and canvassing to get the improved design accepted that the community organizer herself knew the design of soakpit and its operation and utility to the community people, organizations, masons and families. She has to know the strength of the blocks, the use of iron and cement in the slab. The people asked about the difference in their traditional pits and the improved one, and how the two differed in operation. The community organizer has to explain in complete detail the technology and operation of the traditional and improved pits.

10:31:1 **Actual Construction**

   The actual construction always starts when the engineer is not there. The size of the pit dug must be seen before the construction starts, as the life of the pit depends on its size. The community organizer would see the pit dug. In the case of a high water table the pit has to be broadened than to go deeper. Decisions like these cannot wait. The digging and whole construction takes place inside the small courtyard of the householders, so the entire process of construction must finish within a maximum of three days.

10:31:2 **Lining Of The Walls Of The Pits**

   The lining of the walls need to be seen as the seepage depends on the gaps between the bricks. The unskilled mason or families usually need some supervision in the first few pits. The poor families get a lot of encouragement and confidence with the community organizer being along with them, and the community becomes more at case with the technology and the community organizer.

10:31:3 **Slab To Cover**

   The most important step is the large slab that covers the diameter of the pit, it must be 2½ inches thick with good cement and concrete mix, and must be cured for not less than five days.
If the slab is not strong the pit is very dangerous being inside the house. If one slab collapsed the entire project would be in trouble.

10:31:4 The Slope Of Pipe Between W.C. Pan And Pit

The slope of pipe for offset pits was important and usually the pit is connected while the engineer is not in the field. This has to be seen by the Community Organizer.

10:31:5 Training And Orientation Of Masons, Families And Community Leaders

For better understanding by the masons, families and the leaders of existing community organizations, they would be taken to the site where the construction was in process. Hence the community organizer would explain as the actual construction was in process. The transfer of technical learning as the project grew was an approach the community organizer used to create confidence and trust in the improved design. It also served as training site for the new unskilled masons and families. The community actually becomes convinced when it sees the actual construction.

10:31:6 Control On Expenditure

Being on site the community organizer was able to keep track of the expenditure both by the project and by the residents. This helped in keeping the cost of the soakpit in control, not misusing the materials or funds in the process.

10:31:7 Technical And Social Interplay

The process of motivation, organization and construction of soakpits and then following it up for utilization, made the community organizer the focal point in the field for the local organizations, their leaders, families, masons, engineer and the users and maintainers (women in the houses).

Identification and motivation of the poor families was only possible when the community organizer discussed their existing sanitation conditions. She went along with them when they asked her to see their attempts of soakpit construction.
They asked her what was wrong with their traditional pit. For this her answer was technical, by explaining the size of the pit and the way it was constructed. To motivate she had to explain the relation between diseases and excreta, and why the people of Baldia cannot have an underground sewerage system. In this process she explained the construction, cost and operation of a sewerage system in relation to water supply. All this discussion took place in community meetings during the initial motivational stages.

The next stage that integrates the social and technical role of the community organizer was, when the community is prepared to discuss other appropriate options, for example improved soakpit designs. She explained the design that she carried with her during the initial period, but later on she had slides and gave slide shows on Baldia soakpit project to the new communities in Baldia. She had to explain in detail the soakage operation of the improved pit and compare it with the traditional pits, to convince the people of the efficiency of the improved pits. Usually in community meetings most of the people who participated have some construction experience.

Once motivation was created the selection of families for UNICEF's assistance in construction material was undertaken by the community organizer and the existing organization or a new committee was formed, the community organizer gave advice and suggestions, later she paid home visits, for knowing the family and orienting them on the project and soakpit construction in their house. An arrangement was reached on the contribution the family had to make, that was by digging, or digging and masonry plus some material, or if the family was too poor, the pit was provided free to the family.

Once the construction started the community organizer while identifying and motivating new communities, invited the new identified families and organizations to visit a construction site where the construction is taking place by the people and their organization. The community organizer arranged meetings and discussion between the new and old communities to see the process and find out from the people themselves. If there were any queries she gave the explanations, in this way she organized
and transferred the social and technical models to other communities and families within Baldia. At the same time as gaining more and more knowledge about the technical aspects of sanitation, she integrated it with social components and applied it in action with the people in the community, for removing the barrier to sanitation and community development.

This integration that developed in the field was not foreseen before, and gave a breakthrough to the community organizer to be able to work with men outside in the community, and at the same time be with the women inside the house. In this process she got acceptability to the men in the community, and learned more about the women and their way of life from their participation. This learning process later helped the community organizer to develop programmes in the community for women's involvement in their progressive social development, (which will be discussed later).

The gradual experimental phase of the project overcame the existing technical and social barriers and ultimately expanded into a broad and integrated sanitation intervention in twenty communities of Baldia town.
Chapter Eleven
Intervention in Sanitation

Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project was formally introduced in Baldia town in October 1980, with a structural framework and strategic objectives. The pace and momentum set during the experimental phase of the project was maintained, and the community organizer worked full time along with the part time technical advisor. The soakpit construction in Turk Colony continued to set up a community based sanitation example. The community organizer concentrated her fieldwork to consolidate the experimental phase of intervention socially and technically. At the same time she undertook observational visits on foot, of all the communities of Baldia, to identify the most unsanitary mohallas and the poorest families. This physical observation was assisted most of the time by the members of Turk Cricket Club, or by people belonging to other communities who heard the news of soakpit construction and wanted project assistance to improve their sanitation as well. They would come to Turk Colony, meet the people involved in soakpit construction, and inquire about ways and means that they could do the same as Turk Colony. Next day when the community organizer came to Turk Colony the news of people from other communities was given to her. She immediately visited that community, along with a few residents from Turk Colony, and made a detailed physical observation. This method of communication is the community's way of sharing information on ways and means to improve their environmental and socio-economic conditions. The community based communication channels played a crucial role in progressive development in other communities. Seeing these examples and responses from the communities, strong and appropriate models in sanitation in Turk Colony were good strategy for reaching the majority of the communities in Baldia. Thus the community organizer undertook two initial approaches. One was the demonstration in Turk Colony, the other of exploring, identifying and getting familiar with the people, communities their physical structures and layout of Baldia town as a whole. The Turk Colony's demonstration model is discussed here and then the expansion plan to other communities follows.
11:1 Demonstration Model In Turk Colony

Technical problems and the management of construction were the basic concern, in the demonstration for maximum community motivation and understanding of soakpit construction and sanitation itself. The technical adviser had to give a lot of time to the actual supervision of construction. Seeing this was not possible because of his commitment to his regular job, the community organizer had to understand the technology involved and get the mason to understand while the engineer was present. The technical problems were with the lining of bricks and the fixing of the u-trap to the w.c. bowl covering of the pit. The depth of the pits in some cases was not sufficient because of sub-soil water. Besides these technical problems the cost of the pits was still too high for the people to construct the entire pit and latrine themselves. Methods and designs were needed to bring down the cost. To solve these problems the following steps were taken simultaneously by the community and the project.

1. UNICEF asked for another visit of the consultant from WEDC to advise on the design.
2. Increased community participation in the construction process.

11:2 Technical Solutions

The technical report by John Pickford (January 1981) suggested the following:

11.2.1 Where the ground is rocky in parts of Baldia or sub soil water level is high, shallow double pits can be dug. (Ref Type c).

11.2.2 The lining of the pit is too closely joined. The lining should have two out of three courses of blocks with open vertical joints to allow liquid to pass to the surrounding soil. At the time the mason was not leaving gaps between the blocks at the inner edge. There must be a gap of at least two fingers breadth left between blocks.
11.2.3 The use of local stones would improve permeability further. In using the local stones, the advantages are:

a. It is a local traditional form of construction.
b. There would be plenty of space between the undressed blocks to allow liquid to pass out;
c. It would probably be cheaper than concrete blocks as stone costs Rs.3/- for a donkey cart load.

The use of semi-dressed stone for the upper part (tandouri oven shape) (Ref. Design A) (i.e. over, with corbelled brickwork) of the soakpit should be investigated. If stone is cheaper than blocks then (type B design) should be used.

By blocking one of the branches of the Y-piece in the inspection chamber the excreta is initially passed to one chamber. When this is full (after two years for a family of nine) flow is passed to the other chamber. When this is nearly full the sludge is removed from the first chamber. As it will have been in place for between two and four years it will be innocuous and suitable for direct application to land as a fertilizer. The need for two-yearly emptying must be clearly understood and agreed by any householder before double pits are constructed (Pickford, 1981:3). The U-trap when connected to the W.C. bowl and to the pipe going to the off-set pit, will be easily fitted as more pits are constructed off-set. It was also recommended that a trap with an easy sweep should be used. Such traps if not found locally need to be made in Baldia. In the meantime toilets can be connected to soakpits by unsealed straight pipes, providing a ventilation pipe is fitted.

11:3 Community Participation

Another approach strongly recommended by WEDC was to encourage and motivate families to participate and contribute more. "Sociological and technical matters should be closely coordinated". (Pickford, 1981:2). Community participation in collectively organising digging and masonry could also reduce the cost. The Community organiser held meetings and organized families to help each other, to dig their pits, contributing masonry, labour and some material cost. The Turk Welfare Society were the main motivators, Most of the families dug their
own pits and the men did most of the masonry work or helped the mason. In large community meetings as well as in the houses of the residents, discussions were held to find out ways and means to bring down the cost. The community organizer explained in detail the limitations in funds, to obtain everyone's support. Only if everyone contributed could the entire neighbourhood's sanitary conditions improve. To convince the people the project itself limited its overhead expenses.

The project did not have any separate office or vehicle or an establishment. The discussions were held in the houses. Had there been an office and high office expenditure the community would not believe that funds are limited and the contribution would not come in, seeing the money in the project being spent on the project staff. Modesty and hardwork gained excellent goodwill for the project. The community organizer, being a woman, was able to involve the women in sanitation. This happened in a very natural way. When the men went out to their usual daily work, they would leave their wives instructions regarding the construction of the pits. As the work in Turk Colony progressed, the women got more involved. This involvement of women happened naturally, because it was the women who had to arrange for the digging, buy the necessary equipment and supervise the construction. Sometimes, the women themselves dug the pits with the help of their children.

Doing this labour was part of the practical role of the women in the locality. As one housewife expressed it: 'had we as women not contributed our labour in the construction of our houses when we were squatting, we could never have built our houses at all, to make our home and settlement we all had to work together. We do not have the resources to hire labour for small things such as digging of pits and besides if we don't do it who will do it for us. You (the community organiser) as an outsider are doing so much for us, so why can't we do something for ourselves'. (Discussions in the community, 1981). Discussion about women's roles usually took place between the women and community organizer, while the construction of soakpits continued. It is assumed that women in poor communities are basically responsible for housework, but they strongly stated
"we do all the work according to the need of the time". (Women in Turk Colony, 1981). They helped in building of their huts when squatting in Baldia. Later slowly they saved money and step by step they improved their hut into a pucca (permanent) home. Another woman claimed strongly "had we not contributed in the construction of homes, our men could not have done it all alone. A wife must help her family in every possible way to build a home. A house is built by a man, but a home is made by a woman". (Women of Turk Colony 1981). Besides this women are responsible not only for housework but also to take the children to the doctor, or to school. Even if they had to go a long way for this, the women would take their children. The community organizer herself noticed that women in Turk Colony were openly helping the masons or in the digging of the pit, and the men of the community did not object to it. It seemed that they are used to seeing women in this role. (Masons and diggers were from Turk Community). This was because the men of the community were also involved in managing and motivating in soakpit construction. Because the community is homogeneous, it was not seen as objectionable by men. The men did not feel that this participation of women in soakpit construction affected their own status in the community in any way. A genuine participation for community development that provides immediate relief is not seen in the context of women's or men's status, but development as a whole. The women were at ease because there was a female community organizer. This gave a good opportunity to the community organizer to get more familiar with the women and their status in the community. Soon most of the discussion on sanitation and soakpit construction were held in the houses of active women. The interesting point is that had there been a project office from the beginning, these informal meetings with the women in the houses and general public in the lanes would not have been possible. The social distance and technical barriers between outsiders (project) and the community would not be broken. It is also possible that only men, the majority of them with vested interest, would visit the project office, while women and common people and real activists would be isolated from the project. This would have increased the social distance in
spite of the project being based in the community. In Turk Colony women took keen interest in building the latrines, they also encouraged and motivated others to do the same. The women's communication channels are at water taps where they would wait for their turn. Here they would discuss how the soakpit construction in their houses was progressing. The latrines became an interesting social event and a subject of conversation. There were several instances of on the spot motivation. As the community organizer walked through the street, a woman stopped her, she asked her to see her newly constructed pit latrine, the community organizer congratulated the woman very warmly and informally embraced her. Many women came out of their houses, watching this demonstration of goodwill because of the soakpit, and gathered round the community organizer as she looked into the new latrine. The other women wanted to know how the pit was constructed and what was the way to get assistance from the project. The first woman gave all the details about the construction, explaining how happy she was now that she had got rid of the sweeper and her house was clean. The women wanted to see the working of the pit. The first woman took all the women to her house, she threw water in the w.c. pan, and as she did this she explained that all the excreta would go in the pit and a small amount of water would remain in the water seal. Within a week's time all the women in that lane, started to dig their own pits for soakpit construction. It was an exciting sight.

11:4 Community Management For Soakpit Construction

The other way to bring down the cost of construction was that the community must manage and supervise the construction process and purchase the construction material in bulk to save the cost on transport and get discount. The community organizer held meetings with the Turk Welfare Society on this issue, and the group agreed to the idea. They were asked that if they were now ready to handle the funds that the project could give them for soakpit construction in poor families. For this the Turk Society appointed a secretary formally in front of the people who would manage the fund and keep account for soakpit construction. The mason would accompany the manager to purchase the material.
The material would be stored at one of the houses of the Turk Society's members. In this way there would be no need to hire a night watchman. This was suggested by one of the members. Another member offered his donkey cart to carry the material from the market. The selection of the houses for material assistance was undertaken by the president and two other members of the Society. All these arrangements were agreed in two meetings that were held at weekends between the community organizer and the Turk Welfare Society's members.

The young members of the cricket club in Turk Colony organized themselves more strongly as a sanitation committee. Initially the community organizer and the committee worked closely in motivation, construction and management. As the work proceeded the committee became formally organized and registered, as the Turk Welfare Society. The community people looked towards this young group for their other problems as well. Regular meetings with the families, sanitation committee and the community organizer were held, and frequent house visits were made to see the functioning of the toilets.

11:5 The Technical Aspect Of Management

On the technical side it was not possible to construct the pit under the w.c. pan, because the existing superstructure of the latrine had to be demolished to construct this recommended design. The community and family did not agree to demolish their existing latrine and then dig a pit, cover it with a pan, and again construct the superstructure on it, but the pits were constructed as close as possible to the latrine. To bring the cost down and for better permeability the use of stones that were locally available was suggested to the sanitation committee. They immediately agreed that this was a better way of construction. Stones are better than blocks, the blocks would get eroded after a few years, but stones have been used for a long time for the lining of soakpits. For the upper part of the pit where it takes a tandouri shape (ref. Type B) semi-dressed stones were suggested. The mason and other people said that the upper part must be of blocks to give strength, because the pit is in the courtyard and a heavy lid is put on it. Semi dressed stones
would be expensive. Besides, the space of the covered pit would be used by the family, so the closing of the pit towards the lid or slab must be of cement and concrete bricks and storage. It was a good suggestion (recommended initially by WEDC). When the sanitation committee discussed this design of stones and bricks, instead of the previous design of complete brick lining of the pit, the families immediately reacted, by saying "why should we have stones while you gave everybody brick lined pits". The sanitation committee, the technical adviser and community organizer explained the cost factor and the better seepage from the pit. The families inquired what would be saved how would the committee spend it. They were suspicious that the money saved would go into someone's pocket, because once the pit is completed nobody can see what is used inside it, blocks or stones. It took a long time to motivate the families to shift from block masonry to stone lining of pits. This was another obstacle of social mistrust. The community organizer and the sanitation committee of Turk Colony faced a lot of criticism. But socially the sanitation committee exerted its pressure and announced that if they did not agree with the new design with stones, no more pits could be constructed Turk Colony. This social pressure worked and the families agreed. By using stones instead of bricks the cost came down from Rs.1700 to Rs.1200.

To bring trust and confidence in the community the community organizer insisted on holding large meetings in the open, in these meetings the sanitation committee would present its accounts to the community organizer and technical adviser for the soakpit construction. Fresh money for the sanitation committee was given in the same meeting, so that everyone knew what was going on. This strengthened the status and credibility of the sanitation committee and the project in the eyes of the community. The mistrust and confrontation was minimised, cooperation was regained slowly, and the work started again. By March 1981 another 24 soakpits were constructed in the most unhygienic lanes of Turk Colony. Only material assistance was provided by the project while the entire labour was done by the families.
11:6. **Community Development As A Spillover Effect Of Soakpit Construction**

For an entire year the community organizer assisted in soakpit construction in Turk Colony and they managed to construct more than 80 soakpits. The impact was multiple. It was not only that more than 30 soakpits were constructed by the people themselves, but the pace of community development was increased socially, physically and technically. The project removed the barriers to sanitation by demonstration and community organisation and overall social, physical and environmental community development also took place.

11:7 **Physical Improvement**

There was a marked cleanliness in the houses and lanes that had soakpit latrines. "The contrast between old and new latrines accentuates the considerable improvement in sanitary conditions in the house since the construction of soakpit latrines" (Yap, 1980). The soakpit committee received increased water supply by pressurizing the government to install a new pipe-line the water supply, for Turk Colony. Four more water taps were installed by the community. Open drains for wastewater from kitchens and baths were constructed by the authority. The soakpit committee persuaded the Karachi Electric Supply Corporation to provide road-lights and bulbs, and road-construction was started by KMC. The colony had a cleaner look. Women tried to keep their lanes free from garbage once excreta disposal was underground.

11:8 **Social And Technical Improvement**

The most remarkable achievement of the whole example of community based sanitation example, was the creation of Turk Welfare Society that was previously the soakpit committee. It had 111 members with 33 active workers. This society helped the project in motivation and dissemination of information to other neighbouring communities. It assisted the project in preparation of publicity material on the soakpit designs, and prepared posters on project activities. For its own communication it started a newspaper wherein it expressed its aims and objectives.
of improving its community's living conditions. This paper also served in the utilization and technical upgrading of their existing soakpits. (Bakhteari, 1981).

The society also constructed a water tank and distributed water when it was in short supply. The Turk Welfare Society made their own bricks to control the quality of soakpit construction. They bought four sets of digging and masonry tools which were loaned to the families who wanted to dig the pit and do their own labour. This accelerated the construction and more families got involved in digging their own pits. As the project was assisting the poorest families of the Turk Colony and made improved soakpits, the better-off families were left and were encouraged to construct their own soakpits, with technical assistance from the project engineer. In 1980, sixty soakpit toilets were constructed with material and technical assistance by the project and digging was done by the families; 31 soakpit latrines were constructed by the families without material assistance but based on the new design. Ten existing traditional soakpits were upgraded. During the construction of demonstration soakpits, four masons were trained. (Ref. Appendix-10).

There was such marked cleanliness in the lanes that the Turk Social Welfare Society gained more confidence and recognition from the community. The existing Turk Veraval Jamat approached the community organizer, and wanted to know why the project was supporting the younger people, while the elders and members of the Jamat were responsible for the community. The community organizer said to them again that if only they could expand their activities to sanitation, the project would equally cooperate with them. One of the local Jamat leaders' answer was "there is too much running around in this work and we are old people. Why don't you leave this work to the municipality"? In answer to this question the community organizer, ignoring the implication of his question, gave a detailed background on the history and background of Katchi Abadies and government planning. She also gave in detail all the technical information related to underground sewerage systems and the amount of water and money needed to run them, she argued that it would take another ten to fifteen years before they could get a sewerage system. This
discussion impressed the Jamat leaders. They suggested another meeting with Turk Varaval Jamat leaders and the Turk Welfare Society. The community organizer of the project was also invited. The Turk Welfare Society gave the details of the soakpit construction and the upgraded designs to the Jamat. When asked why they (the members of Turk Welfare Society) being younger than the Jamat leaders, did not obtain permission from the Jamat to work in soakpit construction, the President of the Turk Welfare Society answered that the Jamat was doing nothing for the community's welfare. The younger Turks became exasperated with the filth around, while the Jamat restricted its role to settling disputes and arranging marriages and giving charity to the poor. The problems regarding water supply, electricity, sanitation, schools and health had to be solved as well, so they organized themselves to solve these problems. The Jamat leaders, after two more meetings, agreed to accept the Turk Welfare Society as their sub committee for health and sanitation. It was during these meetings that one of the members asked if the project could help other communities in Baldia in soakpit construction. The community organizer agreed and a time was fixed for observational visits to other communities around Turk Colony. (ref map of Baldia) Finally the project gained acceptability by the existing Turk Jamat.

Besides all this, a number of examples were seen of change and acceptability of the new developments, at the family and community level in Turk Colony.

11:8:1 Example I

The Jamat and the Turk Welfare Society invited the Mayor of Karachi and their local councillor when they had completed ninety soakpits in their community. They arranged a reception, on this occasion and presented a detailed written description of their efforts in developing their area; at the same time they expressed their problems about the lack of water, street lights, open drains and roads. All these demands were presented to the Mayor, who was impressed by the community's general cleanliness and enthusiasm. He promised to give support. Later the workers of Turk Welfare Society followed up immediately to get their demands
fulfilled. As already stated, they managed to get the increased water, light and open drains. The councillor of the area became very active in this community, and refuse collection became more regular under the supervision of the Turk Welfare Society.

11:8:2 Example II

Another example of the community's confidence in the project was that towards the end of 1981 the Turk Jamat and the Turk Welfare Society asked the community organiser if she needed an office. They insisted the project must have it as a contact point, and a place for her to sit. They offered a small one roomed house that belonged to a spiritual leader of the community, as an office for the community organiser. The need and realisation came from the community. The Turk Welfare Society made chairs and tables for the office and managed the office voluntarily. They used the office to store construction material, and held technical meetings, and discussions with the community organiser. The mason of Turk Welfare Society made blocks of good quality that were sold to the families for soakpits construction on a no profit - no loss basis. These blocks were made under the technical supervision of the project engineer.

11:8:3 Example III

This is an example of a change in attitude towards sanitation and sanitary practice. A child excreted in the lane, which was the usual practice. The eight or ten women who saw this put pressure on the mother, and insisted that she immediately clean the mess and train her child to use the latrine. Finally the mother was persuaded to clean the spot. The community organiser stayed back and observed the whole scene.

11:8:4 Example IV

This is another example of how the traditional community helps the poorest, once they understand the approach. There was a woman with six children and a mentally sick husband. Her condition was extremely poor. The bucket latrine was very filthy, with excreta flowing into the street, as she could not afford a
sweeper daily. The project funds for that month were exhausted. When the community organiser met this woman she expected some delay in receiving further funds, as the UNICEF programme officer was being transferred. There was some leftover construction material that could be used for the woman's soakpit. The community organiser requested the Turk Colony's mason to construct her a pit free of charge. He immediately agreed and was happy that the community organiser had selected this poor family, because her latrine condition was a nuisance in the lane where now most of the families had a soakpit. He agreed to construct her pit free. For the digging however, the community organiser had no money, and the pit was to be dug at least ten feet deep with a six feet diameter.

A few days later she was approached by a woman, while the community organiser was training a family on flushing the excreta into a pit. Her name was Muriam Bai and she lived in Tai Colony (see map of Baldia). She requested the community organiser to help her with a soakpit latrine. The community organiser accompanied her to her house and found she belonged to a fairly well-off family. She had four young sons. The community organiser took her to the other poor woman's house, and told her that if she paid for the digging of this woman's pit, the project would give her some material assistance and free technical supervision. She agreed to it after a little persuasion from other women of the community, who supported the community organiser. The main reason for this community support, was that the woman was extremely poor, and her latrine waste was now seen as a major problem, by the residents who now had soakpit latrines. Here one must note that the community organiser, made an on the spot decision to provide material assistance to the well-off family, who was not even on the list of destitute, and the project was not operating in her community yet. But the decision taken provided an entry to this community and at the same time, the residents became more convinced that the project was for the poor's help and was not operating in their area with its own axe to grind.

As Muriam Bai agreed to pay for the digging of the pit of the other woman, the project gave construction material to both
the families along with technical assistance. There was a very obvious change after the soakpit latrine started functioning in the poor woman's house. The project and community organiser further gained respect and acceptability from the community at large and from women, masons and from the local leaders who were keenly observing the moves of the community organiser. The community organiser used the existing traditional charity approach of Islam, that was very much embedded in the cultural religious system of Katchi Abadies in general as well in Baldia. From this traditional attitude of charity used for soakpit construction the provision of food and clothing for the family followed the usual pattern of charity that is practised in Society at large, as well as in Baldia. This immediate action by the community organiser was possible due to the freedom and flexibility the project had for social experimentation through technical solutions.

11:9 Impact On Sanitation In Other Parts Of Baldia

By 1980, the project had tested its technical and social inputs in three communities of Baldia town by constructing soakpits in Muslim Mujahid Colony: 14 pits, Turk Colony: 60 pits, and Niazi Mohalla: 30 pits. The construction of soakpits in these three communities created interest in the people to find out more about the project and its activities. Since all three communities were spread out (ref. map of Baldia) the news travelled across Baldia, although the project did not enter formally into other communities. For example, Jam Nagar, Baloch Colony, Shujat Colony, Dilawar Colony, Pur Bunder, and Tai Colony between them constructed 29 good quality improved design soakpits in 1979 (ref. Appendix-10). (This was during the experimental phase in Turk Colony), while 12 existing pits were upgraded technically according to the improved design in Jam Nagar. The two existing pits were upgraded in Baloch Para and three in Niazi Mohalla (Ref. Baldia map and follow up survey Table). But at the same time in 1979, the number of traditional soakpits also increased; in 15 communities of Baldia, 147 technically unacceptable soakpits were constructed by the people, that is, they did not use water seals under the pan, or the pit
was too small or too deep with poor construction on the outside. (Ref. Appendix-10).

11:10 **Exploration And Identification**

Through extensive field visits and exploration in each community the community organiser observed its social organization, its existing sanitary conditions and methods of human waste disposal. The following communities were identified with their existing social system and sanitary methods.

While working with the communities of Turk Colony, Naizi Colony and Muslim Mujahid Colony, the community organiser was also making contact with other communities and areas of Baldia Town. Sometimes people in desperate need of a proper toilet would take the community organiser with them to their area. Through this informal and yet very effective contact with the people at the grass roots, she managed to get an empathic close and detailed look at the existing social and sanitation system of these communities. As she did not have any vehicle and was mostly on foot, still using the houses of the families to talk and discuss, although she had an office, which she used as well, it gave opportunity both to the people and to her to know about each others problem, activities and aims. It was through these observational visits and many informal meetings, 20 communities were identified. (Ref. Appendix-11).

Not all families of Baldia town are not poor enough for subsidized soakpit construction. Within the selected 20 communities each had a small pocket of the poorest families within them with filthy toilet conditions.

Communities were selected that had large number of poor families with small children. The community organiser listed such families for demonstrations in soakpit construction to the rest of the community. The implementation of construction in identified communities with approximately 10340 families, was jointly agreed by the technical advisor and the community organiser. On average each family had 7-9 members. The approximate population in the selected area was 82,180, almost half of the total population of Baldia. Target families (poorest of the poor) were selected from this population on a random basis.
and through observation that determined the degree of need for
sanitary improvement, from each of these twenty communities.
Since the community organiser has worked extensively in these
communities for almost five years, it is important to describe
each community separately, although most of them have similar
characteristics.

The researcher has classified the case studies into three
categories according to their nature and role of the existing
systems of progressive development in the communities, that the
researcher built on, to overcome the practical barriers to
appropriate sanitation.

11:11 Classification
The classification is made on three criteria:
1. All the communities whose existing community
organizations undertook soakpit construction with project
assistance.
2. Communities where existing religious mosque committees
were involved.
3. Communities where the project had to create new
sanitation committees for soakpit construction.
The communities involved during the experimental phase are also
included according to the classification, while Turk Colony was
also used as a demonstration for formal transferring of the
approach to other communities. Almost 41.36% of families were
selected of the total number of Baldia families. From these
mohallas the community organiser listed pockets of families with
poor sanitary conditions, and bucket latrines. Even within the
poorest families she found efforts to solve their human waste
problems by constructing soakpits, which, however, lacked
technical support.

11:12 Transfer Of Turk Colony's Sanitation Model To Cambelpur
Colony: (Case Study).
Cambelpur Colony
This is one of the cluster of Baldia's settlement that
arose spontaneously, and now has almost 500 families. The people
of this colony came from a district of Punjab called Cambelpur.
Gradually, shelterless people from all around Karachi city also occupied and built their shacks in this Mohalla. It is now an ethnically heterogeneous community, although the largest single group is from Cambelpur.

The community has occupied large plots because all the families kept domestic animals on their premises, as they did in their own villages in Punjab. Migration from rural Punjab is still in process and is very visible in this community; for example, several single rooms were made by the community for the convenience of incoming single male members from their villages looking for jobs. Custom does not allow them to live in close proximity with families not even in the same lane.

This is one of the strongest cultural attitudes of rural people retaining part of their cultural traditions even while they reorganize themselves to meet the urban challenges. Their strong sense of identification with their village helped them organise formally. Most of the people wanted to bury their dead back in their own village, but it was too expensive to carry the body by plane or by train to Cambelpur, for a single individual, so their organisation takes care of it. At the same time other community problems sprang up such as grievances, fights and police involvement due to these fights. Since they had no legal claim on the land they lived on they were harassed and often pressurised by the law enforcing authorities for bribes etc. All these issues forced the community to become formally organized. Most of the men work in factories as unskilled labours, or are daily wage earners. Literacy is again low. None of the women can read or write; nor is there any government school in the community.

11:13 Community Organization

The community has had a mosque with its committee since 1965, when this settlement was just starting out. Now this mosque has taken more permanent shape with a strong R.C.C. (reinforced concrete cement) structure, financed by the community; in the beginning it had been a mud and thatched roof structure. From the very first day it organised religious class for children. It also has a water reservoir for its community.
Later in 1972 the community organized themselves formally into an organisation by the name of Tanzeem-e-Nau of Cambelpur. "The community's social organizational initiative was in the hands of Cambelpur's people. They resolved their social conflicts and disputes through their local mechanism, because they retained some of their rural socio-cultural values and structure even in urban squatter settlements". (Azam, 1984:181).

The above socio-cultural problems were in addition to the problems of civic amenities, water, sanitation, health, electricity, school and the need to arrange for long distance travel to bury their dead relatives back home in ancestral graveyards.

Each family pays a fee of Rs.2/- per month for membership of the organisation.

11:14 **Existing Services And Responsibilities Of The Tanzeem-e-Nau Organisation**

1. If there is any death in the mohalla, the organisation will immediately give Rs.1500/- for funeral and transportation expenses to the family of the deceased along with a shroud and coffin to carry the dead body back to the village.

2. If the death of any relative of the urban squatter has occurred in his village, the organisation gives Rs.220/- per adult and Rs.120/- per child so that immediate family members from Karachi can reach the village in time to attend the funeral.

3. There is speedy resolution of disputes between individuals and families on the basis of restitution, compromise, collective condemnation and moral pressure etc.

4. The organisation was successful in installing ten water taps by lobbying the authorities and through their own resources. These water taps are maintained by the organisation.

5. This organisation also laid an open drain for waste water with its own resources.
With their collective efforts they levelled the roads and lanes of their community. The organisation has bought utensils, rough carpets, large pots and beds, which are rented out to the families who need them at receptions, weddings or for example during the time of funerals, when visitors and family spend days with the host family.

Because of their extensive and intensive lobbying in the government developmental agencies they succeeded in obtaining electricity and more water taps in 1976 and cooking gas in 1981.

They also pressurised the government and the directorate of Katchi Abadies to issue leases to their members, at the rate of Rs.15/- per sq. yd. Although the existing community organisation was carrying out these several developmental roles, it was not doing anything in the area of sanitation, and the sanitary conditions of this community were deplorable. Out of a total 500 families, 237 families were visited by the community organiser. 13 families did not have any latrine at all, 210 families had bucket latrines, while only 14 families had traditional soakpits.

The major reasons for most of the community not improving the sanitary conditions of their latrines was that out of 14 existing soakpits almost 10 were not functioning properly. They were overflowing into the lanes, creating a problem for the rest of the community. This situation was pointed out to the community organiser by the community people. On one occasion a resident told her that as soakpits would not work the project must help them to get an underground sewerage system, if it really wanted to solve the sanitation problem.
11:15 Table Showing Existing Community Organisation And Sanitation System Of Cambelpur Colony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of families</th>
<th>Date of organisation</th>
<th>Major responsibilities</th>
<th>Date of formation</th>
<th>Respon-</th>
<th>No lat-</th>
<th>Bucket</th>
<th>Traditional soakpits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>- Unity</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Prayers 13</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- funeral</td>
<td></td>
<td>- religious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- arrange-</td>
<td></td>
<td>- class,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ments</td>
<td></td>
<td>- water</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- lobbying</td>
<td></td>
<td>- distri-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- water</td>
<td></td>
<td>- buction,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- supply</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- drainage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- levelling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- of roads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11:16 Construction Of Soakpits Transferred From Turk Colony To Cambelpur Colony

The soakpit, as said earlier, was neither new nor alien to the people of Baldia. It was always present in the community. It was due to the lack of technology and social management that the people did not succeed in constructing a longlife pit latrine. It proved to be a very successful approach to upgrade the existing traditional sanitation system. The Turk Colony served as a demonstration model of low-cost sanitation and management for other neighbourhoods of Baldia Town. The process and mechanism of transferring the sanitation model from Turk Colony to Cambelpur Colony took place between grassroot level social organisations that is Turk Welfare Society and Anjuman-E Tanzeem-E-Nau. Adapted by local people to meet their own needs, at their pace and according to their resources, this process is discussed here, and the same process was used in the entire project for transfer and expansion of appropriate sanitation.
Mechanism Of Transfer
Stage I.

The process for this expansion depended on the demonstration, teaching and training by the Turk Welfare Society to the Cambelpur Social Organization and its local leaders. It was started when the people of Cambelpur Colony requested a similar soakpit programme in their area. The community organiser arranged a formal meeting with the Turk Welfare Society, the people and organisation of the Cambelpur Colony. At this meeting, leaders of the Turk Welfare Society presented their experiences, and approaches in soakpit construction. They explained in detail how they motivated and organised their community, how they managed to bring down the cost of construction and how they collaborated with the project. A slide presentation was given on the work of the Turk Colony and later a long question and answer session took place.

The next step was field demonstration of soakpits in the Turk Colony. All the Executive Committee members of the organisation and those interested in the sanitation programme were invited by the Turk Welfare Society to see and understand the design and working of the upgraded soakpits and the cleanliness of their area. After this field demonstration, the people of Cambelpur requested the project engineer to come to their area to help them to construct soakpits. For cultural reasons they did not address the community organiser directly. They also requested the mason of the Turk Colony to train them in the construction of soakpits, to which the Society's mason immediately agreed.

The people of Cambelpur Colony have constructed more than 45 soakpits within six months. They have trained their own mason in the process, and acquired the management skills necessary for the community sanitation programme. The reasons the construction of soakpits took off faster than in the Turk Colony were as follows:

1. The Cambelpur Colony had a representative social organisation known as Anjuman-e-Tanzeem-e-Nau Cambelpur. Since they come from rural areas of Pakistan, it is their tradition to have a local organisation in their village.
It was this organisation which took up the soakpit construction and management. The lengthy process of motivation, reorganisation and confrontation was not needed, since the established organisation undertook the sanitation responsibilities.

2. Whenever any technical or management problems emerged, they did not have to wait for the project staff to come and provide guidance, they went straight to the Turk Welfare Society for guidance.

3. It is easier and more acceptable to learn from the people belonging to the neighbouring area, who have more or less the same socio-economic status and colloquial way of communication. The community's response towards outside educated and professional people is that they are to be respected, but not followed or accepted, because of socio-economic and cultural differences. It also involves the element of confidence to practice methods demonstrated by the locals in a vernacular way. Once the improved development approach comes to them from the people of their own socio-economic group, immediately they become confident enough to adopt the model at their level. This was true in all the 20 communities the project approached. The mechanism for transfer was the same in all case studies. From one community to the other the message was communicated.

11:18 Linkage With The Government Population And Health Department

During the process of soakpit construction, people and community leaders expressed their need, to the community organiser, for some health services, as they did not have any at all. The community organiser contacted Population Welfare Division and organised meetings with its officers and the leaders of the Tanzeen-e-Nau organisation. It was agreed after several long meetings that:
- the government would provide the staff;
- also that the community could appoint the lower staff for whom the government would provide salaries;
the community would provide at least three rooms, for which a rent of Rs.1,000/-* would be paid by the government; and

in exchange Cambelpur Organisation would provide management, support, and would be accountable for the material and accounts of the medicines.

Once everything was agreed, the community organisation within 15 days, constructed three rooms using their own funds. However the Government Officer in charge informed them that a rent of Rs.400/- has been approved instead of Rs.1,000/-. This upset the community and the matter went on for nearly one whole year. The community was also apprehensive that once the government took the property on rent it might never vacate it. The amount of paperwork and documentation that was required, also made the community reluctant to collaborate with the government.

Above all the lack of information on the government's policies and programmes was the key hurdle. People do not know how far they can go; they are not sure of their responsibilities and duties towards the government programmes. It took one year before the Population Planning Centre could be opened. But once it was functional the people seemed to be satisfied. The community leaders are cooperating well in the family planning programme of the centre. At present, there are two more Population Planning Centres provided by the government, which are managed by the local community organisations in Baldia. They were set up after the soakpit construction by these organisations.

11:19 Sanitation Through Existing Community Organisations
To initiate the sanitation programme the community organiser used the same method of transferring sanitation from one community to another. She approached the traditional leaders of Jam Nagar Colony's organisation and discussed at length the whole concept of sanitation and the relation of sanitation with ill health and diseases. The members of the organisation were not very responsive, as they could not comprehend in the beginning

* Approximately Rs.10 = one dollar during 1981-83.
what a traditional organisation could possibly do in the construction of soakpits in each house. They were explained that they had to assist in the construction of such pits only in the case of poorest families. The community organiser felt they needed to see and meet the Turk Colony's people and organisation to see for themselves the achievements in Turk Colony and realise their own possibilities. She discussed this with the members of the Turk Welfare Society and they again accompanied her in the next meeting with Jam Nagar organisation. Turk members told them about their experience in soakpit construction and its impact in their community. During this meeting the community organiser simply sat back as an observer while all the motivation and explanation of design and management was made by the Turk Society's members.

It was interesting to see how effective communication is at the community level if the people are convinced that what one is offering will work. The result of this meeting was that two members of Jam Nagar's organisation got ready to visit Turk Colony and see for themselves what was happening there, what role the organisation could play, and what the role of the project was. They wanted to find out about the project's intentions while the community organiser was not present, and listen to the people.

The community organiser also accompanied them when they saw the soakpits under-construction. They observed the design very keenly, and put questions to the Turk Colony's people, such as: how would it be emptied? What was the cost? Why was it not outside in the street? If the families were too poor to bear the cost, why didn't they use stones all the way to the top of the pit? (ref. design A:).

The answers were given jointly by the Community Organiser and the Turk Colony people and organisation. Later she left them to continue the discussion. It was after seven to ten meetings, that the organisation of Jam Nagar were finally motivated to act, provided the mason of Turk Colony would help in construction as the members of the Jam Nagar were too old for physical labour. The mason, being the President of Turk Welfare Society agreed to this condition, since the people of Jam Nagar and Turk Colony
spoke the same language, and came from the neighbouring village of Junaghar, India.

The very next day the community organiser along with the Jam Nagar organisation leaders made a list of families. The leaders helped motivate families to have a soakpit latrine for human waste disposal. It was very interesting and encouraging to see the forceful manner of motivation of the newly converted leaders of Jam Nagar.

None of the identified poor families wanted to have soakpits inside their small yards. Though they were told it would be strongly covered and the space could be used, the resistance was strong. The community organiser therefore felt it was also important to make the families visit Turk Colony. She arranged a visit of Jam Nagar families to Turk Colony so that they could see how pits could be made inside the houses. The Community organiser's frequent visit to Jam Nagar, keeping a calm but yet motivational attitude, finally achieved into an informal acceptance of her. She was eventually invited to their houses for food and drink, and that gave her time to talk on child health and poverty as related to disease and sanitation.

Finally, after six days, a group of four women and six men from the identified families visited Turk Colony, and saw the neat construction of strong and large soakpits inside their houses. Once again the community organiser observed the community level communication on sanitation. The men and women of Turk Colony's families with a new soakpit, or soakpits under construction, explained how clean and convenient life was with a soakpit latrine. They explained that there was no longer the problem of sweepers, who used to come after several days and charge Rs.20/- per month (U.S.$2), yet the whole house would smell. Now everything was clean and they feel respectable when outsiders came.

The response to the query on how the small yards could be used after the construction of pits under them, the women immediately took the men and women of Jam Nagar to the houses with completely covered pits. The community organiser could see immediately a change in the Jam Nagar people, when they found that a plain cement floor covered the pits, and was safely and
comfortably used for sleeping, working, eating and washing purposes.

On the way back from Turk Colony the community organiser found that Jam Nagar families were discussing and planning the construction of pits in their house, where they would like to dig them and also whether or not they could afford to build the soakpit from their own resources. Once the target families were convinced and motivated, the community organisation was given funds by the project to purchase construction material, the families having agreed to do the digging themselves. Next day the project engineer demarcated the area for digging of pits. The organisation was supposed to manage and organise the construction, supervise and co-ordinate with the project.

Every week the community organiser had a meeting on the progress and the problems. The work went very slowly because the families did the digging themselves, in time which they had to take off from their regular chores, and in three months only three pits were constructed. However, this period includes the time taken up in motivation, organisation and construction.

The impact of this slow and continuous motivation and closely supervised construction by the organisation and the project engineer, resulted in 33 extra good quality improved design soakpits among the better-off families of Jam Nagar. (Ref. Appendix-10). Ten families upgraded their existing pits by installing water seals and stone linings up the walls of their pits. At the same time 17 families constructed their pits without water seals, which the project considered unacceptable pit latrines in its follow-up survey.

The community dynamic that was created by soakpit construction, resulted in a continuous process of soakpit construction by individual families. In 1982, the project assisted three more poor families with construction material through the Jam Nagar organisation; and 25 acceptable (according to new design) pits were constructed by families themselves. Eighteen existing pits were upgraded and eleven pits were constructed without water seals.

The reason that people did not install the water seals under the w.c. pan was that construction was faster than in
aided pits, and since the pits were inside the houses, the project could not keep pace with the construction that people did themselves without the project's material assistance. Since most of the pits were constructed by the families themselves, they just noted the external design of the pit without carefully looking into the connection of the water seal with pan and pit. The follow-up survey in 1983 shows that a total of 317 soakpits were up-graded or constructed according to the improved design while there were quite a few which were not completely according to the new design. In all ten demonstration pits were constructed in Jam Nagar. (Ref. Appendix-10). However, in 1983 there were still bucket latrines while the soakpit construction was going on. Out of 424 target families, 317 constructed soakpit latrines, that is 74.76% families benefited. The Jam Nagar organisation played a very constructive role in the motivation and supervision of ten demonstration soakpits. They continuously received moral and technical support from the Turk Society organisation. Here again, one sees the traditional value of the neighbourhood that played a very effective role in motivating, and organising the Jam Nagar's organisation with Turk Welfare Society's assistance. The mason of Turk Colony did not charge any labour expenses to two poor families of Jam Nagar, and he constructed good quality and strong soakpits.

As a result the Jam Nagar's organisers got more respect and recognition from their community, and later they urged and pressed the local municipality for regular refuse collection. The household were asked to collect their refuse in a small tin outside their houses. This approach, of building on the existing community organisation, was applied in the transferring of successful models from one community to the other through meetings, demonstration, training and communication in eight target communities out of the twenty.

11:20 Building On The Existing Community Organisational System

As the construction was going on in Jam Nagar, the community organiser was already involved in motivating and holding community organisational meetings in all the eight target communities that had existing community organisations (except in
Haji Qasim Colony), (ref. Baldia map) where there was only the mosque committee. The communities where the project operated through existing community organisations were: Shanshah Katchi Colony, Dilwar Colony, Hussain Nagar, Baloch Para, Pur Bender and Tai Colony, Rashedabad and Jam Nagar (for details of each community Ref. to Appendix-12).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Mohalla</th>
<th>Total No. Soakpits</th>
<th>Total No. Soakpits constructed by the project</th>
<th>Total No. Upgradation Soakpit in each community</th>
<th>Total No. without assistance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jam Nagar</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasheedabad</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanssah Katchi</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilawar Colony</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hussein Nagar</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baloch Para</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pur Bender</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambelpur</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>1526</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The success story of Turk Colony, Jam Nagar and Muslim Majuhid Colony, encouraged the community leaders from Tai, Madina and Shanshah Katchi Colonies to approach the community organiser. In Tai Colony as discussed earlier, she was approached by a woman, Mariam Bai, about her soakpit. Other colonies near to Turk Colony (ref. Baldia map) had their local community organisational leaders approach the community organiser.

These leaders were introduced to other leaders, workers and families with new soakpits and a series of meetings were held within community groups and target families to understand the technology, construction, management and operation.
The most interesting moments of the project were those when the community organiser stood quietly most of the time and the men, women and families excitedly discussed sanitation and soakpit construction, its technology, use and benefits.

The successful working of soakpits in Turk Colony, Jam Nagar etc. motivated many families to adopt this method of human waste disposal rather than to wait for the authorities to provide an underground sewerage system.

Once the existing community organisations were motivated to manage the construction of soakpits, and for the poorest families the material, social and technical assistance was agreed, the community organiser registered the selected families along with the existing organisation leaders, and an assessment and budget was prepared for subsidy by the project. The whole process took place in community meetings sometimes going on late into the evenings. Later the men would accompany the community organiser to the taxi stand and until she could get transport, they would stand with her.

Masons and families were identified by the organisation to be trained. The project engineer helped the organisation and families in finding suitable places in their yards for the digging of pits. Here the community organiser relates two examples of the effects of demonstration. Two pits were allowed to be dug under the kitchen floor and a room, since the family did not have any other space at all. It was the conviction created by the soakpit technology, that made the families confident that the pits would not overflow or collapse. When the management was organised within the existing community organisation the funds were released for five pits at a time in the beginning. Once the community organiser was sure that they were handling the money correctly she increased the amount for more pits. With continuous close supervision and guidance from 1981 to 1983, the project assisted with construction material for 111 soakpits in eight communities, through existing community organisations. During the same period 1,214 better-off families of the same communities (who were using bucket latrines) constructed soakpit toilets inside their houses. 201 families upgraded their traditional soakpits. (Also Ref. Appendix-10).
Another reason for this rapid speed of improved sanitation was that in 1981 the local government had also begun leasing out the plots with land tenure to the dwellers of Baldia. The people became sure of their occupants' rights and immediately started improving their houses and their environment.

In all, from 1981 to 1983 a total of 1526 soakpit latrines were constructed. Another reason for adaption of the new soakpit design was that project continuously upgraded the design to bring down the cost (Ref. designs B and C Type and Appendix-13 and 14).

11:22 Problems In Soakpit Construction

The digging in Tai Colony, Baloch and Dilawar Colony encountered a high water table; the design the project was using needed the pit to be dug at least 10 ft. deep while the water table is 5 or 6 ft. from the ground level.

11:23 Upgrading The Soakpits

To avoid striking the groundwater table, the project implemented WEDC's recommendations for double (or twin) pits, each pit being 4 x 4 x 4 ft. divided by a solid cement concrete wall. The rest of the wall of the pits is lined more than half way with local stones, and the top two levels with bricks. The pits are connected by a small inspection chamber of 2 ft. by 2 ft. and a pipe is passed through this chamber to the w.c. pan with a water seal. One pit is in operation at a time, while the other pit is blocked off, from the inspection chamber. (Ref. Appendix-15).

The excreta from the w.c. pan passes through the water seal into the inspection chamber, where only one pit has an open connection to one of the twin pits. If the family has ten members, one pit will be filled in 3-5 years. When the pit is full it will be ascertained through the inspection chamber, the connection to the second pit will be opened, and the first pit will be blocked off until the second pit is full. During this period the first pit will dry out. The pits are covered by R.C.C. slabs. Decomposition takes place in the first filled pit.
when the second pit is in operation. That means it will be 7-10 years before the first pit will need to be emptied.

By using stone instead of bricks, the cost of the pit came down to Rs.900/- per pit (U.S. 90 dollars) (Ref. Appendix-13 and 14).

11:24 Soakpit Construction Through Mosque Committee

In one of the target identified communities there was only a mosque committee. This small cluster is called Loharwara. It has approximately 160 families of one ethnic group. The mosque committee also belongs to this group. The sanitation of this community was very poor. Almost all the families were using bucket latrines. The community organiser met the President of the mosque committee, and discussed their situation. He stated that they did not know what to do, and besides it was the government's job to look into it. He told her to come later and in the meantime he would discuss the matter of soakpit construction with other community members.

When the community organiser met him again the whole committee was present. They looked confused and could not understand how a mosque committee could undertake soakpit construction. The community organiser (in Feb. 1982 she got a Suzuki Jeep from UNICEF for her field work) drove them to see Jam Nagar, Turk Colony and Tai Colony. Here she let them see and talk to the people. She even opened a pit which had been in use by 12 people for two years, which was still more than half empty. This satisfied the people that upgraded pits last longer. People believe when they see. This inspection of an in-operation pit motivated and convinced the committee. The Imam (Priest) of the mosque was most convinced, and he asked the community organiser to come to his community, where he would help her in motivating the people. The next day the community organiser, along with the Imam, contacted the families and listed 14 of them for support from the project. The support would be through the mosque committee, who would use its influence to promote sanitation as a most important aspect of Islamic teaching. Two people were identified by the committee to be trained in construction by the project engineer. The committee appointed a member as manager
for construction who would maintain the accounts and supervise the construction. They opted to make their own bricks and slabs to cover the pits. This would reduce the cost for good quality material. The mosque committee brought the construction material and stored them in the mosque. The Imam gave a lecture on cleanliness in Islam in Friday prayers.

After strong and continuous motivation, however, only 16 extra pits were constructed besides the 14 assisted by the project. The main reason was that the mosque's president was interested only in his relations, consisting of 14 families, and once the construction was over for these families, he stopped taking interest. There was strong resentment against him in the community, because he was a very dominating person. The community organiser had to withdraw herself from this community for the time being, because of community conflict. However, she followed the community later, and found a few pits being constructed individually. One thing was obvious, the mosque committee did broaden its scope of responsibilities, but it was too traditional and rife with conflict and mistrust.

11:25 **TABLE SHOWING SOAKPIT CONSTRUCTION THROUGH AN EXISTING MOSQUE COMMITTEE IN 1983**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Mohalla</th>
<th>Total no. pits assisted by the project</th>
<th>Total no. pits by the people</th>
<th>Total no. upgraded pits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haji Qasim Colony</td>
<td>14 + 6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loharwara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Six pits were individually constructed by the organisation of Cambelpur Colony, as there is no physical demarcation between Haji Qasim Colony and Cambelpur. But we were concerned with this small cluster of families of Loharwara which forms a very small part of Haji Qasim Colony, and is not shown separately on KMC map.
Sanitation Through New Sanitation Committees

The rest of the target communities were difficult to motivate, the main reason being that these were large heterogeneous communities complicated with community politics and rivalries. The existing organisations were involved in politics of the communities rather than development, but the people were more anxious to improve their communities. In Madina Colony which is near Muslim Mujahid Colony (ref. map), a few young men had formed a small group outside their traditional organisation, just to get assistance from the project for soakpit construction in their community for the poor families. When the community organiser met the existing organisation they were totally against the sanitation programme and thought of her as a CIA Agent or a missionary working to convert the poor into Christians. They had another problem. Here for the first time the community organiser was questioned as to why she as a woman volunteered for such a job. If she is a true Muslim woman, she would stay at home, or take an office job, not be with men as she was now.

The younger group organised themselves in the same way as the Turk Welfare organisation, and did very good motivational work for soakpit construction. The community organiser along with them identified five families in need of assistance from the project; the rest of the community was well-off enough not to need subsidy. This was explained to the leader of the young organisers. He understood the point after some explanation. The community organiser then took him and other members to the communities where the project has been funding, and encouraged them to ask about the procedures of soakpit construction. The previously assisted communities explained that community organiser only selects the poorest families for project support; to the rest the project can provide technical guidance.

She even asked the people of Madina Colony to enquire from Turk Colony, Jam Nagar or Rasheedabad, if she was working for any other ulterior motives besides community development. On explaining her motives fully to Madina Colony's community, she found that already the soakpit design from Muslim Mujahid Colony was being transferred by two masons of the latter Colony, who were now living in Madina Colony. Almost 70 soakpit latrines had
been constructed since 1979. (Ref. Appendix-10). The new soakpit committee of Hadina Colony took funds for five soakpits and worked closely with the community organiser. They provided the labour themselves, as the families were too poor to pay for it. It created a lot of goodwill and recognition for this new group. Later they started an educational centre, and also got water connections for their community, but their traditional Jamat, who did not accept them, kept away from them and the project as well.

In Kumharwara Colony, the traditional organisation consisted of old and inactive people. They were there for names' sake; all the work was done by younger groups. When the community organiser approached the organisation, they introduced her to this subgroup, who enjoyed their blessing. The existing organisation enjoyed social control, and had an office, but was involved in a traditional role. It took a long time before they recommended a small sub-committee within their organisation. It was in this community of 400 families that the community organiser worked very intensively to bring down the cost by collective efforts, and also to control the quality of construction, since everyone was a labourer in this community of clay potters. 329 families had bucket latrines which meant the community had to put in more collective effort, because it was generally a poor community. The sanitation committee proposed that they would buy material wholesale, and prepare their own bricks and slabs. They also managed to motivate the stone-seller to give them stones at cheaper rates, or otherwise they would not give him the order. The project engineer improved further the design of the twin pits making them into two separate circular pits using all stone masonry. With collective efforts and wholesale purchase of construction material, the cost of the pit latrine came down to Rs.900 - Rs.600 per pit. (Ref. Appendix-15).

This low cost model of Kumharwara was transferred to other communities after 1983. The communities where the fieldwork was carried out by creating new soakpit communities were as follows:
### Table Showing Soakpit Construction Through New Soakpit Committees 1979 to 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Mohalla</th>
<th>Total No. soakpits</th>
<th>Total no. soakpits assisted by the project</th>
<th>Total no. pits</th>
<th>Total no. upgraded pits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madina Colony</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Anjam Colony</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shujat Colony</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokan Colony</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab Mohalla</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumharwara</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrar Colony</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Mujahid Colony</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niazi Colony</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tal Colony</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turk Colony</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>1127</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1511</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In eleven selected communities, new soakpit committees were evolved, in most of the cases with the approval and consent of the existing community organisation. In Turk Colony where the younger group wanted faster work, and the existing organisation were taking too long to make up their minds, they formed separate society, but after seeing the effects of the publicity of the new organisation, the Turk Jamat accepted Turk Society as its sub-organisation. The same, however, did not happen in Madina Colony. The major reason was that they were offended by the project having a woman as the main person in the project, although this was not expressed openly. In Kumharwara things were decided by the existing organisation, and implemented by the younger group.

Looking into the dynamics the project created, one will find that the existing organisational structure developed in
harmony with its community, while a change in the working of the organisations took place. For example, Kumharwara started an immunization programme. With project's assistance it created linkages with the Department of Social Welfare, for vaccine and training in immunization. In Turk Colony the Jamat constructed a maternity home for the women of its community. In Rasheedabad an adult literacy centre was established, along with a primary school managed by the same organisation as for sanitation.

11:28 Discussion And Summary

A quick glance at the consolidated table of the communities' existing social organisational and sanitation systems will further strengthen the argument that there was a functional system already existing in each community long before any government or non-government organisation from outside came in for development planning of these spontaneous settlements. This system is a slow but progressive form of development of Katchi Abadies in Baldia town. It is essential to note that mosque committees always existed from the beginning of the settlement, but they are not serving as an effective institution for progressive development. The people of Baldia town also realised the limitation of the mosque. It is also obvious that people were organised to settle disputes, and for protection from outside authorities.

The concept of unity and place of origin is practised very consciously in Baldia town. They are conscious of unity for protection from outsiders' aggressive policies. Kumharwara Jamat stated "when our Jamat was not registered the police used to harass us daily; on the smallest issues, they interfered and took bribes before they let us go. We realised that the best way was to organise ourselves and get registered. In this way we would save money and time". This was the general response and reason for organising their communities. (Community discussion, 1983). The barriers to solving sanitation problems were a major reason that none of the existing community and mosque organisations took sanitation as their responsibility.

Even the most strongly organised community, that is Kokan Jamat, had 48.88% bucket latrines with extremely bad
conditions. (Ref. Appendix-11). On the other hand there was not
a single community where traditional soakpits did not exist.
People did try to solve their sanitation problems, but lacked
appropriate technology for a lasting solution to their sanitation
problem. Only in Haji Qasim Colony did a cluster of target
families have no organisation. The project had to depend on the
existing Mosque committee. But not much happened due to the high
mindedness of the fanatical religious leader, a usual problem.

The people in Baldia demonstrated their capacity for
organisation which is found to be traditional, and its role in
progressive development. In most of the cases, the attitude
towards organisation was present, as they migrated from the rural
areas, and in most cases the community organisation was evolved
to maintain their traditional pattern of solving problems, e.g.
in case of Kokan Jamat, Kumhara wara Jamat, Turk Jamat,
Rasheedabad's Organisation of Swat. They incorporated the
functions of lobbying and use of collective pressure on
authorities for water supply, land ownership etc. and at the same
time maintained social control in the community. The mosque
committee, although strong in the early days of settlement,
limited its role to religious activities, although in a few cases
it arranged water distribution. People who could afford it,
made a soakpit latrine, although a good number who were quite
well off, made do with bucket latrines. The main reason, as
discussed earlier, is that they were not sure of the workability
of other alternatives.

The belief and convictions of the people at grassroots
level is strong and therefore there is resistance to change. The
people change their beliefs only when they see for themselves, or
hear often from their own people, or when there is social
pressure from their immediate neighbourhood. The continuous
failure with their traditional soakpits for years convinced the
people, that sanitation could not be handled by them. The
political and modern leaders, elected councillors as well,
enforced this attitude that people have to wait until government
does something.

On many occasions the community organiser was asked by
the local councillor and modern leaders why she did not help them
with underground sewerage systems. They knew full well the requirements for such a system, but in front of the people they wanted to show that what the project and people were doing would not solve the problem of sanitation. The community organiser on all such occasions where she was encountered by community elites, gave detailed answers on the technical aspects of soakpit and sewerage systems, the cost implication, need for increased water supply, treatment and final disposal of the sullage. Such detailed discussion on various technical aspects of sanitation by a woman in Pakistani Society, with a social work background, used to surprise the people, especially men, and most of all the powerful men, who were also responsible for creating the barriers in the community to soakpit construction. The community organiser could feel that her confident replies on technology and management of the sanitation project, was creating trust and confidence in the poor people and the community activist groups who were involved in progressive development. She also felt during her close association with the people, that people at large in Baldia town were cautious in their moves and decision making. What seems to an outsider apathy, laziness and lack of consciousness, is really that the people are taking their time to think, discuss and analyse within themselves before they commit themselves. They observed very closely each and every move of the outsider. This observation of the project by the community organisations began the moment the community organiser and other outsiders in the project entered the community for the first time. The mason from Turk Colony was continuously studying each made by the community organiser in Naizi Mahalla. It was only when he was convinced that he invited the community organiser to his community in Turk Colony.

The community organiser as an outsider had to maintain a respectful, acceptable and humble attitude, but simultaneously she made the community see her point in both technical and social aspects of the project, by not deviating from the design nor from the selection of the families, that is poorest of the poor, in spite of pressure from richer and stronger families for free material. This constantly positive attitude convinced the people, that she knew what she was doing, she was the main
decision maker in the field, who was not interested in the rich and powerful in communities. The actual break-through came from Turk Colony. The belief of the Turk society members became so strong in both the technology, and in the community organiser, that they accompanied her, guided her and helped her in most of the new communities. They argued and explained for her in large community meetings, and the mason gave free labour whenever the community organiser faced problems with the poorest families who could not pay for a mason. The Turk Colony group became the main communicational and motivational channel between the community organiser and the people of Baldia. The success is partly due to the fact that the Turk Colony community speaks Gujrati, which is spoken by the majority of the population in Baldia town.

The informal anthropological approach adopted by the community organiser not only helped in breaking barriers to sanitation, but she learned the process of progressive development of the different communities in Baldia. The rural communities were in a process of urbanisation, but at their own pace. It was observed in Baldia that the slow and progressive process used by the people coming from rural areas, plays a very important role in maintaining a social order in the communities.

The rural dominated communities like Rasheedabad have Pathan people. A separate section is permanently provided single men, the majority among the new arrivals. Cambelpur and Niazi Mohalla and part of Haji Qasim Colony have these separate sections. It must be noted here that segregation of single men is a rural traditional practice, carried to the urban peripheries. But among Sindhi and Balochis migrants it is not practised. Refer map).

The self identification with their villages is strong among the rural migrants. The Cambelpur community created their organisation to arrange funerals for burial in their village in Cambelpur (Punjab). The women from Pathan and rural Punjab culturally do not go out of their houses, and not many women are seen on the streets of Rasheedabad and Cambelpur communities. Even the water is carried by men from community taps, whereas in the village it is the woman's responsibility. The reason for this it was explained, was that passing men in the lanes are
strangers. The cooking is done in the same way as in their villages, that is, clay ovens are used for making chappatties (bread). Marriages are always arranged within their close relatives. The same is true of Balochis and Sindhis living in Baldia. The communities who migrated in 1947 from Junaghar, India have become more urbanised in their way of living. They have included education and health activities in their organisational responsibilities.

The organisation called Patni Jamat is a striking example of progressive development in the Gujrat community in New Anjam Colony. It has a well organised health-centre, which they established almost 30 years ago in a mud and thatched roof hut. Today it is a double-storied solid structure with a maternity home and x-ray unit. It employs two doctors. The entire operation and management is done by the local community organisation. The yearly budget of this Patni health centre reaches ₹100,000/- per year. This is a result of 30 years of progressive development by the community. The organisations of Pur Bunder, Turk Jamat, Kokan Jamat, have more progressive development in their community activities. The women are seen out on the street, involved in small businesses. Traditions are strong in marriages and family relationships concerning women. They are not married off outside their community and divorce does not take place without the consent of the Jamat. No family dispute is taken to the civil courts, and widows are looked down on as unfortunates. Women's education is strongly discouraged.

In Kumharwara although women by tradition work side by side with men in pottery making, they traditionally have no say in social or community activities. It is the Jamat that decides and there are no women members in the Jamat. The observation concludes that although living in Baldia for a long period has brought some changes in the traditional communities in the case of women, traditions are still followed strongly. The women in Kumharwara were more anxious for soakpit latrines than men. The same was the case in Jam Nagar, Hussain Nagar, Tai Colony and in other communities, but they could not do anything about it unless
the men agreed to it. For example a woman in Cambelpur Colony
said ironically "why should our men bother about proper latrines?
They are not at home to see the filth in and around the house.
It is we who have to live in this filthy way."

In Rasheedabad men laid underground pipes for waste
water only when it had become impossible to walk in the lanes.
In the case of an extremely heterogeneous community Shujat Colony
no organised community group existed. Their problems of water
and electricity were solved when a small group of young,
partially educated men organised themselves for sanitation. Later
they pressurised the local authorities. As Dr. Azam says
"because of their immense lobbying in the city, the squatter gets
quite a range of civic services". (1984:254)

To a great extent, success encourages further efforts in
Shujat Colony's case, the group later worked in confronting the
drug addiction problem found within their community. Failures in
community efforts often leads to disappointment, but the
communities do not always give up the progressive development
attitudes.

The project activity from 1979 to 1983 served as a
learning base for the project and for the community organiser.
It had managed to create an understanding, that minimised to a
great extent the social distance, between the community and the
outsider. The action approach of bridging the social gap
resulted not only in removing the deeply embedded social,
technical and managerial obstacles to sanitation, but it
strengthened, integrated and upgraded the community based
development planning systems. The results are reflected by the
communities reorganising themselves, by pressing the local
authorities more progressively and efficiently for water, refuse
collection and other physical improvements to their communities.
The most organised construction of soakpits was undertaken by the
Cambelpur organisation, by increased contribution in labour and
material. They discovered a cheaper place to buy construction
material. The organisation later started a health programme,
(formerly considered untraditional) by creating linkages with the
family planning department, which includes general health
services besides family planning. It was the same group which was involved in sanitation.

The sanitation programme also gave an opportunity to the men in the organisation to look into the health of women and children, because when they were with the community organiser, they spent lots of time talking to their women on these problems. The motivation was so strong that within 15 days, a three room structure was constructed by the men, for a health centre. This is an excellent example of how a traditional organisation can expand its activities. The Cambelpur Colony organisation's successful experience with the soakpit project encouraged it to expand and create linkages with other outside agencies, since the barrier of social distance was broken. It shows that people in low income areas are conscious, logical, practical and rational. Their actions are reflections of their world view, which is based on lessons they have learned by surviving and existing, under the approaches adopted by outsiders.

When the people realize that their existing organisation is not interesting in solving their sanitary problems, instead of confronting and challenging their organisation they evolve new groups for development. It is an obvious demonstration of progressive and positive attitudes by the people towards development. Nearly all the new soakpit committees had younger members who were energetic, and ambitious with some education. In Kumharwara, the leader of the traditional Jamat admitted: "we are old now and this work needs a lot of running around and organisation; we will identify a new group for this work". (President Kumharwara organisation, 1983). (Ref. Appendix-11).

This attitude of assistance instead of resistance helped in bringing a healthy change in the attitudes of the traditional leaders and helped strengthen the existing organisation. In Kumharwara the younger group is a permanent part of the organisation now. They coordinated with the Adult Literacy Commission in Islamabad for male adult literacy. The new group has been built on the existing organisation for development and not for challenge or confrontation. This is a demonstration of progressive community development with a constant opportunity for new community leadership patterns.
There is no significant difference in the number of soakpits constructed by the people through existing organisations or new committee, but the dynamics occurring in the sanitation process are not only due to the project. The ownership rights granted by the government was also one of the factors. The lobbying for leases was speeded up by the new and traditional organisations and sanitation committees. The confidence and self-realisation the people achieved through the process of soakpit construction opened channels for further removal of obstacles in progressive development of their community. The mosque committee was too traditional for change. It is a centre in rural areas but does not function in urban areas because of this restricted approach and limitations of vision. Although it has strong control over the community, the people logically realised the limitation in the mosque organisation's developmental ability. Instead of continuing their dependence on the mosque they made new organisations to solve their community's problems. The transfer mechanism overall was much the same as Turk Colony, to Cambelpur Colony. The only difference was in Tai, Baloch and Anjam Colony, where women took over the entire role of management construction and supervision, because the men had no time. More than 200 soakpits were supervised and managed in the construction by these women. All these women were from same ethnic group as Turk Colony. Later, through these women, the community organiser made interventions in women's educational and health activities.

11:28:1 Results Of The Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project

The basic objective of the Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project was to motivate, organise and create consciousness for sanitation, so that the majority of the people would construct their own soakpits. The recording of data of case studies for the present research is up to 1983, but because the community organiser continued with the project until July 1986. She continued with education, health and women's programme that evolved from sanitation, in the communities of Baldia. The results of the project on sanitation up to 1983 spilled into the following years as well. Although no detailed case study on
sanitation is presented after 1983 but field methodologies were the same as before.

From 1979 to 1983 the project assisted materially, technically and organisationally with 421 soakpits in 20 communities. 2367 soakpit toilets acceptable according to the improved soakpit design were constructed during the same period in the same communities. (VEDC). 298 families upgraded their traditional soakpits, by lining them deeper with stones (instead of filling them up with stones) and attaching a w.c. bowl with a water seal. 1327 were still with bucket latrines. The major reason for this was that most of the families wanted to have the pit outside, or they later connected their excreta disposal channel to the open drains, provided by K.M.C. for waste water. Most of these families were well off. They kept away from the community organiser and the project, thinking themselves above the poor people's technology, and were prepared to wait for an underground sewer. But later on the community organiser observed that many of these families had constructed soakpit latrines. (Ref. Appendix-12) (Ref. Appendix-10).

The process of soakpit construction continued and by August 1985 the project supported a total of 969 families in 26 communities of Baldia, while people constructed 3721 soakpit toilets on their own. (ref. Appendix-16). From 1979 to 1982 UNICEF spent approximately Rs. 589,200 (US.$39,280) on soakpit construction and overheads, while the community contributed to project assisted soakpit by digging, labour and investment in superstructure Rs.30,900 (US.$2,060). (Ref. Appendix-17).

11:28:2 Progress Made From 1982-1985

In 1982 a Dutch contribution of $200,000 was received for the pilot phase of the project. The progress made in sanitation by UNICEF, using the above contribution, helped the project to expand from community based sanitation into education, health and stronger community organisation, affecting approximately 100,000 population of Baldia town.

The community management model for sanitation was successful in construction of 114 demonstration soakpit latrines in the poorest families of the communities. But five times more
new soakpit latrines were constructed by the people themselves in 26 communities of Baldia township. (Ref.Appendix-18).


| No. of Katch Abadies | 26 |
| No. of soakpits constructed as demonstration with support | 1107 |
| No. of soakpits provided with total material support | 283 for destitute families |
| No. of soakpit latrines constructed with community's contribution | 874 |
| Financial input by UNICEF (construction material only) | Rs. 925,600 approx. |
| Financial input by UNICEF (construction material only) | US$. 57,850 |
| No. of families directly benefitted | 6030 |
| No. of children under five years directly benefitted | 24120 - 4 children per family |
| Population directly benefitted | 42,210 |

11:28:4 Impact Of Demonstration On Sanitation

| No. of Katchi Abadies | 26 |
| No. of soakpits constructed by the community without any material support from the project | 5,000 approx. |
| No. of masons trained | 60 |
| Financial input by the community in soakpit construction | Rs. 4,200,000 |
| Financial input by the community in soakpit construction | U.S.$ 250,000 |
| Financial input by the community in soakpit construction | Approximately (UNICEF 1986) |
| Approx. No. of families benefitted | 5,800 |
Approx. No. of children benefitted 23,200

11:28:5 COST OF SOAKPIT ACCORDING TO DESIGN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Cost (In Rupees)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 'A'</td>
<td>2,000.00 (For type A and B see Appendix-13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 'B'</td>
<td>1,100.00 to 1,700.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 'C' Alt.I</td>
<td>1,100.00 to 1,800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 'C' Alt.II</td>
<td>1,300.00 to 900.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B/2 Alt.I</td>
<td>850.00 (For designs type B/2 ALT, 1 and type B/2 ALT, 11 See Appendix-19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B/2 Alt.II</td>
<td>800.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U.S. rate one dollar = Rupees 17.

Except for Turk Colony, Muslim Mujhid Colony and Naizi Mohalla, in all the communities double pit latrines were constructed.

Soakpit construction has expanded to three Katchi Abadies outside Baldia through the masons trained by the Project. The project team improved six designs of soakpits based on WEDC's double pit latrines that brought down the cost from Rs. 2,000 (U.S.$200) to Rs. 800 (US$50). (Designs attached). In 1979 the design type 'A' was used. This was 10 ft. to 14 ft. deep single pit, and 6 ft. in diameter, lined with cement concrete blocks, with gaps in between. The cost of this design (Ref. Appendix-15) was Rs. 2,000/- per pit. It was also too deep to be constructed inside the small courtyards of the families. In 1980 another type 'B' (Appendix-13) was introduced, this was rock and block masonry and brought down the cost to Rs. 1,100-1,700 per pit. In 1981 with increased community participation and management, the cost of type 'B' soakpit came down to Rs. 1,500/- . Later in 1981 double pit type 'C' (Appendix-14) was introduced. In this design there are two pits. Only one pit at a time is in operation. The size of
the pit is 4 x 4 x 4 ft. and it is covered by strong cement slab. These pits are maximum 4 to 5 ft. deep. If the family is of 8-10 members and the ground water is low, one pit will last for 3-5 years. Again to further bring down the cost, type 'C' was introduced. The cost came down from Rs.1300/- to 900/-. Later type B/2 Alt I design brought down the total cost to Rs.800.00 per pit. To UNICEF the cost is of material only, that is Rs.500/- approx. (Ref. Appendix-16).

11:28:6 Population Reached

The Pilot Project through its sanitation, home school and primary health care activities discussed later managed to reach directly almost 53,450 population. It is estimated that the same number has benefitted indirectly as an impact of the above developments.

1. Financial Status Of The Pilot Phase Of The Project:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pak Rs</th>
<th>US $</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF inputs</td>
<td>2,250,006</td>
<td>140,625</td>
<td>9.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO inputs</td>
<td>138,000</td>
<td>8,625</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community inputs</td>
<td>20,212,520</td>
<td>1,263,284</td>
<td>89.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22,600,526</td>
<td>1,412,534</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The construction of soakpit latrines was used as a vehicle for an integrated community development in general and for the development of women in particular. The community organiser had proved herself to the community, that she as a woman could work with the men and yet remain within the traditions of a Muslim society. This practical demonstration had tremendous impact on the role of women in their community development. The striking off-shoots of the Baldia Soakpit Project involve the role of Baldia's women.
CHAPTER TWELVE

DEVELOPMENTAL OFF-SHOOTS OF THE PROJECT:
WOMEN'S ROLE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

One of the major limitations to a development process are the traditional barriers to women's participation. Nearly 50% of Pakistan's population is confined to the traditional system of keeping women out of the development world. This obstacle was overcome by the project, within the Katchi Abadies. This study does not focus on women in development as a separate issue, but the impact is studied in Pakistan's context. The situation of women in Pakistan is currently and has been in the past, dictated by the traditionalists, who insisted then and more strongly now that emancipation and equality of women is obscene and immoral, that women should be content to live in the same manner as they lived during the middle ages "jealously guarded by men" (Khan, 1984).

The few women's organisations active in Pakistan belong to the dominant groups as wives, daughters and mothers of Army Generals, high bureaucrats and government civil servants, powerful businessmen and industrialists. These elite ladies carry out activities like sewing centres and industrial homes, mother and child care centres, for the uplifting and improvement poor women and children's lives. However, these activities scarcely touch the fringe of the problem. The problem is to see clearly the fetters, the old customary practices which are holding back the women of traditional societies like Pakistan, and consequently the men and ultimately the whole nation.

As long as communities and nations insist on segregating their women, they are bound to have a low rate of literacy, a poor standard of health, discrimination and oppression. "Enclosed in the cocoon of Chadar (veil) and Chardiwari (four walls of the house) the women of Pakistan will never catch up with the Chinese, Turkish, Indonesian or even Indian women." (Khan, 1984). The situation is tragic not only for women, but also for men and therefore for the whole nation, because, once again, progress as commonly defined, depends on coordinated movement. If the majority of women are backward, i.e.
illiterate, diseased, oppressed etc the majority of men also will remain backward, i.e. illiterate, and diseased.

But instead of seeing the challenge of breaking the fetters the existing outside women's organisations confused the issue of clearly seeing the difference between real emancipation and ostentations. Dr Akhter Hameed Khan, 1984, firmly stated, in his keynote address to the ladies of the All Pakistan's Women's Association (APWA) "APWA ladies, your job was to teach, enlighten and lead. But you have lost a great deal of credibility by ostentatious living. You have provided the traditionalists and their passionate followers with a stick to beat you. Your contemporaries, the leaders of the Chinese Women's Emancipation did not commit this mistake. Your behaviour has confused emancipation with ostentation".

These remarks clearly and truly give an account of the obstacles to and lack of demonstrative examples of women's role in development in a traditional society.

Several non-government (NGOs) and government organisations provide charity oriented 'welfare' services for under-privileged women. These are also inevitably confined to training in sewing and cutting, sprinkled here and there with short courses in macrame, flower-making and machine-embroidery.

Another programme very popular with concerned NGOs and some Government Departments is that pertaining to health. This at best culminates in a clinic with a LVH (Lady Health Visitor) in attendance, and a doctor occasionally available. In short, the 'welfare' package is a loose assortment of services, the impact of which is hardly ever studied. Similarly, one seldom hears of any structured attempt to gather feedback from the beneficiaries of the so-called 'welfare' programmes.

Moreover, serious efforts to involve these women in shaping, guiding and managing the services are invariably missing. Instead one encounters sudden termination of even these humble efforts despite the community's expressed wish for their continuation. In Baldia, the women when given a chance proved that if conditions are favourable the women at grassroots level can demonstrate real emancipation. (Azam, 1985b). There is scope for it provided cautiously and sensitively one builds on the
existing cultural outlets available at the general community level. When the people in Baldia saw the Home School teachers were for the benefit of the poor and not for ostentatious objectives, they not only accepted them, but the Home School teachers became the focal point for the community's progressive development, and a major resource for project intervention. They were not considered as women for their own individual development, but as contributors to community development as a whole.

12:1 Proliferative Impact Of Sanitation

After the construction of soakpits the women and children had to be oriented on the utilization and maintenance of latrines. Since sanitation, health and hygiene is basically concerned with women and children, the community organiser had to visit every family with the executive members of the Turk Welfare Society. This created close contact with women, children and men. All the men and women who now had soakpit latrines were oriented as to how they could store water from the bathroom and the leftover water from washing clothes and use this water for flushing. The community organiser demonstrated how to flush human excreta with minimum water. Leaflets and handbooks were printed on better child care, hygiene and sanitation. But when these reading materials were given to the women, they could not read at all. It was at this point the men and women both realised, the need and significance of education for women and children.

Although the community organiser was aware of the illiteracy rate among women and children, she was waiting for an opportunity for the community to realise the barriers themselves. This was the appropriate time, to persuade and motivate the local leaders of community organisations to initiate a literacy programme. They realised and accepted the proposal, and the community organiser got a green signal for further investigation of the causes of illiteracy in women.

12:2 Causes Of Illiteracy According To The People
1. The government schools of Baldia do not have enough space to accommodate all the children.
2. Parents do not send their daughters and small children to school because the schools are too far from their home.

3. Education for girls is considered useless as they will get married and have children and a home to look after.

4. The parents who want to educate their daughters do not want to send them to school, but would prefer to send them to a neighbour's home or a mosque for religious education.

5. Most of the children of poor families work in the community and cannot keep the school hours.

6. Schooling is too expensive for most of the parents, so if they can afford any at all, they prefer to send their boys to school rather than their daughters.

7. The mother keeps the eldest daughter to help her in keeping house and looking after the babies.

8. Some parents were against a girls' education because they believed that once she knew how to read and write, she would write letters to her boy, which would eventually bring social disgrace to the family.

9. Most of the children, especially the girls and working boys and those who are small but old enough for school, do not go to school because of the expenses involved for books, uniform, shoes, and the difficult hours and long distances.

12:3 **Existing Traditional System For Education**

From the above findings, the community organiser investigated and searched for a traditional educational system which was practised by the community as a whole. Alongside government schools, she found the following popular traditional educational practices in the community.

1. Large numbers of children go to the homes of their neighbours or to mosques for religious education only. Here they pay a fee of Rs.5/- per month for two hours a day.

11. The few women and girls who are educated up to high school level teach small children and girls in their homes. Teaching follows the syllabus of primary schools.
along with religious education: charges for tuition fees are Rs.5/- per month.

iii. Since this traditional pattern of education does not have fixed timing, the girls are sent here more readily. Usually this educated girl or lady is well-known and highly respected by the community. It does not give the impression of a formal school that is outside their tradition and control.

12:4 Testing The Home School Idea

Under the auspices of the Turk Welfare Society a women's meeting was organised, which discussed the possibility of an educational programme for women and children, which would be based on the present traditional educational system in the community. This idea was enthusiastically accepted by both the men and women of the community. In August 1981, the community organizer, along with the women of the community, started to look for girls who had at least high school education. By November 1981, she had identified 10 such girls and a woman. They were given training in primary and pre-primary education, that is basic reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as developing the habit of schooling. One woman was given training in adult literacy to teach women to read and write. Funds for the teaching materials were collected from the mothers and women of the group, again through the Turk Welfare Society. By the end of November 1981, these ten teachers were teaching more than 300 children in their own homes for two hours a day, charging a tuition fee from 50 paisa to Rs.5/- per month per child. The children were taught by charts and wrote on slates which the parents of the children provided.

Women started a sewing and craft centre along with literacy classes. In one year more than 100 women have learnt to read and write. Most of these women helped the community organizer in sanitation programmes as well. The demonstration of these ten Home Schools made more girls in other communities interested in setting up similar schools in their neighbourhoods as well. The community organizer, along with the women and men, planned a large programme and started looking for an established
and potentially heterogeneous service-oriented community organisation which was also mainly organised and operated by the elderly people of the community. Keeping in view that the Home School basically involve young girls of the community, the community organiser did not find it appropriate for the Turk Welfare Society to be involved in this programme, because it is composed of young men. At some stage it could become objectionable to the community at large.

12:5 **All Baldia Memon Jamat (A.B.M.J.)**

Through a Tai Mohalla scakpit Committee member, Mrs. Khariun Bai, the community organiser came to know about the existence of All Baldia Memon Jamat (A.B.M.J.) Khariun Bai also told her that her husband was a member in the Executive Committee of the Jamat who were recently elected. Mrs Khariun Bai and her husband Mr Kamdar arranged a meeting of the community organiser with the President of A.B.M.J, where she presented the whole programme of Home School to them. During the discussion, the community organiser realised that, because they were recently elected, they wanted to do something tangible to demonstrate their role in the community. They immediately accepted the training programme of Home School teachers and offered her the structural facilities, along with social support. The Jamat was operating a sewing centre, dispensary and maternity home as well.

12:6 **Organisation Of The Training Programme**

All Baldia Memon Jamat offered their school building as a training centre, and a trained Lady Health Visitor (L.H.V.) Miss Yasmeen, was appointed to give health training to the Home School teachers.

The Jamat organised and launched a publicity campaign through posters and leaflets to attract large numbers of educated girls in to this training programme. Once it was decided that contacting the girls, motivation and publicity would be undertaken by the Memon Jamat, the community organiser started searching for a trained teacher who lived in Baldia. She found Miss Zaibunnisa, who was a Master in Political Science and a Bachelors in Education. The leaflets were also given to the
Principal of the Government Girls Secondary School in Baldia and other existing social organisations in Baldia. Within five days, more than 200 written applications were received by the President of Memon Jamat and on 31 May, 1982, all the applicants were called for an interview with the President of Memon Jamat. The President and Secretary of Memon Jamat and community organiser evolved the following criteria for the selection of the applicants:

12:6:1 Criteria For Selection:
1. Those girls who were already teaching in their home.
2. The girls who belonged to poor families or had no male member as head of the household.
3. Such educated elderly women as were widows or had no other responsibilities for the household.
4. Any girl keen to carry on her education but who was economically handicapped.
5. The girls and women from such areas of Baldia where there is ongoing soakpit construction, and girls of those ethnic groups where girls' education is always discouraged, for example Pathan and Baloch, etc.

By keeping the above criteria, it was very difficult to make a selection, but after detailed talks with each one of them, the President of A.B.M. J. selected 50 girls. A detailed profile of each was made and recorded.

12:6:2 Training

Since the space in Memon Jamat's school was not enough to accommodate all the fifty women at one time, they were divided into two groups. Out of these 50, 10 women were also included who had been teaching in Home Schools since July 1981. A waiting list of 50 or more women was made for another training session after six months. In the first group, two women dropped out, while in the second group three women dropped out. The training was based on lectures and demonstrations. At the end of each training session, Memon Jamat organised a function to distribute the certificates, which were presented by the Commissioner of
Karachi, Mr. M.M. Usmani. All the expenses of the function were managed by the Memon Jamaat, the Commissioner of Karachi was highly impressed by the people's participation and social organisation. He extended all his support to the people and the project. After training, the Home Schools teachers started their schools, by motivating and orienting their neighbourhoods to send their children.

The number of schools and children attending have increased and emerged as an acceptable community based educational system. The main job of the project was to strengthen and consolidate this system. A large number of children attended the Home schools because the tuition fee is substantially less than in government and private schools and the hours are also flexible, two hours a day, according to the convenience of students and teachers.

12:7 Creation Of Home-School Teachers Organisation

At present (1985) there are 70 teachers operating home-schools in Baldia. These schools have almost 1800 children in them. The home-school programme needs close monitoring and follow-up. Monthly meetings of home-school teachers were planned, and every month the teachers meet for two hours and discuss their progress and problem in groups of 20. The main issues that came up in these meetings were as follows:

1. Children did not pay regular fees to the teacher.
2. Maintenance of books and educational material.
3. Parents do not realise the importance of education, especially for girls.
4. Since the home-school teachers were, charging Rs.5/- to 10/- as fees they have offended the private tuition centres, which used to charge Rs.25/- to Rs.50/- per child per month. These centres are usually run by men, who started creating social problems for the girls. They were harrassed and teased on streets. This made the parents of the home-school teachers extremely upset, because of social and cultural honour attached to girls in a traditional society.
These monthly meetings were regularly attended by the community organiser and her colleagues. The community organiser visited each school at least once a month, and tried to co-ordinate them with the sanitation committee of men or the organisation that assisted her in sanitation. She held meetings with the fathers of the home-school children, and tried to build co-ordination between the home-school and community organisation of men. As a result the men in the organisation became protective towards the home-schools. However, this did not happen effectively in all the community, since there were members of the men's organisations who had private tuition centres themselves, and they were reluctant to extend support. Young unmarried girls are socially very vulnerable in a traditional society, and although the community organiser managed to create a forum of home-school teachers in Baldia, she was extremely cautious.

12:7:1 Example Of Resistance And Mistrust

Once the community organiser was stopped in the street by the fiance of a home-school teacher, he wanted to know why the community organiser was asking his fiancee, to come to meetings every month. What happened in these meetings? And who else attended them? he also asked her what her religion was and whether she was married or not? To satisfy him the community organiser took him to her office and introduced him to the rest of the staff, explained the whole project to him, and then she took him around to where the project had worked in sanitation. She met the families with him. Now these families had known her for nearly four years, and the young man became firmly convinced, and is currently one of the strongest supporters of the project.

12:7:2 Mothers Support To Home School Teachers

To solve the problems and to give social strength to the home-schools and their teachers, the community organiser started holding meetings with the mothers of the children of home-schools. In every home-school at least once a month a mother's meeting is organised by the teachers. The teachers, community organiser and the mothers discussed and tried to solve the issues
that were raised in teachers meetings. These meetings were also used for training and orienting mothers in sanitation practices, health and hygiene, better child care, and the importance and maintenance of soakpit latrines. The meetings proved so successful, that through three home-schools, soakpit construction started and the teacher and mothers managed the entire construction.

The most important impact was that mothers of the children gave social protection to the teachers along with regular fees. Married women with children have a higher social status than a young unmarried girl in a traditional society. Each home-school now has a mothers' group who meet every month. The progress of their children, health and other social problems that women encounter is discussed. In the evening a few mothers also started coming for literacy classes to these teachers. Slowly the home-schools became a centre for informal female education. The children from government schools started coming for extra coaching by the home-school teacher. In the monthly meetings of home-school teachers, the girls expressed their desire to continue their own education. They wanted to strengthen their schools, concerned where the children would go after finishing their home school.

12:7:3 Home School Teachers Welfare Organisation

All these questions led them to one conclusion, that they needed to organise themselves, and get themselves registered by the government. The Home School teachers agreed to get registered by the government for recognition of their schools. They started raising funds by contributing Rs.5 per month. One girl gave her room to be used as an office. Offices such as Officers such as President, Vice-President, Joint Secretaries and Treasurer were elected and papers were prepared for registration. The teachers organised an impressive function and invited the director of Social Welfare, Director of Primary Education and Minister for Social Welfare, and presented their work and contribution in education. They requested registration as an organisation. It took two years before their registering papers were accepted. They are now registered as Home-School Teacher's

Their main objective is to bring education to the poorest.

- To lift the status of educated women and girls.
- To work for health, formal and informal education for women and children.
- To co-ordinate with external developmental agencies.
- To work for the income generation for women who are too poor to pay their children's fees.

This Home-School Teachers Organisation held a three-day exhibition of drawings made by the home-school children, later each drawing was turned into a calendar and sold. This accumulated Rs.4,000/- as funds for the organisation.

12:8 Impact Of Home-School

These are some of the manifest and latent impacts of home school on the community:

1. Economic emancipation of the community's educated women and girls, without disturbing the functioning of the social structure and traditional cultural set-up.

2. The girls who are deprived of schooling and literacy can receive it, because it is available in the Bustee as such, and also home teachers are well-known to the parents.

3. The poorest of the poor can get schooling because of no formalities like uniform, shoes, books and other expenses etc.

5. The Home Schools are self-supporting; the children pay tuition fees to their teacher according to their financial capacity, which ranges from Rs.1 to Rs.10/-.

6. The schools are becoming a centre of mother/women's activities, which is used in development activities like the programme of nutrition, health, adult literacy etc.

7. All this became possible because of the active collaboration and participation of All Baldia Memon Jamat, while the Jamat has thus established further credibility, and acquired the confidence to organise
other social development projects under their own initiative and management.

8. The home school initiated the process of involving women, in enhancing the family income and integrating them in further development activities at the community level.

9. Besides the general impact there are extremely positive examples of how home-schools have raised the status of a woman. The teachers through the home-school have demonstrated the importance and usefulness of a girl's education.

Example I

A home-school teacher got married, and was sent off to her husband. After three months, her husband threw her out. She had to come back to her parent. Her parents would have considered her a burden, if she had not again started her home-school. Otherwise she would have had to accept a degraded life with her husband, if she had to go back, but she is doing well with her school.

Example II

More than 10 teachers belong to extremely poor families with many brothers and sisters. The fathers do not have a steady job, but yet the girls were not allowed to work outside their homes, because of the family's honour. These girls started home-schools with the project's support, and are now earning a reasonable income without upsetting their family's traditional life-style. However, now they come out for meetings and functions of their organisation. The process is slow, but it is being built on the traditions for the development of women and their community.

Example III

In Rasheedabad, where the Pathans do not agree with girls' education, we were unable to find an educated girl as a teacher for home-school. The organisation of men in the community, asked the community organiser why she did not start a home-school in their area. The community organiser inquired if
they knew of any educated girl in their community. They did not know but promised to find out. Later they found there was no girl educated enough to start Home School. This made them realise strongly, how important it is to develop education for girls. Later the community organiser went round and discovered three girls with 5th grade education so she started home school through them in this area. There is also a general delay in the marriage of girls who are teaching. Before, marriages used to take place at an early age, but most of the home-school teachers', parents are not in a rush to marry their daughters off now.

10. Now a home-school teacher is looked as a centre of activities. Mothers come to her for soakpits operation, health and hygiene advice and for their children's progress.

12:9 Primary Health Care, Through Home Schools

On observing the attendance of the children, and also in mothers meeting. The mothers expressed an urgent need of a preventive health programme, especially immunization.

The community organiser selected four teachers on a trial basis to be trained as vaccinators, to immunize children against Tuberculosis, Tetanus, Polio, Whooping Cough etc. After the agreement of their parents, the Department of Social Welfare who organises immunization training was approached. This department agreed to give a weeks training. After the training, attended by four teachers, was over, the vaccine was provided by the same department. After their training each girl started vaccinating children through her home school, she kept a record of the doses given to children and their health. Seeing this the other home-school teachers also asked for the immunisation services for their home school children.

After one year of close follow-up the teachers immunised 1500 children, through their home schools. It proved very successful, and added a lot to the status of the teachers and their organisation. Mothers were most pleased, because now they need not go too long a distance for vaccination. The opposition from male teachers was withdrawn, as their children were also
immunised by the teachers. In 1983, 13 more teachers were trained in immunisation as well as in:
- Monitoring growth of children, to detect malnutrition.
- Orienting the mothers on diarrhoea control and use of oral rehydration salts, ORS and also how to prepare them.
- Keeping health records and follow-up on types of illness the children suffered. Each family covered through the health programme paid Rs.5/- per month to the teacher as her charges.

12:10 Results Of Home-schools And Primary Health Care (Ref. Appendix-20)

Education (Home Schools)

The Home Schools are currently being used as a community based educational system in all the 32 Katchi Abadies of Baldia as well as in 4 Katchi Abadies outside Baldia.

Home Schools Progress (Ref Appendix-18)

| Home Schools | 70               | In 32 Katchi Abadies within Baldia Town |
| Home Schools | 30               | In 4 Katchi Abadies outside Baldia town. |
| Teachers     | 62               |

Children - 2600 are presently enrolled

Girls enrolled - 1900

UNICEF support in training and equipment US$.8,233 approx.

Community's input by paying the home-school teachers fees US$.38,400 approx.

of Rs.5-15 each month since 1982.

Thirty home schools have been established in three Katchi Abadies outside Baldia Town. Besides the informal education classes in Home Schools this community based educational programme had a strong impact on the status of women, in the community as well as within the women themselves.
Primary Health Care.

Progress Report April 1985 - February 1986: (Ref Appendix-18)

PHC Centres - 12
PHC Workers - 13
TBAs trained - 14
Katchi Abadies - 12 within Baldia

Total number of mothers registered - 990
Total number of children whose growth is monitored - 622
Children whole nutrition level improved - 388
Immunization completed - 1071
Family planning advice - 36 mothers practising
Ante-natal and TT vaccination - 80 mothers
Referral for operation and complicated treatment - 25 cases
UNICEF support to the project for PHC - US$.4,624
Community input for paying the PHC workers - US$.3,093

The Primary Health Care component is expanding to all the homeschools within and outside Baldia town.

As this health programme took off, the homeschools organisation gained firmed roots and recognition in their communities. The girls attended one month's training at a local hospital practising immunisation. The age-old traditional barrier was broken when the girls were allowed to attend training outside their community. The most surprising aspect was that two girls were sent by Rasheedabad community to be trained as health workers. The health programme extended to pre-natal and post-natal care of pregnant and lactating mothers. It was observed that most of the children born in Baldia are delivered by untrained women who act as midwives of the community. All these problems and issues were raised by women in the mothers'
DEVELOPMENTAL OFF-SHOOTS OF BALDIA SOAKPIT PILOT PROJECT

Started in 1979

SANITATION (SOAKPITS) → HOME SCHOOLS

1982

1985

PHC WORKERS

1984

MOTHERS GROUPS

HOME SCHOOL TEACHERS ORGANIZATION

1984

1985

PHC CENTRES IN HOME SCHOOLS

1986

EXPANSION TO THREE NEW KATCHI ABADIES
meetings. To undertake the health programme the community organiser suggested that the home-school organisation appointed a lady doctor who was ready to work in the field training health workers and traditional midwives (Dais).

Along with the President of the Home-School teachers organisation the community organiser met a local NGO (Non-Government Organisation), Habib Bank Trust, who agreed to pay the salary of a lady doctor to the Home School Organisation. The Trust agreed to this only after they had visited Baldia and seen the project and the working of home-schools.

Based on home-schools the community organiser introduced a Primary Health Care component, through the teachers and mothers' groups. (See Developmental off-shoots of Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project).

12:11 Women's Role In This Project

The demonstration of sanitation improvements resulted in more than 2663 new latrines by the families themselves in the twenty communities where the project was operating. The principal driving force behind the project was a woman, the community organiser. She organised men's meetings outside in the community, while organising the women and girls inside their homes for health, education and sanitation activities. However, it took two years before the men had enough trust and confidence to permit her to work with their women. The sanitation programme expanded from Turk Colony, so did the home-schools. By 1981 ten home schools started in eight communities, having more than 300 children, most of whom were girls.

In 1982-83 the project identified 95 girls from all the 20 communities where sanitation programmes were in operation, as well as from those communities where it wasn't. Currently 70 of these teachers are giving education to more than 1800 children in Baldia alone. Of these more than 1000 are girls 40 women are also enrolled.

In each home school mothers meetings is held every month. They are oriented on child-care, household sanitation, importance of education and health of mothers and children. These meetings resulted in an organised mothers' group in each home-school.
Construction and management of more than 60 soakpit latrines was undertaken by the mothers and teachers of five Home Schools. The teachers trained in vaccination immunized children. The whole process created a string of community development activities by women, that affected directly the well-being of the community at the grass roots level.

Through the home-schools programme the project expanded into 26 communities of Baldia town.

12:12 **Women As Organisers**

The role of women in progressive development has become a pivot of development activities in the Baldia project. The principal motivator, organisers, community workers and eventual field worker in charge of the Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project were women. The principal community organiser had to face hostile groups who responded with anger to a woman who dared to approach the men and converse with them as equals. Similarly, when women of the community were approached, they could not participate until the male members of their family accepted the project and the community organiser. The field experience proves that improving, strengthening and re-building on the existing social, technical, and organisational structure of the community, initiates trust, confidence and finally acceptability for the outside implementing agencies.

12:13 **Women As Implementers And Recipients**

The predominant target group of the Baldia project has been women. Although the project did not approach women in the beginning for traditional reasons, slowly and gradually, building on the existing progressive development practices, the women emerged as organisers, managers, implementers and recipients of the development process, and its outcome.

In the home-schools and primary health care components, both implementers and the target groups have been women. It is in this area that impact of the project on women has had the most effect. Young girls, who were not allowed to leave their houses, now have schools in their homes, conduct adult literacy classes, and organise similar activities in the other Katchi Abadies.
Among ethnic groups like Pathans where it was unheard of for women to do anything other than domestic work, there are two primary health care centres, along with five home schools. This is indicative of a fundamental change among men and women of these communities. It indicates shift in ideas from rigid traditional barriers to limited flexibility. This demonstrates the views of people of Katchi Abadies and proves that they have a basic understanding of community development in a collective manner, whether they be a men or a women. But individual emancipation is considered as a western or an outside attitude towards development. The people want to be convinced that improvement is not threatening their basic traditional values. The women expressed their views and feelings by saying that they had risen in their own self esteem. They had more independence, felt fulfilled in that they were doing something worthwhile, which they never thought was possible in their families.

Building on the traditional patterns laid down for women in the communities, the project by adopting a slow, demonstrative process and keeping within the cultural and historical system, managed to break very strong and vital cultural barriers, to women's active role in the community's progressive development. Intervening in a small way, building on the existing traditional pattern, and then ultimately coming up with a modern concept of young women's organisations in Katchi Abadies of Baldia town is a major outcome of the implementation methodology of this project. Once again the people of Baldia demonstrated that they could see the difference between when women participate in the development of their community, and when they come out only to challenge traditions. The example of outside women of elite families has created conceptual barriers to the real role of women in development. The girls from Baldia town now go out to official meetings with the government and philanthropic organisations. They also hold workshops in Baldia for girls outside Baldia to expand their activities. The women's role in progressive development of themselves and their communities is as follows:

- each home-school teacher earns through her home-school Rs.150 to Rs.400 per month,
Each Primary Health Care Worker earns Rs.100 to Rs.300 per month. For most of the problems related to health and education, the community comes to these teachers and health workers. The home-school teachers and health workers are now going out of their communities, to other Katchi Abadies, and training new home-school teachers. The men and women of the community respect and accept their newly acquired mobility outside their homes (as female workers).

Twenty teachers restarted their higher education which was discontinued due to cultural pressure. These girls through their organised efforts have appointed a tutor, who is helping them in preparation of their higher studies examinations.

Forty teachers have registered themselves with English language classes, so that they can understand and reply to official correspondence with government and other outside agencies.

Their organisation has presented a written request to the Mayor of Karachi for a plot of land on which to construct their women's development centre.

The results and outcome of the project convincingly demonstrated that the people were the best judge of what their needs were, and in most cases they were perfectly capable of obtaining them. The role of outsiders or the local government was to support, facilitate and bridge the gaps by creating workable institutional linkages and facilitating the learning process of development.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

The sanitation interventions bridged the gap between the outsiders and the people of Baldia town, and the implementation method created trust and confidence in the people. The community organisations, the new committees and the mosque committees became more active. They further expanded themselves in to undertaking health, and education programmes. Many organisations strengthened themselves for effective lobbying, for land tenure, increase in water supply and refuse collection. The most impressive examples are in that some organisations created official, service giving linkages with outside government, (Ref. Appendix-21) non-government and international development agencies. This is a demonstration of mutual trust and the effects of removal of barriers between the concept and reality of community participation.

13:1 Community Organisation And International Funding Agencies

Turk Colony: Case study

Building on the existing social system of Turk Colony, the project not only had a breakthrough in soakpit latrines construction, the process also created a change in the approach of the traditional Turk Veraval Jamat, bringing increased confidence and awareness. They planned a Maternity Home and Dispensary for their women and children, which the Project Engineer helped them design. The Turk Organisation bought the land and submitted a proposal, for financial assistance in its construction, to the Canadian Mission Administered Funds (MAF). The proposal was accepted and funds of Rs.78,000/- were given to the Turk Organisation by MAF. A two storey building was constructed by the Turk Veraval Jamat. The community contributed Rs.200,000/-, which included donations from city philanthropists. The Maternity Home is at present operated, managed and administered by the Turk Veraval Jamat. Up to date progress reports and accounts have been submitted with utmost accuracy. The maternity home took nearly two years to be completed. This was a successful example for other NGOs.
This was the first time that an outside agency had supported a grass roots community organisation. Previously only the large city level organisations used to get support from outside agencies. The demonstration of Turk Veraval Jamat and Mission Administered Fund's collaboration encouraged other organisations in Baldia to undertake broader community development activities. A mosque committee has submitted a proposal to MAF for support in construction of its school. It takes time for community based implementation of programmes, but later on the cost of maintenance, operation and management is efficiently reduced by local community participation.

13:2 Community Organisation And National NGOs
Kokan Colony: Case Study

The Family Planning Association of Pakistan (FPAP) is a national NGO, which focusses on family planning along with social and health services to women's and youth groups.

Kokan Colony in Baldia town is a Gujarati speaking well organised community with an office, mosque, community centre and over 400 members. It has physically planned its colony by equal demarcation of plots, and has resolved its sanitation problem by constructing soakpits on its own. The FPAP was put in contact with them by the Project Team for setting up a Family Planning Centre. The Kokan Jamat gave its management and community support to the Family Welfare Centre of FPAP, while FPAP provided the services of one lady Health Visitor, female family planning motivator and medicines. The collaboration in this socially stigmatised programme of family planning is working extremely well. The management comes from the Kokan Jamat, while technical input is provided by FPAP. Every month the centre handles 20 to 35 family planning cases, with the support of the local community organisations and the primary health care centres of Baldia Soakpit Project.
13:3 Community Organisation And Government Agencies: Camblepur Colony

This example has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

13:4 Community's Mosque Organisations And Habib Bank Trust

Bismillah Colony: Case study

In 1984 soakpits were being constructed in a Pathan dominated community known as Bismillha Colony, in Baldia Town. Bismillah community is a small cluster of 500 houses in Rasheedabad. The people come from north west Frontier Province (NWFP) (ref. map of Baldia).

The mosque being the first social institution of this community, is still the centre of all community socio-political and development activities. It has a mosque committee of seven members who are annually elected.

The major responsibilities of this Mosque Committee are:
- Collection of funds and constructing their Mosque. The process has been going on for the last fifteen years. The Mosque is still under construction but is in use as well.
- Distribution of water
- Settling disputes
- Holding religious gatherings
- Running a religious class for children

The Mosque committee coordinated with the soakpit project in construction of 60 soakpits. Later it expressed its need for a primary school. Taking up the suggestion of the Project, they decided to start one themselves in the Mosque.

The Habib Bank Trust has a simple and effective programme of Mosque schools. The Project's community organiser contacted this trust to support the Bismillah Mosque school. The Trust has a National Board with its main objectives being:
- To increase educational facilities through Mosque Schools;
to set up industrial homes* for women and girls;

the scheme operates through Habib Bank Branches in all the deprived areas of Pakistan. The financial support includes:

- Rs.100/- per month honorarium to the teacher plus
- Rs.10/- per child per month paid incentive
- Rs.20/- per month is paid for stationery.

In November, 1984, the Manager of Habib Bank, Baldia town, met the Mosque Committee and the Project Staff. The Mosque Committee offered to provide day-to-day supervision, operating management and motivate parents to send their children, while the Trust would give the Honorarium and Rs.10/- per child as incentive, to the teacher. The school started functioning with more than 180 children - 84 being girls.

13:5 **Institutionalisation**

The Pilot Phase of Baldia Soakpit Project will end in December 1986. The approaches and implementation methods learned have attracted the attention of outside national and international development agencies for squatter settlements. To apply the approaches of the Baldia Project, in an institutionalised integrated manner, a comprehensive programme has been developed, with the collaboration, coordination and support of UNICEF, Karachi Municipal Corporation, non-government organisations and teaching and research institutions.

13:6 **Integrated Improvement Programme For Katchi Abadies**

The process of institutionalised Katchi Abadies improvement at community level began when UNICEF, in March 1984, officially created a section for Urban Basic Services for Katchi Abadies, based on Baldia experience. The awareness created by the demonstration of the pilot project made the government (KMC) see the strength of a community based approach for

* Industrial homes are set up to provide sewing and craft skills to women and girls, but the materials produced in the industrial homes usually does not have a market. Generally industrial homes are considered as women development programmes in Pakistan.
improvement. But according to Dr. Morag Bell, "Plans and their implementation involve the bureaucracy both at national and local level and require co-operation between ministries and departments at these alternate scales". (1986:25). It was also acknowledged that KMC could not undertake a similar project because of its rigid bureaucratic policies. However, it would facilitate, support and link with the entire programme of community development. The individuals and institutions (Karachi University, Habib Bank Trust, The Technical Institute, Women's organisations etc) that had been informally supporting the Baldia project, co-ordinated and formed an organisation by the name of BUSTI. (Basic Urban Services for Katchi Abadies). BUSTI will continue implementation with the support of UNICEF and with its own funds to expand the experience of Baldia to other Katchi Abadies.

At the same time BUSTI will be the officially advisory body to K.M.C. improvement programmes for Katchi Abadies. BUSTI will have the K.M.C. directors of health, education, sanitation and physical development as associate members, for policy and planning coordination.

BUSTI will undertake the Baldia project's approaches for community development, while K.M.C. will acknowledge, support and coordinate the outcome of the community based development, directly and through BUSTI.

UNICEF will support BUSTI and K.M.C., in building their infrastructure, training and implementation of the upgrading of the living conditions of Katchi Abadies.
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CHAPTER 14
CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION

The poverty of squatter settlements and slums has been presented as a problem which one wishes to alleviate, but with a solution lying not within the settlements of poor themselves, but in the larger society - that of the state, and furthermore in its relationship with the western nations. The more the efforts that were put into planning for development, the further the gap increased between rich and poor people and countries. The whole concept and process of development planning is misunderstood by the outsiders responsible for planning and implementing development programmes, mainly because of the social distances that they had created, between themselves and the poor. The poor are not seen as a result of the failure in development approaches, but are understood and conceptualised according to the culture of poverty thesis. This thesis projects the poor as socio-culturally apathetic and static in nature, having a way of life that is handed down from generation to generation, without hope of breaking the vicious circle. The apparently disorganised and physically unsystematic settlements of the poor are understood by the outsiders, according to the culture of poverty view, i.e. that the poor are disorganised and restricted. They hardly ever make decisions; things just happen to them. They are seen as helpless and weak.

The process of distorting the image of the poor has been further complemented locally, within the majority of the non-western countries, by religious and traditional institutionalisation of poverty, which provided a noble justification for being poor, an opportunity for the rich to be recognised as givers of charity and alms to the poor, which ultimately takes the shape of traditional client-patron relationship in most of the non-western countries, and thus proves an obstacle to real and practical development on a mass scale.

Internationally the development agencies for nearly three decades have adopted, centralised, controlled and inflexible economic development policies, that were expected to trickle down to the masses in non-western countries in the hope of bringing
economic improvement. Food distribution and aid was given by rich countries to the poor in the hope of overcoming the problem of hunger in the poor masses, while at the national level the governments and local elites adopted the policies of ignoring, segregating, uprooting and removal of the urban poor.

At the local level the national governments and the political groups or so called community leaders obstruct the community level development, which the people of squatter settlements undertake themselves to fulfill their basic needs one of them being shelter.

In Baldia the modern leaders who are in close contact with Government development agencies and political groups, served as 'brokers' or 'agents' between the people and the outside authorities. The people resented them but depended on them for land occupation. These leaders never provide correct or complete information to the people, which obstructs the community development process at all levels. On several occasions they obstructed the community organiser, when she tried to explain the various sanitation systems, including soakpit technologies. Providing such information to the people is vital for genuine community participation in squatter settlement upgrading programmes. If only the people are given correct and complete information relating to their immediate needs and problems, the speed and quality of progressive development would be universally facilitated and speeded up.

These attitudes and approaches of the outsiders and local elites created, conceptual, social, technical, institutional and structural barriers, which are reflected in turn by the people of these settlements in strong mistrust and passive resistance in the upgrading programmes implemented by outside agencies. The views and policies has considerably changed towards the poor in general and urban poor in particular.

To change the attitudes is a two way process, it has to be demonstrated from "below" and accepted from "above". Observers like Charles Abrams, Architects like Turner, and anthropologists like Mangin and others, studied and presented the squatter settlements as a solution to the housing problems. Their constant advocacy of the poor's demonstration of their
conscious efforts and capacities for improvement convinced the international development agencies to focus on the improvements of urban poor settlements, and to persuade the national governments in changing their previous approaches of removal, demolishing and neglecting the poor settlements. They defied the thesis of culture of poverty that says that the poor do not take decisions and actions for themselves, but things happen to them.

Community participation in the improvement programmes of squatter settlements is strongly advocated. It is generally included now in the upgrading policies plans and projects, but in practice community participation is not seen. Despite the rhetoric the community participation is not observed in actual practice. There is a gap in the concept and its true application. The change did effect the legal status of urban poor, but a practicable approach to implement these concepts in practice is still lacking.

In the 1970's many countries did start slum and squatter settlement improvement programmes. These ranged from increased water supply to housing, child care, site and services and entire environmental upgrading. But many of them failed in terms of cost recovery, affordability and replicability of these programmes.

The top-down approach that is used by the majority of the governments in non-western countries, is contrary to the concept of community participation. It controls and limits the learning process which is the basic component of development from 'below'. The development agencies and experts are always anxious to plan, implement and complete the entire upgrading project within a pre-planned time frame, while community participation, if practised in reality, means understanding the community's existing structures and dynamics, their own plans and programmes and the nature of current participation in their community development. The upgrading interventions should be gradual, and synchronised with the people's pace and the people's perception of community participation. This helps to overcome the barriers of social distance and to create trust and confidence. Implementing upgrading projects with community participation is a mutual learning process for both the outsider and the community. It is
not possible to fix a time period to this process or by-pass it. The flexibility in time was the major advantage of the Baldia project.

The main reason for the limitation to success is lack of community participation in reality. The very mention of sites and services and settlement upgrading implies an active role for the residents concerned and most programmes contain explicit references to its importance. But in practice, the outside development agencies, planners, administrators and implementers operating within a top down and inflexible bureaucratic system, consider community participation by taking the views of the households through social surveys and public meetings or they encourage the people to contribute their labour in digging trenches, but active and actual participation rarely extends to the composition or distribution of the improvement project components. Upgrading programmes planned and implemented by the outside developing agencies, planners, specialists, contractors and administrators in a top down instant development approach.

The people at the grassroots take their time in understanding the plan and the motive of the planner. In Baldia it took nearly two years before people actually accepted the soakpit project and the community organiser. The cultural, technical and institutional barriers that exist between the poor and outsiders in the non-western countries are still reflected in the approaches of the later 1970's and early 1980's. They did not lift the barrier of minimum standards, although the uprooting and bulldozing of settlements is discontinued they are replaced by constraints of building standards, expensive and large scale projects for development that is beyond the capacity of the people to afford, relate or to participate in them. The people in squatter settlements develop their homes and community according to their own priorities and resources. The mis-match in the need and response forced the people to evolve and depend on their own progressive community development mechanism which they could afford, control, maintain and sustain.

They are attempting to utilise and integrate into a workable way of life the remnants of beliefs and customs of diverse origins. The people of squatter settlements seek better
social services, provision of water, electricity, sanitation, sewerage, schools, clinics, cooking utensils, land tenure, social cohesion and control etc. These common social needs are met by collective action through their traditional community organisations. Since these social services are territorially located, the local community is the unit of social activity and dynamism. At community level there is an integration of needs and solutions, but outside development planning and implementation are divided inflexibly between bureaucratic and technocratic sections who base their sector planning on their field of specialisation and not on the need of the people. Time, money and resources are spent on lavish institutions and highly specialised research rather than investing in the people by strengthening and increasing their capacity and that of their traditional institutions to deal more efficiently with problems that directly affect their lives. The programmes to serve the urban poor in general face difficult administrative problems in developing effective linkages with the poor communities. It was seen that K.M.C. could not relate to the communities for soakpit construction in Baldia.

Development experts are very eager to involve the community but in reality very little community participation in the upgrading projects is applied. The basic argument by the community is why should it participate in the plans prepared by outsiders and should contribute in terms of their labour, capital and management. The community is not involved in the preparation of the upgrading plans. The people need to be satisfied with the philosophy, the approach and the expected outcome of the plan along with the envisaged cost. The exclusion of community from the decision making and planning results as a barrier in their participation. The outsider cannot implement the plans successfully without community participation, and further the community cannot effectively participate in the implementation of the plan without full knowledge of the intended outcome and contribution in the upgrading process.

The irony of the whole situation is that the development planners or outsiders, responsible for squatter settlement's upgrading treat the community as passive objects. Furthermore,
the issues of development and the community are treated as static ones. The answer lies in reconceiving of the community as an "active subject" and the whole mechanism as a "dynamic process".

The social distances limited the vision of outside development agencies, planners, researchers, bureaucrats etc. They could not relate to how the poor have demonstrated their capacity and determination to achieve their basic needs and find solutions to their immediate problems. It is not unusual for outsiders to ignore the self reliant strategy adopted by the people, although as a form of social behaviour it has probably existed at all times of human development and in almost every part of the world.

The communities in the Katchi Abadies of Baldia town and also in other areas prove that people have basic planning organisational and technical skills, which existed long before the government realised the existence of squatter settlements. The people depend on their traditional social organisational system to solve their problems according to their own priorities and resources. This gives a social status and a system to the community, as well as protection from outside law-enforcing agencies.

However, none of the communities were involved in sanitation improvement. The people lost confidence when their attempts to construct traditional soakpits did not work, or the sewers they laid failed. KMC as an outsider was convinced that appropriate technologies for soakpits would not work in the Katchi Abadies of Karachi. They created an institutional financial and technical barrier to sanitation improvement in these settlements. These barriers had their impact on the people of Baldia. They also came to believe that sanitation was a highly complex and expensive job, for which they would have to wait for the government machinery to do it. This also shows that outsiders views influences the attitudes and approaches of the poor. These barriers proved strong obstacles to soakpit construction in Baldia town.

The people of Baldia got involved in the project because of the social communication and trust created. This was possible by starting small with minimum material expenses, and sharing the
limitations and objectives of the project with the people. The project team, from the very beginning, not only involved the community of Baldia town, but built, demonstrated, and strengthened their existing community development structures. When the leaders and the local community organisers of Baldia town understood the philosophy, approach and intended results of the project they extended their active cooperation and participation. The constraints of cost recovery, affordability and replicability is automatically solved if the outsider participates in community's plans by upgrading its existing development structures.

Outsiders are always interested to know and calculate the material input of the community. They want to determine the input-output relationship in terms of community participation. Once people understand and accept the programme and plan they not only tangibly contribute, but also propagate to others its further acceptance and expansion. This initiates the process of replicability and self-generation at the mass level. In Baldia the project assisted in the construction of one soakpit, and the people constructed five on their own. This proliferative process stems from social acceptance, access and affordability. If people do not provide "acceptance" the plan does not have "access" then the plan cannot be feasible, affordable or replicable. One also needs to understand the existing situation, keeping in mind that both private and public sector development charges imposed by outside agencies are fairly high and beyond peoples capacity, this is one of the major reasons why people do not want to be part of the upgrading programme.

If the vital development potential of vigorous community participation in the planning and implementation of site and services and upgrading projects is to be realised, three requirements are essential: first at national politico-administrative level, a firm commitment and demonstration of the "participatory-approach" as a key concept for the formulation of social policy planning; second a basic change in the approach and methods of urban planning now conventionally employed; and third the creation of an institutional structure for community participation which is related to objectives of the social and
civic development of the urban community as a whole. The role of national governments should be to provide a conducive overall environment for self-help and a self-initiated process to flourish, not to build houses nor to control. In other words, national governments should provide security of tenure, technical advice, and help in acquiring small loans and cheap building materials. National policy should not be mass-housing by the government but housing by the masses.

The experience of the Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project provides an implementation methodology for intervention in the upgrading of squatter settlements. The strength of the project is embedded in the progressive development system and understanding of the community's socio-political dynamics, identifying the social, institutional and technical structures of Baldia town.

The approach adopted by the project was to participate in the community's programme, rather than to insist on the community participating in the project. The viewpoint of this study is that people's actions in Katchi Abadies and others in the same situation are to be understood with reference to their view of the world. People are strategist, continually seeking and making choices between alternative courses of action. They seek to understand the world in order to live in it, improve, develop, ultimately control it, and in so doing they both enhance their understanding and change their living situations. Their understanding is derived from the concepts and propositions which they have learned in their past and present experiences. As a researcher in this study, one may bring to the situation a different set of concepts, because outsiders' experiences are unlike those of the people in Katchi Abadies. Outsiders have access to other sources of information. But the Katchi Abadies dwellers' views of their world should be an essential ingredient in the concepts developed by outsiders. Unless the existing progressive development system within the squatter settlements is looked into from the people's viewpoint the upgrading plans and their implementation through community participation will remain a dream. The outside implementors should introduce the plans in a more human way and according to the socio-cultural methods, instead of with authority and aggression. The
experience from the Baldia Project has demonstrated that the upgrading interventions must be made in the communities by building on their existing community development structures and dynamics.

The field research in Baldia and supportive data from other non-western countries demonstrated that the poor in the squatter settlements are not radicals, if by this one means people who reject the norms of their society. In Baldia it was demonstrated frequently that old and traditional leaders were not outrightly rejected or overthrown by the younger groups. Instead the latter co-ordinated their efforts and extended their role, by initiating new activities in the traditional system. This also shows that the urban poor are not apathetic; there is a lot of dynamism for change and new leadership.

Common views by the poor of their society are reflected in their attempts at local solutions to their problems which are not met by the existing institutions and agencies because the people are either not eligible for them being squatters, or cannot afford them, or are suspicious of them. The informal credit system in the communities is a good example, A critical attitude towards these outside institutions and dominant groups, hatred of the police, mistrust of the government and those in high positions, and a cynicism which extended sometimes even to the local mosques and religious leaders as well as their traditional organisations are generally present in the poor. During the implementation of the soakpit project the people did not believe in or accepted the community organiser, they did not trust the intentions of the project. It had to be constantly demonstrated by the community organiser that she respected and wanted to assist the existing efforts of the community, and was not introducing or imposing new ideas from outside, that they could not afford or control. A striking example of people's mistrust was the number community organisations, that is commonly found not only in Baldia's community organisation but in all the Karachi Katchi Abadies, and in India bastia organisations as well: The most common and important function of these organisations is to resolve their disputes, not letting the police or outside authorities interfere in their family or
community disputes and fights. The reason for this is that poor people do not trust outside law enforcing agencies, or any outsider for that matter. By bringing their disputes, differences and problems to outsiders for a solution and justice, they are exposing their weaknesses to the outsiders, and one exposes weaknesses only to those whom he or she considers a friend, or has a hope of getting support and help from. To handle this problem the urban poor set up their own organisations mistrusting the outside authorities.

The approach adopted by the community organiser as an outsider is to move at the pace of the existing progressive development pattern and not to constrain the people, but to understand their ways of doing things. Her tools were sympathy, and compassion, along with a technical solution involving community action. The pilot project which began as a professional intervention in the lives of the people, created warm and lasting friendship between the people and community organiser. Unlimited hours were spent in their community for more than six years. She became deeply involved in community problems. She ate with the people in their homes, attended their happy and sorrowful ceremonies and such as death, weddings, and religious ceremonies. This served as an entry to the community and built trust and confidence. The outsider has to go through this process for a genuinely rooted community participation in the upgrading projects of squatter settlements. Outsiders create mistrust; they should restore it. By adopting this informal fieldwork approach, the community organiser managed to minimize the distance between her and the people and bridged the gap for further improvements.

Without developing informal relationships the project could not have brought changes in sanitation practice, because sanitation and especially excreta disposal from private houses is a very personal matter for the families. The close informal contacts helped to brush aside the labels of mistrust which the people used for the community organiser during the initial period of the project, such as accusing her of being a CIA agent or a missionary to convert the poor.
A major outcome of the present research through the pilot project is realizing that there is no one way of entering and approaching the community for its upgrading. The implementation approach must be an integrated community development which can be immediately adopted by the people at their level. The appropriate sanitation technologies have great potential to generate, accelerate and consolidate an integrated community development at grassroots level.

But technology in isolation is meaningless without a strong social base. The construction of soakpits was used as a vehicle for social change, which affected a most vital cultural aspect, that is, the role of women in Pakistan Society. In the Baldia sanitation project it was the process that was important and not the number of soakpit units installed. The upgrading of squatter settlements must be considered as a continuous learning process.

The practical application of community participation as a major outcome of the Baldia project, was possibly due to the role of outside agencies, which is strikingly illustrated by the contribution of the Dutch Planning Mission (DAM), and the recommendation of WEDC to upgrade the existing sanitation technology practised by the people, building on it and gradually improving the design as the people require it. The allocation of funds by the Dutch Government without strings attached to provide quick results, the umbrella support of local government without interfering, the flexible policy of UNICEF, the initiatives taken by Karachi University and Pakistan Jaycees and the action anthropological approach, integrated with technical aspects adopted by the community organiser, combined together managed to overcome the technical, social and institutional barriers between the outsiders and the community involved in the pilot phase of the project. The Baldia project developed and grew by upgrading the existing social technical, cultural, administrative and organisational patterns of progressive development of the Katchi Abadies. This was possibly only when the outsiders changed their inflexible policies in practice and patiently facilitated the integration of the community's development approaches in a "bottom up" implementation.
The role of women must not be seen in isolation. Especially in non-western society it should be seen in the overall context of community development, by the implementation agencies. Once the interventions are successful in overcoming the barriers of mistrust, there is no end to overall development and naturally this will affect the women's role as they are the invisible focus of any development. In Baldia the Home School teachers have emerged as a focal point for community activities. Once the barriers of social distance is overcome by outside intervention, not only is the sanitation technology taken over by the people, but spilled over into a women's educational programme and related developmental programmes. The women's organisation of Home School teachers is a modern concept in a traditional society, which evolved out of the existing development system of the communities without challenging it.

In a progressive community development process, the community do not see men and women in isolation, although traditions do limit the role of women, but in a socio-political culture such as in Pakistan the men are equally subjugated. Even within the present situation of political, traditional and economic constraints in the majority of the non-western nations there is still room for integrated development emerging from within and effecting women in a positive manner. The Home School teachers organisation has become very strong and their contribution in education, health and community development is greatly recognised and respected by the men and women of their community. Once trust and confidence is created the breakthrough in women's role in development takes root and grow. The home schools, primary health care and sanitation is extended to three other Katchi Abadies outside Baldia, and it is the Home School Teachers of Baldia who goes out of Baldia, organised girls and women in these areas and has set up 47 home schools and primary health care centres, which are operated and managed by the women themselves. It is now the women of Baldia who are the main agents of change and the focal point of all the community based developmental activities. The girls were not allowed to come out of their homes initially, but once the community understood the programme and its outcome, and trusted the intention of the
project all the traditional barriers were lifted to the women's participation in community development. It is essential to have more women at all levels of development projects to break the barriers of tradition. Had the community organiser been a man instead of a woman in the Baldia Soakpit Project, the integration of women in the community development process would not have happened, because of the traditions and outlook of Society. Thus traditions have strengths and weaknesses it depends how sensitive one is while making interventions.

The intervention to improve sanitation in the non-western countries is not possible unless social and technical strengths are integrated, unless the people are oriented, organised and mobilized. People's education, organisation and mobilization are key strategies to implement sanitation programmes. The lack of knowledge, training and institutionalised low-cost technologies needs to be more forcefully and realistically remedied by the national governments. The distinct feature of the Baldia project was the integration of appropriate sanitation technologies and social aspects related to sanitation in particular and community development in general. The technological solutions recommended by WEDC for Baldia's sanitation, and followed up by them, immensely strengthened the role of the community organiser and that of the project in overcoming the technological barriers. The upgrading of soakpit technology was accepted by the community, because WEDC had looked into the existing sanitation solutions, their strengths and weaknesses. On the other hand it was because of its simplicity and community based that the government was not ready to implement it, and nor by the local politicians supported soakpit construction, because they had promised the people underground sewers. WEDC's work served as a milestone in breaking the technical barriers by upgrading the existing technology for sanitation in the Katchi Abadies of Karachi. It was a positive response by an outside agencies to bridge the gap between people and outside institutions.

WEDC's involvement in the Katchi Abadies sanitation improvement programme was for the creation of a lasting, need-oriented technology which is self-constructed, self-maintained and self-financed by the people. It contributes an approach for
upgrading low cost sanitation design and technology which could become a further source of collaboration between western research and development institutions and the non-western world's squatter settlements with their environmental problems.

The example set by the Baldia project was replicated and transferred by the people at the community level. Once the demonstration of improved soakpits was understood, the people at their individual and organisational levels expanded their traditional roles and incorporated sanitation as their responsibility. Where the traditional organisations did not wish to act the younger groups came forward thus further minimising the social and technical barriers at the grassroots level. This was possible because the pilot project was divided into short experimental phases with time limit. This approach localises the failures and incrementally expands the successes. The uniqueness of Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project is that it is flexible in terms of offering social sector services, generative in terms of socio-developmental productivity, reproducible in terms of simplicity and manageability, sustainable in terms of people's participation and organisation (Azam, 1986b:5).

The low profile and working within the system while demonstrating new approaches, brought a change in the attitudes and approaches of KMC who incorporated the lessons of the Baldia Pilot Project in its social sector policy. UNICEF also developed a large urban basic services programme for Pakistan. The informal sector changed from the charity and philanthropic approach and organised themselves in the Busti Basic Urban Services for Katchi Abadies which would accelerate the community development planning and coordinate it with the outside development agencies. The Planning and Development Department of Sind strongly recommended institutionalising the Home Schools and integrating them into the larger networks of the city (Letter of recommendation, see Appendix-22).

The situation of land tenure is now firm. The Government of Pakistan has regularised all the Katchi Abadies of Pakistan and now they are pucca (permanent) settlement. To quote Dawn (8th and 9th April, 1986).
"Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo announced his Government's decision to give proprietary rights to residents of all such Katchi Abadies consisting of at least 40 families".

There is an acute need to reformulate strategies and plans for the upgrading of the squatter settlements. It is essential that outsiders or dominant groups change their views and approaches in practice by studying and understanding the people's view and the built-in mechanism of progressive development present in squatter settlements. The planners and implementers for upgrading projects must adopt an approach of a "Bare Foot" planners and implementers.

It will still be a long time before the objectives of the Vancouver Conference of 1976 are achieved, and universal strategies for the solution of urban poverty are developed for the non-western world. The upgrading of squatter settlements should be seen as a learning process and not an end in itself. At present the need is not for comprehensive planning for squatter settlement upgrading, but for pilot projects to test and evolve upgrading methodologies and techniques.

Advocates of comprehensive planning in all countries, regardless of their stages of development do not see that in most non-western countries the basic weaknesses is not the absence of a comprehensive approach to development planning, but a shortage of soundly conceived projects. This is true of Pakistan. Thus Dr Mahbubal Haq, an official of Pakistan Planning Commission, wrote some ten years after the establishment of Pakistan's Central Planning Agency: "The fundamental weakness of the first and second plans has been that the planning was not built in depth; whereas an effort was made to develop consistent, aggregative planning frameworks, not enough effort went into filling those frameworks with well-conceived, well-engineered pilot projects leading to programmes". (1957:21).

The pilot project and action research of this study presents tested implementation methodologies for the upgrading of squatter settlements in the non-western world. The basic lesson is that existing major barriers of mistrust need to be removed by the outside development planners, research institutions and
development agencies. The following are the basic lessons learned:

- The process of removing social, technical and institutional barriers should be part of the implementation process.

- This needs to be carried out by upgrading the existing, organisational, technical, socio-economic, and communicational structure of the squatter settlements.

- The implementation process must be divided into short experimentation phases, to restrict failure if any, and to give time and opportunity for the people to observe, understand and incorporate the outside interventions into their own progressive system.

- Small demonstration models should be built in the initial stages, this does not disturb the pace and rhythm of the existing progressive development in the community, and at the same time the opportunistic, modern leaders or brokers, and obstructing politicians are not attracted towards the project. This ensures smooth sailing during the most crucial period of an outside intervention, that is initially building trust and confidence in the community as a stepping stone for major interventions.

- Interventions can be made through such persons as an individual activist, a responsible and conscious person, a sports team, a religious committee, a traditional organisation or a new one created during the experimentation process.

- The upgrading intervention should be socially technically and institutionally integrated, and not divided in to sectors, because the existing progressive development structure of the squatter settlement is integrated. The outside implementation processes must be synchronised with the existing ones in the communities of squatter settlements. Only then can one build on the existing community structures and get the required results.

- The appropriate technology for sanitation improvement with community participation demystifies the technology and maximises the involvement of the people.
Sanitation improvement projects have great potential to accelerate integrated community development, provided they are introduced gradually, entering small learning, demonstrating, teaching, training and recording the outcomes along with the people, rather than being a top down instant large scale technical solution to a human problem.

Soakpit latrines are the community's technical solution to their human waste disposal problem, because to construct them they do not have to wait for complicated centralised engineering plans and procedures. An individual as he builds his house, builds a soakpit.

The constant upgrading of the technology of sanitation should be part of a combined learning process for the community as well as for the implementors.

In such a learning process the implementor is not seen as an expert. This minimises the social distance and an informal fieldwork pattern is created without constraints on either side.

Keeping the outside authorities informed helps in the institutional linkages between the community and the authorities.

Whatever solutions outsiders adopt to improve development planning will affect those who live in squatter settlements and slums, and will require their acceptance and active participation. The viability of outsiders solutions to development will depend upon the reliability of their own assessment of programmes within the squatter settlements and slums, both as the outsiders see them and as they are perceived by the residents themselves. It is to assist in this understanding and to eradicate some popular misconceptions that this present study was conducted.
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DAM (Dutch Advisory Mission)

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Herman, Z.

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Hillman, A.

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Hoskins, M.W.
Huizer, G.

Huntington, S.P.

In-Joung, Whang

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K.D.A. (Karachi Development Authority)
K.D.A. (Karachi Development Authority)

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K.M.C. (Karachi Municipal Corporation - Dutch Advisory Mission)

K.M.C. (Karachi Municipal Corporation)

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Martin, R.

Martin, R.J. and Ledogar, R.J.
Meyerink, H.

Miller, S.M. and Rein, M.

Misra, R.P. (ed.)

MPD (Master Plan Department)

Nelson, J.M.

NHA (National Housing Authority)

Nigam, S.

Norbeck, E.

Oliver, P.

Partridge, E.

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Vee, A.

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Weiner, M.

Weisner, T. S.

Whiteford, M. B.

Whyte, W. F.

Whyte, W. F.

Yap, K. S.

Yap, K. S.
Yap, K.S.

Zahran, M.M.
GLOSSARY

Abadi - Population, Settlement
Anjuman - Association
Baji - Respectable term for Sister
Baluch - People from Baluchistan Province of Pakistan
Barriada - A Peruvian term for Squatter Settlement
Barrios - Elite Settlement
Bazaar - Market
Bidonville - A Moroccan term for Squatter Settlement
Bihari - People from the Bihar Province of India
Bustee - Low-Income Settlement
B.U.S.T.I. - Basic Urban Services for Katchi Abadies
Casbah - An Algerian term for Squatter Settlement
Chadar - Veil
Chappaties - Thin hand made bread
Chardiwari - Four walls of the house
Colonies Proletaries - A Mexican term for Squatter Settlement

Favela - A Brazilian term for Squatter Settlement
Fiesta - Latin American term for fair
Gecekondus - Turkish term for Squatter Settlement
Gourbivilles - A Tunisian term for Squatter Settlement
Gujrati - Gujarati speaking community from the State of Junagarh, India.
Imam - Leader of the Prayer in the Mosque
Jamat - Term for Community's Social Organisation and also for a community
Jaycees - Junior Chamber of Commerce
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jhuggis</td>
<td>- Shacks</td>
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<td>Jirgha</td>
<td>- Term for North West Frontier Province Community Court</td>
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<td>Kampongs</td>
<td>- Indonesian term for Squatter Settlement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karma</td>
<td>- Act</td>
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<td>Katcha</td>
<td>- Temporary, Unripe</td>
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<td>Katcha - Pucca</td>
<td>- Semi Permanent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Katchee</td>
<td>- People from Indian Run of Katch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Katchi</td>
<td>- Unfinished, Unripe, Imperfect</td>
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<td>Katchi Abadies</td>
<td>- A Pakistani term for Squatter Settlement</td>
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<td>Kumhars</td>
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<td>La Mixteca</td>
<td>- Mexican Barbecue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maori</td>
<td>- Native to New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohalla</td>
<td>- Neighbourhood</td>
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<td>Muhajir</td>
<td>- People who migrated from India to Pakistan</td>
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<td>Nallah</td>
<td>- Water Course</td>
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<td>Pathan</td>
<td>- People from North West Frontier Province</td>
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<td>Pucca</td>
<td>- Permanent, Ripe</td>
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<td>Pueblos Jovene</td>
<td>- A Peruvian term for Squatter Settlement</td>
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<td>Punjabis</td>
<td>- People from Punjab Province</td>
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<td>Purdha</td>
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<td>Ranchos</td>
<td>- A Peruvian term for Squatter Settlement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sadaka</td>
<td>- Alms-giving or charity in Muslim Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>- People from Sind Province</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suburbio</td>
<td>- Perlman defines as outlying dormitor community or Favela (Squatter settlement)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thalawala</td>
<td>- A person who deals in block-making for construction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>- National language of Pakistan</td>
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<td>Zakat</td>
<td>- Islamic tax on wealth</td>
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## APPENDIX-1

Types and Registration Status of Social Welfare Community Organizations of Katchi Abadies of Karachi

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| SPORTS CLUB                          |      |          |         |       |      |          |         |       |    |             |
|                                      | Regd | Non-Regd | Applied | Total | Regd | Non-Regd | Applied | Total | NA | Grand Total |
|                                      | 1    | 2        | 3       | 8     | 1    | 2        | 3       | 1     |    | 24          |
|                                      | 5    | 3        | 1       | 8     | 1    | 2        | 3       | 1     |    | 24          |
|                                      | 2    | 1        | 1       | 4     | 1    |          | 3       |       |    |             |
COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION IN DEVELOPMENT OF KATCHI ABADIES OF KARACHI

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<th>Sanitation Collection of garbage, construction of open drains</th>
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<th>Sports</th>
<th>Charity for widows and orphans</th>
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APPENDIX-3

Details of Sports Clubs in Katchi Abadies of Karachi

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## APPENDIX-6

### Registration Status of Community Organizations/Mohalla/Sectorwise, Baldia Town

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Note: The table represents the registration status of community organizations and sports clubs in Baldia Town, categorized by area and sector.
APPENDIX-7

Distribution of No. of Community Organizations Established and Registered in Baldia Town

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### APPENDIX-9

#### DETAILS OF FOLLOW-UP ON SOAKPIT CONSTRUCTION AND TYPES OF LATRINES IN BALDIA

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#### Legend:

- **UNICEF Assisted**: Soakpits constructed with material or labour support by the Project.
- **Built by the People**: Soakpits constructed by the people without material support from the Project.
- **Upgraded by the People**: People upgraded their existing soakpits by adding water seal, lining with stones etc.
- **Acceptable**: Soakpits constructed by the people, but not according to the improved design.
COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS AND THE CONTRIBUTION IN DEVELOPMENT OF BALDIA TOWNSHIP

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<th>Total No. of Community Organisations</th>
<th>Types of Community based services offers</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Sanitation involved in Soakpit Construction</th>
<th>Lobbying</th>
<th>Sports</th>
<th>Charity for widows and orphans</th>
<th>Decoration services for Ceremonies</th>
<th>Narcotics control</th>
<th>Women's Programmes</th>
<th>Burial Services</th>
<th>Arbitration</th>
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## Existing Community Organizations and their Sanitation System of Baldia Town

### APPENDIX-11

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<th>Total No. of Families</th>
<th>Name of Mohallah</th>
<th>Date of Organisation</th>
<th>Major Responsibilities</th>
<th>No. of Latrine at all</th>
<th>Existing Latrine %</th>
<th>No. Target Families</th>
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<td>700</td>
<td>Ham Nagar</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Settle disputes, charity funeral arrangements, religious ceremonies, education centre</td>
<td>12(1.71%)</td>
<td>294(42%)</td>
<td>116(16.85%)</td>
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<td>150</td>
<td>Rasheedabad</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>To create unity, lobbying, sanitation education centres</td>
<td>24(1.6%)</td>
<td>629(41.93%)</td>
<td>189(12.6%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>Madina Colony</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Funeral arrangements, Charity settling disputes, (Presently in-active)</td>
<td>3(0.5%)</td>
<td>287(47.83%)</td>
<td>76(12.67%)</td>
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<td>1800</td>
<td>New Anjum</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>To create unity, health centre, craft centre, education centre</td>
<td>5(0.27%)</td>
<td>607(33.72%)</td>
<td>30(1.66%)</td>
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<td>Shujat Colony</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Lobbying, settle disputes, craft centre, education centre, charity</td>
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<td>118(29.52%)</td>
<td>2(0.5%)</td>
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<td>650</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>Lobbying, settle disputes, craft centre, education centre, charity</td>
<td>4(0.61%)</td>
<td>376(57.85%)</td>
<td>93(14.30%)</td>
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<td>Charity, settle disputes, water</td>
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<td>Prayers, religious classes</td>
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<td>Dilawar Colony</td>
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<td>Uses Turk Colony Mosques</td>
<td>Prayers, religious classes</td>
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<td>Kokan Colony</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Construction of Mosque Lobbying, organising committee functions</td>
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<td>132(48.88%)</td>
<td>25(9.25%)</td>
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<td>Hussain Nagar</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Religious education, lobbying religious gathering</td>
<td>7(1.42%)</td>
<td>351(70.02%)</td>
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<td>Kumharwara</td>
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<td>Unity, but inactive in development. Funeral arrangements, arranging marriage functions</td>
<td>Religious classes, 3(0.75%)</td>
<td>329(62.25%)</td>
<td>9(2.25%)</td>
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<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Unity Community Hall, Charity, settle disputes</td>
<td>Water, Prayers, religious classes</td>
<td>45(23.66%)</td>
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<td>Pur Bunder</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Uses Turk Colony Mosques</td>
<td>178(59.33%)</td>
<td>16(5.33%)</td>
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<td>Mianzi Mohallah</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>In-active</td>
<td>Prayers, religious classes</td>
<td>111(41.11%)</td>
<td>9(3.33%)</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>Unity, religious classes, craft centre, assistance in weddings/funerals etc</td>
<td>Uses Turk Colony's Mosque</td>
<td>62(41.33%)</td>
<td>4(2.66%)</td>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>Unity, funeral arrangements, lobbying</td>
<td>Prayers, religious classes, water</td>
<td>210(43%)</td>
<td>14(2.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>Haji Qasim</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>No organisation</td>
<td>Prayers, unity, religious classes, community hall</td>
<td>148(21.14%)</td>
<td>2(0.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>Arab Colony</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Funeral, charity, lobbying</td>
<td>Uses Haji Qasim Mosque</td>
<td>1(0.38%)</td>
<td>140(53.84%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>Muslim Mujahid</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Lobbying, organising, water religious classes</td>
<td>Uses Haji Qasim Mosque</td>
<td>117(29.25%)</td>
<td>40(10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Baluch Colony</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Community bases, to water, disputes, community centre</td>
<td>Prayers, religious classes, water</td>
<td>1(0.52%)</td>
<td>113(56.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 860(0.83%) 4481(43.33%) 719(6.95%) 5283 51.11
### TABLE SHOWING SOAPPITS/DOPPITTS FROM 1979 TO 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No.</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total No. Soakpits assisted by UNICEF</th>
<th>Total No. Acceptance by the people</th>
<th>Total No. Soakpits made</th>
<th>Total No. existing Latrines</th>
<th>No. Septic tanks connected with open drains</th>
<th>No. Latrines connected with drains</th>
<th>No. Latrines at all</th>
<th>Sanitation through existing organisation</th>
<th>New Soakpit Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jam Nagar</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Existing</td>
<td>Existing Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rasheedabad</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>841</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Madina Colony</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>New Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>New Anjum</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>New Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shujast</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>120</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Turk Colony</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>New Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shahanshah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>145</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Dilawar</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>133</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>159</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>76</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Hussaini Nagar</td>
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<td>265</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Raji Qasim</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>131</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Kumharwara</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>341</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Baloch</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>129</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Gujrat Colony</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Muslim Mujahid</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>46</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Pur Bundar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>196</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Niazi</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Tai</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Cambelpur</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 421 2367 298 1327 272 494 92 16 5285 8 1 11
SOAKPIT DESIGN

BALDIA SOAKPIT PROJECT

TYPE A

2 1/2" THICK RECESSED EXCAVATION LINE

7TH ROW 15 BLOCS

6TH ROW 15 BLOCS

5TH ROW 15 BLOCS

4TH ROW 15 BLOCS

3RD ROW 15 BLOCS

2ND ROW 15 BLOCS

1ST ROW 15 BLOCS

GROUND LEVEL

TO W/C VIA WATER SEAL

4" D CEMENT ASSISTING PIPE

6" THICK BLOCK MASONRY HAVING OPEN VERTICAL JOINTS

SECTION A

TYPE B

GROUND LEVEL

TO W/C VIA WATER SEAL

4" CEMENT ASSISTING PIPE

6" THICK BLOCK MASONRY HAVING OPEN VERTICAL JOINTS

STONE WALL

SECTION B
AJAKI DESIGN

BAILIA SOAKPIT PROJECT

APPENDIX 14

PLAN

SECTION

ALTERNATE I

ALTERNATE II

PLAN
WAY TO LOWEST COST SOAKPIT

1979 TO 1984

- **1979**
  - TYPE A SOAKPIT
  - COST: 1500 mat, 500 lab.
  - Rs. 2000 total

- **1980**
  - TYPE B SOAKPIT
  - COST: 1200 mat, 500 lab.
  - Rs. 1700 total

- **1981**
  - TYPE C SOAKPIT
  - Rs. 1500 total

- **1982**
  - TYPE C ALT. I SOAKPIT
  - COST: 1400 mat, 400 lab.
  - Rs. 1800 total

- **1983**
  - TYPE B & C SOAKPIT
  - Rs. 1300 total

- **1984**
  - TYPE C ALT. II SOAKPIT
  - Rs. 1100 total

- **1985**
  - TYPE B & C ALT. II SOAKPIT
  - COST: 550 mat, 300 lab.
  - Rs. 850 total

- **1979 to 1984**
  - Only Areas With High Water Level

**Notes**
- Construction Stopped in 1981
- Cost Reduced by Modifying Design in 1983
- Cost Further Reduced by Buying Materials from Wholesale in 1984
APPENDIX-16

Baldia Soakpit Project

Progress 1977-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Soakpits</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
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</table>
APPENDIX 17

BALDIA SOAKPIT PROJECT

Year of Construction

Cost Input 1977-1985

(SANITATION)


APPENDIX J

UNICEF Input in Soakpits

Community Input in Soakpits (labour, material, time, maintenance & repair)
SOAKPIT DESIGN

ALTERNATE I

2 1/2" THICK RCC SLAB
3 ROWS OF BLOCK MASONRY
STONE MASONRY

ALTERNATE II

2 1/2" THICK RCC SLAB
STONE MASONRY

EXCAVATION

PLAN

SECTION

TO WC VIA WATER SEAL

ROW OF BLOCK MASONRY FOR ALTERNATE I

ROWS OF BLOCK MASONRY FOR ALTERNATE I

APPENDIX - 19
BHALIA SOAKPIT PROJECT
HOME SCHOOLS

PROGRESS 1982-1985

Appendix 20

- Number of Children studying in Home Schools

Graph showing the growth in number of children and schools from 1982 to 1985.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Agencies</th>
<th>Philosophy</th>
<th>Social services</th>
<th>Institutional</th>
<th>Cost of Pro</th>
<th>Cost of Pro</th>
<th>Management</th>
<th>Project Community</th>
<th>Social patronage</th>
<th>Project Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project (BSPP)</td>
<td>-Collaboration of National &amp; International organization to create BSPP in Baldia.</td>
<td>-UNICEF</td>
<td>Grass root integrated Social development on the basis of community involvement and participation leading towards people's self management control and empowerment.</td>
<td>-Sanitation (Soakpit)</td>
<td>-better sanitation</td>
<td>Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project</td>
<td>$150000.00</td>
<td>$1263284.00</td>
<td>Transitory (UNICEF is about to hang over this project to NGO)</td>
<td>Community's control</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-JAYCERS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-KARACHI UNIVERSITY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Institutional outgrowth of Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project. Home School Teachers welfare organization (HSTWO) (Registered)</td>
<td>-Collaborative (Community-based)</td>
<td>Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project</td>
<td>-All Baldia</td>
<td>-Trained Young Community girls to teach mohalla children in their home.</td>
<td>-Teaching Morality</td>
<td>60 home schools</td>
<td>Creation and Strengthening of Home School teachers welfare organization.</td>
<td>Training was given by UNICEF</td>
<td>$600.00 per month given by home school students to teachers as tuition fee (1800 student pay Rs.5 P.M.)</td>
<td>Community's control</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Habib Jamat (Local Community organization)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Community's Social Activists.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Institutional outgrowth of Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project. Veraval Turk Jamat. Clinic Maternity home and hospital.</td>
<td>-Collaborative (Community-based)</td>
<td>Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project (BSPP)</td>
<td>-Veraval Turk Jamat (Local Community)</td>
<td>-Construction of Community based, Clinic, Maternity home and hospital for the people of Baldia on the basis of peoples participation and planning.</td>
<td>-Preventive &amp; Curative services</td>
<td>Further strengthening of existing community organization (Veraval Turk Jamat).</td>
<td>$5066.00</td>
<td>$3333.00</td>
<td>Community's control</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Canadian Mission Fund</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Institutional outgrowth of Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project. Home School Teachers welfare organization (HSTWO)</td>
<td>-Collaborative (Community-based)</td>
<td>Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project (BSPP)</td>
<td>-Home School Teachers welfare organization</td>
<td>-Construction of Community based Industrial Home to impart skill and generate additional income for local girls.</td>
<td>-Skill and income supplementation for local girls (Economic programme)</td>
<td>Further strengthening of Home School teachers welfare organization.</td>
<td>$10000.00</td>
<td>Community's patronage (Internal)</td>
<td>Community's control</td>
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<td>-Habib Bank Trust</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Institutional outgrowth of Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project. Bismillah Mosque Committee Educational Programme.</td>
<td>-Collaborative (Community-based)</td>
<td>Baldia Soakpit Pilot Project (BSPP)</td>
<td>-Bismillah Mosque Committee (Local)</td>
<td>-Construction of Community based Primary Pilot school for the children of local residents.</td>
<td>-Primary education to boys and girls of local residents (Educational programme).</td>
<td>-better primary education to resident children.</td>
<td>-Further strengthening of Bismillah Mosque Committee.</td>
<td>Social patronage (External)</td>
<td>Community's control</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Dated the 26th May, 1986.

Dear Mr. Philip Heffinck,

This is to acknowledge the good efforts made by UNICEF for its Programme for Urban Health Services; specifically Baldia Soak Pit Project and assistance to Home Schools, Health Centres and Craft Sewing and literacy centre; and appreciate arrangements made for our visits, which added our knowledge in further strengthening ties between GOS, UNICEF and local institutions. As pointed out in the meeting, it would be appreciated if efforts are directed in such a way so as to leave reliance on local institutions, who at later stage, after achieving maturity can sustain the aided projects on their own footing. There is a need of mobilization particularly with respect to home schools and health care projects. These need to be integrated with main network of Govt. institutions for the purpose of recognition so that benefits are accrued to those receiving such facilities.

I may also add that Govt. of Sindh would certainly look forward to help assist such institutions to grow on self-sustaining basis; and any assistance that will help in achieving this goal, will be provided through appropriate channel.

Your's

(M.B. ABBASI)

Mr. Philip Heffinck,
Resident Programme Officer,
UNICEF,
26 Clifford, Karachi