



GENDER DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT:

A Case of Lyari Expressway in
Karachi



SPDC

Gender Research Programme
Research Report No.6

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The Team

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Karachi, Pakistan

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Photographs: Lyari Expressway Resettlement Project

Published by Social Policy and Development Centre
Printed in Karachi by Times Press (Pvt.) Ltd.
ISBN 978-969-8407-11-7

FOREWORD

Realizing the importance of integrative research, Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC) initiated a series of research reports under its Gender Research Program (GRP) in the year 2009. The areas identified for research are wide-ranging and cover developmental issues existing in Pakistan that need to be analyzed from a gender perspective. The overall objective of the research program is to help place gender on the policy-making map in the country by creating awareness of gender implications of social and macroeconomic issues with a particular focus on women, work and poverty. The program is developing quantitative and qualitative data, including gender disaggregated statistics and indicators that will help map changes in gender roles and their access to equal rights and opportunities. This will consequentially help bring the much needed paradigm shift in existing social structures; add to technical research in Pakistan on gender aspects and integrate gendered perspectives in 'hardcore' economic issues as well as social 'progress-engine' concepts of development.

The series of research reports produced, hopefully, will help open avenues for further research on issues of development, equal opportunities, equitable policies, and other issues of gender equality and equity.

Gender Dimensions of Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement: A Case of Lyari Expressway in Karachi is the sixth in the series. The study analyzes the impact of involuntary displacement on the well-being of affected population, especially women. It assesses the gender differentiated impacts of involuntary displacement at household level. Unfortunately, development projects tend to neglect gender related issues at the planning and implementation stages. The research undertaken would help place gender perspectives of development induced displacement on the policy-making agenda and also add to empirical research in this area in Pakistan.

SPDC is thankful to the Royal Norwegian Embassy – Pakistan for funding its Gender Research Program.

Managing Director

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SPDC is thankful to the Royal Norwegian Embassy-Islamabad for the financial support extended to its Gender Research Program.

This research report could not have been completed without the support, guidance and valueable insight of many individuals and organizations. In particular, SPDC is grateful to Mr. Syed Mustafa Kamal, former City Nazim (Mayor) of Karachi, for sharing his views on the issue. Mr. Roshan Ali Sheikh (Revenue Department, CDGK), Mr. Salman Faridi (CDGK) and Mr. Afzal Zaidi (CDGK) also contributed in building a proper understanding of issues related to the displacement process along with preparation of list of affectees.

SPDC is also indebted to the LERP staff for providing assistance during the field survey of affected communities. Special thanks are due to Mr. Shafiq-ur-Rehman Paracha, former Project Director of Lyari Expressway Resettlement Project (LERP), Mr. Abdul Rasheed Asim and Mr. Mohammad Shamim. The views shared by Major (Rtd.) Syed Ahmed National Highway Authority (NHA), LEW Project Director in highlighting the issues confronted in the construction of LEW proved useful for the analysis.

The research could not have been enriched without the views shared by the members of CBOs, participants of focus group discussions, interviewees, LERP resource persons at the resettlement sites, and enumerators of the field survey.

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ACRONYMS

AP	At Present
ATD	At the time of Displacement
ATR	At the time of Resettlement
BISP	Benazir Income Support Program
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CDGK	City District Government Karachi
CNIC	Computerized National Identity Card
DIDR	Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FHHs	Female Headed Households
FWO	Frontier Works Organization
GRP	Gender Research Programme
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IRR	Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction
KESC	Karachi Electric Supply Company
KW&SB	Karachi Water and Sewerage Board
LERP	Lyari Expressway Resettlement Project
LEW	Lyari Expressway
MCH	Mother and Child Health
MHHs	Male Headed Households
NCR	National Centre for Rehabilitation of Child Labour
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NHA	National Highway Authority
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
ROW	Right-of-Way
SPDC	Social Policy and Development Centre
SSGC	Sui Southern Gas Company
UC	Union Council
URC	Urban Resource Centre

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Urban development as a process allows cities to grow in response to the changing demands for affordable housing, well connected road networks, neighborhood schools, community hospitals, parks and playgrounds. The urban cities of developing countries are additionally confronted by multiple issues such as poverty, congestion, large number of slums, ineffective infrastructure and inadequate social service provision including water supply and sanitation. Without a cautious approach and proper understanding of the implications of the planning process, any attempt at urban renewal/redevelopment such as construction of housing, dams, bridges, highways, roads and expressways is likely to create major problems for the inhabitants of that particular locality.

Furthermore, development projects usually lack a realistic resettlement policy framework and people are often forcefully expelled from homes. The displaced people are subjected to suffering, socio-economic impoverishment, loss of livelihoods and income generating opportunities. Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) with or without a resettlement policy framework is a complex phenomenon that is a direct consequence of forced displacement.

Theoretically, forced migration/displacement includes people displaced as result of either natural hazards such as epidemics, droughts, floods, or man-made disasters including conflicts, wars, and infrastructure development. A resettlement policy framework prior to the action taken, can only be formulated for infrastructure development because of the nature of its occurrence. Forced displacement due to development thus, can be an institutional, formal and planned activity that is markedly different from the sudden and more drastic moves caused by conflicts, wars and natural hazards. The development planning may include resettlement strategies from the beginning, and thus ensure that the benefits of development do not cause undue damage to local people. Whereas, the only option available for natural hazards and man-made disasters is to develop mitigation strategies to minimize the damage.

Equally important is to categorize the victims of forced displacement/migration so that different policy interventions and implementation strategies may be developed accordingly. Some victims are termed as 'refugees' while others are classified as 'affectees of forced eviction.' The third common category of the affectees is "internally displaced people" (IDPs). This categorization is also determined by the nature of the cause for forced displacement/migration. For instance, the term 'refugee' is usually used for those impacted by natural hazards or wars. Whereas, different definitions and analytical contours have been used to define specific policy frameworks for the rehabilitation of those affected by forced eviction.

Not all development induced displacement has detrimental impacts on the affectees. For instance, research shows that some up-gradation projects in urban slums have improved living conditions in China (Trembath et al. 1999; Picciottio et al. 2001). Literature also shows that planning authorities can make plans that minimize the risks posed to displaced people caused by the urban infrastructure projects.

With the global restructuring of capital, responses of cities to become more competitive for mobile capital has led to the emergence of a new paradigm that has dismantled all previous modes of capitalist reproduction. The earlier guild (organized by skilled craftsmen) system of production and industrialization has given way to "financialisation" of the economy. This process is based on technological advancement and heavy reliance on financial capital, and has swiftly changed the political, social and cultural conditions of the inhabitants. Cities have now become the nodal points for the production and disbursement of finance capital, whereby the fluidity of capital has challenged the sovereignty and autonomy of the nation-state since a direct link has been established between the financial industry and local economic agents. Friedmann & Wolff (1982) have questioned the integration of cities in the world economy, and asked whether it is resident populations, transnational corporations, or the 'nation-state that provides the political setting for world urbanization' that increasingly controls urban life.

The city is a complex and non-static phenomenon that depends on the perceptions, interpretations and understanding of the inhabitants. Wilson (1991) describes "the city as a 'text' - implying that a city is something that requires to be read and interpreted." If those responsible for city planning and development either do not understand or do not wish to address the needs of the city, they are able to maintain a status quo in the power relations within society. Throughout the world, the elite holding or influencing planning have dominated urban spaces at the expense of the more marginalized groups. In this context, Lefebvre (1996) has raised the question of urban space utilization and its repercussions for the various forms of rights including everyday life and reproduction of social relations.

Several studies on DIDR show that while the modern paradigm of development incorporates assessment of social costs, environmental impacts and concepts of human rights and social justice, it has not helped reduce the consequent disproportionate burden on the marginalized people. Cernea (2000) has reported that approximately 10 million people have been involuntarily displaced for infrastructure development projects since 1990. Turton (2006) raises a question of citizenship: are the people who were displaced in order to benefit others not equal citizens of the state? Rew et al. (2006) have argued that even in the presence of a DIDR policy framework, "rehabilitation officers usually lack the skills needed to help people suffering the stresses and disorders of displacement and rehabilitation." Downing (1996) viewed involuntary displacement from a 'social impoverishment' and 'social geometry' perspective that demands to redefine social cost and social impact. The development discourse has thus gone beyond development or anti-

development standpoints and has converged on participation, rights and mitigation of risks and disorders for the less privileged.

Contemporary literature on planning and urban development largely addresses the communicative and participatory aspects of the planning process that focus more on consensus building, communication, multiculturalism and working coalitions with power-brokers. The knowledge base of urban planning revolves around the planner's practices and perceptions, missing out completely on the impacts and views of those affected. This gap reinforces lack of democratic values or institutional settings to implement policies to the detriment of local people. The inadequacy of planning literature to mitigate needs of the marginalized population has been discussed by Yiftachel (2006). He argues that "this literature (planning) says little about the spatial impact of actions taken by planners and other key agents of spatial change, and about the possibility that in some settings talk may never lead to resolution, and may have the adverse impact of concealing or legitimizing planning oppression suffered by marginalized groups."

During the last two decades, the literature produced on involuntary resettlement and displacement has focused more on displacement related to construction of dams. Theoretical frameworks such as the four stage model (recruitment, transition, potential development and incorporation) of Scudder & Colson (1982) and the impoverishment, risk and reconstruction model of Cernea (1997) have concentrated primarily on the coping strategies to minimize the risks involved in the resettlement phase.

Ironically, little evidence is found in academic research on the gender dimensions of Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR). Parasuraman (1993) and Sweetman (1998) have pointed out that literature on how involuntary displacement affects the status, roles, and development potentials of female migrants is very limited. Mehta and Srinivasan (1999) explain that the major theoretical constraint, which has hampered research on gender dimensions of involuntary resettlement is that displaced people were considered a 'genderless entity' until the 1990s. Colson (1999) asserts that "re-settlement and rehabilitation plans tend to be flawed in their understanding of the impact of the process on gender relations."

The Lyari Expressway was a development project with diverse and contradictory themes, which resulted in the displacement of approximately 250,000 people. For the government and city planners, the construction of the expressway and the removal of people in such large numbers to other areas may have been driven by a desire to provide better quality of life by removing urban slums, make the city more competitive for mobile capital, reduce traffic congestion and achieve faster access to the inter-city highway. Whereas, for the inhabitants, civil society groups and other stakeholders, the huge cost of construction and large scale eviction of the people, without adequate planning and consultation have been a source of great concern and discontent. The study, particularly looks into LEW project through gender lens. Occasionally it also discusses

political will of the government to rehabilitate affected people. The study also examines the linkage that exists between displacement and presence of intergenerational impoverishment by gender as a result of discontinuation of education and employment. It also presents a gender-wise comparative analysis of the resettlement process with particular reference to well-being before and after the displacement. Cernea's (1997) Impoverishment Risk and Resettlement (IRR) model based on eight interlinked processes of displacement has been used to analyze the outcomes of the resettlement policy in each of the three phases of the rehabilitation, that is, at the time of displacement (ATD), after relocation (ATR), and at present (AP).

1.1. BACKGROUND OF LYARI EXPRESSWAY

The initial design (1989) of the project was an elevated transit expressway on the Lyari River from the Southern part (Karachi Seaport) to the northern part (Sohrab Goth that connects to the inter-city highway). Non-governmental organizations, professionals¹, and the affected communities² reacted negatively on the need for the project, its financing, the overall environmental impacts, and loss of residential homes. Initially, human suffering appeared not to be a major concern even among the civil society since no massive displacement was envisaged.

The project was shelved until 2000, when it was re-launched with a slight change of design. The original design of roads on either side of the Lyari River along its banks was replaced by an elevated expressway on both embankments of Lyari Rivers. The federal government instructed the provincial and local governments to vacate the land on both the sides of Lyari River Bank for the construction of 16.5 kilometres of the Lyari Expressway.

The National Highway Authority (NHA), a federal government agency, was given the supervisory role to coordinate with the principal consultant, local government and other implementation agencies. The NHA selected Engineering Associates Karachi as the principal consulting firm for the new design and monitoring of the LEW project. The local government was responsible for the preparation of list of affected people, carrying out eviction and clearing the right-of-way. The Lyari Expressway Resettlement Project (LERP) was responsible for the payment of compensation and resettlement of affected people at three relocation sites, viz. Hawks Bay Town, Taiser Town and Baldia Town. The Frontier Works Organization (FWO), a subsidiary of NHA carried out the physical construction.

1.1.1. Planning of Lyari Expressway (LEW)

The role of urban planning is to establish a vision for the people and 'transportation planning plays within this vision' (Meyer & Miller, 2001). Since its inception, the planning of Lyari Expressway (LEW) can be termed as a 'muddling process' that negatively affected the design, implementation and resettlement of affected people. The planners did not take into consideration the issues related to dislocation without livelihood opportunities, rights of affected people and gender differential impacts of the project.

The planning of LEW lacked a clear understanding of the project goals and objectives and resulted in intensifying the sufferings of the poor and the vulnerable. Friedmann (1982) argued that "the lack of knowledge, non-mediation between knowledge and action and unpredictable outcome has compelled people to live in a turbulent environment." This, perhaps, is also true in the case of people affected by the project of Lyari Expressway.

This study focuses on two distinct and fundamentally important elements of the LEW project: the planning process and the displacement and resettlement of communities. The examination of the planning process includes the role of government functionaries and the implementation of project plan while the focus on the involuntarily displacement includes the eviction process, resettlement issues and impact of forced displacement on the affected people.

It was also equally important to look at the steps that were taken to minimize the risks for involuntary resettlement and the gender dimensions of the planning and resettlement processes. Ironically, no resettlement plan and compensation policy existed at the time of project inception. Later the government formulated a compensation policy for the leased and non-leased properties. Leased properties were given compensation according to the Land Acquisition Act 1894 that binds the government to pay market value of the property. For un-leased (unauthorized) properties, a compensation of Rs50,000 and a plot of 80 square yards were given to each affected household.

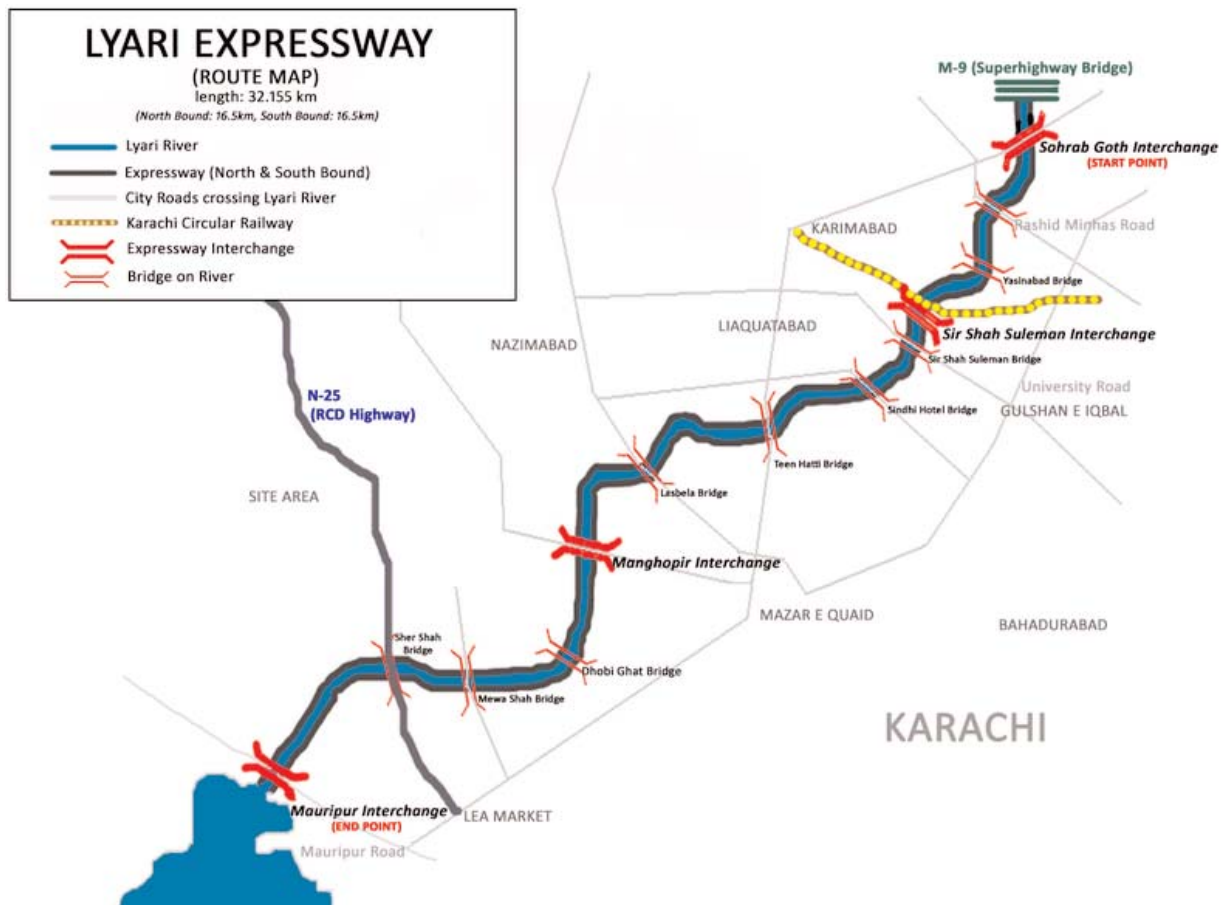
Communicative planning approach ensuring inclusiveness helps address the issues of transparency, while absence of a participatory approach causes confusion, dependency and skepticism prevalent in different stakeholders. The advantage of communication in the early stages of planning generates debate that may be helpful for the planners in improving and finalizing the design and the process. Alternative practical solutions, removal of false expectations, assessment of responsibilities of stakeholders and enhanced technical robustness of the plan are some of the advantages of communication. The issue of displacement, therefore, needs to be discussed at length with the communities prior to eviction.

1.2. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Involuntary resettlement and displacement can be analyzed from various perspectives such as economic growth, need, convenience, redevelopment for aesthetic value and sustainable communities. Equally crucial is to understand and consider the gendered impact of the project plan, its design, implementation strategies and gains and losses (both) at individual and collective levels. This study primarily focuses on the gender dimensions of involuntary resettlement by examining the advantages and disadvantages of the LEW project and its consequences for the affected population.

There is an intrinsic linkage between displacement and vulnerability that results into a deterioration of overall well-being of evictees during the transition phase. This transition phase

Chart 1.1
Route Map of Lyari Expressway



Source: LERP

(the period between displacement and complete resettlement) is largely dependent upon the actions taken to minimize the risks involved.

The primary aim of the research is to assess the level of overall well-being of women and men during the three periods (ATD, ATR, AP).

Some of the principal questions that have guided the research are:

- Why was this project a priority of the government?
- How was the project planned?
- What was the level of community participation in the planning process?
- What level of risk assessment was included in the planning process?
- How were community needs incorporated in the plan?
- Was there any plan to reduce the burden of resettlement for marginalized groups, especially women? If so, how was it implemented?
- How did the community view the displacement and compensation process?
- How have the livelihoods of affected communities changed?

1.3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The conventional methods of inquiry include scientific, positivist, experimental and quantitative methods. These methods can only verify, accept or reject the hypothesis of the inquiry. On the other hand, an alternative method of inquiry that includes the naturalistic and qualitative approaches can also address the grounds of knowledge (ontological) and ways of knowledge production (epistemological) issues of the inquiry in a humanistic manner (Guba & Lincoln, 1988). The humanistic method of inquiry describes the phenomenon holistically with greater interaction between the researcher and the paradigm to be researched. The outcomes of the inquiry are essentially value-bound because it is influenced by the researcher, the paradigm, the theory involved and contextual values (Guba & Lincoln, 1988). The research uses a combination of methods in order to estimate the overall well-being of the affected men and women groups during the three stages of the project defined above both at household and individual level.

The methodology of research follows the normative naturalistic model that includes the choice of sampling procedure, un-structured interviews, survey of displaced people in the resettlement area, data analysis, and application of the IRR model to measure the well-being of affectees. Thus a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry has been used.

The study has been divided in four phases - each with its specific methodological procedure. In phase-I, un-structured interviews with government functionaries directly involved in planning, designing, implementation and resettlement of affectees were carried out to develop an understanding of the rationale and need for the project.

This was followed by focus group discussions with affected communities and interviews with NGOs and CBOs involved in the advocacy and campaign against eviction of people. The purpose was to understand their views on the LEW project and involuntary resettlement.

In phase-III, household surveys in the three relocation sites of Hawks Bay, Taiser Town and Baldia Town were carried out to assess the living conditions of affectees after displacement.

In the final phase, the information collected through household surveys and stakeholders' interviews was synthesized and analyzed to determine the extent of deprivation or improvement in the livelihood opportunities, living standards and well-being at household and individual levels.

1.3.1. Interviews with Government Functionaries

The interviews have helped in bringing forward the views of the government functionaries on the issue of resettlement and rehabilitation of affectees. The limitations and constraints confronted by them during the resettlement process were also extensively discussed. The City District Government Karachi (CDGK), NHA and LERP were approached for interviews. No interviews were conducted at the provincial government level since they were not involved in the planning and implementation of LEW project.

1.3.2. Focus Group Discussions with Affected Communities and Interviews with NGOs

One important aspect of the LEW in general and involuntary resettlement in particular is the different perceptions that exist at the governmental level and among the people. The government considered the LEW and resettlement of people an important milestone in terms of achieving higher living standards, better living environment and property rights. On the other hand, affected communities and civil society organizations such as NGOs, media representatives, professional planners and advocacy groups viewed the LEW and involuntary resettlement a violation of basic human rights. To understand the perspective of affected communities and civil society groups, three focus group discussions (FDGs) in each relocation site were conducted. A very small portion of the LEW is not constructed yet due to court cases. Unstructured interviews with people still living in the right-of-way of the project and not yet evicted were also conducted. Similarly, views of NGOs representatives were important for the analysis of 'claims' made by the government and also to bring forward the opinion of the affected people.

1.3.3. Application of the IRR Model on Primary Data

To measure the well-being of affected communities at household and individual level, Cernea's (1997) Impoverishment, Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model was applied. The IRR model analyzes the gender aspect of displacement by assessing impoverishment risks through various aspects of livelihoods such as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources, and community disarticulation. The model provides a framework to understand the existing inter-linkages and their mutual influence on situations that may lead to impoverishment or livelihood reconstruction. In addition, the model suggests risk reversal strategies as a prerequisite for the reconstruction and improvement of the livelihoods of those displaced by assigning a central role to institutions responsible for the project. The model has policy implications and suggests controlling general socio-economic risks confronted by the displaced people through integrated strategies and adequate financial resources. The model negates a top to bottom approach for reconstruction and argues that the desired outcomes require a participatory approach with convergence of actions by both policy makers and the displaced people. The household survey was the primary data collection instrument for the application of IRR model.

1.3.3.a. Household survey in resettlement sites

There were 46 community groups living on both embankments of Lyari River and were displaced and resettled in the following three sites: Hawks Bay, Baldia Town and Taiser Town. The household survey was conducted in all three resettlement sites.

Questionnaire for household survey

A survey questionnaire was developed, which included screening section, household profile and individual profile. Screening of respondents was the first step of the household survey. The discussions held with the NGOs and government functionaries revealed that a significant number of households in the three resettlement sites were those who were not affected by the LEW.

Displaced people either rented out or sold the properties at substantially lower market prices (though the plots in the three relocation sites had non-transferable leases). The screening section also selected the household and survey respondent based on two major qualifications. First, the household and respondent should be an affectee of the LEW, in the three time periods, and the household moved to the new site within six months of displacement. Second, the respondent should either be an allottee or the person who at the time of survey was 25 years or older.

To analyze gender dimensions of overall well-being, it was imperative to collect data separately for men and women at three different stages. The period before displacement was designated in the questionnaire as 'at the time of displacement' (ATD) while after displacement (the period after six months of displacement) was designated as 'at the time of resettlement' (ATR) and the current status was designated as 'at present' (AP). Information about household size, education, employment, income, unemployment, loss of income due to displacement, household expenditures, debt and assets, structure of house and provision of basic services were collected for the three different time periods by gender in the section on household profile.

In the section on individual profile, the data collected included age, marital status, education qualification, income, nature of activity, occupation, employment, level of socialization, perceptions about community health and empowerment and decision-making. In addition, in order to analyze the eviction and resettlement process, a section dealing with the eviction process, compensation payment and government behavior/attitude was included in the questionnaire.

Sampling procedure and sample size

From the secondary data provided by the LERP, the total number of households was obtained and the total sample size of 500 households was divided by gender in the three resettlement sites. For a comparative analysis, the total sample size of 500 households was divided equally between female and male respondents. However, the total sample size increased finally to 508 households with 252 male respondents and 256 female respondents.

The sampling procedure was based on the purposive sampling method since the target population was only the LEW affectees. Later, the sample was stratified to divide the sample frame into one or more strata. The primary sampling unit (PSU) of the household survey was the the number of households in different sectors of the resettlement sites. For the study, the total sample size by gender by resettlement sites is given in Table 1.1.

Name of Settlement	Gender of Respondent		Total
	Male	Female	
Hawks Bay	126 50.0	124 48.4	250 49.2
Taiser Town	99 39.3	105 41.0	204 40.2
Baldia Town	27 10.7	27 10.5	54 10.6
Total	252 100.0	256 100.0	508 100.0

Source: SPDC estimates

The allotment data provided by the LERP had not been updated because of on-going allotment in Baldia Town. However, by the end of March last year, the total number of allotments at the three resettlement areas was 27,302 in which 5,557 allotments were made in Hawks Bay, 19,306 in Taiser Town and 2,439 in Baldia Town.

Logically the share of Taiser Town in the total sample size should be greater than that of Hawks Bay since the number of allotments in the former was the highest. The shares were, however, calculated according to the year of resettlement. In Hawks Bay, resettlement started in 2002 while in Taiser Town it started in 2004. Resettlement in Baldia Town was the most recent in 2009. The share of male and female respondents in the total sample by resettlement was approximately equal.

1.3.3.b. Case studies

In depth interviews with female affectees were conducted in three resettlement sites for six case studies. The ethnography method of qualitative research was used to document the possible advantages and disadvantages of resettlement in Hawks Bay, Taiser Town and Baldia Town. Sample selection was done through purposive sampling by identifying females with diverse ethno-cultural, education, socio-economic and professional background.

1.3.4. Methodological Triangulation Technique

Triangulation is often used to verify the results obtained from different methods for a research question. It not only enhances the confidence on the research findings but also provides additional methods to verify the results. Methodological triangulation refers to the usage of more than one method in data collection, such as participant observation, interviews with key informants, data from secondary sources and survey questionnaire.

Four types of data collection methods were used to analyze the gender dimensions of involuntary resettlement at household and individual level. Stakeholders' interviews were conducted by applying the qualitative research technique of an unstructured interview guide. Household survey of affected people was conducted through a questionnaire that not only helped in quantifying the extent of deprivation and advantages, but also provided qualitative information about the extent of satisfaction and dissatisfaction of respondents. FDGs with the affected communities highlighted the qualitative and quantitative aspects of change in the livelihoods. Individual case studies of females based on the ethnographic method of qualitative research featured the improvement or deterioration in the overall well-being after displacement.

The methodological triangulation technique was used for further validation and verification of the data gathered from different quantitative and qualitative research methods. The quantitative data was validated with the measurement of overall well-being in all the three different stages (ATD, ATR and AP). Qualitative data was also analyzed to verify the key findings of the other methods such as household survey findings, interviews with key informants, participant observations and focus group discussions.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The research report is structured as follows:

Chapter 1 contextualizes the problem of involuntarily displacement due to development projects from a gender lens. Planning for marginalized communities and urban redevelopment has also been discussed to establish a fuller understanding of the issues related to city development, the planning process and rights of disadvantaged groups. It also outlines the methodological framework for the study and various instruments used for data collection and analysis.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the responses of stakeholders regarding planning, implementation of the project, eviction process, payment of compensation and resettlement and rehabilitation plan.

Chapter 3 analyzes the impact of displacement on household size, education, employment, income, expenditures and liabilities by using the household profile. Variables defining living standards such as house structure and availability of social service provision are examined for all three periods.

Chapter 4 highlights the gender differential impact of displacement at individual level. The factors of well-being are analyzed from individual profile of affectees in education, employment, income, socialization, decision-making and empowerment, access and availability of services and the eviction process, compensation policy and government attitude during the resettlement period. Multiple responses were obtained to observe the variation in respondent perceptions.

Chapter 5 focuses on the application of the IRR model and measurement of overall well-being by gender. The analysis has been conducted at household level.

Chapter 6 summarizes key research findings of the study and recommends actions for the government for both LEW and future DIDR projects.

NOTES:

- 1 An architect and urban planner, Mr. Arif Hasan, SHAHRI-CBE (a citizen group for better environment).
- 2 Lyari Welfare Association, Local Community Based Organizations (CBOs).

CHAPTER 2

INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT PROCESS: STAKEHOLDERS' INVOLVEMENT

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CHAPTER 2 INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT PROCESS: STAKEHOLDERS' INVOLVEMENT

The acquisition of land for urban infrastructure projects often entails involuntary displacement of large swathes of population. These people bear the burden of displacement but may neither be users, nor beneficiaries of the development project in question. Their future well-being thus depends overwhelmingly on the conscientiousness of planning authorities in rehabilitation and in minimizing risk to their lives and livelihoods.

The major stakeholders of LEW project are the federal and local governments, affected communities, and the civil society. Of these, the communities inevitably bear a disproportionate cost of the project without accruing tangible benefits from the expressway. Stakeholders thus have diverging perspectives on the involuntary resettlement caused by the construction of LEW. For instance, both federal and local government officials viewed the people living there as illegal settlers on government land who needed to be removed. On the other hand, the people themselves and civil society organizations viewed their eviction and loss of livelihoods as a violation of human rights.

This chapter examines the roles and responses of all the major stakeholders in order to identify the advantages and disadvantages of the project for them and to highlight the weaknesses (now) visible in the planning and execution of the project along with the risks it poses to the future well-being of the affected people.

2.1. GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES

The LEW was a joint project of the federal, provincial, and local governments. Sixty percent of the funding was provided by the federal government, whereas, the provincial government¹ provided the remaining forty percent. A summary of the conclusions drawn from the interviews² of the concerned governmental authorities is given in Box 2.1.

As mentioned earlier, the NHA, the primary implementing agency, coordinated with the principal consultant, local government, and other implementing partners. The Frontier Works Organization (FWO), a subsidiary of NHA, carried out the physical construction of the Expressway. The local government, specifically the Revenue Department of the CDGK, was tasked with the preparation of a list of affected people and the clearing of structures from the Right-of-Way (ROW). The LERP handled the crucial task of rehabilitation and resettlement of the affectees.

Box 2.1 Roles and Responsibilities of Government Functionaries				
	NHA	CDGK	REVENUE DEPARTMENT	LERP
STAGE 1: PLANNING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roles and responsibilities not clear 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roles and responsibilities not clear 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roles and responsibilities not clear 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roles and responsibilities not clear
STAGE 2: RIGHT-OF-WAY (ROW) DEMARICATION AND LIST OF AFFECTEES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Estimation of Lyari river flow based on 100 years rainfall data Demarcation of ROW to assess required area for construction of LEW Preparation of project design from Engineering Associates Karachi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supervisory role in preparation of list of affectees Verification of initial survey lists by public representatives in collaboration with Revenue Department 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Area-wise survey of affected areas for preparation of list of affectees Preparation of list of leased and un-leased properties; Verification and re-verification of survey lists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preparation of PC-1 on the basis of list of affectees, leased and un-leased structures as prepared by Revenue Department
STAGE 3: EVICTION AND COMPENSATION & CONSTRUCTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Construction of the LEW by Frontier Works Organization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide ROW to the NHA for construction of Expressway Preparation of rehabilitation plan for affectees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demolition of houses coming in the ROW Payment of compensation on leased property as per Land Acquisition Act 1894 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Advocacy and negotiation with communities Enforcement of Compensation Policy as per verified survey lists prepared by Revenue Department
STAGE 4: RESETTLEMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No role in resettlement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of land for resettlement project to LERP for development of these sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of land for resettlement project to LERP for development of these sites 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Planning and demarcation Provision of civic utilities and amenities Management of services Land development Facilitation in initial phase of resettlement Management of resettlement sites

Source: Interviews with stakeholders

As stated in chapter 1, no formal resettlement and rehabilitation plan existed at the time of project inception. This was one of the key problems related to the planning stage of the project. An analysis of this along with other issues and irregularities during each phase of the project is presented in the following sections.

2.1.1. Planning

The involuntary displacement³ of over 250,000 people would have caused major sufferings to the evictees and created huge challenges for any government. Even the most meticulous plan cannot be expected to completely eliminate the hardships and sufferings of those involuntarily uprooted from their homes. The absence of a plan to identify and address the hardships through a consultative process along with the failure in early detection of flaws in the planning intensified the sufferings of the dislocated population.

Involuntary resettlement implies a heightened risk of impoverishment at least in the transition phase. The long-term well-being of affectees depends in part upon the efforts made by the planning authorities to minimize the risks involved during transition. Identification and mitigation of risk is thus an intrinsic part of any planning process. Unfortunately, this project which sought to displace thousands of people was initiated without a formal plan for the rehabilitation of the affected families. Box 2.1 helps in identifying the gaps that existed at the outset of the project. For instance, no socio-economic survey was conducted to assess the risks and the benefits of the project. Similarly, no environmental impact assessment (EIA) was conducted, which is a clear violation of Section 12 of the Pakistan Environmental Protection Act 1997⁴. Indeed, none of the implementation partners interviewed acknowledged that any formal effort was made at any stage to assess the project's feasibility and identify potential gender differentiated social and environmental impacts. A divergence of opinion was observed amongst the various governmental authorities about the usefulness of a formal socio-economic and environmental impact assessment. Some of the officials considered it to be either unnecessary or irrelevant to the implementation of the project, while others said that another project partner was responsible for carrying out such an exercise.

Moreover, the early planning phase also fell short of community participation when the government neither actively engaged, nor shared timely information about the project with the (then) potential evictees. The opinions and the needs of affected communities, especially its marginalized members such as the women, elderly and disabled do not appear to have figured into project plans. The project also failed to invite no-objection from the (then) potential evictees. Altogether, it appears that the LEW project commenced without a clear assessment of the socio-economic risks to the livelihoods, welfare, and potentially enhanced marginalization of the affected people by all the project partners.

The initial failure can be attributed in part to the ill-defined role of project partners. The project, though initiated by the federal government, was implemented by the local government. The latter was responsible for the eviction and rehabilitation of affectees. Similarly, though the federal government financed the capital cost of the project, the provincial government was directed to arrange funds for the rehabilitation and compensation. However, it was observed that no department of the provincial government appeared to be at the front in project execution. At the helm are federal authorities and the city government who have handled each of the critical phases of the project, such as design and construction (federal government) and eviction, resettlement and rehabilitation (local authorities). It thus appears that the federal government has largely dealt directly with the local authorities and the provincial government has been a "silent partner" in the whole process. As highlighted in Box 2.1, the ambiguity in their defined responsibilities allowed each implementing partner to interpret its role to its convenience. This could have been avoided had a formal and timely plan, which clearly delineated the roles and functions of each authority been prepared at the outset. It could also have ensured that at least

one of the project partners, or a third party was assigned the task of conducting a socio-economic survey and an EIA prior to implementation along with a more communicative planning⁵ process involving other stakeholders.

A rehabilitation plan was announced by the local government in September 2002. The plan was neither issued as a public document nor shared with the affected communities. Although it touched upon the issue of compensation, it did not recognize, or provide for, the special needs of vulnerable and marginalized groups such as women, children, the disabled, and the elderly – who are globally recognized to often bear a disproportionate burden of development induced displacement and are the most vulnerable to impoverishment and disenfranchisement.

2.1.2. Demarcation of Right-of-Way and List of Affectees

Demarcation of the proposed ROW was undertaken without any information about the size and demographics of the affected population. The government claimed that the design fulfilled the requirement of displacement of those living along the Lyari riverbed with minimum human suffering and at minimum project cost. The fact is that in the absence of a socio-economic survey, it was not possible to verify whether the area demarcated as ROW was justified with respect to minimum impact and cost. Moreover, it appears that some features of the project design and its consequential implications were not fully understood by all the implementing partners. For instance, it was learnt in the meetings with stakeholders that the original design had no provision for a service corridor for the maintenance of the Expressway once it was completed. Since the maintenance of the LEW would not have been possible with construction along both sides of the road, inclusion of this change at a later stage further dislocated the people and it also, at first, did not get the support from the officials of city government. The local government officials⁶ claimed that they did not understand the technical details of construction such as requirement for the width of the service corridor. Their primary concern was that any change to the original dimensions of the ROW would increase dislocation. But once they were made to understand the technical requirements for the service corridor they too conceded that it was a necessary and unavoidable element of the project design⁷.

The Revenue Department prepared an initial list of affectees based on satellite imagery provided by the NHA without demarcation of the ROW on-ground. The original PC-1⁸ for the project prepared by the LERP in 2002 estimated the total required dislocation of 14,811 families. Due to subsequent changes in the alignment of the ROW, addition of interchanges and court orders, the figure increased to 24,419 in the revised PC-1 in 2005. This again had to be revised upwards to 30,011 in the PC-1 of 2008. Seemingly, these repeated revisions were largely due to the differences in the interpretation of the term "family unit" for purpose of compensation (see Box 2.2).

Box 2.2

Definition of "Family Unit" for Compensation

The City District Government Karachi announced Rs. 2.87 billion rehabilitation plan for the affected people in September 2002, well after the project was underway. It was decided that for un-leased properties, every affected "family unit" would be compensated by award of cash compensation of Rs.50,000 plus allotment of 80 square yards residential plot at one of the three resettlement sites – Hawks Bay, Taiser Town, and Baldia Town.

The initial survey report prepared by the Revenue Department had considered each housing structure as a "family unit" for purposes of compensation. This was later revised after the Sindh High Court ordered that each level of a multi-storied building was to be counted as a separate unit. In the final survey report, "family unit" is in reference to a separate kitchen and bathroom facilities for members of a family. This implies that multiple family units can reside on one residential premise. The difference in the initial and final survey lists is therefore due to counting the number of families per premise as "one family" instead of including them as a single "unit".

Source: Interviews with stakeholders

In 2004, a survey of affected areas was conducted by the Revenue Department. The survey formed the basis of the revised PC-1. The initial survey in 2002 did not document the number of families residing in each premises, number of household members, size of the plot, and the number of rooms. This oversight was partially corrected in the re-survey which documented details about the nature of construction, number of rooms, and the area under possession. In-between the two surveys, some of the households had constructed extra rooms in order to claim more than their due share of compensation⁹. The number of affected family units thus increased. A committee consisting of public representatives, Union Council and Town Nazims of affected areas, was also set up for verification of the survey lists. Unfortunately, in spite of such measures, irregularities such as claim of two plots by a single family unit occurred perhaps due to the failure in documenting the characteristics of affected households in detail during the initial survey. Reservations also exist on the questions of transparency due to ambiguity in the policy about 'award of compensation' coupled with the delays in the process. No evidence was found that families who were evicted before the rehabilitation plan was announced were compensated at a later date. It is also not clear which categories of residential status were eligible for compensation as findings from the field survey (Chapter 3) show that households living on rent as well as those having ownership received compensation. Moreover, the government did not issue the list of affectees as a public document initially. The queries and complaints about entitlements also, could not be raised until after the eviction.

2.1.3. Eviction and Compensation

The construction along the Lyari riverbed consists largely of unplanned and unlawful settlements. Some are, however, on leased property, which dates back at least fifty years¹⁰. The proposal for the construction of the Lyari Expressway, therefore, was initially resisted by communities who had been living in these areas for generations and had developed an affinity with its environs. Since, some of these communities had strong political linkages, a political cost was also associated with the removal of these settlements. Although aware of these difficulties, the local government was resolute that the project had to be completed in the national interest.

The Revenue Department (Enforcement Division) had the difficult task of clearing the ROW for the construction of the expressway. In general, eviction notices were issued to the affected households 15 to 20 days before the demolition. In some cases, announcements about the same were made through mosques and the media¹¹. Electricity and gas supplies were disconnected ten days prior to eviction. The transition period prior to resettlement undoubtedly presented many hardships and inconveniences for all the evictees but, more so, for the most vulnerable, including the women, children, sick, and aged. Seemingly, no special effort was made to ensure that the process of eviction and relocation goes smoothly for these vulnerable groups. Intermittent changes in the alignment of ROW, court orders, interventions from political parties, and community resistance (in the north-bound areas) prolonged the eviction process. Consequently, the local government was able to hand over only a few sections of the ROW at a time to NHA for construction of the expressway¹². Even today, some 5.3 km of the ROW has not been handed over to the NHA for construction. This is the north-bound portion of the LEW, including the areas of Liaquatabad, Hasan Aulia, and Mianwali Colony.

Another important controversy related to eviction was the issue of compensation for the affected families. As mentioned earlier, no resettlement plan and compensation policy existed prior to 2002. This was partly due to the government's stance that a majority of the structures along the riverbed were illegal settlements which precluded their right to compensation. However, a belated compensation policy was announced in the face of growing pressure from the community. The government viewed compensation as a token of "goodwill", intended to facilitate the affectees and not to compensate them for damages suffered during displacement.

For un-leased residential properties, each "family unit" was given a cash compensation of Rs50,000 and allotment of 80 square yards residential plot in one of the three resettlement sites. The LERP was entrusted with the payment of compensation according to the survey lists prepared by the Revenue Department in an open "katchery"¹³. The terms and conditions of allotment are given in Box 2.3.

Soon after the first group of displaced people relocated to the new sites, the government recognized that the affected families would like to plan and construct their homes according to their needs and cultural preferences¹⁴. Hence, a residential plot was allotted to each affected household. The cash component was included with an intention to minimize any opposition.

Box 2.3 Terms and Conditions of Tenure	
1.	Plot cannot be sold or transferred for a period of 5 years.
2.	Physical possession must be taken within 15 days from issuance of allotment order.
3.	Construction must begin within 2 months else plot will be re-allotted in a different sector.
4.	Lease is for 99-years in due course of time giving full security of tenure.
5.	Two or more allottees are prohibited from combining their plots for construction.
6.	No livestock (e.g. cow, goat etc.) can be kept inside or outside the house.
7.	Violation of the above may result in legal action and cancellation of plot.
Source: Adapted from sample Allotment Order (Residential), LERP	

Table 2.1 summarizes the status of the compensation payment. Of the total families affected by the project, 87 percent have been compensated fully while others are at different stages of the process. An Appellant Committee was constituted by the former City Nazim in order to redress the grievances of affectees with regard to compensation¹⁵.

Table 2.1 Payment of Compensation (no. of families)	
Complete Compensation (Rs50,000 plus 80 square yards plot)	26,071
Only 80 square yards plot (cash yet to be given)	2,443
Compensation in-process	1,497
Total	30,011
Source: LERP website as at May 31, 2011	

It is important to note that while all unauthorized residential structures falling in the ROW were entitled to compensation, it was decided that commercial encroachments would not be compensated as they have long availed benefits of unlawful use of government land.

In the case of leased properties, it was decided that if the lease possessed by the petitioners was genuine, compensation would be provided to them based on market value of the property in accordance with the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act 1894¹⁶.

2.1.4. Resettlement

The three resettlement sites have been built free of cost on the land provided by CDGK to the LERP. Both the LERP and local government officials claimed that one of the major reasons to evict the affectees was to lift them from the unhygienic and unhealthy environment in which many of them had lived previously¹⁷. All responsibilities related to relocation of the affected families to the new sites, including payment of compensation, shifting facilitation, demarcation of plots, development of land, and provision of civic utilities and amenities, were given to the LERP (see Box 2.4).

Box 2.4 The LERP
Lyari Expressway Resettlement Project (LERP) was launched in 2002 with the primary objective to relocate over 250,000 people who were displaced due to the construction of the Lyari Expressway. It aimed to lift inhabitants from the unplanned and squalor along Lyari river and provide them with a more healthy living environment in the new resettlement sites. A retired senior bureaucrat, Mr. Shafiq ur Rehman Paracha, was appointed as its Director. In addition to the development and management of resettlement locations at Hawksbay, Taiser Town, and Baldia Town, LERP facilitated the affectees in shifting them to new relocation sites. An Information Booklet ¹⁸ was published to guide affected families about the processes and procedure of relocation.
Source: LERP

Relocation was carried out as per a "Resettlement Preference Criteria"¹⁹ whereby those displaced from the lower, middle, and upper reach of Lyari River were resettled in Hawks Bay Scheme-42, Baldia Town Scheme-29, and Taiser Town Scheme-45, respectively²⁰. Nevertheless if an affectee expressed desire for a specific site from the three sites then the LERP facilitated the request wherever possible. Prior to displacement, the affected households had lived in more or less ethnically homogenous communities, whereas now many different ethnic groups were relocated in the same place. This reorganization probably caused concern for the traditionally conservative communities, especially regarding mobility and sense of security for its female and younger members.

Hawks Bay was the first of the three locations to be populated in 2002 while Taiser Town started in 2004 and Baldia in 2009²¹. Table 2.2 summarizes the allotment data. Allotment details are also uploaded to the LERP website; however, the data is incomplete as the process of allotment is still on-going due to continuing relocation in Baldia Town²².

Hawks Bay	5,557
Taiser Town	19,306
Baldia Town	2,439
Total	27,302

Source: Data provided by LERP on April 12, 2011

The LERP also coordinated with Karachi Electric Supply Company (KESC), Karachi Water and Sewerage Board (KW&SB), provincial health, education, sports, and zakat departments, and federal departments such as Bait-ul-Maal for provision of civic utilities and services in the new locations. It was also responsible for water supply, sewage disposal, sanitation, streets and roads, plantation, and educational institutions in these areas.

Provision of electricity, water and gas to these sites has been a long-standing issue because of the long distances involved. Water pipelines were installed but no water was supplied. Instead, for several years, tankers were used to supply water but this facility was stopped in 2010 because of insufficient project funds.

The project also manages 25 schools through public-private partnership where books, uniforms and stationery are provided to students free of cost. Table 2.3 lists the education facilities extended to the settlers. Teachers are hired from within the communities. The LERP also conducts regular door-to-door campaigns to recruit teachers and encourage new admissions from the resettlement areas.

Primary and Secondary schools (Joint venture with The Citizens Foundation)	23
National Centre for Rehabilitation of Child Labour - NCR Schools ²³ (In collaboration with Bait-ul-Maal)	3
Skill Development Centres (In collaboration with Bait-ul-Maal)	2
Technical Institute (Joint Venture with Ajmal Mian Trust)	1

Source: LERP website as on May 31, 2011

Provision of employment opportunities was not part of the rehabilitation plan since it was not feasible to establish industrial units on these sites. In an effort to facilitate the settlers, the LERP set up skill development centres to provide vocational training in computers, cooking and stitching alongwith beautician courses. This was especially intended for the female members of the community. However, funding constraints are now being faced since the government has not released any funds for the project since 2010. Skill development centres which were being managed from the project funds have not been functional for roughly the same duration.

2.1.5. Present Challenges

The LEW project is well past its revised completion deadline of February 2010²⁴. This is primarily due to the flaws in planning discussed in section 2.1.1. Presently, 86 percent of the ROW has been handed over for construction of the Lyari Expressway while roughly 5.3 km still needs to be cleared. Further progress has been hampered by the non-availability of funds for the project as well as pending cases from aggrieved communities in the Sindh High Court. Meanwhile, the cost of construction doubled from Rs.5.1 billion in 2002 to Rs.11.87²⁵ billion in 2010 due to the increase in cost of construction and the size of affected population.

The possible re-alignment of the segment near Liaquatabad Town and SITE Town (non-evicted communities) poses yet another challenge due to resistance from the community and political power-brokers of the areas²⁶. In Liaquatabad Town, a fresh survey was conducted in 2009 while a survey in SITE Town is still pending²⁷. The NHA proposed re-alignment that will affect the north-bound area from Mangophr Interchange (near Hasan Aulia) to Meva Shah Bridge (near Mianwali Colony). Further, this option will narrow the width of the ROW near SITE Town²⁸. There is a lack of consensus among implementing partners owing to political and financial issues associated with the proposed re-alignment.

The former city government in particular had raised objections to the proposal of re-alignment on technical and moral grounds as it viewed narrowing of the width of the Expressway at the tail as catastrophic in case of heavy rains. It has also been argued that a re-alignment at this juncture to suit the wishes²⁹ of a few communities will undermine the sacrifices made by those who have already been relocated to the new sites besides setting an improper precedence for future development projects. Moreover, a change in design at this stage is expected to further increase the cost of the project.

According to the LERP, more than 500 affectees have filed petitions in the Sindh High Court. The petitioners include those demanding compensation for unleased properties, both plots and compensation money, along with cases for compensation payment for the leased properties. The compensation for leased properties will be decided in accordance with the Land Acquisitions Act 1894. In response, the LERP filed a statement in the court explaining that allotment of plots and payment of compensation has not been made because of non-availability of funds for the project. At the time of interview, no compensation had been paid by the LERP in the past six months at least.

The resettlement project does not appear in current federal or provincial budget documents, which explains the lack of funds available for the LERP. The project funding was covered in PC-1 at Rs4 billion with Rs1 billion to be released each year, however, only 25 percent of the earmarked allocation was released in 2009-10 and no new funds have been released during the last eight months. Moreover, bulk of the project money has been spent in acquisition of electricity and gas connections. KESC has issued disconnection notices to the LERP for non-payment.

Similarly, water supply through tankers has also been stopped because of insufficient funds. Approximately 8,000 students studying in the LERP-run schools are likely to have their education discontinued because of non-payment of salaries to teaching staff³⁰. The on-going development work, including acquisition of additional land for allotment has been halted because of non-payment of liabilities. In order to resolve these issues, the local government has requested bridge financing³¹ facility from the federal government.

Altogether, delays in completion of this project have called into question the efficiency and political will on the part of government for completion of the project. The project has lost its momentum and further delays in completion will only compound the sufferings and uncertainties for those involuntarily displaced.

2.2. AFFECTED COMMUNITIES

Development practitioners³² have stressed upon the need and importance of consultation and participation of the community in the conception and planning phase of projects. If communities are made active partners, the potential for risks diminishes. The affected people, particularly those who may face negative impacts must be fully aware of the design of project, its implementation strategy, besides being involved in the planning to reduce the inherent risks and threats. The potential affectees need to be aware of risk averting strategies, implementation feasibility, their entitlements, (such as compensation, land replacement, training and income restoration), and measures proposed for monitoring and evaluation. Such an inclusive approach helps in improved risk assessment and a sound cost-benefit analysis. The process of risk minimization can be further enriched by alternatives to resettlement which may come from the affected groups. The involvement of communities at an early stage of planning and discussions with them on their resettlement, reconstruction and rehabilitation can provide valuable insights. Such a process helps in bringing forward the perceptions of the affected community – which may be quite different from those of the project planners.

The responsibilities and responses of government functionaries for the LEW project have been discussed earlier in this chapter. This section focuses particularly on the views of community members about the resettlement/ rehabilitation plan and the processes that have been followed. In order to understand their viewpoints, focus group discussions (FDGs) and unstructured interviews with affected men and women were conducted with both evicted³³ and non-evicted³⁴ communities. The main purpose of the FDGs and unstructured interviews was to analyze if the suggestions from the community members could have mitigated the risks of impoverishment. These discussions also helped in identifying the gaps that existed between the planning authorities, executing agencies and the community members during the planning phase of the project, and their concerns regarding the resettlement and rehabilitation plan.

It was reported³⁵ by the LERP that there were about 101 colonies and 700 Katchi-abadis (squatter settlements) with diverse ethnicity, cultures, languages, traditions and customs along

the Lyari River. The LERP referred to it as "mini Pakistan". The dynamics of the inhabitants of Lyari River having diverse interests should have been an important enough reason for the planners to involve people and incorporate their needs and ideas in the planning process.

The findings of the three FGDs with the displaced communities and non-evicted communities are discussed below³⁶.

2.2.1. Inception and Planning

As stated in section 2.1.1, there was no consultation between the affected communities and the government functionaries in the initial phase of the project. The communities were unaware of the project and its possible fallout on their livelihoods until their houses were marked for demolition. Some local activists³⁷ had informed the residents about the project and their possible relocation. It was only after the community members and local activists visited concerned offices that the government officials informed them about the demolition and eviction plans. The communities themselves initiated discussions with the concerned authorities to express their concerns on eviction and relocation. In the initial phase (1996), the LEW project in which eviction of communities was the first step to clear ROW, the government observed complete silence by not revealing details of the project plan. No information was shared with either the stakeholders of the project or the print and electronic media.

Following the consistent efforts made by the affected communities along with NGOs and concerned citizens, the senior minister of the province of Sindh organized a series of public hearings in 1996³⁸. The hearings resulted in a decision by the government to give up its plan to build the Expressway in favor of constructing the Northern Bypass³⁹. In the year 2000, the government planned a shorter version of the Northern Bypass and decided to restore plans to build the LEW, using the leftover funds. Once again, no consultations were held with the affected communities at the time of the re-launch of the project. Thus the government flouted a national law that states that community participation⁴⁰ and environmental impact assessment⁴¹ must be conducted before development projects are approved.

It was reported by one of the non-evicted community groups⁴² that they tried to approach the provincial government to share their concerns but were not given an appointment with the concerned government officials in spite of several reminders.

2.2.2 Demarcation and List of Affectees

After the re-launch of the LEW project in 2000, houses were again surveyed⁴³ and marked for demarcation for the clearance of the ROW. Over the years, the design of the LEW has been a topic of discussion between the government and civil society organizations. The re-launch of the LEW project in the year 2000 with a new design instigated renewed concerns over demarcation. The design of the LEW was changed thrice⁴⁴ in the past and the demarcation maps had changed

accordingly. The present design required eviction from both the sides of Lyari River banks, thus increasing the number of affectees substantively. The design also included houses that are at a reasonable distance from the river bank.

People voiced their concerns against the new design, preferring the elevated expressway design (passing through the middle of Lyari Riverbed) that would require less demolition. According to the community members, the new water channel being built for the Lyari Rivers is of no use since the existing water flow in Lyari River is exceptionally low. The present design required extra land for the ROW, and in the opinion of the community members, this is more than the space needed for the construction of the expressway. Some people believed that eviction will give government access to valuable real estate. It appears that the negative perception of community is largely due to a lack of knowledge and information on the design and environmental impacts of the project. The affected communities have neither been taken into confidence about the construction of service corridors and maintenance pathways that required land other than expressway⁴⁵.

The people consulted also expressed serious doubts about the list of affectees prepared by the Revenue Department of CDGK. As mentioned earlier (section 2.1.2), the definition of the family unit was changed thrice⁴⁶ which raises concerns over transparency in the compensation policy. According to key findings from the focus group discussions, lack of transparency in the compensation policy has deprived some deserving families, while some have received more than what they deserved.⁴⁷

The non-evicted⁴⁸ community group reported that people did not allow the authorities to survey households to prepare a list of affectees. Their refusal was due to their concerns over the present design of the LEW. The government has refused to change the design while the people insisted that this be changed to avoid demolition of houses and eviction.

2.2.3 Eviction and Compensation

According to the people interviewed, eviction notices were given in advance with dates and timings. Since people were not willing to relocate, the notices of eviction were ignored and this resulted in people's resistance causing a law and order issue. There was consensus among community members that the eviction timings were not appropriate. It started in the early hours of the day when the male members were at work. Since the community did not pay due attention to the notices served by the government, the women, children and senior citizens had to face the ruthless eviction process. Forced eviction also had psychological impacts on them as watching demolition of their homes was painful and traumatic.

At the time of preparation of a list of affectees, households were given files/receipt from the Revenue Department of CDGK for compensation payment and allotment of plots. Earlier, the government had

no plans to pay compensation to the affectees of LEW and had termed them as "encroachers" who had settled illegally on government land. After a much publicized uproar by communities, NGOs and concerned citizens, the government formulated a compensation policy. According to the interviewees, the compensation policy had neither taken into account the actual cost of their houses nor the advantages of living near the city centre⁴⁹. They emphasized the point that living near the city center is of great advantage for women to access education and employment. Communities now have to bear the extra costs of education and unemployment as a result of relocation.

People who had leased properties took the matter to court which ordered the government to pay compensation to the owners of leased properties on 'market rate basis' for the plots and also the cost of construction of the house. The members of the yet non-evicted communities⁵⁰ with leased properties also raised concerns on the delays in the compensation payment. They are uncertain of the future of their homes. The value of their property is decreasing due to the fact that it will be demolished, and delays in the compensation of payment would have greater negative financial implications. Further, no additional construction plans can be made or any maintenance of the house be carried out. The community considers it as a 'sunk investment'. Some community members reported that they were in a severe state of depression. This uncertainty has developed unrest and psychological trauma. It may be concluded from these discussions that non-evicted communities are inclined towards a change in project design rather than the payment of compensation.

2.2.4 Resettlement

The communities relocated at Hawks Bay reported that they had to bear the hassle of shifting twice⁵¹. Initially, there were no houses or basic social services⁵² at the relocation site and communities were forced to move initially to an interim location. Most of the households⁵³ preferred to move to a close vicinity of the resettlement site in rented premises. This arrangement was partly due to non-availability of basic facilities and partly because they wanted to supervise the construction of their houses at the relocation site. As a result their household expenditures increased because of advance payment of house rent and the cost of construction. According to community members, they constructed their houses themselves to save money. Most of the people who were involved in the construction of houses after relocation could not continue their education and employment. This discontinuation was permanent in some cases and has severely affected their future well-being. Many respondents complained that the amount of compensation (Rs50,000) received were spent in the months immediately following eviction and was insufficient to help them resettle in the new locations.

When households started living in the resettlement sites, the LERP provided drinking water to every household. Later, it constructed roads and schools, and appointed teachers from the community to develop a sense of ownership. Even though communities are generally now satisfied with the physical infrastructure of the resettlement sites, they remain concerned about

the non-availability of basic utilities such as electricity, gas and water. As mentioned earlier (section 2.1.4), the LERP is coordinating with concerned authorities⁵⁴ for the provision of utilities at resettlement sites, but progress is slow due to factors beyond the control of the LERP⁵⁵.

As discussed earlier in Box. 2.4., an information booklet detailing guidelines for affected people about the processes and procedures of relocation had been printed by the LERP for the affectees. However, no community member acknowledged receiving the booklet. The information gap between the LERP and the community resulted in confusion and despair among the latter.

For the construction of houses at the relocation sites, the affected communities followed the terms and conditions outlined in the allotment order. Community members were of the view that the clauses of 'terms and conditions' in allotment order did not consider their needs. Affected people were asked to start construction within eight weeks after the issuance of the allotment order. This forced people to sell their assets or borrow money. A restriction was imposed on joining two adjacent plots for construction. This forced people to live as a nuclear, rather than a joint family. As a result, they faced additional financial liabilities of utility connection charges and development and maintenance of the house.

2.2.5 Present Challenges

The present living conditions of the affected people show a tangible improvement over their previous homes in terms of environment and hygiene. However, there are still certain issues that require immediate attention of the concerned authorities to enhance the well-being of residents.

The most formidable challenge confronted by affected communities at the three relocation sites is the non-availability of utilities. Among them lack of water is the most pressing issue. Water was initially provided by the LERP and has been discontinued due to lack of funds. Regular connections for electricity and natural gas for domestic use are not available in the majority of the sectors of Taiser Town and Baldia Town. People have made informal arrangements for the supply of electricity, either paying fixed amounts to the authorities or using illegal connections. For cooking, firewood is used in the more non-developed sectors⁵⁶, creating financial problems for many households as firewood is expensive and not easily available.

The schools constructed by the LERP are functioning but the teachers have not received salaries since July 2010. This raises concerns over the sustainability of the schools. There are no adequate facilities⁵⁷ for health and higher education on the resettlement sites. No hospitals or emergency clinics are available nearby. The community members reported deaths of patients failing to get emergency treatment due to long distances from the city.

Another pressing issue at the relocation sites is the insecurity and law and order situation. The community reported a higher number of mugging and robbery cases especially during late hours.

The distance from the city is considered a major issue that is creating problems for education, health, employment and socialization. The LERP head office and local office at relocation site oversee the development work and provide facilitation services to resettled people. However, the distance and travel time play a critical role in coordination between LERP local and head offices.

For non-evicted communities, the biggest challenge is their uncertain future. Most of the community members are still waiting for either a change in design (that would save them from eviction) or the compensation payment on market rate basis.

To summarize, in the absence of planning document, there was a lack of clarity in defining roles of the implementation partners. The project did not follow national and international guidelines for socio-economic impact assessment and risk analysis prior to the implementation of project. Moreover, the planning process appears to have no consideration for gender specific issues which enhances the risk of impoverishment to vulnerable groups. Absence of a consultative planning process with the affected communities led to uncertainty. The concerns of the affected households were not considered in the planning and execution of the project, specifically, localized benefits which these communities had received while living in the city centre. If these considerations had been taken into account at earlier stages, perhaps, risks to the affected population could have been minimized.

NOTES

1. Interview with Project Director, National Highway Authority (NHA) on March 3, 2011.
2. Schedule of meetings with the key stakeholders is provided in Annexure A.
3. The World Bank's revised Operational Policy on resettlement defines imposed "loss of access" to assets and income as a form of forced displacement. For details, see Cernea (2005).
4. See Section 12 of "Pakistan Environmental Protection Act, 1997", Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency, Government of Pakistan. <http://www.environment.gov.pk/>
5. See Lehtonen (*n.d.*) for details on the "communicative turn" in urban planning.
6. Interview with Mr. Syed Mustafa Kamal, former Nazim CDGK on March 15, 2011.
7. *Ibid.* The former Nazim also said that once the NHA engineers explained the logic for a service corridor, they had to concede that the "bitter pill" had to be taken.
8. PC-1 is a planning document prepared for public sector development projects in social sectors, including: Education, Training and Manpower; Health, Nutrition, Family Planning and Social Welfare; Science and Technology; Water Supply and Sewerage; Culture, Sports, Tourism and Youth; Mass Media; Governance; and Research.
9. This information was shared by officials of the Revenue Department. No documentary record however was maintained by them as to the number of households who constructed extra rooms between surveys.
10. Some communities are much older, such as Hasan Aulia which is a 200 year old settlement.
11. The DO Enforcement informed that announcements about evictions were made through loudspeakers of mosques in some cases while radio and newspapers also reported news about evictions though no evidence of the same was provided.
12. The former Nazim CDGK reported that when he took over in 2005, roughly 10 percent of LEW had been completed.
13. A "katchery" is a public forum. In this case, affectees were called to the CDGK offices in Civic Centre, Karachi for payment of compensation.
14. According to the Director LERP the government had initially intended to build standard housing units at the resettlement sites but this plan was abandoned due to objections from the families. A model house had also been built in Hawks Bay (LERP site office at present).
15. The Appellant Committee was chaired by the then nazim of Gulshan Town. It consisted of the nazims of the seven affected towns, i.e. Gulberg, Liaquatabad, Gulshan, Jamshed Town, Saddar, Keemari, and SITE Town.
16. The Land Acquisition Act 1894, Board of Revenue, Government of Sindh.
17. For the government, secondary objective for relocation was flood protection for communities living along the Lyari river. Whereas, the LEW itself was intended to alleviate traffic congestion.
18. The Information Booklet provided to us contains detailed instructions about the procedure of allotment and relocation, including model building plans. But in the discussions with communities and in the field survey, there was no indication that this booklet had been distributed to affected families.
19. The phrase "Resettlement Preference Criteria" has been used in the presentation shared with SPDC by LERP. As evident, it described the criterion for relocation based on the distance of the affected areas from the Lyari riverbed.

20. Lower reach, which is most vulnerable in case of heavy rains, includes: Keemari, Saddar, Lyari, and Jamshed towns; middle reach includes: SITE town, Hasan Aulia, and Mianwali colony; and upper reach includes: Gulshan town, Gulberg, Liaquatabad, SITE town, and Scheme-33.
21. Not all of the sectors in the resettlement sites are inhabited. Site-wise location details are provided in Annexure B.
22. Allotment data of 19,498 allottees was available on the LERP website by May 23, 2011 although total allotments at the time were over 27,000.
23. The National Centre for Rehabilitation of Child Labour is a country-wide program which seeks to wean away children aged 5-14 years from hazardous labour. For details, see <http://www.pbm.gov.pk/new/ncRCL.HTML>
24. LEW original completion date was November 2004.
25. Revised project cost as per NHA. It is expected that the current cost is upwards of Rs. 12 billion because of subsequent delays and lack of consensus on realignment.
26. The areas which are not yet cleared include Angara Goth, Ilyas Goth, A-Area, and B1 Area in Liaquatabad Town, as well as, Multani Para, Jahanabad, Hasan Aulia Village, and Mianwali Colony in SITE Town.
27. According to Revenue Department, the number of affected households has risen from 30,011 to 30,499 families as per orders of different courts of law. This number is expected to further increase once the surveys are completed.
28. According to a presentation shared with us by the Revenue Department this option will result in minimum displacement of roughly 628 units.
29. The Liaquatabad community demand compensation on market rate if they are forced to evict, whereas, the Hasan Aulia community demand a change in design which will save their community. The latter claim that their homes are far from the riverbed and there is no illegal settlement. Community perceptions are discussed in Section 2.2.5.
30. According to a working paper shared with SPDC by LERP.
31. In a meeting held with the Revenue Department officials on April 11, 2011, it was shared that Rs.2 billion has been requested from government.
32. Dolores Koenig (2002), Marie Hoadley (2004)
33. Mainly from Esa Nagar, Dhobi Ghat, Moti Mahal, focus group held at resettlement sites
34. Communities residing at Hasan Aulia, Liaquatabad (A area, B area, Angara Goth and Tangia Village)
35. Meeting with LERP in January 2011
36. Schedule of focus groups is in Annexure A
37. For e.g. at Hasan Aulia village, Hasan Aulia village Welfare Society
38. The report focuses on the re-launch of the LEW project in 2000
39. UN_HABITAT Report (2000)
40. GoP, National Resettlement Policy (2002)
41. GoP, Environmental Protection Act (1997)
42. One residing at Liaquatabad

43. Between 2001 to 2002
44. 1975-85, 1992 and 1994
45. Length of Expressway is 16.5+16.5 (both sides), and roughly 3, 3 kms each sides for service corridors
46. PC-1 of the project were approved in April 2003, December 2005 and November 2008, so the definition must have been changed in 2002, 2004 and 2007
47. Since it was a quite timely process, the members in the family changed when it came to actually receiving the compensation but LERP provided the compensation on the basis of list prepared at the time of demarcation. For instance, a family of four comprising of father, mother, son and his wife (daughter in law) residing in one house will get one plot, but if the parents had been living separately they were entitled to receive two plots.
48. Hasan Aulia
49. Advantages cited include availability and accessibility of public transport, business opportunities etc
50. About 500-600 households at Hasan Aulia and 358 households at Liaquatabad
51. Also mentioned by Noman Ahmed (2003)
52. Such as availability of water, road networks and public transport
53. According to SPDC field survey about 50 percent.
54. KW&SB, SSGC and KESC
55. Such as some sectors were not part of the development plan of the concerned authorities.
56. Hawks Bay: sector 9 and 10, Taiser Town: sector L
57. No hospitals, only small clinics where doctor is seldom available

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS OF IMPOVERISHMENT RISKS AT HOUSEHOLD LEVEL

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CHAPTER 3 ANALYSIS OF IMPOVERISHMENT RISKS AT HOUSEHOLD LEVEL

Common impoverishment risks¹ associated with displacement are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of common property and services and social disarticulation. It is important to look at the gender differentials of the impoverishment risks primarily due to the very nature of their different impacts on men and women.

This chapter presents and discusses the findings based on information collected at the household level for the three time periods (see Section 1.3.3). The following sections present a gendered analysis of impoverishment risks linked primarily with education, employment, and income. An analysis of expenditures, liabilities, living standards, access and availability of public services at household level has also been carried out by comparing pre and post displacement periods. Since the time lag between the first involuntarily displacement and the research is approximately 9 years, changes in household composition have been netted for the population affected by the LEW. This has helped in examining and focusing on the affected people only. The rationale to have information at the household level was to bring forward and understand the change in the well-being of the households in the transition phase (ATR) and at present (AP).

3.1. OVERVIEW OF HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

The globalization trends of 1980s led to the expansion of informal/non-formal sector in Pakistan specifically in major urban centres². The city of Karachi being the focal point of economic activities attracted the majority of inland migrants from all of its four provinces, particularly Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly known as NWFP). Being a port city and a hub for expanding financial activities including the services sector, majority of the skilled and unskilled migrant workers were absorbed in the informal sector. After the initial settlement period, they brought their families to the city in search of better education and economic opportunities for their children. This has increased the demand for low-cost housing in the city.

The emergence of squatter settlements in Karachi was the result of the failure of the government to provide low-cost housing to the people. In case of Lyari River, there was ample land available along the banks of the river, which was traditionally used for farming during low-tide days. Due to migration from various parts of the country, the land was occupied by migrants looking for low-cost housing. However, there were housing units leased from the government and away from the flood zone in which people have been living even before the partition of sub-continent.

Table 3.1.a highlights the extent of association of the affectees with this area, as reflected by the number of years of residence. Gender-wise difference by household heads is also presented to

examine variation in length of residence.

It is evident from the findings of the field survey that more than half the residents (53.1 percent) had been living in the old settlement for a period of 21 to 40 years. The table reveals that 93.3 percent female headed households (FHH) were living in the old settlement for 1 to 40 years as against 84.7 percent male headed households (MHH). More male headed households (15.3 percent) have lived for above 41-100 years in the old settlement.

Years	Total	MHH*	FHH**
1 - 20	32.9	29.9	43.3
21 - 40	53.1	54.8	50.0
41 - 60	12.6	14.6	6.7
61 - 80	1.0	0.6	0.0
81 - 100	0.4	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey
* Male Headed Household
** Female Headed Household

It has already been mentioned in section 2.1.4 that as per the Resettlement Preference Criteria, those displaced from the lower, middle and upper reaches³ were relocated in Hawks Bay Town (scheme 42) while the population living at the middle reach were relocated in Baldia Town (scheme 29). The communities displaced from the upper reach are relocated in Taiser Town (scheme 45). It is also evident from the data that the majority of households relocated to Hawks Bay had been living in Lasbela Colony (Liaquatabad Town) and People's Colony (Lyari Town) before displacement. The affected households at the relocation site of Baldia Town are mainly displaced from Liaquatabad and Gujjar Naala (Liaquatabad Town) and Teen Hatti (Gulshan Town). Similarly, the households now living in Taiser Town were mainly settled in Dastagir (Liaquatabad Town), Moti Mahal and Rajput Colony (Gulshan Town).

The LERP allocated plots initially at Hawks Bay, followed by Taiser Town and Baldia Town. The field survey data shows that resettlement started first in Hawks Bay (2002), followed by Taiser Town (2004). Baldia Town was ready for resettlement in 2009 but field survey data shows that they were relocated in 2010. The relocation to the Baldia Town is still in process. The resettlement process, therefore, have been stretched to almost ten years.

The compensation policy was announced after the project was started. The key findings of the field survey show that of the 508 households, 97% have received the twin compensation of a plot and Rs. 50,000 in cash. Table 3.1.b presents percentage of households who received compensation according to their residential status at the old settlements by household heads.

Response	Own	Rented	Total
MHH*			
Yes	98.1	1.3	99.4
No	0.6	0.0	0.6
Total	98.7	1.3	100.0
FHH**			
Yes	93.3	6.7	100.0
No	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	93.3	6.7	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey
* Male Headed Household
** Female Headed Household

It is important to note that the ownership of residence in the old settlements includes both leased and un-leased properties. Un-leased property also means un-authorized settlement of which there was a majority residing along the Lyari River. As per policy, affectees of rented properties were not entitled for any compensation from the government. However, 6.7 percent of FHH were able to receive compensation despite living in rented premises. This shows preferential treatment to some while not paying attention to others with similar characteristics. It may be concluded from the above analysis that by and large, compensation was based on the list of affectees, but gaps remain. The revenue department having relative autonomy prepared list of affectees which could not be verified by the research team.

The reasons cited by those who did not receive compensation (3.7 percent) were: inability to provide Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC); they were asked for bribe; or were not present in the city at that time. A very small percentage claimed that household members should receive more than one plot as there were two families living in the same house before displacement. This seems to be a problem arising at the time of preparation of list of affectees. As discussed in chapter two, the definition of the family unit changed thrice, creating confusion among affectees. According to them, two or more families⁴ were included as one family unit in the first list of affectees. Later, due to lack of information, deserving households with more than one family unit failed to incorporate names in the subsequent list of affectees. Evidently the change of family unit definition for the purpose of compensation was not shared with all the affected households.

It was important to know whether displacement had any effect on the size of the family. According to the field data, displacement did not create any substantial change in the household size. This shows that any attrition due to relocation to other places or marriage and deaths was balanced by children growing up and new births, thus maintaining the original size of household. There was no choice with the household members except to move at the relocation site despite anticipating difficulties and hardships.

Table 3.1.c summarizes the three periods with average household size by gender. The average household size declined from 8.9 persons in ATD to 7.8 in ATR mainly because of family splits. In all the categories such as male/female and boy/girl, the average percentage declined during the ATR period. In the AP, the addition to the household over time can be attributed to births and marriages in the family, whereas, a decrease was observed in case of girls mostly due to marriages.

Time Period	Male	Female	Boys	Girls	Overall
At the time of Displacement	2.3	2.2	2.3	2.2	8.9
At the time of Resettlement	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.9	7.8
At Present	2.4	2.4	2.0	1.7	8.4

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Time Period	Male	Female	Boys	Girls	Overall
At the time of Displacement	39.2	3.0	48.4	46.8	34.7
At the time of Resettlement	4.0	0.8	5.0	5.9	4.1
At Present	10.9	3.6	49.6	51.5	29.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

3.2. EDUCATION STATUS

Education not only gives vision to an individual but is also an important attribute for the improved well-being of the household. In the contemporary world, education is important for acquiring better jobs, better social status and enables individuals to benefit from the opportunities available. Any impediment to education hampers the future gains a household could acquire. Education is an important instrument that curbs intergenerational impoverishment and risk.

Table 3.2.a presents the enrollment ratios for the three time periods by male/female and boy/girl classifications. Household members at the age of 18 years and above are considered as males/females. Similarly, for boy/girl classification the age group is 5 to 17 years. Due to displacement, it was anticipated that many individuals would have faced discontinuation of education. The discontinuation was further divided into temporary and permanent discontinuation.

Table 3.2.a shows that the enrollment ratios collapsed for all the categories in the ATR period. Some increase in the enrollment ratios for almost all categories were observed in the AP period, except for males who were at 39.2 percent in ATD and only managed to reach 10.9 percent in the AP period. This sharp drop in male enrollment can be explained on the basis of economic hardships and greater distances from job/work after displacement that did not allow males to continue their education.

The striking feature of Table 3.2.a is in the female classification that shows an extremely low level of enrollment (3.0 percent) during the ATD period. This may be due to cultural barriers on female education. The improved education facilities at relocation sites could not increase female enrollment as only a marginal increase (4.7 percent) is observed in the AP when compared with the ATD period. The girls' enrollments have also not increased despite the location of their primary schools being close to their homes and the advocacy campaign of the LERP. Approximately, 48.5 percents of girls are still out of school in the three relocation sites.

The analysis of Table 3.2.a clearly demonstrates that households have had to compromise on the future of their children during the ATR period. The sharp decline of enrollment in the ATR period can be termed as displacement shock for those children who faced temporary discontinuation. For those who did not return to school the displacement eliminated future possibilities to improve their lives and resulted in permanent discontinuation.

Time Period	Male	Female	Boys	Girls	Overall
At the time of Displacement	10.2	28.0	10.4	12.6	11.8
At the time of Resettlement	26.5	20.0	49.5	55.2	50.2
At Present	63.3	52.0	40.1	32.2	38.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Table 3.2.b summarizes the impact on education for those children who were enrolled before displacement. The high percentage of permanent discontinuation of adults (63.3 and 52 percent of men and women respectively) can be attributed to the fact that no higher secondary institutions and colleges were in close vicinity of the relocation sites. Moreover, many affectees substituted work for education in order to supplement the family income after displacement. Similarly, 40.1 percent of boys and 32.2 percent of girls have also faced permanent discontinuation of education. The overall impact of permanent discontinuation of education was 38.0 percent that signifies a higher potential for impoverishment in future at household level.

Interestingly, 55.2 percent of girls were able to re-start education at some point after resettlement in comparison with 49.5 percent for boys. These girls were already enrolled at primary and secondary level before displacement and were able to continue after the displacement because of the commitment of household heads towards girls' education.

Table 3.2.c. explains the reasons for temporary discontinuation. Multiple responses were obtained from the respondents in order to capture the various dimensions of education discontinuation. To simplify the responses by gender, the categories of males include boys and females include girls.

Reasons for temporary discontinuation	Male	Female
Unaffordability due to Resettlement	23.1	20.8
Forced to do Job/Unpaid Family Worker	7.4	4.7
Insecurity due to Law and Order Situation	5.1	8.5
Unsatisfactory Quality of Education	6.9	4.7
Opportunity Cost of Resettlement	9.3	8.0
Increase in Domestic Care-giving Responsibilities	5.6	4.7
No Gender Specific Teachers/Educational Institution	6.9	14.2
Increase in Travel Time	12.5	10.4
No Schools	19.9	21.2
Others	3.2	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

It can be seen from the table that temporary discontinuation was largely due to un-affordability of education expenses following displacement (23.1 percent male responses and 20.8 percent female responses). Temporary discontinuation was also attributed to the non-availability initially of educational institutions for both males and females at the resettlement sites. Some of the affectees (12.5 percent male responses and 10.4 percent female responses) tried to continue their education but could not succeed due to increase in travel time. Unavailability of gender specific schools was also a problem for 14.2 percent of females. As the LERP was able to set up schools in resettlement sites two to three years after relocation, females were able to eventually resume education but males could not. The LERP inducted female primary schools teachers from the affected community to develop a sense of ownership and confidence of the community. The other common causes for discontinuation of education given by males and females were opportunity cost of resettlement, increase in domestic/care-giving responsibilities and unsatisfactory quality of education. In the initial period, 8.5 percent female responses cited insecurity as a cause.

Table 3.2.d shows that the main reason for permanent discontinuation of education for male members was 'due to relocation' (25.5 percent responses). The same response was given by 18.6 percent females. It was observed that male members who were enrolled in educational institutions at the time of displacement had to help in the construction of house, as indicated by 7.1 percent responses from males and 7.8 percent responses from females. The overall economic situation and rising level of poverty also reinforced the need for more members of the household to look for work. For permanent discontinuation, 12.7 percent male responses cited the reason of job/work as against 3.0 percent responses in females. Once engaged in income generating activities it would have been difficult to resume education keeping in view family needs that would increase with time. Hence, permanent discontinuation of education may have curtailed future gains that might have been possible if the households were not displaced. The

Table 3.2.d Reasons for Permanent Discontinuation (percentage of responses)		
Reasons for Permanent Discontinuation	Male	Female
Due to Relocation	25.5	18.6
Education is Expensive	22.2	24.0
Due to Household Chores	7.1	7.8
No Gender Specific Teachers/Educational Institutions	0.9	6.6
No Permission	0.5	4.8
Do not Want to Study	13.2	4.8
Due to Job/Work	12.7	3.0
Insecurity due to Law and Order situation	4.2	7.2
Educational Institutions are too Far	9.4	14.4
No Schools	2.8	3.0
Others	1.4	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

predominant reasons for permanent discontinuation of education for females were: no gender specific teachers (6.6 percent responses), no permission (4.8 percent responses), insecurity (7.2 percent responses) and large distance of education institutions (14.4 percent responses).

The LERP had claimed that due to improvement in education infrastructure at the relocation sites, those who were not enrolled in the pre-displacement period had benefitted. To validate this claim, the field survey of the affected people specifically inquired about the reasons for additional enrollment after relocation (Table 3.2.e).

Table 3.2.e Reasons for Additional Enrollment		
	(percentage of responses)	
	Male	Female
School availability	48.9	48.8
Increase in Household Income	4.4	2.3
Skill Development Opportunity in School	0.0	2.3
Quality of Education/Teachers	6.7	2.3
Community mobilization/Value of education	11.1	11.6
Better school infrastructure	15.6	9.3
Improve Security	4.4	9.3
Separate schools for boys and girls	6.7	11.6
Fee Concession	2.2	2.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Some of the children in the ATD period were not in school-going age and enrolled in education institutions after displacement. This factor was balanced by netting out the percentage of children who were not going to school before displacement. It is clear from the results that the availability of schools at the relocation sites has had a positive impact in the increased enrollment for both males and females. Community mobilization and better school infrastructure have also played an important role in enhancing additional enrollment. Over the years, community ownership has increased with the appointment of local teachers, gender segregated schools and improvement in community relations. This reflects in improved security for female education that eventually became one of the important factors for additional enrollment.

The overall impact of involuntarily displacement on education is more severe on males rather than females. Enrollment in primary and secondary schools for both genders has improved slightly due to provision of schools, but no efforts have been made for higher education at the relocation sites. Due to higher expenses of higher education, long distances, irregular transport and insecurity, females of affected households have few options available for higher education.

Table 3.3
Household Member's by Nature of Activity
(percentage of household members)

Nature of Activity	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
MALE			
Employed/Earners	73.9	36.1	66.5
Unemployed	12.3	37.8	17.1
Income from non-economic sources	1.4	1.4	2.0
No Income/Employment Activity	12.4	24.7	14.5
Sub-Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
FEMALE			
Employed/Earners	11.4	2.5	6.7
Unemployed	0.3	8.8	1.0
Income from non-economic sources	0.7	0.7	1.2
No Income/Employment Activity	87.6	87.9	91.1
Sub-Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

3.3. EMPLOYMENT STATUS

This section presents an analysis of the impact of displacement on employment at household level. As discussed in section 3.1, a large number of affected people were working in the informal sector at the time of displacement. For employment and business, they had the advantage of being close to the city centre. Other comparative advantages were more opportunities for employment and business, low cost of labor and raw material (for self-employed/small businessmen), easy access to industries (for home-based industries), and higher demand for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Table 3.3 shows gender-wise nature of activity of household members in all the three time periods.

The table clearly demonstrates that 73.9 percent of males were employed during the ATD, the ratio declining considerably to 36.1 percent in the ATR. A sharp decline is also observed for female earners (11.4 percent in the ATD and 2.5 percent in the ATR periods). Consequently, unemployment rate in both males and females increased substantially during the ATR period. The category of 'income from non-economic sources' that includes extended family support and social safety nets has remained the same during the periods under discussion.

During the AP period, a somewhat reasonable employment level (66.5 percent) was achieved for male members, while the females came up to 6.7 percent only, still far below the ATD level. The primary reason for low female employment during the AP period is one of distance. Prior to relocation, the majority of the female employees had been working in factories or as domestic servants nearby. The resettlement sites were however, too far from their places of work. There were no or fewer employment opportunities in and around the resettlement sites. Since most of the females were either engaged in home-based industries or domestic service, the impact of displacement on female employment is likely to be permanent.

From the ATD to the AP period, a slight increase is observed in the percentage of household members who receive income from non-economic sources such as private cash transfers (e.g. charity or assistance from family/community). The displacement may have damaged the self-esteem of the affectees as many of them are now looking for financial help.

3.4. HOUSEHOLD INCOME STATUS BY INCOME GROUP

In this section, the impact of displacement on household monthly income is analyzed for the three periods i.e. ATD, ATR and AP. The data on household income from economic and non-economic sources was collected and added to get the total household income. For the purpose of analysis the household monthly income has been adjusted for inflation and divided into income groups.

The income groups have been divided into six categories, from zero to Rs. 15,001 and higher. Involuntarily displacement reduces and sometimes completely eliminates employment/business that inevitably squeezes household income. This fact is borne out by the data in Table 3.4. No household had zero income at the time of displacement. However, as many as 42.7 percent of households had no monthly income at the time of resettlement. This unusual circumstance compelled many households to rely on in-cash or in-kind transfers from friends and families. During FGDs and interviews with key informants, it was revealed that the compensation money given to the displaced people was also used for household expenditures during the transition period. It can be seen from the table that 59.7 percent of households were in the income group of up to Rs.4,000 to Rs. 7,000 in the ATD period. A large percentage of this group lost income completely especially those in the range of Rs. 4,001 to Rs. 7,000. The other income groups show a relatively moderate income decline during the ATR period.

The resilience of the affected communities can be seen from the restoration of household income in the AP period. The length of the recovery period varied for affectees of the three relocation sites but eventually a large percentage of households have become better-off as compared with

Table 3.4
Household Monthly Income by Income Groups

Income Groups	(percentage of households)		
	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
Zero Income	0.0	42.7	0.4
Upto 4,000	21.5	24.0	13.4
Rs. 4,001 to 7,000	38.2	18.7	30.5
Rs. 7,001 to 10,000	20.5	7.7	23.4
Rs. 10,001 to 15,000	11.0	4.3	19.1
Rs. 15,001 to High	8.9	2.6	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Note: Household Monthly Income is adjusted for Inflation

the pre-displacement period. The income group of Rs10,001 to Rs15,000 increased from 11.0 percent during the ATD to 19.1 percent during the AP period. The 15,001 and higher group increased from 8.9 percent during the ATD to 13.2 percent during the AP period. A small proportion of households (0.4 percent) still has no monthly income and depends on in-kind help from family and friends.

The analysis of household income has exposed the deficiencies in the LEW planning process that put the lives of approximately 50 percent of household members at risk during the ATR period.

3.5. EXPENDITURE, ASSETS AND LIABILITIES STATUS

One of the greatest disadvantages of involuntarily displacement is that it breaks the income cycle and increases the level of household expenditures. Although the impact on household income was substantially positive during the AP period, it is likely that expenditures and liabilities would have been higher due to displacement. The information on household expenditures and liabilities was collected at two time periods, namely within one year of displacement and from displacement to the present.

3.5.1. Changes in Household Expenditures

It was anticipated that the displacement will change household expenditures within one year of displacement, as the process of relocation involves many tasks that require financial resources. For instance, families had to bear the cost of transportation of moving, construction of their new home, travel cost from resettlement site to work/school etc. Most of the households rented a home within close vicinity of the construction site for monitoring or to save travel time and cost if constructing the home themselves.

Since the baseline is within one year of displacement and at the time of displacement for two periods, the household expenditures increased in both periods (92.5 and 93.1 percent households respectively). Surprisingly, 5.3 percent of households have not witnessed any change in expenditures within one year of displacement (Table 3.5.a).

Response	Within one year of displacement	From Displacement to at present
Increase	92.5	93.1
Decrease	2.2	2.2
No change	5.3	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

For the analysis of the changes in household expenditures and liabilities, it was imperative to know the reasons for changes in the two time periods. Multiple responses were allowed from the respondents in order to differentiate between the reasons of increase in expenditures after displacement and otherwise. These responses are presented in Table 3.5.b.

After displacement, the first task of all affected people is to construct a house at the relocation site. Understandably, the increase in household expenditures within one year of displacement would be mostly due to construction of their house (27.49 percent), followed by payment of house rent or advance/deposit amount to landlord (17.65 percent). During the field survey it was learnt that there were no shops at the relocation sites and people had to travel to the city to purchase grocery items and medicines. This increased the travel cost as 11.48 percent respondents viewed it as one of the major causes. The large distance from city to the relocation sites also increased the transportation cost of goods that included raw material for the new home and moving from old settlement, etc.

Response	Within one year of displacement	From Displacement to at present
House Rent or Advance	17.65	1.77
Cost of goods transportation	14.12	0.44
Higher connection charges for utilities	6.56	3.68
Higher prices of daily use items at relocation site	7.82	13.25
Due to inflation	13.62	57.88
Increase in Transport Cost	11.48	13.70
Construction of House	27.49	5.89
Miscellaneous	1.26	3.39
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

During the displacement to the present period, inflation was the main reason for increase in monthly expenditure of households (57.88 percent), followed by higher prices of daily use items at relocation site (13.25 percent), and increase in transport cost (13.71 percent). Hence, the households believe that the current increase in household expenditures is due to the overall economic situation in the country.

3.5.2. Changes in Household Assets and Liabilities

One of the major sources of higher impoverishment risk is the loss of assets and increase in liabilities. In Pakistan, the informal channel of social security is very strong for families in difficult situations. Formal channels are much less robust or unavailable. Affected families who have limited options available to mitigate financial crises often take loans. Therefore, it was important to examine the household liabilities during the two time periods to understand the coping mechanisms of the LEW affectees.

In response to the sudden increase in household expenditures coupled with loss of income, affected households of the LEW sold assets to meet the rising financial demands. In case of no assets at household level, the only option left was to obtain loans. Low level of literacy, absence of collateral and the cumbersome process of the banking system impeded the LEW affectees in obtaining loans from formal financial institutions. The affected households borrowed from informal channels (family/friends), a source of interest free money without collateral conditions.

Table 3.5.c shows the negative impact of displacement on household assets as 43.7 percent of households sold their assets to mitigate the crisis in the transition phase. Some households

recovered from the shock as 15.7 percent viewed an increase in the household assets when compared with the displacement period. However, 31.5 percent of households could not recover from the displacement shock that reduced their assets.

Response	Within one year of displacement	From Displacement to at present
Increase	2.6	15.7
Decrease	43.7	31.5
No Change	53.7	52.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Interestingly, 53.7 percent of the households responded 'no change' in household assets despite being allotted a plot of 80 square yards each. This shows that the households do not perceive their plot as an asset and consider their assets status to be same as before displacement.

The following section discusses the reasons for depletion of assets at household level. As mentioned before, the change in assets will be analyzed by comparing two time periods. The respondents were allowed to give multiple responses.

Table 3.5.d presents the reasons for decrease in household assets. It is seen that the main reason for depletion of the assets one year after displacement was construction of house (44.8 percent) at the relocation site. Due to income and employment loss, the monthly expenditures of the household (30.0 percent responses) were met from the sale of assets. During eviction, 7.6 percent respondents acknowledged that household assets were either damaged or stolen.

Response	Within one year of displacement	From Displacement to at present
Construction of House	44.8	17.1
Medical Treatment	5.5	13.4
Marriage	3.3	8.3
Not Allowed to keep livestock	0.9	1.4
To make ends meet	30.0	48.1
To resume business	3.3	4.2
Assets Depleted	3.0	2.3
Dowry	0.3	0.5
Damage/Stolen during eviction	7.6	2.8
Theft	1.2	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

At present, the main reason for depletion of assets was 'to make ends meet' (48.1 percent). It is evident that the households are selling assets in order to meet daily financial requirements due to rising inflation. It has been learned from field visits to the relocation sites that the construction of houses is still on-going because of lack of funds at the time of displacement. The households constructed only one room initially in order to settle at the relocation site. The 17.1 percent responses of house construction depicting ongoing construction indicate that this may be financed by selling off household assets.

Table 3.5.e shows the percentage of households that had taken loans after displacement. Liabilities have increased for 58.1 percent households primarily due to relocation. The cost of construction

was high. Despite the compensation money of Rs. 50,000, 53.7 percent households were compelled at present to borrow. The displacement has increased the future liabilities of the affected households that do not have substantial income sources to repay the loans.

Table 3.5 f presents the reasons for taking loans in the two time periods. Within one year of displacement, house construction was the prime reason (66.4 percent) for taking a loan, followed by post resettlement adjustment (15.6 percent), and income loss shock (8.2 percent). At present, the construction and/or extension of the house was also the main reason of borrowing (31.0 percent) as well as payment of old/recurring debt (14.2 percent). At present, some households have still not come out from the income

loss shock (13.0 percent) primarily due loss of employment and business after displacement. This signifies the lack of income resilience in the affected people.

The key findings of household assets and liabilities before and after displacement suggest that affected households of the LEW had meager resources to cope with the crisis. As a last resort, households used assets such as livestock, motor cycles, refrigerators, televisions and other household items to meet their daily expenses. However, a large percentage of households did not have enough resources to construct their house at the relocation site, and were thus obliged to take loans from family and friends.

3.6. COMPARISON OF LIVING STANDARDS

This section analyzes the attributes of living standards of the surveyed households. These attributes are divided into three categories: structure of house, provision of basic utilities and access and availability of other public/private services. The status of overall living conditions of the households is presented during the three time periods (ATD, ATR, AP).

3.6.1. Housing Units at Lyari River

Housing is a basic human need that has a direct relationship with income and savings at household level. The dilemma with migrants and low income earning individuals is the lack of savings that impedes purchase of houses in a metropolitan city. In the absence of low cost housing, the

Response	Within one year of displacement	At present
Yes	58.1	53.7
No	41.9	46.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Response	Within one year of displacement	At present
Construction of House	66.4	31.0
Post resettlement adjustment	15.6	4.7
Income Loss Shock	8.2	13.0
Purchase of assets	0.8	5.3
To resume business	2.8	4.1
Medical	2.3	6.5
Marriage	2.8	11.5
Old/Previous Debt	0.3	14.2
Daily Expenses	0.5	5.6
Others	0.3	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Table 3.6.a
Residential Status

(percentage of households)

Residential Status	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
Own Residence	98.0	45.5	91.9
Rent	2.0	50.6	6.1
Others*	0.0	3.9	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

*Other: no / subsidized rent etc.

emergence of squatter settlements is inevitable. The affected households of the LEW project considered 'homes near the Lyari River' as their life-long asset. Not concerned with the legal status of their house, the ownership was an important factor and a source of self-esteem for all.

Residential status, house structure and material of roof are important parameters to help compare living standards during the three time periods. Table 3.6.a presents the residential status of the surveyed households during the three time periods.

The table shows that ownership⁵ of houses declined by more than half soon after displacement i.e. from 98.0 percent to 45.5 percent of households. It was also mentioned in section 3.5 that most of the households lived in rented premises in nearby localities temporarily while constructing own houses at the resettlement sites. During the ATR, the high percentage of 50.6 households living in rented homes confirms the claim of respondents. Those who could not afford to live in rented premises lived on allocated plots with temporary/make-shift arrangements. At present, 91.9 percent of the households have ownership of residence with legal documents.

The structure of a house depicts the overall living conditions and level of affordability for repair and maintenance. Table 3.6.b shows that only 56.1 percent of the houses had 'pukka' (proper concrete structure) structure at the time of displacement. At present, almost half (48.4 percent) of the houses have 'pukka' structure. At the time of displacement 4.1 percent households lived in shelters (tent/shed) as they did not have enough resources to afford rented premises.

Table 3.6.b
House Structure

(percentage of households)

House Structure	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
Katcha	13.4	23.2	7.3
Semi-Katcha / Semi-Pukka	30.5	46.9	44.3
Pukka	56.1	25.8	48.4
Shelter	0.0	4.1	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Table 3.6.c
Material of Roof

(percentage of households)

Material of Roof	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
RCC / RBC	28.5	10.9	22.8
Wood / Bamboo	4.3	13.9	0.6
Steel / Cement	54.3	57.4	60.0
TR Garder	4.3	4.2	6.9
Tent (Fabric or Hay)	0.6	5.1	0.4
Tin or Cement / Ready-made roof / Tile	7.9	7.9	9.3
No Roof	0.0	0.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Households were also asked about the building material used in construction. Findings show that the majority of the households used steel/cemented sheets to construct the roof of their house during the three time periods i.e. 54.3, 57.4 and 60.0 percent respectively. Wood or bamboo was also used to construct the roof at the time of resettlement. It is important to note that the majority of the houses that had 'pukka' structure and RCC (Reinforced concrete cement) roof in the ATR were living in rental premises.

3.6.2. Basic Household Utilities

This section presents household living standards in terms of provision of basic utilities such as water, sanitation, electricity and gas during the three time periods.

Water is required to perform all the daily household chores. Table 3.6.d shows that 72.0 percent of households had water connections inside their houses at the time of displacement. The provision of water at relocation site was the responsibility of the LERP since no piped water supply was available. Water tankers were provided free of cost to the households during relocation. This seems to have been a temporary arrangement. Some households informed that the LERP had also provided drinking water during the first few weeks of the ATR. Lack of funds in the LERP has now caused a discontinuation of these supplies and about 44.9 percent of households now have to buy water from private tankers.

Table 3.6.d
Source of Water

(percentage of households)

Source of Water	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
Water Tap [inside the house/premises]	72.0	16.1	40.0
Water Tap [outside the residential premises]	16.7	4.3	0.8
Government Tankers	0.2	58.1	13.2
Tanker purchased by respondent	1.6	17.3	44.9
Others*	9.4	4.1	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

*Others: Hand/motor pump, well, private arrangement etc.

Table 3.6.e
Sanitation Facilities

(percentage of households)

Sanitation Facilities	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
No Facility	5.31	8.27	10.63
Flush System [linked to sewerage system]	74.80	67.13	84.65
Flush [linked to open sewerage system]	10.63	7.09	2.95
Khudi	3.74	12.20	0.00
Other*	5.51	5.31	1.77
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

*Others includes flush linked to tank etc.

Lack of provision of water at the relocation sites is one of the major problems confronted by affected communities since relocation. Future water availability depends on water pipelines that have still not been laid in any of the three resettlements sites. In the absence of supply of water by the government, the people living there will remain in a state of uncertainty and deprivation of basic services. Lack of water has not only been a source of physical and psychological hassle but also an additional financial burden for them.

As shown in Table 3.6.e a large percentage of households have used the flush system (linked to sewerage) during the three time periods. The numbers show an improvement in the sanitation facilities as the percentage of flush systems linked to sewerage has increased and open sewerage has declined from the ATD to the AP period. However, some respondents pointed out that although the sewerage system is in place it is not functional as the majority of lines are choked or broken.

Table 3.6.f shows that households with an electricity connection (meters) were 89.2 percent during the ATD and declined to 37.0 percent during the ATR. During the initial phase of adjustment (ATR), the majority (38.6 percent) of households used 'kundda'⁶ to obtain electricity. According to the people interviewed, this is a usual official arrangement with the authorities of the electricity company. The electricity company had neither time nor resources to provide metered connections. Instead households were billed a fixed amount which was agreed to by both parties.

Table 3.6.f
Source of Electricity

(percentage of households)

Source of Electricity	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
Electricity with meters	89.2	37.0	71.7
Electricity with Kundda (official)	7.1	38.6	15.9
Electricity with lump sum payment (lineman)	2.0	4.9	10.0
Kerosene	0.2	11.6	0.2
Power Theft	0.6	4.7	1.8
Other*	1.0	3.1	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC field survey of Lyari Expressway Resettlement Towns

*Others includes gas, private arrangement, firewood etc.

Table 3.6.g
Source of Cooking Fuel

Source of Cooking Fuel	(percentage of households)		
	At the time of Displacement	At the time of Resettlement	At Present
Gas with meter	84.8	28.5	84.6
Gas supply without meter (official)	1.8	3.0	1.0
Gas Supply with lump sum payment (lineman)	1.6	1.0	1.2
Firewood	9.8	61.4	10.2
Kerosene	0.8	2.0	0.2
Purchase gas cylinder	0.6	3.7	2.4
Private arrangement with neighbor with payment	0.6	0.2	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

During the initial phase of resettlement, there was no provision of cooking fuel (natural gas) and the affected people used firewood for cooking (61.4 percent of households during the ATR period). It was quite cumbersome and costly to collect or buy firewood but at that time the households had no other option available. The situation has improved during the AP period as 84.6 percent of households have natural gas connections (see Table 3.6.g). However, some sectors in the resettlement sites still do not have gas connections. At present, 10.2 percent of the respondents are using fire wood that is expensive when compared with natural gas.

Physical living conditions at relocation sites are better than at the pre-displacement sites in terms of infrastructure provision. However, there are issues of water supply and sanitation that are constantly deteriorating the overall living conditions. Affected communities are uncertain about the possibility of getting these problems solved due to lack of attention by authorities. A onetime funding will also not address the problems. Lack of political will is also an impediment to any solution since the people are unaware of who to approach.

3.6.3. Accessibility⁷ and Availability⁸ of Other Services

Along with the availability of basic utilities, access and availability of other common facilities play an important role in making a place worth living. The households were asked about access to facilities such as parks, community centres, public transport, places of worship and markets. An attempt was made to categorize these facilities by the service providers in order to make a distinction between public and private provision of services/facilities at resettlement sites. The data is presented for only two points in time: during the ATD and AP periods to compare changes in the provision of these facilities/services.

Table 3.6.3.a shows the access of household members to common facilities such as parks and playgrounds, community centres and places of worship during the ATD and AP. Access is defined as presence and no access mean unavailability. Access to playgrounds increased from 57.1 percent at time of displacement to 72.4 percent at present. But access to community centres decreased from 61.4 percent to 31.9 percent between the two time periods. It has been learned

Response	<u>Parks and Playgrounds</u>		<u>Community Centre</u>		<u>Places of Worship</u>	
	ATD	AP	ATD	AP	ATD	AP
Yes	57.1	72.4	61.4	31.9	99.8	98.6
No	42.9	27.6	38.6	68.1	0.2	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

from field visits to the relocation sites that the households were satisfied with the overall living environment. Children have greater access to parks and playgrounds that would provide a healthy atmosphere for those who used to play on streets or along the banks of the Lyari River prior to displacement.

Response	<u>Cable TV Network</u>		<u>Grocery Shop and Market</u>	
	ATD	AP	ATD	AP
Yes	95.7	61.4	99.8	94.7
No	4.3	38.6	0.2	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Access to cable TV network is an important factor determining leisure opportunities available at home. Similarly, information on access to grocery shops and local markets explains whether daily use items are easily available. Table 3.6.3.b also shows that access to TV cable has decreased substantially from 95.7 percent to 61.4 percent when compared to the pre-displacement period. These services are provided by the private sector that decided to leave the resettlement sites because of low capacity to pay user charges by the affected people. At present, 94.7 percent of households have access to grocery stores. This signifies the growth of business for daily use items at the relocation sites.

Households also shared views on the accessibility of public services such as public transport, health clinics and Mother and Child Health (MCH) centres. These facilities are as important as basic utilities and form an integral part of well being at the household level.

Table 3.6.3.c reveals that access to health clinics and MCH centres decreased from 99.4 percent to 54.3 percent and 94.3 percent to 48.6 percent respectively during the ATD and AP period. In case of an emergency, patients have to be taken to medical facilities located in the city centre as there are no such facilities available at the resettlement sites. Some respondents also related experiences (of losing family members on their way to hospital. Access to public transport has decreased from 99.0 to 83.3 percent from the ATD to the AP period.

Response	Transport		Health clinic and 24 hospital		Family Planning & MCH Centres	
	ATD	AP	ATD	AP	ATD	AP
Yes	99.0	83.3	99.4	54.3	94.3	48.6
No	1.0	16.7	0.6	45.7	5.7	51.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

In addition to access to basic services/facilities, it is also important to look at the frequency with which such facilities are available at the resettlement sites. One of the major complaints of the affected people was the quality and frequency of these services/facilities. There are clinics but no doctors or paramedics are available most of the time. Similarly, the transportation service/facility exists but the timings of bus arrival are unpredictable.

Response	Water		Gas		Doctor		Transport	
	ATD	AP	ATD	AP	ATD	AP	ATP	AP
1. Regular	96.9	26.6	88.0	77.0	99.0	37.8	99.4	35.8
2. Irregular	2.6	49.4	0.6	10.2	1.0	59.4	0.4	62.6
3. Not Applicable	0.6	24.0	11.4	12.8	0.0	2.8	0.2	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Table 3.6.3.d shows the availability of public services/facilities at the time of displacement and at present. The availability of water decreased from 96.9 percent in ATD to 26.6 percent at present. The term not applicable applies where service is not provided by the government as in the case of 24.0 percent of households at present.

The table also shows that the availability of doctors and transport is irregular at present for a large number of households. The affected people are worse-off in terms of availability of doctors and transport facilities at relocation sites as when compared with the pre-displacement period.

Table 3.6.3.e shows the availability of services usually provided by the private sector such as medicines, items at grocery shops, fresh fruits and vegetables, meat and poultry, fresh milk and hardware store. Such services are daily requirements of households and it is usually not possible to purchase these in bulk from the city. The table shows that these consumer items are available at relocation sites but are irregular as compared with what was available during the ATD period. For instance, the availability of medicines before displacement was 98.2 percent and has declined to 55.9 percent at relocation sites. The availability of life saving drugs is vital for healthy communities and their low availability has put an additional psychological burden on affected people.

Table 3.6.3.e
Availability of Private Services

(percentage of households)

	<u>Medicine</u>		<u>Grocery shop</u>		<u>Vegetable & Fruits</u>		<u>Meat & Poultry</u>		<u>Fresh Milk</u>		<u>Hardware Store</u>	
	ATD	AP	ATD	AP	ATD	AP	ATD	AP	ATD	AP	ATD	AP
Regular	98.2	55.9	99.8	81.3	100.0	78.0	99.8	77.6	100.0	85.6	100.0	79.5
Irregular	1.8	42.7	0.2	17.5	0.0	21.3	0.2	21.3	0.0	14.2	0.0	19.1
Not Applicable	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.8	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	1.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: SPDC Field Survey

The benefits of living near the city have been revealed from the analysis of accessibility and availability of items of household need. Besides income and employment loss, inaccessibility and unavailability of basic facilities/services has increased physical and psychological trauma of the affected people.

The analysis at household level shows that the overall well-being of the households declined soon after the displacement by discontinuation of education primarily for males, and high employment loss especially for females who worked as domestic servants and own home-based enterprises. Subsequently, a large percentage of households were able to recover from the displacement shock and came close to the welfare level at the pre-displacement stage. The impact of displacement was high for males who had to discontinue their education permanently and were forced to work to support the family income. Enrollment in female and girl classifications increased in the AP period and can be attributed to efforts made to strengthen female/girl resilience capacities by the LERP.

Case Study 3.1 Striving to Adapt

In the six years since displacement Razia*, a single mother of four daughters, has not forgotten her old home in Zia-ul-Haq Colony in Gulshan-e-Iqbal Town. She had lived there with her parents since her husband abandoned her sixteen years ago. Razia worked as a domestic servant in order to support her daughters. The forced resettlement in Taiser Town in 2005 added to her woes. She now had to look after the construction of her house at the new location while also continuing her employment. Razia said that it was only due to the financial and in-kind support from her employers that she made it through this difficult time. However, Taiser Town is away from the homes in which she works and the irregularity of public buses near this site cuts into her working hours. Transport is usually scarce in the early and late hours of the day. But due to fewer work opportunities near the relocation site, Razia is forced to travel the long distances from home to work. At home, she must also adjust to the unavailability of basic utilities. Water in particular is scarce as only one drum of drinking water is provided by the authorities per week. Electricity and gas connections are also non-existent, therefore, she is forced to take an illegal connection and uses firewood for cooking which takes a longer time. As a result, her daughters often leave for school on an empty stomach. In such moments she misses her previous home. She added that many times the joy of having a cup of tea turns into an unpleasant experience when she compares her present life with that before displacement. Still she remains optimistic that authorities will soon take notice of the problems in this site and provide the basic utilities which are necessary for everyday life.

*Name has been changed to protect privacy.

In terms of average household income, the survey data shows an improvement during the AP period when compared with the ATD period. However, the income shock of displacement was severe for 42.7 percent households that were forced to survive on assets and support from family and friends during the initial ATR period. Household expenditures patterns changed after displacement as large percentage of households required money for the construction of their new homes. This resulted in the depletion of assets and loan borrowing from informal channels, thus increasing future liabilities for households. Physical infrastructure of the house is comparatively better at present but accessibility and availability of health clinics, medicines and water are critical issues for the people living at resettlement sites.

Case Study 3.2 Blessing in Disguise

God uses tough times to test us and it is upon us to remain resolute in the face of challenges, said Sadia*, a teacher in LERP school in Hawks Bay. Before the eviction, she had lived in Sher Shah as part of a joint family. In 2002, her husband was allotted a plot in Hawks Bay where they live with their five children. Sadia was a housewife at that time while her husband had worked in a small industrial unit in the city. After relocation to Hawks Bay, her husband established a shop nearby. When LERP established primary school in the relocation sites, some community representatives approached her with an offer of teaching as she was one of the few literate women in the area. Sadia had completed Intermediate but was unable to study further due to household responsibilities after marriage. The offer turned out to be a golden opportunity for her as not only did she start teaching but with the help of the school administration she completed her graduation and Certificate of Teaching (CT). With the support from her husband, Sadia eventually started giving private tuitions and now contributes a significant amount to the family income. Her involvement in school and community activities has also made her more confident and more empowered to take decisions regarding her family. There are challenges to contend with due to inadequate facilities at this relocation site, however, her family is satisfied with this new phase of life. For her personal development Sadia feels that the displacement was a blessing in disguise.

*Name has been changed to protect privacy.

The information on these characteristics was collected at the household level, therefore, it was difficult to disaggregate gender-wise impact of displacement. However, the following chapter focuses on the affect on individual well-being from the perspective of the differential nature of the burden borne by men and women affectees of LEW.

Case Study 3.3 A Mother's Dilemma

The consequences of resettlement put Jamila* in an unusual situation. Before eviction, Jamila had worked in a factory near her home in Esa Nagar. Her husband had not been able to work due to illness so Jamila and her eldest daughter had to provide for the five other family members. Both of them lost their jobs when the family was relocated to Taiser Town in 2004 as the distance to their workplace increased along with the commuting cost. She also had to take loan for the construction of the house, but is struggling to repay the debt. Jamila and her sons have been unable to find work near the resettlement site due to lack of opportunities. Whereas, commute to city centre is too costly and the work opportunities are not sufficiently rewarding. Luckily, her daughter managed to get a job recently at a comparatively better pay scale so this has lessened some of their problems. But this situation has put Jamila in a dilemma as she cannot think about her daughters' marriage even though she has received several offers. Jamila said that every mother wants the best for her child and has dreams of seeing her daughter settled in her life. She would like there to be income opportunities near her home so that it brings some betterment in the lives of her children, especially her eldest daughter who is with her in difficult times.

*Name has been changed to protect privacy.

NOTES:

1. Cernea (1997)
2. SPDC (2010a)
3. These refer to the distance of affected areas from Lyari riverbed.
4. The first definition of family unit was one housing unit irrespective of number of kitchens and bathrooms. Later, the family unit definition changed to number of levels of the housing unit. Finally, the definition of family unit changed to one kitchen and one bathroom.
5. Households perceive ownership rights despite having no legal documents of the property.
6. 'Kundda' is a hook connected with the main line through an electrical cable. These are illegal connections.
7. Accessibility: ability to reach facilities/services
8. Availability: regularity or frequency of access to facilities/services

CHAPTER 4
GENDER-WISE
ANALYSIS OF
INDIVIDUAL
WELL-BEING

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The impact of involuntary displacement due to infrastructure development on affected communities depends largely on how the resettlement process is planned, negotiated, financed, and implemented. The primary objective of resettlement must be to safeguard the human well-being of those affected. McGillivray (2007) describes this as "the state of individuals' life situation." Human well-being comprises diverse characteristics which include: *material well-being* (food, assets, and work); *physical well-being* (bodily integrity, health, and physical environment); *social well-being* (self-respect and dignity, affiliation, and friendship); *psychological well-being* (peace of mind, happiness, and harmony); and security (personal physical security and lawfulness and access to justice)¹.

Development induced involuntary displacement in the absence of a consensus-based plan for rehabilitation, however, poses serious threats to some of these dimensions of individual well-being. The risks involved may include impoverishment along with certain other indicators having pronounced effects on the affectees in the transition phase. Cernea (1997) identifies the impoverishment risks intrinsic to forced relocation as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property resources, increased morbidity and mortality, and community disarticulation². Loss of access to public services, disruption of formal education activities, food insecurity³, loss of civil and human rights, and diminished political and social capital⁴ are some of the other threats to human well-being from involuntary displacement.

The previous chapter looked into the gains and losses caused by displacement at the household level of the affected population of the LEW. It particularly focuses on education, employment and income and expenditure and liabilities along with a number of other aspects of household living standards. This chapter in contrast focuses on the individual respondents of SPDC's survey who were affectees of LEW project. It examines the gendered impact of involuntary displacement and resettlement on these affectees and its implications on their future well-being which may differ from the findings at the household level discussed earlier. The objective is to help understand the nature of the burden borne by the female and male respondents separately.

The gains and losses mentioned above have been compared between the female and male respondents by collecting and analyzing data on marital status, education, income and employment status, socialization, and various other aspects of individual well-being⁵. The analysis based on the responses given on the process and experience of displacement helps in exploring the level of satisfaction and dissatisfaction prevalent among individual affectees. Perspectives existing among the affectees about their future in the relocated sites have also been discussed.

4.1. INDIVIDUAL PROFILE

As mentioned in Section 1.3 a total of 508 respondents who were interviewed comprised 252 males and 256 female affectees of the LEW project. This section presents a basic profile of respondents regarding their age, marital status, and educational qualifications.

4.1.1. Average Age of Respondents

The process of displacement caused by the LEW project began in 2002 when the first set of evicted families were relocated to the Hawks Bay resettlement site. Subsequently, gradually evicted families were given plots at the two other sites, in Taiser Town (2004 onwards) and Baldia Town (2009 onwards).

To overcome the obvious disadvantages caused as the years elapsed, a minimum age criterion was applied for selection of the respondent for the survey. The minimum age was fixed at 25 years at the time of interview. This helped in ensuring that the respondent was at least 16 years of age at the time of eviction and hence remembered the experience of being displaced.

In the sample, the average age of the respondent at the time of displacement (ATD) and at present (AP) is 35 years and 42 years, respectively. This implies that the respondents, at the time of displacement, were of working age, either employed, self-employed or looking for

work, or otherwise engaged in household chores. Table 4.1.1 also indicates that no significant difference exists in the mean age of female and male respondents. It is evident from the table that at the time of displacement, the respondents were responsible and taking care of both their children and elders of the family.

Gender	Respondents	Mean Age (Years)	
		ATD	AP
a. Male	252	35.42	42.3
b. Female	256	34.88	41.8
Total	508	35.15	42.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

4.1.2. Marital Status of Respondents

Marriage is not just a strong cultural and religious institution in Pakistan but it also has implications for the social and economic status of individuals, especially women⁶. The findings of the survey conducted indicate that 77 percent of female and 71 percent of male

respondents were married at the time of eviction (Table 4.1.2). Therefore, it may be presumed that the respondents were then earning and had household responsibilities on their shoulders.

	ATD		AP	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
a. Unmarried	27.8	12.1	17.1	8.2
b. Married	71.4	77.3	81.0	74.6
c. Divorced / Separated	0.4	1.2	0.8	1.6
d. Widow / Widower	0.4	9.4	1.2	15.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

The category of 'single' is further classified as unmarried, divorced/separated, and widow/widower. As reflected in Table 4.1.2, comparatively more male respondents were

unmarried prior to displacement, whereas more women were either widowed, divorced or separated at the time. In the absence of a male partner, there exists a probability that at least some of the women were household heads at the time of eviction with other household members dependent on them. This is a situation that implies greater vulnerability and risk of deprivation as a result of involuntary displacement.

The table also shows that a relatively larger percentage of males than females married in the post-settlement period. Given the social construct of Pakistan, it may be presumed that economic responsibilities on the male causes delay in their marriages as compared to females. In this particular case the difficulties confronted during the transition phase may have compelled some men to initially give preference to income generation activities over marriage. The share of respondents who have gone through either death of spouse or a separation/divorce in the post-resettlement period has also increased, particularly for females in the widow category (9.4 percent to 15.6 percent) between the ATD and AP periods.

4.1.3. Educational Qualifications of Respondents

In general, poverty, dismal growth, lack of employment opportunities and distortion in public expenditure priorities as well as feudal and patriarchal structures have contributed to the poor state of education in Pakistan. In the case of the LEW project, the affected communities belonging to different ethnic and cultural backgrounds have diverse educational status. Table 4.1.3 summarizes the gender-wise education status of respondents. During two different time periods (i.e. at the time of displacement and at present), roughly 39 percent and 63 percent of males and females respectively did not have any formal education. While apathy for female education in the country is pervasive, the high percentage of female illiteracy may also be due to the cultural restrictions imposed by some communities on women's mobility outside the

Education Status	ATD		ATR		AP	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
a. Illiterate ⁷	38.9	63.3	38.9	63.3	38.9	62.9
b. Primary	23.4	26.6	25.8	26.6	25.8	26.2
c. Secondary	26.6	7.0	27.8	7.0	26.6	7.0
d. Intermediate	4.0	1.2	4.8	1.6	6.3	1.6
e. Graduate	1.6	0.8	1.6	0.8	2.0	1.2
f. Enrolled in Primary	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.4
g. Enrolled in Secondary	4.0	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.4
h. Enrolled in Intermediate	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
i. Enrolled in Graduation	1.2	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
j. Taleem-e-Balighan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

neighborhood. The higher percentage of illiteracy at the time of displacement especially among females was a major obstacle in their understanding of the complexity and severity of the displacement.

For the population living around the LEW, gender-based difference in education levels of males and females at primary level is not very large. Table 4.1.3 also shows that both male and female respondents did not pursue education after displacement as the percentages of respondents in all categories of educational attainment has not changed significantly. Of those who received formal education during the pre resettlement period, a large number of male and female respondents had completed only secondary level education⁸. At the time of displacement, 50 percent of males had completed either primary or secondary level while the corresponding number for female respondents stands at a significantly lower 33.6 percent. It can be observed from the table that a large percentage of females were either illiterate or in the primary level category before and after displacement. There is no change in the secondary level attainment for females even after displacement despite having female educational infrastructure at the new locations.

Similarly, an increase in the proportion of males who studied up to intermediate level is visible. A marginal decline of 0.4 percent can be observed in the case of females. Interestingly, 0.4 percent of female respondents have also done *Taleem-e-Balighan* (adult literacy courses) after resettlement.

It is important to note that the education status of males and females is largely the same before and after displacement. This may be due to non-availability of schools and lack of time and resources at household level in the transition phase (ATR). The following section examines the impact of displacement on the education of respondents in greater detail.

4.2. EDUCATION PROFILE

As shown in Table 4.1.3, a large percentage of respondents were illiterate or had been educated to primary or secondary levels only in the ATD and ATR periods. A small percentage of respondents were enrolled during the ATD (5.6 percent males and 1.2 percent females) and at present the enrollment is close to zero. It can be seen from Table 4.1.3 that male respondents were studying either in secondary (4.0 percent) and graduation levels (1.2 percent) at the time of displacement, and a small percentage of females were enrolled in secondary (0.4 percent) and Intermediate (0.8 percent) levels. At the time of resettlement (ATR), an even smaller percentage, i.e. 1.2 percent males and 0.8 percent females were enrolled at any level of education.

This indicates a post-displacement decline in male and female enrollment ratios. According to the field survey, the percentage enrollment in males and females declined by 78.6 and 33.3

percent respectively between the ATD and ATR periods. It can be assumed that the growing economic pressures on the household after displacement may have forced the male members to discontinue their education.

The analysis above highlights the fact that unplanned and forced displacement has squeezed the ability of both men and women to avail opportunities available for education at the higher secondary and graduation levels. The transition phase (ATR) was particularly unfavorable for continuation of education for various reasons. There were permanent and temporary reasons for discontinuation of education that respondents had to face after displacement.

The remainder of this section examines the nature of education discontinuation and reasons for the same.

4.2.1. Discontinuation of Education due to Displacement

As discussed in section 3.2, a large number of the household members who were enrolled in formal education at the time of eviction encountered either permanent or temporary discontinuation of education. It is evident from Table 4.2.1 that the ratio of discontinuation of education at individual level is overwhelmingly high for male respondents (94 percent). Apparently, the impact of displacement was less severe for females with only 50 percent of those enrolled facing discontinuation for any length of time. Altogether, only 6 percent of male and 50 percent of female respondents were able to pursue education uninterrupted after displacement.

	Male	Female
Was Respondent's Education Discontinued?		
1. Yes	94.1	50.0
2. No	5.9	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0
What was the Nature of this Discontinuation?		
1. Temporary	25.0	100.0
2. Permanent	75.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

The period of discontinuation is classified as temporary and permanent in order to assess the extent of disruption. The resettlement was carried out in three stages at the three sites, i.e. Hawks Bay, Taiser Town, and Baldia Town between 2002 and 2010. Similarly, the transition period (ATR) for affectees was also different. Temporary discontinuation (time duration after displacement) is defined as the period of time for which the respondent was unable to continue his/her education. Permanent discontinuation means the resumption of education did not occur at any time after displacement.

Table 4.2.1 shows the gender differential impact of displacement on education. The effect on the education of male respondents was more severe and for an extended period of time (75 percent). Only 25 percent males were able to continue their education after a temporary disruption. Female respondents who were enrolled at the time of displacement did not

experience permanent discontinuation and were able to resume their education at some point after displacement.

The male respondents gave many reasons for permanent discontinuation of education, the most common of which was 'household financial responsibility' (15 percent of responses). Other reasons cited were involvement in household chores including construction of the house (20 percent), unaffordability of education expenses (20 percent), and adjustment issues due to resettlement (15 percent). Moreover, 20 percent of the responses indicate that male respondents either did not want to study further or were discouraged by the long distance to education institutions.

4.2.2. Overall Impact of Displacement on Education

Table 4.2.2 indicates that given the average age of respondents and the resultant low enrollment rate at the time of displacement, the impact on education cannot be termed as 'significant' in the case of 93 percent of male and 98 percent of female respondents. However, the SPDC survey provides a snap-shot of the reasons for improvement and deterioration of education in males and females after displacement.

	Male	Female
1. Improved	0.0	1.2
2. Deteriorate	6.7	0.8
3. No Change	93.3	98.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Apparently, females adjusted to the change more easily with 1.2 percent of female respondents saying that displacement opened more avenues. Table 4.2.3a gives several reasons which were given by these respondents for the improvement in education with 'availability of schools' cited most frequently (40 percent). While good quality schools/teachers, community mobilization regarding value of education, and opportunities for skill development at the relocation site each account for 20 percent of the responses.

	Male	Female
a. School availability	0.0	40.0
b. Skill development opportunities at school	0.0	20.0
c. Quality of education / teachers	0.0	20.0
d. Community mobilization / Value of education	0.0	20.0
Total	0.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

In contrast, male respondents did not observe any positive change in their education after displacement. Overall 6.7 percent of the male respondents said there was a setback to their education due to displacement (Table 4.2.2). The corresponding figure for females is just 0.8 percent.

For the female respondents whose education worsened due to displacement, Table 4.2.3b shows that financial constraints due to resettlement and a sense of insecurity were the main debilitating factors for female education in the transition phase (ATR). The main reason for males

was unsatisfactory quality of education for 21.4 percent of responses. Meanwhile unaffordability, forced employment due to displacement, and increase in domestic responsibilities each account for 17.9 percent of the responses given by male respondents.

A diverse perspective on the quality of education between male and female respondents also emerges from the findings. For the 6.7 percent of male respondents whose education deteriorated due to displacement, 'unsatisfactory quality of education' was the dominant response (21.4 percent) as indicated in Table 4.2.3b. On the other hand, according to 20 percent of female responses, 'quality of education and teacher' is the most important factor for improvement in female education (Table 4.2.3a). For females, perhaps, 'availability and opportunity' are the most crucial variables of quality of education that are not as important in case of males.

	Male	Female
a. Unaffordability due to resettlement	17.9	50.0
b. Forced to do Job / Work	17.9	0.0
c. Security-related fear	0.0	50.0
d. Unsatisfactory quality of education	21.4	0.0
e. Opportunity cost of resettlement	7.1	0.0
f. Increase in household / domestic care responsibilities	17.9	0.0
g. Resettlement caused permanent discontinuation	7.1	0.0
h. Increase in travel time	10.7	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

4.3. EMPLOYMENT PROFILE

Over the years, Pakistan's economy has been facing multiple challenges such as sluggish growth rate, decline in investment, high unemployment rate, spiraling inflation, higher energy prices and high levels of current and fiscal account deficit⁹. In addition, the on-going war on terror, the resultant security crisis and the unstable political situation in Karachi have further complicated the process of socio-economic development. Urban economy in particular has suffered as a result of the on-going conflicts¹⁰. In these difficult circumstances, it is hard to find employment without necessary skills, technical training and education. Involuntary displacement that diminishes livelihood opportunities has made those who lack skills and training further vulnerable to impoverishment. In the following section, a detailed examination of livelihood opportunities is conducted to analyze the gender differential impacts of displacement. The analysis of livelihood opportunities has been carried out for the three time periods, i.e. ATD, ATR and AP to understand the length of deprivation at the individual level.

4.3.1. Nature of Activity

In order to estimate the proportion of males and females who were economically active as against those engaged in non-economic activities, data was collected on the nature of activity of the respondents. The information gathered has been summarised in Table 4.3.1a for all the three time periods. The table shows that the share of employed males and females declined drastically after displacement. The percentage of employed females declined by 66.4 percent compared to 48.8 percent in the case of male respondents between the ATD and ATR periods. This indicates more intense disruption of female employment as against that of males.

Nature of Activity	ATD		ATR		AP	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
a. Employed	69.0	15.2	35.3	5.1	60.7	5.5
b. Un-employed	4.4	0.0	48.8	8.6	10.7	1.6
c. Student	7.9	1.2	3.6	0.8	0.8	0.4
d. Housewife	0.0	74.2	0.0	77.7	0.0	82.0
e. Home Industry / Self employed	14.7	5.9	7.5	4.3	17.9	3.1
f. Others*	4.0	3.5	4.8	3.5	9.9	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Others includes the categories of old/aged, unpaid family workers, retirement, volunteer workers, unable to work, and do not want to work.
Source: SPDC Field Survey

During the transition phase (ATR), the unemployment rate increased significantly as a result of displacement for both males and females. The female respondents who were willing to work had been employed during the ATD period (zero unemployment). This figure increased to 8.6 percent during the ATR period. The male respondents were also affected, the unemployment increasing from 4.4 percent to 48.8 percent during the transition period.

Table 4.3.1a also shows a decline in self-employment due to displacement. In contrast to the trend in employment, a higher percentage of males than females encountered disruption to their business or home industry. The share of self-employed males and females decreased by 49 percent and 27 percent respectively between the two periods of the ATD and ATR. The impact of displacement on self-employed females was comparatively less since females tended to work from home and were usually engaged in the cottage industry, such as embroidery, stitching, and other crafts. Consequently, the livelihoods of female respondents were less susceptible to disruption compared to their male counterparts who were involved in large scale commercial activities.

Overall, however, the share of economically active (employed plus self-employed) female respondents declined by 55.5 percent between the two periods of displacement and rehabilitation (ATD and ATR) as against 48.9 percent decrease in case of male respondents. Thus, more females had to face disruption in income and employment opportunities in the post-displacement period than male respondents.

Seemingly, neither male nor female employment has fully recovered from the shock of displacement. This is evident from Table 4.3.1a whereby the ratio of employed male and female respondents is yet to return to its pre-displacement level. Having more intense disruption in female employment after displacement, it can be presumed that at least some of the females who were economically active before displacement eventually became economically inactive for reasons such as household responsibilities, lack of opportunities, discouraged worker effect, inability and/or unwillingness to work, etc.

Various inferences can be drawn from the table. Involuntary displacement has caused significant disruption to the livelihoods of both male and female affectees. But the severity of the impact has varied depending on the occupational status and gender. In case of the LEW, female respondents have lost livelihood opportunities more than their male counterparts and have not returned to the pre-displacement employment levels.

Occupation	ATD		ATR		AP	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. Skilled Labor	41.1	17.9	33.6	10.3	31.6	30.0
2. Unskilled Labor	12.6	46.4	13.3	27.6	15.8	10.0
3. Owner / Partner (self-employed)	24.8	30.4	22.1	41.4	30.1	30.0
4. Teacher	0.9	0.0	0.9	3.4	1.0	6.7
5. Pension / EOBI	0.9	0.0	3.5	0.0	3.3	3.3
6. Investment	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.5	6.7
7. Social safety net	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0	3.3
8. Support from family or community	0.0	3.6	0.9	10.3	1.0	6.7
9. Others*	19.6	1.8	25.7	0.0	16.7	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Others include the categories of director, manager, supervisor, clerk/salesman, and watchman/peon.
Source: SPDC Field Survey

Table 4.3.1b shows the different categories of employment by gender. It can be seen from the table that before displacement 41.1 percent of male respondents were employed as skilled labor, 12.6 percent were unskilled labor, and 24.8 percent were self-employed. In some cases, male respondents had worked as watchman/peon (10.3 percent) and as clerk/salesman (5.6 percent). At the time of the survey (AP), only 31.6 percent of male respondents were working as skilled labor while the share of unskilled labor has increased significantly to 15.8 percent. However, the percentage of self-employed males increased to 30.1 compared to that during the ATD period.

Prior to displacement female respondents were mostly engaged in skilled labor (17.9 percent), unskilled labor (46.4 percent) and self-employment (30.4 percent). At the time of the survey (AP), the share of unskilled labor declined to 10 percent while the share of skilled labor increased to 30 percent. This suggests a positive impact of displacement on female training and skills which may be attributed to the availability of skill development centres at the resettlement sites.

No female respondent had been employed as a teacher before displacement. During the resettlement period, most of the female respondents were hired as teachers by LERP run-

schools. Therefore, the share of 'teacher' in female employment category increased from 3.4 percent at the time of resettlement (ATR) to 6.7 percent at the time of the survey (AP). Further, one important finding of the survey is that after displacement more females are involved in investment-related activities.

Unfortunately, the findings also highlight the vulnerability of females to impoverishment risk during the transition phase. As shown in Table 4.3.1b the share of female respondents depending on social safety nets such as Zakat, Bait-ul-Maal, and Benazir Income Support Program (BISP), as well as on income support from the extended family or community increased sharply, from 3.6 percent to 13.7 percent between the displacement and rehabilitation periods (ATD and ATR). Presently, 10 percent of the female respondents depend on some kind of social and/or family assistance.

Income Level	ATD		ATR		AP	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. Zero Income	15.1	78.1	55.2	88.7	17.1	88.3
2. Up to Rs. 4,000	25.4	19.5	19.4	10.5	54.0	11.3
3. Rs. 4,001 to 7,000	39.3	2.0	18.3	0.4	23.0	0.4
4. Rs. 7,001 to 10,000	14.3	0.4	4.8	0.4	5.6	0.0
5. Rs. 10,001 to 15,000	4.8	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
6. Rs. 15,001 and above	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

4.3.2. Income Profile at Individual Level

Table 4.3.2 presents monthly income earned by the identified respondents from all economic and/or non-economic sources. The respondent's income profile has been categorised by income groups and adjusted for inflation¹¹. The category of 'zero income' refers to the proportion of respondents who did not have any source of income. The table shows that 15 percent and 78 percent of the male and female respondents respectively had no source of income prior to displacement. Of those with some means of livelihood, 25.4 percent of males and 19.5 percent of females had a personal monthly income equal to or below Rs. 4,000. A large percentage of male respondents (53.6 percent), however, had a monthly income between Rs. 4,001 - Rs. 10,000 at the time of displacement. In comparison, only 2.4 percent of female respondents had incomes between Rs. 4000 and Rs. 10,000.

Due to loss of employment and business, a sharp increase is observed in the share of respondents with zero income between the displacement and rehabilitation periods. However, it appears that over time livelihood opportunities for males at least have opened up, though in the lower income brackets. This is evident by increase in the share of male respondents with

incomes up to Rs. 4,000 and a decline in the Rs. 4,001 - Rs. 10,000 income group. Moreover, displacement has completely eroded the income levels of female respondents in the higher income groups (Rs.10,000 and above).

Overall 84 percent and 63 percent of female and male respondents respectively said their employment/business was discontinued due to displacement. Table 4.3.3 shows the length of disruption after displacement with temporary and permanent categorisation. It can be seen from the table that 68.1 percent of female respondents faced permanent discontinuation of employment/business compared with only 18.5 percent of male respondents.

	Male	Female
1. Temporary [Less than 6 months]	32.6	14.9
2. Temporary [6 months to 1 year]	16.3	6.4
3. Temporary [More than 1 year]	32.6	10.6
4. Permanent	18.5	68.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Within the category of temporary discontinuation, 48.9 percent of male respondents were able to resume employment/business activities within one year of displacement in comparison with only 21.3 percent of female respondents. This shows that the process of rehabilitation was slower for females because no income generation opportunities were available at the relocation sites. On the contrary, male respondents were able to find jobs outside the relocation sites despite having transportation problems.

There are many reasons for temporary and permanent discontinuation of business/employment due to displacement. However, the most commonly cited by all respondents were lack of income generating opportunities near the resettlement site, irregular/no transport, long distances to the workplace, and increase in the cost of travel. In addition, for females, there exists 'a sense of insecurity' after displacement that led to temporary discontinuation of work. Interestingly, insecurity did not appear to be a significant impediment in the case of permanent discontinuity. This suggests that the uncertainty related with relocation to a new place may have hindered some women from employment in the early days.

4.3.3. Overall Impact of Displacement on Employment/Business

The quantitative analysis of employment/business after displacement (Table 4.3.1a) has revealed that during the transition period (ATR), female business/employment declined by 55.5 percent as against 48.9 percent for male respondents. If the ATD is considered as the baseline, 12.1 percent of male respondents who had some means of livelihood were unemployed at the time of survey (AP). On the contrary, females appear to have suffered more than males as 63.8 percent have faced permanent discontinuation of business/employment in the AP period.

The qualitative aspects of overall impact of displacement on business/employment have been analyzed from the respondents' perspective. Table 4.3.4 indicates a large percentage of both male

(56.1 percent) and female (58.2 percent) respondents were convinced that displacement has caused deterioration in their business/employment opportunities. Only 2.1 percent and 3.8 percent of males and females respectively viewed displacement as beneficial in this respect. The impact of displacement on employment/business cannot be termed as 'significant' for 41.8 and 38.0 percent of male and female respondents respectively.

	Male	Female
1. Improved	2.1	3.8
2. Deteriorate	56.1	58.2
3. No Change	41.8	38.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

For the respondents who see the impact of displacement on employment/business positively, the major reasons for improvement are summarised in Table 4.3.5a. The divergent perspectives of male and female respondents highlight some important aspects that should be taken in to consideration for future displacement of the magnitude of the LEW project. For instance, two important reasons cited by males were 'better job positions' and 'better transport facility' for 10 percent and 20 percent of responses respectively. None of the females attributed the positive outcome to these two reasons, despite some 25 percent of the responses accepting that it brought better economic opportunities. Equally interesting is to note that 25 percent of responses given by female respondents are for 'forced to work to support family income' - a compulsion which is viewed as a positive outcome of displacement. The difference in the responses given by females also indicates that perhaps, after displacement the females gained opportunities outside the informal sector.

	Male	Female
a. Better economic opportunities [availability]	40.0	25.0
b. Better job status [higher status of jobs available]	10.0	0.0
c. Better workplace environment	20.0	25.0
d. Better transport facility	20.0	0.0
e. Better safety and security improve mobility	10.0	25.0
f. Forced to work to support family income	0.0	25.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Table 4.3.5b summarises reasons for deterioration of employment/business opportunities for the larger group of respondents who view the impact of displacement negatively. Two critical reasons

	Male	Female
a. Lack of economic opportunities	41.0	39.2
b. Relocation site is too far	38.0	32.9
c. Irregular transportation	7.4	7.6
d. Cost of mobility increased	3.5	8.9
e. Increase in travel time	5.2	3.8
f. Lack of neighborhood security impede mobility	3.5	2.5
g. Illness / medical reasons	0.9	2.5
h. Increase in household / domestic care responsibilities	0.0	2.5
i. Not allowed to keep livestock	0.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

attributed for the deterioration of business/employment after displacement were lack of economic opportunities and long distances to the work place. Altogether, the high percentage of responses

by males (79.0 percent) and females (72.1 percent) indicate these two issues as major obstacles for at least a sustainable level of livelihood at relocation sites. Contrary to the view of better transport facilities at the new sites, both male (7.4 percent) and female (7.6 percent) responses indicate that respondents consider irregular transportation as one of the key factors contributing to deterioration of business/employment opportunities.

From the above tables summarising the impact of displacement on economic opportunities it can be deduced that displacement caused greater damage to business/employment level of female respondents when compared to male respondents. The most notable finding is that for more females (68.1 percent), displacement has brought about permanent loss of economic opportunity, while this figure is 18.1 percent for males.

4.4. IMPACT OF DISPLACEMENT - PERCEPTION OF RESPONDENTS

The concept of well-being comprises multiple dimensions that affect the overall quality of life of the individual¹². Having analyzed and discussed the education and livelihood opportunities during the three periods, this section highlights some other likely impacts of displacement on the overall human well-being. The previous section discussed the economic impact of displacement. This section presents some non-economic factors such as emotional, environmental, physical, and social disarticulation that must be taken in to consideration for overall well-being¹³ analysis.

The study particularly considers the respondent's views on the impact of displacement on socialization, living standards, safety and security, community health, and decision-making and empowerment. In the absence of a proper framework for needs assessment it became even more important to understand the views expressed by the affectees on the changes brought by the involuntary displacement on their well-being.

4.4.1. Socialization of Respondents

Human beings are considered as social animals and thrive on shared experiences with family, neighbors, friends, relatives, other community members and fellow colleagues. Associations and relationships are built over time. Involuntary displacement followed by the act of forced relocation, however, threatens the social environment which was built over several generations prior to displacement.

Of the survey sample of 508 respondents, 51.6 percent and 55.5 percent of males and females respectively viewed that displacement has had an adverse impact on their social interaction and activities. In contrast, only 8.3 percent of males and 5.9 percent of females considered it to have a positive impact on socialization. The impact of displacement on socialization was not 'significant' for 40.1 percent and 38.7 percent of male and female respondents respectively.

The respondents who perceived an improvement in socialization gave many reasons for this view as summarised in Table 4.4.1a. The most commonly cited reasons by male and female respondents are: extended family/community were settled near-by, improved living environment, and an increase in community-based activities. Seemingly, the favorable opinion held by female respondents is more closely related to the positive features of the relocation sites. Reasons such as 'better living environment' and 'better recreational facilities' are more frequently cited by the female respondents. For males, post-settlement improvement in socialization appears to be largely due to 'proximity to extended family/community' and 'more leisure time'.

	Male	Female
a. Extended family / community relocated nearby	48.6	36.4
b. Better living environment	37.1	50.0
c. Better recreational activities are available	0.0	4.5
d. Increase in community activities	5.7	4.5
e. Better transport / improved mobility	2.9	4.5
f. More leisure time	5.7	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Overall, however, at least 50 percent of all respondents (male and female) feel that their social interactions and activities have suffered due to displacement. The reasons given by these respondents for deterioration in socialization are summarised in Table 4.4.1b. The commonly cited reasons by all were relocation of family/community in some other location, long distances to the city, and an increase in the cost of travel. No significant gender difference is observed in the opinions of male and female respondents. However, it is not surprising that increase in work and household responsibilities seem to have impeded social interaction for males (6.0 percent) more than the female (2.0 percent) respondents. With 2.4 percent of responses, restrictions imposed by the family were cited as an additional hindrance to socialization for female respondents.

	Male	Female
a. Extended family / community moved elsewhere	34.8	40.3
b. Distance from city is too large	32.2	29.0
c. No recreational facilities	0.9	0.0
d. Inadequate / no community activities	1.3	0.0
e. No/irregular transport facilities	4.3	4.8
f. Increase in cost of travel due to distance	20.6	21.4
g. No permission from family	0.0	2.4
h. Increase in job / work responsibilities	3.0	0.8
i. Increase in household / domestic care responsibilities	3.0	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

4.4.2. Decision-making and Empowerment of Respondents

In Pakistan, conservative social norms and a patriarchal culture prevent and in some case limit participation of females in decision-making processes. Most major decisions such as marriage, education, and employment, as well as decisions regarding health, sale and purchase of assets, use of leisure time are taken by the men¹⁴. The situation is further compounded by self constructed socio-cultural norms that are often (wrongly) viewed using the prism of religion.

These norms are consciously embedded also within households and are promoted on the basis of the socio-religious paradigm governing the society at large. Even where women are allowed to make choices, they may not necessarily have the liberty to enforce their decisions. In other words, women's empowerment is heavily dependent on the prevalent social construct and consent of either the male partner or an elder member of the family.

Questions on decision-making and empowerment present the respondents' assessment of how displacement has affected their ability to make and implement key decisions regarding their own education, employment, health, and mobility. It is inferred from Table 4.4.2 that a large percentage of male and female respondents consider no change in their decision-making ability and empowerment before and after displacement. However, among the remaining respondents, a higher percentage viewed improvement in decision-making and empowerment of both male and female respondents.

Table 4.4.2 shows that a higher percentage of female respondents see an improvement in their decision-making ability after resettlement when compared with male respondents. Similarly, relatively more females believe that they now feel more empowered to enforce choices and decisions. This is true for each of the four types of decisions listed in the table.

However, the table also indicates that in all cases, the percentage of respondents whose empowerment has increased is below the percentage of respondents whose decision-making power has increased. This suggests that at least some of the respondents (both male and female) have the power to make key decisions but cannot implement them without consent of, or discussion with, other household members.

	Decision-making*			Empowerment**		
	Increase	Decrease	No Change	Increase	Decrease	No Change
A. EDUCATION						
Male	8.7	3.2	88.1	6.7	2.8	90.5
Female	13.3	3.1	83.6	11.3	2.7	85.9
B. EMPLOYMENT						
Male	9.1	1.6	89.3	6.7	2.4	90.9
Female	10.9	2.3	86.7	9.8	4.7	85.5
C. HEALTH						
Male	9.1	1.6	89.3	7.5	2.0	90.5
Female	14.8	2.7	82.4	14.5	3.5	82.0
D. MOBILITY						
Male	8.3	3.6	88.1	6.3	6.3	87.3
Female	12.9	3.9	83.2	11.3	5.1	83.6

* Decision-making is the power to take decisions on issues affecting their own lives.

** Empowerment is the power to enforce and / or implement those decisions.

Source: SPDC Field Survey

4.4.3. Household Living Standards

The well-being of individuals depends on the material well-being of the household or its standard of living. Conventional variables used to measure living standards are household income and consumption expenditures. But as Zacharias and Masterson (2009)¹⁵ have noted, these do not capture the broader aspects of household economic well-being, for instance access to public services such as education and transportation or the benefits arising from ownership of assets and disadvantages imposed by debt. Therefore, an estimation of the well-being of households must also consider other aspects of living conditions such as house structure, means of transport, consumption of consumer products, food consumption, ownership of assets, and access to and delivery of social services and amenities¹⁶.

Respondents were asked about the impact of displacement on their family's standard of living. As Table 4.4.3 shows, at least 60 percent of both male and female respondents believed that household living standards have worsened due to displacement. In comparison, a small proportion of females (16.4 percent) and males (13.9 percent) perceive an improvement in the well-being of their household. The previous chapter

discussed the increase in household expenditures, decline in assets, unemployment and loss of income, decline in house structure, and decline in access to basic facilities as a result of displacement. Expectedly, the predominant view expressed in Table 4.4.3 is negative which reflects the post-displacement decline in the material well-being of households.

4.4.4. Household Safety and Security

As mentioned in Section 3.1, the affected communities on an average had been living in the old settlements for at least 20 years. Familiarity with an area for such a long period not only builds a strong affiliation with its environment but also contributes to a sense of security which is essential for the emotional and psychological well-being of people. Moreover, this sense of familiarity and comfort also facilitates mobility, particularly for females and younger members of the community.

Table 4.4.4 summarizes the views of the respondents regarding the impact of displacement on household safety and security. At least 60 percent of both males and females feel more insecure now as compared to where they were living earlier. A sense of security in any new place usually develops over time. However, it appears that this has not been the case here,

	Male	Female
1. Better	13.9	16.4
2. Worse	60.3	63.3
3. No Change	25.8	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

	Male	Female
1. Better	19.1	21.1
2. Worse	60.7	62.1
3. No Change	20.2	16.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

presumably because of the large distance of relocation sites from the city and no security arrangement from the local police such as police check-posts or police patrolling. Indeed concerns about high incidence of crime at resettlement sites and security issues preventing mobility in the evening hours were also shared by both female and male affectees in the focus group discussions¹⁷.

4.4.5. Community Health

One of the basic human needs is to live in a clean and healthy environment. Poor hygienic conditions breed disease and infections which can result in loss of productivity while also putting extra strain on the household budget. Provision of good quality and timely health care through community dispensaries and clinics, as well as vaccinations for children and mother and child health centres can help reduce the incidence of water-borne diseases and infections, improve health of women and children, and promote awareness about health issues.

In case of the LEW, the resettlement sites are undoubtedly better in terms of living environment and hygiene. Most of the affected people were living near the filth of Lyari River and in an in-human environment that was the source of health issues particularly for women, children and elders. While the external environment at the relocation sites is better, the absence of hospitals and community health clinics has deteriorated the state of health in the community. This has probably led respondents to assume that the pre-displacement period was better in terms of health. Table 4.4.5 indicates that a larger number of respondents feel the health of households in general has worsened. The respondents were particularly concerned about the increase in number of cases of diarrhea, malaria, along with other ENT (ear, nose and throat) related infections. In addition to this, expecting mothers have to face serious problems in availability of, and access to, regular check-ups, clinical advice, and mobility during pregnancy.

As discussed in section 3.6, provision of health care services in these sites is inadequate in general, but especially for mother and child health care. On a positive note, 40.9 percent and 30.9 percent of male and female respondents respectively said that child immunization has improved after resettlement.

4.5. PERCEPTIONS ABOUT PROCESSES AND PROCEDURES OF DISPLACEMENT

The experience and impact of involuntary displacement is long-lasting. The key findings of the field survey have highlighted the physical, material, and emotional toll it has taken on the affected

	Better	Worse	No Change
a. Diarrhea/Malaria			
Male	18.7	60.7	20.6
Female	17.2	61.3	21.5
b. Child immunization			
Male	40.9	27.4	31.7
Female	30.9	31.3	37.9
c. Un-healthy eating habits [e.g. pan]			
Male	17.5	34.5	48.0
Female	15.6	34.8	49.6
d. Infections [e.g. skin, eye, respiratory infections, etc.]			
Male	23.4	47.2	29.4
Female	22.3	50.0	27.7
e. Health of pregnant women			
Male	12.7	56.7	30.6
Female	12.9	64.5	22.7

Source: SPDC Field Survey

households. Accordingly, this section analyzes respondents' views about the experience of the displacement itself, including the process and procedures of eviction, payment of compensation, and the attitude of the various government stakeholders towards the affected families.

4.5.1. Eviction Process

Table 4.5.1 shows that while the experience of eviction was smooth or systematic for the majority of respondents, however, many remember it as a painful/traumatic experience. This is true for 28 percent of the responses given by all respondents in the above table. It is interesting to note that approximately 15 percent of the responses indicated that respondents were forcibly evicted

from their homes. This adds another layer in how to define involuntarily displacement. There is no striking difference, however, in views held by male and female respondents about the eviction process. Those respondents who view the experience of eviction as 'smooth' and 'systematic' will be probably from the resettlement sites of Taiser and Baldia Town. Over the years, the LERP may have learned lessons from the first eviction and resettlement at the Hawks Bay site and applied the same to subsequent relocations.

	Male	Female
1. Smooth	28.9	26.1
2. Systematic	26.9	30.6
3. Painful / Traumatic	28.6	28.5
4. Forced Eviction	15.6	14.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

4.5.2. Award of Compensation to Affectees

As discussed in Chapter 2, compensation to affected households was to be paid by the LERP according to the lists prepared by the Revenue Department. Table 4.5.2 indicates that for most responses (38 percent) male and female respondents believed that the LERP had facilitated them in getting compensation money and allotment of plot. Similarly, 17.5 percent of male and 7.1 percent of female responses also acknowledged the role of political parties, whereas, 4 percent of responses given by all respondents credited the Revenue Department in this respect.

	Male	Female
1. NGOs	3.3	2.2
2. Local CBOs	0.4	0.4
3. Community Activist	3.3	3.0
4. Representative of Political Party	17.5	7.1
5. LERP	37.8	38.7
6. Revenue Department	4.4	4.1
7. Nazim / Councillors	2.5	1.1
8. Relatives	0.0	1.5
9. No one	30.9	42.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Interestingly, only a small proportion (i.e. 3.3 percent and 2.2 percent of male and female responses respectively) said that NGOs had provided any assistance in the compensation process. A substantial proportion of the responses given by male (31 percent) and female (42 percent) respondents also informed that no one had facilitated them in getting the compensation money.

The respondents were also asked about the experience of the compensation process. As shown in Table 4.5.3, the majority of the respondents had a positive perception about the process of compensation and allotment of plots. After the difficult period of four years from 2000 to 2004, the affectees of the LEW had compelled the government to award cash compensation and plot in the new sites. However, the compensation money and size of plot were not adequate to organize their lives from scratch. This view may be reflected in the large percentage of responses

of both male (21.7 percent) and female (17.1 percent) respondents who believed that the compensation process was either 'difficult' or 'extremely painful'. It also appears from the table that female respondents feel a greater sense of injustice in the compensation process in comparison with males as highlighted by 17.4 percent of responses for transparency and favoritism issues as against 10.5 percent for male respondents.

As mentioned in Section 2.1, from the government's perspective, the monetary compensation of Rs. 50,000 was not intended to reimburse affectees for damages but only to facilitate them in the transition phase. Table 4.5.4 indicates an overwhelming dissatisfaction with the amount of monetary compensation among all respondents.

The respondents were also asked how the compensation money (Rs. 50,000) was spent. The different ways in which this amount was utilized are summarized in Table 4.5.5. No significant difference in the use of compensation money is found between male and female respondents. Predominantly, 75 percent of responses given by both males and females show that it was used in construction of their new house. Around 20 percent of responses indicate that the respondents made payments for

rent/advance on rent and expenses incurred during transition. Some responses show that compensation money was used for repayment of loans (2.5 percent) and purchase of assets

Table 4.5.3
How was the Process of Compensation and Allotment of Plot?

	(percentage of responses)	
	Male	Female
1. Smooth	43.4	42.6
2. Systematic	18.7	19.7
3. Difficult	16.9	11.7
4. Extremely painful	4.8	5.4
5. Favoritism	3.0	6.3
6. Lack transparency	7.5	11.1
7. Good	5.7	2.6
8. Neutral	0.0	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Table 4.5.4
Are you Satisfied with the Amount of Compensation Money?

	(percentage of respondents)	
	Male	Female
1. Yes	18.8	13.4
2. No	81.2	86.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Table 4.5.5
What did you do with the Compensation Money?

	(percentage of responses)	
	Male	Female
1. Used during adjustment period	9.9	8.1
2. Rent / Advance on rent	9.5	13.1
3. Marriage	2.1	0.0
4. Construction of House	75.4	75.6
5. Purchase of assets	0.7	0.4
6. Repayment of loan	2.5	2.5
7. Medical expenses	0.0	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

(less than 1 percent). Interestingly, monetary compensation was also used for the marriage of a household member for 2.1 percent of responses given by male respondents.

The analysis of compensation money and its mode of use clearly demonstrate that Rs. 50,000 was not adequate for affectees. From the government's perspective the compensation package was a gesture of goodwill; however, as indicated in the tables above it was insufficient to ease the difficulties of those affected.

4.5.3. Government's Attitude towards Affectees

The respondents' views about the attitude of different government agencies are summarised in Table 4.5.6. Opinions held by females are relatively more favorable (i.e. government was 'cooperative' and 'sympathetic') for 65.2 percent of female responses as against 54.2 percent for male respondents. Reservations on government's attitude were expressed in 45.8 percent of the male responses indicating that government was

	Male	Female
1. Cooperative	45.8	53.5
2. Bureaucratic	24.2	19.9
3. Sympathetic	8.5	11.7
4. Harsh	21.6	14.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

either harsh or bureaucratic in dealings with the affected people compared to 34.8 percent for females. Table 4.5.6 nevertheless clearly shows some consideration of government towards the affectees.

4.6. HOUSEHOLD FUTURE IN RESETTLEMENT SITE

Overall, respondents still feel the shock of displacement many years after the eviction. The findings show this is true for both male (83 percent) and female (81 percent) respondents. The shock of displacement coupled with the loss to education and livelihood, as well as risks to other aspects of individual well-being contribute to an individual's perception about the future of his/her household in the resettlement sites. This section analyzes the views of the respondents about their future.

Respondents were asked whether or not they see a future for their family in the resettlement sites. Approximately 32 percent of both male and female responded in the negative, whereas, 16 percent said that they would like to shift but were constrained by their circumstances to remain in this location. Despite the many difficulties which they have to face, the majority of the respondents (52 percent) want to remain in the new locations (Table 4.6.1).

	Male	Female
1. Yes	31.7	32.8
2. No	52.8	51.2
3. No other choice	15.5	16.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: SPDC Field Survey

Similar reasons are cited by male and female respondents who desire to move out from the resettlement sites. As Table 4.6.2 shows, the predominant reason for all these respondents is 'lack of facilities' at these sites, including basic utilities and facilities for health and education. Other reasons which frequently came up are 'distance from city centre', 'insufficient and/or irregular transport', and 'lack of income generating opportunities' near the resettlement sites. Altogether, these were highlighted in 33.1 percent of male and 32.3 percent of female responses.

	Male	Female
1. No facilities (basic utilities, health and education)	43.5	43.3
2. Away from city centre	12.9	9.4
3. Insufficient / Irregular transport	10.5	6.3
4. No/Insufficient income opportunities	9.7	16.5
5. Unsafe / Unhealthy environment	7.3	8.7
6. Socially isolated	0.8	3.9
7. Want to move back to 'old' area due to affiliation	4.0	1.6
8. Others*	11.3	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0

*Others include reasons like: did not receive compensation, don't like this place, and high prices of commodities at this site.
Source: SPDC Field Survey

Lack of safety and security, social isolation, and poor environment of the resettlement locations appear to be additional concerns for female respondents with 12.6 percent of responses indicating this as against 8.1 percent for male respondents. Seemingly, more male than female respondents are motivated to move to their previous homes due to affiliation with their ancestral home.

In contrast, respondents who want to remain at the resettlement sites are motivated by positive motivations (i.e. positive attributes of the location), as well as, negative motivations (i.e. personal constraints and limitations). Table 4.6.3 shows that 'legal ownership of residence', 'healthy environment', and 'personal satisfaction' with the current lifestyle are the most commonly cited reasons by all for wanting to remain in these locations. Altogether, these reasons were highlighted in 54.8 percent of male and 52.0 percent of female responses. Moreover, 'availability of better facilities' for education and basic utilities at these sites are more frequently cited motivations by females as opposed to male respondents. In comparison, a higher proportion

	Male	Female
1. Own Asset [own house]	19.8	19.9
2. Satisfied living here	19.0	19.1
3. Healthy environment	16.1	13.0
4. Insufficient resources/ don't want hassle of relocation	17.7	17.9
5. Compromised with this situation	7.3	11.8
6. Better facilities are available (utilities, education)	7.3	9.8
7. Better safety and security	5.2	4.1
8. Better socialization opportunities	5.6	3.3
9. Better income opportunities	1.2	1.2
10. Others*	0.8	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0

*Others includes reasons like: low prices of commodities at resettlement site and increase in future value of house
Source: SPDC Field Survey

of responses given by males (10.9 percent) than females (7.3 percent) highlight 'better safety and security' and 'better socialization opportunities' at the resettlement sites.

But it is also clear from Table 4.6.3 that not all respondents wish to remain at the resettlement sites out of choice, as indicated by 25 percent and 30 percent of responses by males and females respectively. The major hindrance for these respondents is lack of financial resources

Case Study 4.1 Missed Opportunities

For many people, like Kiran Muhammad*, the relocation to Hawks Bay was about scaling back hopes and dreams. Her family, including mother and six siblings, shifted to the Hawks Bay site in 2002 where they saw much of the early hardships. Kiran who is now a secondary school teacher said no development had taken place in Hawks Bay at the time of relocation. Kiran was forced to give up her Matric studies during this time to lend a hand in the construction of their new home. For one year, she was unable to resume her education although eventually she did Intermediate privately and also completed a teaching course. After completing her studies she also worked in a garments factory in the city for one year to help repay the debt which her family had taken for construction. But Kiran said those were extenuating circumstances and now her family will not permit her to work in the city as it is too far from Hawks Bay. Instead, she started teaching in a private school in 2005 and in a LERP school in 2007. Kiran cannot help but bemoan the lack of opportunities for higher education in Hawks Bay. If not displaced, she was confident that she would have completed graduation. Her teaching job is threatened by the non-availability of funds for the resettlement project. Kiran has not received salary of Rs. 1,500 per month for the last ten months. Sometimes she undertakes stitching work to supplement her family's income but earnings from this are meager. She expressed her wish for the skill development centre to be re-opened for women like her looking for additional source of income. On a positive note, she added that the physical environment of the Hawks Bay site is much better and she has been able to forge new friendships since moving here. She does not wish to move from here but still regrets that concerned authorities did not consult affectees like her earlier in the planning process.

*Name has been changed to protect privacy.

and the investment undertaken on construction of the house. Further, these respondents do not wish to experience the hassle of relocation again. Altogether, at least 18 percent of responses by male and female respondents reflect these reasons. Notably, relatively more female responses (11.8 percent) than male (7.3 percent) indicate that respondents have compromised with their new situation. It can be inferred that the passage of time lapsed since displacement has made it easier for respondents to adjust their new lifestyles around the everyday difficulties and inconveniences associated with the resettlement sites.

Overall, respondents appear to have many concerns about their future at the resettlement sites. Although at individual level both male and female affectees have made sacrifices, the analysis shows that the differential burden of displacement is more severe and longer for females with regard to income and employment loss. Men, have, however suffered in terms of loss of education opportunities. Other aspects of individual well-being such as socialization, state of health, household living standard, and safety and security have also been adversely affected due to displacement.

Case Study 4.2 Tough Times, Tough Measures

For 55 years old Salma*, the process of eviction was an extremely difficult and painful experience. A single mother, she was relocated in Baldia in 2009 with her three sons, one of whom suffers from mental disability while the other two were running their own business before the family was forcibly evicted. Before displacement their combined monthly income of Rs. 6,000 was sufficient for the family's needs so there was no need for Salma to work. Her sons, however, were unemployed soon after relocation. Salma thus, was forced to work in order to support her family. She now works from home, stitching beads on embroidered fabric and earns only Rs.1,000 for her painstaking efforts. At an age when her grown sons should be the ones supporting her, unfortunately, it is Salma who must provide income support. She also feels isolated at the Baldia site which is far from the city and many of her family members do not live nearby. In spite of all these problems, and in the face of few other options, Salma said that she has made her peace with her new lifestyle and does not want to move from this location.

*Name has been changed to protect privacy.

Case Study 4.3
Surviving on Hand-me-Downs

Maryam* along with her son and daughter, settled in Baldia Town in 2009 after the displacement caused by construction of Lyari Expressway. She is a 50 years old widow and sole income earner of her family. Maryam had to take a loan to begin construction on their plot in Baldia which only added to their financial burden. Meanwhile, the family sought shelter in a government school. During this difficult period, her children were temporarily unable to continue their education. Before relocation, Maryam had worked as an unskilled worker with a monthly income of Rs. 2,500. She also used to receive Rs.3,000 financial assistance from other family members. This support was crucial in allowing her family to manage the difficult transition period when she lost her employment due to lack of opportunities near the resettlement site. Her employment options were further limited by the large distance of the Baldia site from the city which also increased the cost of travel. Although Maryam looked for work initially, age and the troubles encountered meant she could not keep it up for long. Currently, her family relies entirely on the Rs.1,500 financial support which she receives from other family members in addition to the Rs.1,000 she gets from BISP. Overall, Maryam feels that relocation has adversely affected her family's standard of living. This is primarily due to lack of employment opportunities for women like her who cannot travel very far in search of work.

*Name has been changed to protect privacy.

NOTES:

1. For further details, see Alkire, S. (2002).
2. The eight indicators of Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model are used in Chapter 5 to formulate the SPDC well-being model.
3. See Downing, T. E. (2002).
4. See Koenig, D. in de Wet, C. (2002).
5. The model estimated in Chapter 5 for measurement of overall well-being of LEW affectees includes 30 variables. See Annexure C for details.
6. See Chapter 2 in SPDC (2010a).
7. Government of Pakistan defines a literate person as one who can read newspaper and write a simple letter in any language (<http://www.moe.gov.pk>). For simplification, Madarssa education and ability to read Quran are classified under primary education.
8. The levels of education are categorized as: Primary (grades 1 to 5); Secondary (grades 6 to 10); Intermediate (grade 12); and Graduation (minimum 14 years of schooling).
9. See Chapter 2 in SPDC (2010b).
10. See Chapter 2 in SPDC (2010a).
11. Income groups are deflated by price index for cross-period comparison of incomes.
12. For more on dimensions of well-being, see http://wellbeing.wsu.edu/wellbeing_is.aspx
13. For a detailed discussion on human well-being and human development, see Alkire, S. (2002).
14. See Chapter 3 in SPDC (2010a).
15. See Zacharias, A. and T. Masterson (2009).
16. See Chapter 4 in SPDC (2010a).
17. Community Focus Group Discussion (FGD) at Hawks Bay Scheme-42 on May 10, 2011.

CHAPTER 5

APPLICATION OF IMPOVERISHMENT RISK AND RECONSTRUCTION MODEL

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CHAPTER 5 APPLICATION OF IMPOVERISHMENT RISK AND RECONSTRUCTION MODEL

The detailed investigation of changes in household characteristics due to displacement (Chapter 3) reveals that enrollment ratios in educational institutions, household income and employment/business had a substantial impact during the ATR period. The household expenditures increased after displacement primarily due to increase in travel cost, expensive grocery items, purchase of water and construction of the remaining part of houses. The gender differential impact of displacement is a mixed one. Permanent discontinuation of education was largely found among males, while females have incurred greater loss of employment/business and a decline in income.

Development projects are essential for the growth of the economy and the improvement of living conditions. However, planners and policymakers often tend to overlook the risks associated with the project to those directly affected. When a project involves involuntary displacement and resettlement, the risk of disenfranchisement and impoverishment leads to higher vulnerability and susceptibility. This vulnerability and susceptibility sometimes has an intergenerational tendency and the process of building resilience may extend to several years. It is imperative, therefore, to carry out a comprehensive assessment of all potential risks and vulnerabilities of development induced displacement projects before finalizing the project plan.

The LEW project falls in the category of those DIDR projects where vulnerability, risk, susceptibility and impoverishment of affected people were not assessed before the implementation of the project. As a consequence, the overall well-being of the displaced population has been impacted negatively, and is lower than what it was during the pre-displacement period.

The Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model is the most widely applied theoretical and conceptual model for projects that involve involuntary displacement and resettlement. The model was developed in recognition of limitations posed by Scudder and Colson's (1982) four-stage model. This model analyzes the socio-cultural aspects of resettlement during four phases that have been termed as recruitment, transition, potential development and incorporation.

Scudder and Colson's four-stage model was unable to predict and highlight the complexities of resettlement. This deficiency was addressed by Cernea's IRR model (1997). This model is now used extensively as an analytical framework for understanding the process of resettlement and assessing its positive or negative outcomes. It is also used as a forecasting tool or methodological instrument for risk analysis during project planning to devise preventive and mitigation strategies.

McDowell (2002) views the concept of the impoverishment process in the IRR model as an identical ontological framework to that of the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods approach. Three converging points between the two are: the impoverishment process, institutions involved and livelihood strategies. These approaches were incorporated into a new framework that defines and links forced displacement, sustainable livelihoods and impoverishment risk analysis.

Forced displacement and its impact on those affected gained importance in research on development induced displacement since the IRR model was first conceptualized in 1994 and later developed as a theoretical model in 1997. It has been recognized as a cumbersome process that requires knowledge, financial resources, political will, systems and procedures and good governance. De Wet (2006) views displacement and resettlement as a process that is inherently complex. He argues that 'inadequate inputs' such as the legal framework, policies, monitoring and implementation that is mechanistic rather than people based have made the process of involuntary resettlement even more difficult. Since the process is greatly influenced by internal and external factors, the planning process requires an open and participatory approach.

The building blocks of the IRR model are impoverishment, risk and reconstruction that could either be evaluated independently or within a single framework. These three fundamental concepts possess varied dimensions, are interlinked, and are dependent on each other. These notions can be broken down into measurable variables to gain in-depth knowledge of the planning and implementation process from the viewpoint of risk reduction strategies. The concept of impoverishment is the key to the IRR model as most development projects often uproot marginalized and disadvantaged groups and the forced displacement increases their level of impoverishment beyond that of the pre-displacement period. The term impoverishment is applied to the different risk components of displacement such as landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation, and therefore, cannot be labeled as a measurement of poverty. Each risk component has its own dimension and level of intensity and can be ranked according to its primary and secondary effects.

Social risk analysis is a complex theme and its measurement varies in time, physical space, social groups, context and scale. There are various ways to define risk. In social sciences, one definition is "a situation or an event where something of human value (including humans themselves) is at stake and where the outcome is uncertain" (Rosa, 2003). Understanding of risk from the viewpoint of human suffering and well-being is necessary for risk avoidance, mitigation and development of alternative mechanisms. The United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (UN/ISDR) is the agency that views risk as a precursor to human suffering because of the inability of governments to mitigate, and that of communities to be resilient to hazards. The UN/ISDR (2002) defines risk as "the term risk encompasses the probability and the amount of harmful consequences or expected losses resulting from interaction between natural or human induced hazards and vulnerable conditions."

Risk analysis in the IRR model identifies the differential impact of vulnerabilities that leads to higher susceptibility among different stakeholders of the project. One of the major advantages of the IRR model is its capacity to predict the failure of resettlement and development goals. Not all development projects have successfully accomplished the objectives of social equity and justice, minimized the pain of involuntary resettlement, ensured economic and social mainstreaming of the displaced population and reduction of differentiated impacts on gender. The IRR model is a holistic framework that presents cumulative effects of impoverishment, risk and reconstruction with their distinctive characteristics that assist in planning of mitigation and rehabilitation strategies for the involuntary resettlement projects.

5.1. MEASUREMENT OF OVERALL WELL-BEING OF LEW AFFECTEES

The IRR model performs four basic functions by deconstructing the eight basic components mentioned above.

1. The predictive function enables planning and decision-making authorities to anticipate and measure both tangible and intangible impoverishment risks of involuntary resettlement. It also produces knowledge for early warning of the probable damaging effects of dislocation.
2. The diagnostic function helps in acquiring on-ground knowledge about the displaced population through field work by converting impoverishment risks into different scales or ranking according to the context. It also uncovers, explains and assesses the basic theoretical assumptions of the model in the light of on-ground realities.
3. The model performs a problem-resolution function that is based on analytical precision and an explicit action orientated approach. Apriori knowledge of risks associated with forced displacement contributes in proposing resolution of and demanding meaningful actions to avoid or reduce human suffering.
4. The comprehensibility of the conceptual framework and practicability of its application has provided social science researchers a tool for impoverishment risk assessment. The research function of the IRR model enables researchers to develop their own theoretical foundations, integrate new approaches and variables in the conceptual framework and define linkages among impoverishment variables in different time periods.

For this study, the IRR model has been used both as a diagnostic and research tool guided by the eight impoverishment risks of the displacement and resettlement. The diagnostic function provides useful information that may be used by decision-makers and implementation authorities to formulate mitigation strategies and contingency plans to minimize the risks and hazards currently faced by the LEW affectees. As mentioned earlier, the IRR model has been applied to measure and analyze the overall well-being during three time periods. The first period is "at the time of displacement" (ATD) when LEW affectees were living along the Lyari river-bed. The second period is "at the time of resettlement" (ATR) when the affectees were relocated to the resettlement area. The time span of this period is 2 to 8 years since dislocation took place in

three stages and in three different locations. The third period is termed "at present" (AP) which is the current time when the LEW affectees are living in resettlement sites.

For the purposes of this study, the IRR model was adapted with slight calibration and addition of new variables (referred to as SPDC model in this report). For instance, the IRR model did not take into consideration discontinuation of education as a critical factor of impoverishment risk. Whereas, SPDC model includes education of boy and girls from the viewpoint of intergenerational impoverishment and risk. The hypothesis of intergenerational impoverishment suggests that the capacities and strength of the community or household would be seriously undermined with the discontinuation of education of boys and girls. All levels of education such as primary, secondary, graduate, post-graduate and professional education including technical training are included in the framework of overall-well being.

Another aspect of the SPDC model is the measurement of the gender differential impact of forced displacement. It has been argued that forced displacement instills more vulnerability in people who are already marginalized, and women and children have to bear a disproportionate share of it. This argument has been analyzed by looking at how women have been affected by the forced displacement of the LEW project. Analysis has been conducted at household level to estimate overall well-being by gender.

5.1.1. Methodology of Estimation

The indicators used in the estimation were collected on the basis of a field survey of 187 households with 157 male headed households and 30 female headed households, in the three relocation sites. The survey questionnaire was designed to give equal weight to the eight impoverishment risk indicators of the IRR model to avoid computational difficulties. A well-being model was developed using the IRR model as its foundation, including new variables and excluding those that did not emerge as primary factors of impoverishment.

The eight indicators of the IRR model (landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation) are guiding pillars of the SPDC model. Landlessness was captured through a comparison of land entitlement during the three periods. Unemployment was measured through assessment of both formal and informal employment. The model focused on homelessness for the period soon after displacement, as most of the affectees were relocated on barren land with no basic social services or other facilities. The relocation sites are 15 to 20 km away from town centres. This caused discontinuation of education, job loss and deprivation of income generating capacity. This has been included as marginalization in the model. Access to facilities such as parks and playgrounds, places of worship, community centres and family planning services, along with transport are used as a proxy of loss of access to common property resources. The community disarticulation aspect of the IRR model was difficult to measure in

quantitative terms and therefore not included in the estimation of overall well-being. Overall, SPDC model deconstructed the eight impoverishment risks into 30 variables of well-being at household level.

The first forced displacement was carried out in 2002 and people were relocated and resettled in Hawks Bay. The second eviction took place in 2004, to Taiser Town and the third eviction was conducted in 2009, to Baldia Town. The gestation period of resettlement has been different for the three relocation sites. This difference in the resettlement period was controlled in the analysis by using different weights for the three resettlement sites.

The first step in a quantitative application of the model was to standardize¹ all variables. The variables were then grouped into the three periods of time under study: ATD, ATR and AP. The mean of each variable was calculated and all the mean values were subsequently added to obtain a single mean value for the period. The mean values close to 1 show a positive trend while those close to 0 show a negative trend. The comparison of the mean within the three time periods would give information about the direction of change from better to worse or vice versa.

The SPDC model is based on six broad categories, viz. education, housing structure, access to facilities, availability of services, employment rate and per capita income. These broad categories are sub-divided into variables that directly or indirectly capture the impoverishment risks of the IRR model. The variables of education, unemployment and income are estimated by gender. Since the data was collected at household as well as at individual level, the individual characteristics fully represent household status if identified by the gender of the head of household.

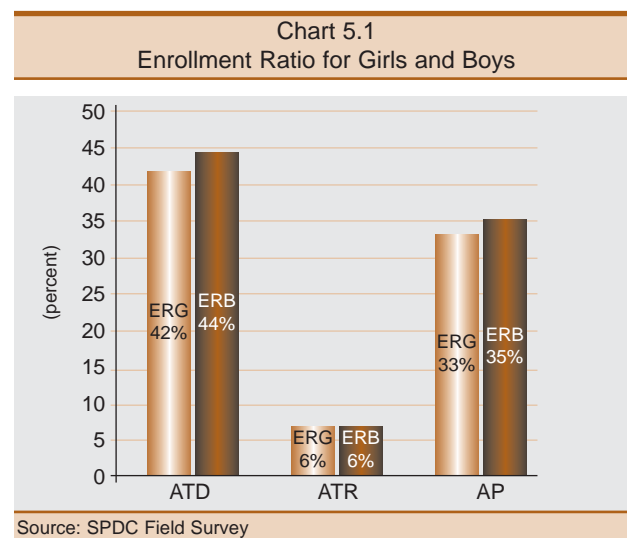
5.1.2. Gender-wise Sectoral Comparison

Forced displacement without a plausible implementation and rehabilitation plan often results in disturbances and distress for the affected people. This trauma is particularly more intense and painful in the period soon after the displacement (ATR). In the long-run, human beings learn to cope and develop some level of resilience. The well-being model of SPDC has attempted to highlight changes in the indicators of well-being during the three periods, namely pre-displacement (ATD), soon after displacement (ATR) and at present (AP).

The rationale of inclusion of the education module in the IRR model was to study the impact on education (as one of the crucial factors) on both boys and girls for the "intergenerational impoverishment and risk" analysis. For low income families, education of children is considered as vital to breaking the vicious cycle of impoverishment. In this respect, the highly subsidized education system (at tertiary and even at professional level) in Pakistan has helped low income families to obtain better paid jobs after education. The education of children is also a tool of risk reduction when analyzed in the context of intergenerational impoverishment and risk. The discontinuation of education compromises future resilience capacity of households.

The estimation of gender differentiated impact is another innovative dimension of the SPDC model. It has been argued in the preceding chapters that gender differentiated impacts of involuntary displacement have not been studied comprehensively. It has been generally acknowledged that women are at more risk than men in a household. It has also been recognized and accepted that while women have less decision-making powers, they are the nucleus of household activities in Pakistan. Risk reduction plans at household level that benefit some members at the expense of others would increase their future vulnerabilities. This would be particularly important in the context of women who have to perform diverse roles to improve the quality of life at household level. Any mitigation and rehabilitation plan that is not women centered would be ineffective especially in the post-displacement period.

As stated earlier, the SPDC model is based on six broad categories. Gender-wise comparison of these categories will provide valuable insights about intergenerational impoverishment and risk. Chart 5.1 shows the cumulative enrollment ratio for boys and girls during the three periods under study. The impact of forced displacement on education of children is visible as the enrollment ratio in the ATD period (that was already lower than the provincial and national averages) dropped dramatically from 42 percent and 44 percent for girls and boys respectively to only 6 percent. Enrollment ratios picked up during the AP period but did not reach the level of the ATD period. The recovery in enrollment during the ATR period is misleading since it does not denote a return to education, but considers the addition of new family members after displacement. The actual impact of discontinuation of education on intergenerational impoverishment and risk would be greater because 75 percent of boys and 50 percent of girls experienced permanent discontinuation.



The analysis of the education module in the context of intergenerational impoverishment and risk would require a discussion about the qualitative aspects of discontinuation of education after forced displacement. For boys, loss of income generation capacity of the family income compelled them to join the labor force. The other aspects that contributed to the permanent discontinuation of education for boys are un-affordability of education related expenses, distance of educational institutions, and lack of ability to break the psychological barriers created after forced eviction. For girls, the most daunting challenges to continue education were mobility and security issues. Lack of proper transport facilities, increase in the distance of educational institutions and continuous deterioration of the law and order situation are some leading factors besides un-affordability that prevented 50 percent of the girls from continuing education after displacement.

The variable of house structure comprises the residential status, type of house (*pukka* or *katcha*), material of roof, sources of water, electricity and fuel for cooking in addition to the sanitation facilities. A gender-wise comparison reveals that there is no significant difference in the house structure in all three periods except during the ATR where female headed households had less facilities compared with the male headed ones. Household resilience to the hazards depends on the number of males in the family in patriarchal societies as in Pakistan. The drastic decline in the house structure from 67 percent to 29 percent for female headed households signals the probability of less male members. However, both households could not reach the level of housing facilities at the ATD as shown by the gap between the ATD period and AP period.

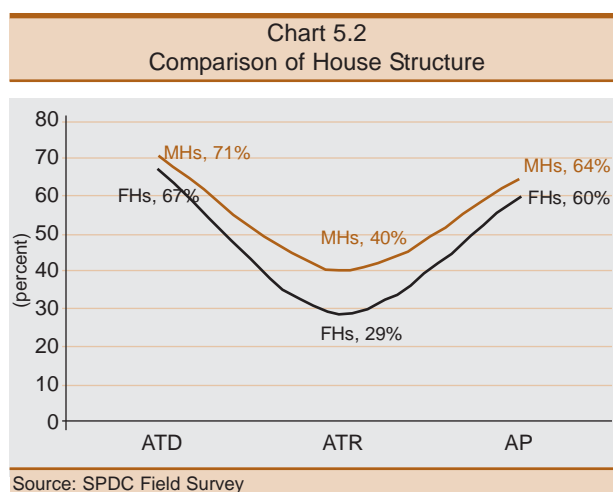
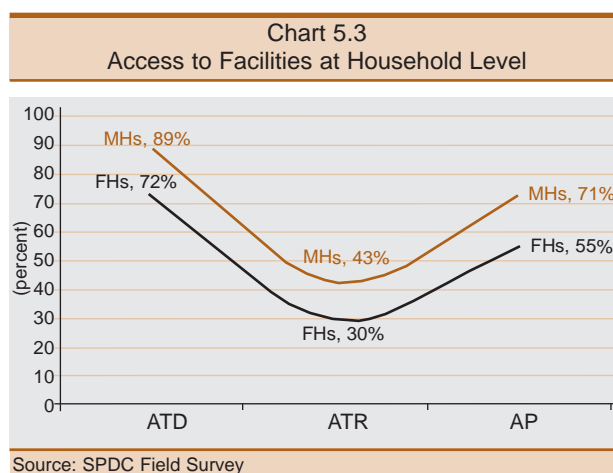


Chart 5.3 shows the comparison between male and female headed households for access to facilities such as parks and play grounds, community centres, transportation facilities, hospitals and clinics, family planning and mother-child centre and places of worship. The pre-displacement period is seen to be better in terms of access to facilities both for male and female households as 89 percent male and 72 percent of female households had access to the facilities mentioned above. However, the ATR period was more difficult for female households compared to male households as only 30 percent of the former had access to facilities compared with 43 percent of the latter. Male headed households are now slowly reaching the previous level of access to facilities as 71 percent of households have already achieved the pre-displacement status. Access to facilities for female households has not picked up because of the restricted mobility and poor facilities for females. For instance, no arrangements have been made to facilitate female mobility by allowing them to either share buses with males or have dedicated compartments. There are no hospitals, clinics and mother and child centres at the relocation site that could help facilitate access of female households to these services.



There is not much difference in the availability of services for male and female headed households during the three time periods. Availability of services was measured for water, gas, doctors and

paramedics, medicines, shops for vegetables, meat and grocery and hardware stores. Information was collected also for the regularity and irregularity of these services. Chart 5.4 presents that both male and female households suffered substantially from the shock of displacement. Even today it lags behind in ensuring the availability of services that are necessary for human survival. The LEW affectees are waiting for improvement of services such as water, energy and health.

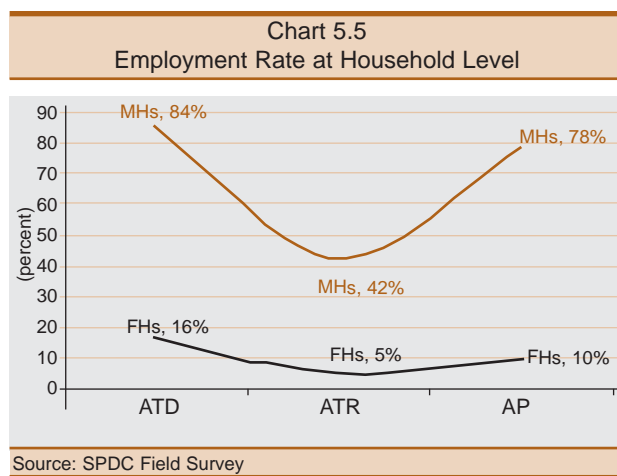
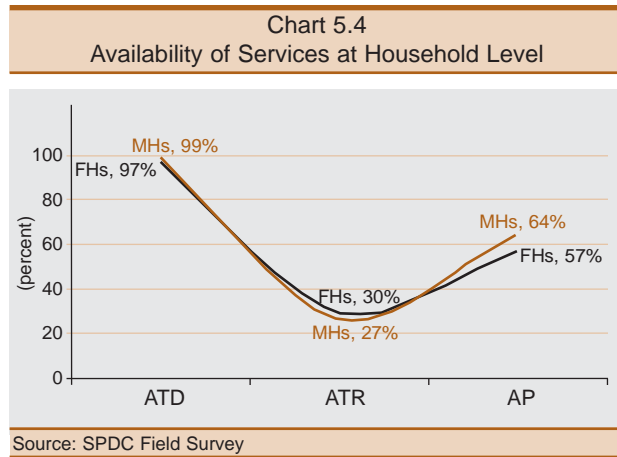
According to residents this is unlikely to happen in coming years due to financial and governance issues existing at the level of agencies responsible for the completion of task.

Employment is a key variable in the calculation of overall well-being at household level. It can be seen from Chart 5.5 that only 16 percent of females were employed before displacement. This ratio deteriorated further to 10 percent during the AP period. The impact of displacement on female employment is more severe as compared to males who have somewhat achieved the previous level of employment status. The male employment rate had decreased from 84 percent during the ATD period to 42 percent during the ATR period, rising again to 78 percent during the AP.

Communities living on both sides of Lyari River were culturally bonded and generally only males are considered to be the bread-winner of the family. In these communities where female employment is a culturally sensitive issue and employment opportunities for them are limited, displacement has further eliminated future possibilities and prospects for growth in female employment.

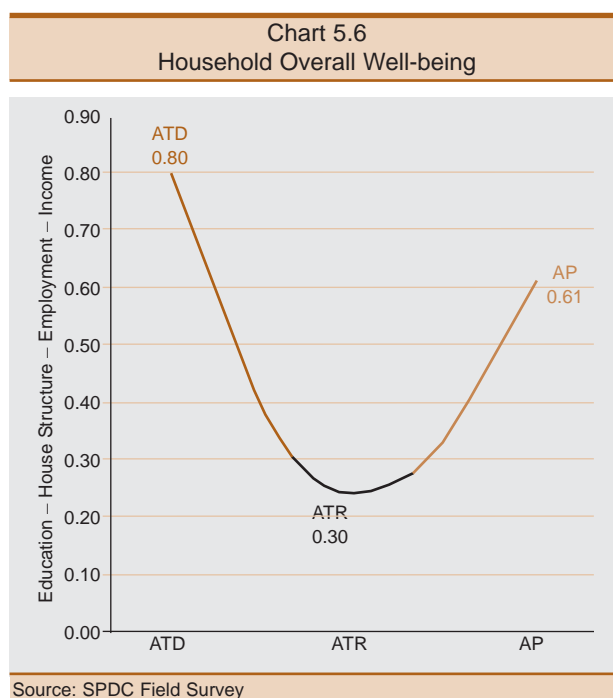
5.1.3. Analysis of Overall Well-being

Ample evidence on the successes and failures of resettlement of the affected people is found in the literature on development induced displacement. The SPDC model views resettlement as a process of transition in which the period soon after displacement (ATR) forms the basis of success or failure of the resettlement and reconstruction phase. If the ATR period presents vulnerabilities, risks and lack of coping mechanisms, the probability of success of resettlement will be less. A graphical representation of the process of displacement and resettlement is



presented in Chart 5.6. It suggests that the concept of well-being could be better illustrated by the movement and shape of curve during the three periods i.e. ATD, ATR and AP. If the shape of the curve is relatively flat, the planning authorities have given due consideration for the displacement and resettlement. If the curve is U-shaped, the overall well-being of affected people declined significantly during the ATR period and the probability of a higher well-being compared with the ATD period will be less in coming years.

The analysis of the overall well-being of affectees of the LEW project has been presented from the perspective of the ATR period and its consequential repercussions on the subsequent period i.e. the AP. The U-curve of well-being in Chart 5.6 demonstrates that no coping strategies and rehabilitation plan had been developed to mitigate the negative impacts of the involuntary displacement. The mean value of well-being of households declined from 0.80 in ATD to 0.30 in ATR. This shows that households have lost their income generation capacities, school dropout of children has increased, they are unemployed, do not have access to basic social services and are forced to live in shelters that do not meet their needs. The intrinsic vulnerabilities of the displacement process have thus not been adequately addressed by the planning authorities.



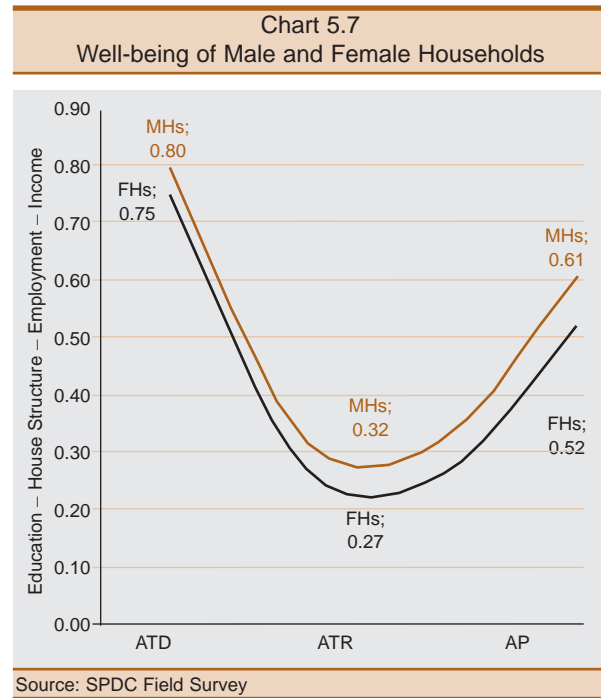
It is acknowledged that planning authorities learned some lessons from the first eviction in 2002. The second and third displacement in 2004 and 2009 respectively was conducted with a rehabilitation plan and a coping strategy to minimize the risk of relocation. However, these late and inadequate efforts could not diminish the appalling impact of involuntary resettlement as shown in the AP period where households still lag behind the well-being status of the ATD period.

The results show that the period soon after displacement (ATR) is important both from the perspective of planning and coping strategies and setting up future directions for community welfare. Another critical finding is the length of time for the ATR period. The experience of the LEW resettlement plan suggests that even with substantial financial resources the government could not improve the overall well-being of people in future since the time span of the resettlement phase has stretched over several years.

5.1.4. Gender-wise Comparison of Well-being

The relationship between displacement and gender is an emerging theme for development projects that involve involuntary displacement. The discussion in the preceding sections shows that if intrinsic risks and vulnerabilities are not addressed before the implementation of the project, the impact of involuntary resettlement falls disproportionately on the more marginalized among the affected people. A systematic analysis of the planning and resettlement process has demonstrated the impacts on women for the LEW project and highlighted the gender dimensions of well-being from the perspective of intergenerational impoverishment and risk and lack of resilience during the ATR period.

The gendered comparison of well-being was conducted by disaggregation at the level of head of household. Chart 5.7 shows that the U-curve of female headed household (FHHs) is below the curve for male headed households (MHHs) in all the three periods. The gap between FHHs and MHHs has widened in the ATR period and this gap has further increased during the AP period. The graphical presentation of gender-wise well-being proves both hypotheses of the study. The ATR period was difficult to cope for both MHHs and FHHs but the intensity of the distress was more vigorous for the FHHs. Exposure of risks, lack of coping and adaptive capacities, lack of response mechanisms are the factors that make FHHs more susceptible compared with MHHs during the process of involuntary resettlement.



The shape of the U-curve representing the intergenerational impoverishment risk is more intense in FHHs compared with MHHs. Chart 5.7 shows that the gap between FHHs and MHHs was marginal for the ATD period and increased substantially for the ATR period. From the ATR to the AP period, the gap increased from 5 percent to 9 percent and would probably follow this trend in future. The rationale of transfer of risks to future generations in FHHs is the deterioration of two basic elements i.e. education and employment that could have prevented the passage of the impoverishment risk to the next generation. The FHHs could not recover from loss of employment and discontinuation of education of children, both being essential for building resilience and strength at household level.

In summary, the gender-wise comparison has revealed higher vulnerability and risks for the FHHs compared with MHHs in all the three periods. Due to inherent sensitivity, FHHs have suffered more in the ATR period compared with MHHs. The insignificant contribution of two fundamental components (education and employment) of risk reduction, the intergenerational impoverishment risk will be higher in FHHs compared to MHHs.

NOTES:

1. Converting each variable into the range between 0 and 1, that indicates the probability of 'yes' and 'no' respectively. For instance, if residential status has five options such as own, rent, subsidized rent, no rent and other, the category of 'own' is taken as 1. Similarly, for those variables that could not fall in the range of 0 and 1, the normal standardization method was applied to transform the values of variable to the range of 0 and 1. The variables of enrollment rate, employment rate and per capita income were transformed by using the following equation:

$$v' = (v - \min) \cdot \frac{\max_{\text{norm}} - \min_{\text{nom}}}{\max_m - \min} + \min_{\text{norm}}$$

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusion emerging from the study is that while there are no significant difference in impacts of the LEW on men and women, the latter have faced extended unemployment and loss of income more than the former. Despite improved educational infrastructure at the new locations, female enrollment at primary and secondary levels has not improved substantively. However, more males have suffered a permanent loss in continuity of education than females. Finally, lack of basic social amenities such as water, electricity and health services, as well as reduced socialization opportunities present a source of 'social stress' among females.

The gender dimension of DIDR has highlighted a number of issues pertinent to project planning and design, coordination among stakeholders, implementation, displacement and resettlement of affected communities, and its impact on men and women. The current chapter presents the key findings and recommends specific actions to reduce negative impacts of future development induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) projects.

The planning process was carried out without involving key stakeholders. Initially, no resettlement plan was prepared by the local government. The resettlement plan, however, was later designed and incorporated in the implementation plan due to the pressure of the affected communities and civil society. The project plan did not contain any special clauses/provisions for disadvantaged people especially women in order to facilitate the resettlement process. The role played by the civil society sector in the early phase of the project was useful in highlighting issues such as eviction, compensation payments and resettlement plans. Local NGOs identified community activists and helped in establishing local CBOs. Had the LEW project used a consultative and participatory planning approach, the intense suffering, pain and devastation could have been minimized.

The overall efficiency and timely completion of the project was seriously hampered by the lack of coordination among implementing agencies. LERP, however, developed new strategies for subsequent resettlement phases. Currently, the LERP is facing financial problems because neither the federal nor the provincial governments have allocated funds for the project in their respective budgets.

The transition period (ATR) was difficult and painful for the affected households. Women, especially, had to forgo employment and were confronted with loss of income generating opportunities more than men in the ATR period. The households experienced a drastic decline in household income after displacement. No household had zero income in the ATD period, while

during the ATR, 42.7 percent had zero income. This transition phase (ATR) varies from 6 months to 2 years in the three relocation sites. An upward movement in income is evident for the AP, as lower income groups have moved to middle and higher income groups (21.5 percent of households earning up to Rs4,000 have declined to 13.4 percent). Gender dimension of DIDR analyzed from individual profile at household level, clearly indicates the worst impact of displacement on female employment. 15.2 percent of women were earning at the time of displacement. Their share was reduced to 5.1 percent at the time of resettlement, before marginally improving to 5.5 percent in recent times. Displacement also damaged businesses of some 50 percent females. Unfortunately, 10 percent faced a total discontinuation of income (78.1 percent of women with zero income in ATR have increased to 88.3 percent in AP). The legal entitlement of land given to the previously un-authorized settlers seems to be the only benefit of displacement. Some 55 percent of females complained of the negative impact of displacement on their social activities.

A comparison of female and male respondents shows significant difference in employment/business opportunities, temporary and permanent discontinuation of employment, and loss of income in the ATR and AP periods. Male respondents were able to avail other job opportunities and reach their pre-displacement status. However, a large percentage had to face permanent discontinuation of education after displacement. Thus their household and individual incomes may have increased but at the cost of future prosperity.

Estimation of overall well-being through application of the IRR model shows that displacement caused extremely harsh conditions for the affected people in the ATR period. The overall household well-being declined to 30 percent in the ATR from 80 percent in the ATD period. Analysis also indicates that the rehabilitation process to previous status of well-being is slow among females.

Households headed by females indicate more suffering in the ATR period than those headed by males (27 percent against 32 percent). It seems that the gap is increasing between FHHs and MHHs after the ATR period as it stands at 61 percent in MHHs compared to 52 percent among FHHs. The coping capacities of FHHs have been seriously undermined due to permanent discontinuation of education, loss of livelihood opportunities and ability to improve social service delivery at household level. In the absence of gender based resettlement policies, the households headed by females will continue to strive for better living standards in future.

The key findings of the SPDC research is the increased intergenerational impoverishment and risk, better outcomes for females in education and a relatively modest improvement of overall well-being after the ATR period in both MHHs and FHHs. However, the gender differentiated impacts of displacement between males and females is fairly mixed in the ATR and AP periods. However, the impact of displacement on the overall well-being is more severe on females than males.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Set up and equip Mother and Child Health Centres (MCHC) with requisite staff and medicines.
- Promote setting up of home-based industry for women close to their sites by providing them micro-credit.
- The provision of public transport to and from resettlement sites should be regularized and expanded, with special focus towards the specific needs of women, and commuters travelling in the early and late hours of the day.
- The plans, design and impacts should be openly shared and made public. All such projects, in future, must ensure a consultative process, and prepared a resettlement plan with special consideration given to the sufferings and disadvantages posed to women, children and the disabled.
- Uniformity in compensation policy is desirable and the amount of compensation in cash and in-kind should cover the monetary losses of the affectees. The policy must have special clauses for women, disabled and elderly people. A scheme of concessionary loans for business development for affected people particularly for women will help in establishing home-based industries at resettlement site.
- The rehabilitation cost of the project must be incorporated in the provincial and local budgets for an extended period so as to ensure overall well-being of affected people at the pre-displacement period.
- Planning authorities, in future must follow international and national guidelines of displacement. Approval of projects should be based on a comprehensive socio-economic survey, environmental impact assessment study, cost-benefits analysis with all tangible and intangible costs, vulnerability and risk analysis of displaced people and the formulation of plausible rehabilitation plan. Equally important is to consider the resilience and coping capacities of the communities in general, and women in specific that will be affected by displacement.

ANNEXURES

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ANNEXURES

Annexure A Schedule of Activities

MEETINGS WITH GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES*

21-Jan-11	Mr. Shafiq ur Rehman Paracha, Project Director, Lyari Expressway Resettlement Project (LERP)
21-Jan-11	Mr. Mohammad Shamim, Consultant, LERP
21-Jan-11	Mr. Rasheed Asim, LERP
25-Feb-11	Mr. Aziz Memon, Executive Engineer LERP, Hawks Bay Scheme-42
25-Feb-11	Mr. Yawar Mehdi, Executive Engineer LERP, Taiser Scheme-45 and Baldia Scheme-29
03-Mar-11	Major (Rtd.) Syed Ahmed, Director, Lyari Expressway Project, National Highway Authority (NHA)
15-Mar-11	Mr. Mustafa Kamal, Former City Mayor, City District Government Karachi (CDGK)
07-Apr-11	Mr. Roshan Ali Shaikh, Executive District Officer, Revenue Department (CDGK)
11-Apr-11	Mr. Salman Faridi, District Officer, Enforcement Division (CDGK)
11-Apr-11	Mr. Afzal Zaidi, Revenue Department (CDGK)

MEETINGS WITH AFFECTED COMMUNITIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY

10-Jan-11	Mr. Muhammad Yunus, Coordinator, Urban Resource Centre (URC)
24-Jan-11	Community Focus Group at Hassan Olia Village [not-evicted]
26-Jan-11	Community Focus Group at Liaquatabad [not-evicted]
10-May-11	Community Focus Group at Hawks Bay Scheme-42 [resettlement site]
10-May-11	Interview with female affectees at Hawks Bay Scheme-42 [resettlement site]
11-May-11	Interview with female affectees at Taiser Town Scheme-45 [resettlement site]

FIELD SURVEY IN RESETTLEMENT SITES

Feb 28 to 25 Mar 2011	SPDC field survey in LERP Resettlement sites
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*Government officials as designated at the time of field study

Annexure B Details of Resettlement Sites

HAWKS BAY SCHEME-42

SECTOR - 6	A, B, C, D	Residential - populated
SECTOR - 9	A, B, C, D	Residential - populated
SECTOR -10	A, B, C, D	Residential - populated

TAISER TOWN SCHEME-45

SECTOR - 35	A, B, C	Residential - populated
SECTOR - 36	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I	Residential - populated
SECTOR - 36 A	I, II, III, IV	
SECTOR - 50	A, B, C, D, E, F	Residential - populated
SECTOR - 51	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H	Residential - populated
SECTOR - 53	A, B, C, D	Not populated
SECTOR - 54	A, B, C, D	Not populated

BALDIA TOWN SCHEME-29

SECTORS	A, B, C, D, E	Residential - partially populated
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Annexure C
Indicators of IRR Model

S. No.	List of Variables
1	Enrollment Ratio for Boys
2	Enrollment Ratio for Girls
3	Residential Status
4	Type of House Structure
5	Material of Roof
6	Source of Water
7	Sanitation Facilities
8	Source of Lighting
9	Source of Fuel for Cooking
10	Access to Facilities – Parks & Play Ground
11	Access to Facilities – Cable Network
12	Access to Facilities – Community Centre
13	Access to Facilities – Transport
14	Access to Facilities – Health Clinics / Hospital 24 Hour
15	Access to Facilities – Family Planning Centres, Mother Child Health
16	Access to Facilities – Grocery shop & Markets
17	Access to Facilities – Places of Worship
18	Availability of Facilities/Services – Water
19	Availability of Facilities/Services – Gas
20	Availability of Facilities/Services – Doctor
21	Availability of Facilities/Services – Medicine
22	Availability of Facilities/Services – Transport
23	Availability of Facilities/Services – Grocery Shop
24	Availability of Facilities/Services – Vegetables & Fruits
25	Availability of Facilities/Services – Meat & Poultry
26	Availability of Facilities/Services – Milk
27	Availability of Facilities/Services – Hardware Store
28	Employment Rate Male
29	Employment Rate Female
30	Per Capita Income

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The Social Policy and Development Centre (SPDC)

Established in 1995, SPDC is a civil society sector research organization that serves as a focal point for policy-relevant research on social sector development. Using a multidisciplinary approach, SPDC assists both public and private sector institutions including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to plan, design, finance, execute and manage social sector programmes in a cost-effective manner. The results of its research are made available to policy makers, interested groups and general public to promote informed discussion and action on vital social sector issues.

SPDC being an independent and non-partisan organization cooperates and collaborates with organizations/institutions working on issues of common concerns (both) within Pakistan and abroad. Being an autonomous and independent organization, the centre identifies its own research agenda and parameters remaining within the mandate and objectives identified. The main areas identified for research by SPDC are: poverty, inequality, governance, provincial finances, social sector policies, gender issues and macroeconomic policy issues. Having established its credibility, SPDC is considered as one of the outstanding research policy institutions of Pakistan focusing on public policy analyses and social sector development.



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