

THE DISCURSIVE PRODUCTION OF URBAN TEMPORALITIES:
A FOUCAULDIAN CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE LYARI
EXPRESSWAY, KARACHI

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A FOUCAULDIAN CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE LYARI
EXPRESSWAY, KARACHI**

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ABSTRACT

THE DISCURSIVE PRODUCTION OF URBAN TEMPORALITIES: A FOUCAULDIAN CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE LYARI EXPRESSWAY, KARACHI

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This qualitative study presents a critical view on conceptualizing time within the urban domain. The research undertakes a Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the discourses of planners, civil society members, and affectees on their roles and experiences regarding the Lyari Expressway project (pre-2001 to 2022) in Karachi. It explores the process of discursive production through two key Foucauldian concepts: the regime of truth, and subject formation. The themes emerging from the study indicate the significance of time as multiscalar within the urban regime of truth, and the formation of the urban subject as fundamentally temporal. The convergences and divergences in the discourses of various actor groups indicate how time is observed, recorded, communicated, and negotiated within the urban realm, and the differentiations between temporally advantaged and disadvantaged urban subjects. The research suggests how these learnings can contribute to urban planning theory and practice, as well as the execution of temporally inclusive and sensitized planning agendas in the Global South.

Keywords: Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis; discursive production; Regime of Truth; subject formation; time as multiscalar; temporal urban subject

ÖZ

KENT ZAMANSALLIKLARININ SÖYLEMSEL ÜRETİMİ: KARAÇİ, LYARI EXPRESSWAY'NIN FOUCAULTCU ELEŞTİREL SÖYLEM ANALİZİ

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Nitel çalışma, kentsel alan içinde zamanın kavramsallaştırılmasına eleştirel bir bakış sunar. Araştırma, planlamacıların, sivil toplum üyelerinin ve etkilenenlerin Karaçi'deki Lyari Otoyolu projesi (2001 öncesi ila 2022) ile ilgili rolleri ve deneyimlerine ilişkin söylemlerinin bir Foucaultcu Eleştirel Söylem Analizini (CDA) üstleniyor. İki temel Foucaultcu kavram aracılığıyla söylemsel üretim sürecini araştırıyor: hakikat rejimi ve özne oluşumu. Çalışmadan ortaya çıkan temalar, hakikatin kentsel rejimi içinde çok ölçekli olarak zamanın ve kentsel öznenin oluşumunun temelinde zamansal olarak önemini göstermektedir. Çeşitli aktör gruplarının söylemlerindeki yakınlaşmalar ve farklılıklar, zamanın kentsel alanda nasıl gözlemlendiğini, kaydedildiğini, iletildiğini ve müzakere edildiğini ve zamansal olarak avantajlı ve dezavantajlı kentsel özneler arasındaki farklılaşmaları gösterir. Araştırma, bu öğrenmelerin, Küresel Güney'de geçici olarak kapsayıcı ve duyarlı planlama gündemlerinin yürütülmesinin yanı sıra kentsel planlama teori ve pratiğine nasıl katkıda bulunabileceğini öne sürüyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Foucaultcu Eleştirel Söylem Analizi; söylemsel üretim;
Hakikat Rejimi; konu oluşumu; multiskalar olarak zaman; zamansallık kentsel özne

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
- CDGK: City District Government Karachi (local government system in Karachi from 2001-2011)
- DA: Discourse Analysis
- DDO: Drawing and Disbursing Officer
- EA: Engineering Associates (consultants for LEW)
- FWO: Frontier Works Organization (contractor for LEW)
- HAV: Hasan Aulia Village (a leased community)
- KDP: Karachi Development Plan 1985-2000
- KMC: Karachi Municipal Corporation
- KSDP: Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020
- LAA: Land Acquisition Act 1894 (British law for acquiring land for public projects)
- LB: Lyari Basti (Resettlement site at Taiser Town)
- LERP: Lyari Expressway Resettlement Program
- LEW: Lyari Expressway
- LR: Lyari River
- MEW: Malir Expressway
- NBP: Northern Bypass
- NIC: National Identity Card
- NHA: National Highway Authority
- PKR: Pakistani rupees (m=million; b=billion)
- ROT: Regime of Truth
- ROW: Right of Way
- SBP: Southern Bypass
- SHC: Sindh High Court (provincial apex court)
- SKAA: Sindh Katchi Abadi Authority
- UC: Union Council

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Till what time should I narrate, and until what time can you listen? (A4, Pos. 43)

1.1 Theoretical background to the study

Postmodern theory asserts that there is no such thing as a single ‘out-there’ objective truth which exists independently of the observer. Within such an ontological framework, ‘there is either no truth, many truths, or truth for a particular culture... if truth is possible, it is relative’ (Cunningham & Fitzgerald, 1996, pp. 49-50). To counter such sweeping relativism of the postmodernists, the ontological position of social constructionism offers a more useful theoretical frame for orienting reality. Social constructionism negates reality as fully and exhaustively encompassed by the knowledge and interpretation of individuals and social groups. Rather, it asserts that a *workable* version of truth or objective reality is constructed by individuals and societies for pragmatic reasons, and such truth is extendable only to the contextual social conditions under which it has been produced (Burr, 1995). This is why postpositivist scholars, particularly within Marxist and postcolonial streams of thought, have argued for the contingent and historical-genealogical nature of all kinds of social production, including the production of knowledge, conventions, societal understandings of normalcy and insanity, and indeed the production of the urban form and lifestyle. Such production occurs under and reflects historically determined conditions and structures.

Foucault mused that his lifelong project has been to ‘determine, in its diverse dimensions, what the mode of existence of discourses and particularly of scientific discourses (their rules of formation, with their conditions, their dependencies, their

transformations) must have been... in order that the knowledge which is ours today could come to exist, and, more particularly, that knowledge which has taken as its domain this curious object which is man' (Foucault, 1991, p. 70). It is upon this musing of his that this research is structured.

Understanding how discourses produce reality (Burr, 1995) is crucial to understanding processes of social change (Fairclough, 1992), and the urban realm is characterized by continuous social and spatial transformations.

The objectives underlying early efforts at urban planning range from purportedly altruistic, to utilitarian, to purely extractive. Throughout its historical application, urban planning enterprise has always been justified to be morally and technically objective, neutral and value-free in the pursuit of enhanced living conditions for urban populations (Hall, 2014). Planning aimed to comprehensively enhance urban life through designing solutions to specific structural problems that had arisen out of the socio-spatial configurations of capitalist industrial societies (Fischler, 2012). In writing about planning theory and practice, substantial attention has been accorded to the role of power in planning (Forester, 1989; Flyvbjerg, 2002). Researchers have examined the structuration of the knowledge-power nexus (Foucault, 1980; Friedmann, 1987) in urban societies, as well as the role of discourses in producing the objects and subjects (Kooij, 2015; Howarth, 2010) within urban socio-spatial reality. However, the specific discursive strategies of actors and the convergences and divergences in their discourses have been the focus of only limited studies, and have been especially missing from the urban context of the Global South.

The development and policy challenges of the Global South are starkly different from that of the cities of the North, where urban planning theories originally emerged. In fact, the very complexity of governing Southern cities has been perceived as a 'potential nightmare' against the backdrop of lacking essential services and infrastructures. The concept of the Global South presents a distinct urban phenomenon – or to be more accurate, a multitude of phenomena, the 'reiterations of many Souths' – radically deviant from the Global North's

mainstream understandings of the urban, for studying, talking about, and prescribing specific kinds of theories on urbanization. The South contains the postcolonial and the neo-colonial vestiges of questionable socio-political organizations operating today within ‘postcolonial urbanities’ (Simone, 2020, p. 622). The challenge for urban theory emanating from a case study of a Southern city then means conceptualising one urban case as a multitude of urban sites, of ‘many different cities at the same time, not as a plurality of fractals, but as the designs and struggles of many’ (Simone, 2012, p. 46). The South also represents the formation of complex interfaces that constitute the ‘unpredictable encounter and contestation’ between those who plan and those who are planned for, representing the counter-narratives based on not only truth and commonsense, but also a ‘clash of rationalities’ (Watson, 2009, p. 2259) that deem some kind of knowledge inputs valuable and dismiss other knowledges as deviant and non-urban. As a counter-narrative to the all-embracing normativity of neoliberal urban governance regimes, Southern socio-political contexts call for radical and ‘insurgent’ planning agendas, especially in light of emerging tensions over urban and regional citizenship within socially fragmented and linguistically differentiated publics (Miraftab, 2009). This also necessitates viewing urban themes and trends from a theoretical perspective based on the south, implying a re-orientation of the trajectories of urban development and the subsequent responses to such urbanization (Watson, 2009). Against this conceptual backdrop, investigating cities of the Global South is fertile ground to continue and put into action conversations on the de-colonialization of urban discourses, and, by extension, of planning theory itself. A CDA aligns with this broader emancipatory spirit, although its effective application across urban studies remains to be explored to its full potential. The current study is an attempt to explore this potential of CDA in theoretical and methodological detail through a case situated geographically in what constituted the Global South urban landscape.

This qualitative study explores the process of urban discursive production¹ through a theoretical framework centred on two key concepts of Michel Foucault: the regime of truth, and subject formation. In this study, the urban is problematized as a discursively produced semiotic system², an instance of Foucault's 'discursive formation': a social reality in whose reification discourse plays a significant role. Urban discourse is posited as being productive of a socially constructed cognitive framework for representing and interpreting the urban. Such discourse is believed to draw on specialist-technical knowledge of the urban, contributing to the formation of particular urban subjects, enforcing these understandings using discursive power, and through these processes establishing and propagating particular urban regimes of truth.

In this research, the discourses around the Lyari Expressway (LEW) are critically analysed to conceptualize the socio-spatial urban reality around the project as being discursively produced at two scales of analysis: the discursive production of the **urban Regime of Truth (ROT)**; and the discursive production of the **urban subject** within that urban ROT. To investigate these two concepts, a Foucauldian-inspired Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of semi-structured, in-depth interviews of actors who were engaged in a personal or professional capacity in the LEW project from 2001-2021 was conducted. The LEW is a typical example of development-induced-displacement in the Global South. It caused the eviction and displacement of several thousand residents living along the banks of the Lyari River (LR), and their compensated resettlement to Karachi's periphery in the Lyari Basti (LB) resettlement site. The LEW project was announced in 2001 as an inner city elevated corridor for port traffic along both sides of the LR, with an expected completion date of 2004. However, the project ran into troubles right from its very launch. For the construction to go ahead, about 38 km of land, the Right of Way (ROW) had to be cleared out

¹ Not a discursive *product*, but a *process* of discursive production: not a *noun* denoting something fully formed, but a *verb* denoting continuous change.

² A system of representation using symbols to construct and convey meaning.

along both banks of the LR. Most of this land was already occupied by a variety of different residential areas: formal housing, communal villages, leased urban settlements, as well as unleased or illegally occupying household and commercial structures of various sizes and materials. As residents started protesting against inevitable demolition and eviction, a compensation program was launched in 2002 to assess the potential social and financial damages and provide relief post-demolition, but this was termed inadequate by many. The tussle between the planners and affectees of the LEW project raged on for about two decades until the project was recently inaugurated as being complete in 2019. Traces of the violent ways in which the project was executed still linger on today. This research explores the discourses of those who were most directly involved in the LEW story: the Planners, the Affectees, and the Civil Society. A historical, long durée analysis, through the memories and experiences of the people directly involved, and their roles in the project, was able to shed light onto the discursive aspects of the project: how the urban ROT and the urban subject were produced by the various actors, and the convergences and divergences amongst the distinct ROTs and subjects produced by the actor groups.

1.2 Epistemological position

The study follows a postpositivist, poststructuralist, social constructivist paradigm. The research is exploratory, and, through a case study approach, aims to set a replicable precedent in critical urban studies for exploring themes of discursive urban production. The study does not employ a linear, pre-defined process from the onset. It adopts a reflexive and recursive research process, employing a qualitative methodology as appropriate to investigate the research aims. Data gathering, analysis, and reflexive adjustments guide the subsequent steps of the study, as explained in more detail in 0.

1.3 Research Aim, Objectives, and Research Questions

Given the lack of relevant urban CDA studies on discursive production in the Global South, this research aims to examine the case of the LEW project in Karachi, Pakistan, through a Foucauldian CDA approach, to understand *how* ROT and urban subjects were discursively produced through the natural utterances of actors closely engaged in the project over 20 years. To fulfil this aim, three objectives were set. These were:

1. To understand how discourses of the LEW produced the **Regime of Truth**.
2. To understand how discourses of the LEW produced the **urban subject**.
3. To compare **convergences and divergences** regarding these two themes in the discourses of the actors who were engaged in the project.

To fulfil the aim and objectives of the study, three research questions were formulated. These were:

RQ 1: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban regime of truth?

RQ 2: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban subject?

RQ 3: How did various actors frame the LEW discourse?

RQ 1 [How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban regime of truth?] is based on the Foucauldian notion of the Regime of Truth. It expands upon the key tenets of the social constructionist approach, which include a critical eye towards any knowledge that claims to be self-obvious and any practice that asserts itself as normalized and institutionalized. As an ontological and epistemological frame of reference, social constructionism does not take a set of pre-existing conditions as a given or established truth. Instead, it views the material as well as non-material aspects of the human condition as being constituted and referenced in place, in time, and by a particular group of relatively homogeneous people, to form a *specific*

instantiation of reality. In light of the productive properties of discourses within a Foucauldian theoretical framework, this specific instantiation of reality is conceptualized as the **regime of truth**, and guides RQ 1.

RQ 2 [How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban subject?] draws from Foucauldian ideas on subject formation. For Foucault, power contributes to the discursive production of regimes of truth and urban subjects (Foucault, 1982) through discourses of various actors. But who are these individual actors who are enmeshed in such power relations? The concept of the individual as an essence and as a normative being has also been studied and challenged within constructionist streams of thought. Social constructionists reject essentialist claims to the individual as a self and as a subject. The behaviour and agency of individuals is believed to be socially constituted by themselves and by ‘others’, in which language plays a key role. Within a Foucauldian theoretical framework, this anti-essentialist, anti-realist manifestation of the individual denotes the process of subject-formation, and leads to RQ 2.

RQ 3 [How did various actors frame the LEW discourse?] pertains to the convergences and divergences across the discourses of the various actor groups who comprised the participants of this study. These actors non-intentionally produced socio-spatial effects with their discourses around the LEW project. In his studies on power, Foucault has especially noted how the ‘struggle for control of discourses [is] conducted between classes, nations, linguistic, cultural or ethnic collectivities’ (Foucault, 1991, p. 60), and how power is always exercised through a multiplicity of actors. Locke (2004, p. 37) also examines how the discourses produced by some actors are more powerful, and how ‘non-powerful discourses are marginalized and relatively disempowered’. This relationality of the discursively-engaged actors complicates the traditional understanding of discursive power. The group of actors here were the ones directly engaged in a personal or professional capacity in the LEW project, and who exercised various degrees of power: discursive, material, technical, institutional, as well as the power of the street. These varying effects of discursive power and their impacts guide RQ 3.

To respond to these RQs of the study, analytically answerable sub-questions are formulated. For RQ 1, the sub-questions pertain to the imagined realities being produced, promised, and propagated by the various actors; and how these promises eventually transpired over time. For RQ 2, the sub-question examines the specific actions and attributions that were employed to produce the urban subjects, and describe the processes of subject formation. For RQ 3, the sub-questions look at the similarities and variations in the discourses of the actors around the same themes. The statements of the sub-questions are as follows:

RQ 1: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban regime of truth?

- Sub-RQ 1: What was conceptualized at project start: the driving forces, the objectives, and the *imagined reality* produced by the discourses?
- Sub-RQ 2: What happened over time: how was each occurrence associated with the original discourse, how did discourses shift, and what became the *actual reality*?

RQ 2: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban subject?

- Sub-RQ 3: How did planners, affectees, and civil society discursively produce the urban subjects, through what *attributions* and *actions*? How were these subjects collectivised, differentiated, and self-identified?

RQ 3: How did various actors frame the LEW discourse?

- Sub-RQ 4: What did the planners/affectees/civil society claim about the LEW project, has it changed over time, and why?
- Sub-RQ 5: How was the discourse of the planners/affectees/civil society convergent or divergent?

The data used in this study comprises the discourses of actors who were directly engaged in the LEW project, and was elicited through semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 16 main actors. The actors were affiliated with three actor categories,

according to their roles in the LEW project: (1) Planners; (2) Affectees; and (3) Civil Society. The latter comprises people who were active during the project, but were neither directly involved in planning aspects nor were directly impacted by any project actions. The final list of participants who were interviewed (anonymized, with general description) is provided in Table 4.1.

1.4 Thesis Structure

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the thesis. It gives an overview of the research background, aims, objectives, and research questions, and provides an outline of the thesis structure.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the conceptual framework of discursive production within a Foucauldian frame. It elaborates how *discourses produce* socio-spatial realities through *discursive power*, with particular references to two core Foucauldian concepts: the regime of truth, and the formation of the subject. It then applies these Foucauldian concepts to the urban domain, to explain how *urban discourses produce* socio-spatial *urban* realities through discursive power in the urban domain, with reference to the two key objects of study: *urban* regimes of truth, and the *urban* subject. This entails a brief analysis of past and existing paradigms of planning theory and practice.

Chapter 3 explains the history of the LEW case: from its initial conceptual discussions, to its various proposals, its abandoned initiations in the past, to the implementation of its final design in 2001. It explains the way the project unfolded, with reference to the planning and execution, the resistance faced from the communities living along the ROW, and the subsequent adjustments made to the design of the LEW as a result. It also explains the resettlement program and how the planning authorities interacted with the affectees in the execution of this program. This chapter sets an objective historical context to the Results and Discussion

chapters, and provides an overall timeline for the events that unfolded in the LEW story.

Chapter 4 elaborates the various aspects of the qualitative methodology that was adopted for this research. It explains Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach and a research method, and Foucauldian CDA as a specific tool for qualitative inquiry. The key terminologies are explained: discourse as the **object of analysis**, elicited natural discourses of the participants as the **data**, and the people directly engaged in the LEW project categorized as 3 Actor Groups as the **sample**. It then describes the design of the in-depth interview protocol, and mentions the limitations faced on field during data collection. It highlights the data recording and storing processes, and describes how data was translated and transcribed, and the transcripts were cleaned and categorized for the analysis stages.

Chapter 5 records details of the three phase of the data analysis process. The chapter provides a description of the changes made at each step in the coding, refining, and analysis process, in the form of a log of activities. This helps to elucidate the step-by-step process of the research stage for closer scrutiny, and leaves a replicable and verifiable audit trail, which increases the reliability of the research. Phase I describes the sequential open-coding of the transcripts, and simultaneous refining of the coding frame. It highlights the order of the transcripts being coded, and provides justifications for this order. It describes how new codes that were discovered in sequential transcripts were added and modified in light of previous ones, and how parent codes and subcodes were nested and arranged from within the large pool of open codes. By the end of Phase I, all transcripts had been fully coded, and no new codes would be added inductively to the coding frame. Phase II of the Data Analysis process explains how the coding frame was refined through various analysis tools using the software MAXQDA. This entailed a careful reading of the coded segments across all transcripts, and examine the frequencies and coverage of codes across the transcripts of individuals and groups, and get hints regarding the prominent themes that were occurring. It also details how the coding frame was refined, and free-floating codes were renamed, re-nested, merged, or deleted. It then highlights the

emergence of the two prominent themes: time as multiscalar, and subject formation. Phase III of the Data Analysis process helped develop the final results (the most prominent themes and sub-themes) after the coding frame had been refined and finalized in Phase II. This was done by identifying three key patterns in the data: the frequencies of subcodes and parent codes, the intersections of various codes in the segments, and the convergences and divergences of how codes were being used across individual actors and actor groups. This chapter also provides a credible justification for the emergence of primary and secondary themes from the coded data.

Chapter 6 presents the results, in terms of the primary and secondary themes emerging from the analysed data. In response to RQ1 and RQ2, it presents the segments coded with relevant labels for both questions. It also addresses RQ3 through a brief commentary, and describes how the same themes were being talked about in different ways by the various actors.

CHAPTER 7 presents an extended discussion on the results. It explains the themes under the two primary objects of analysis: the urban regime of truth, and the urban subject; and comments on the discursive convergences and divergences of actors. The discussion highlights how the urban regime of truth is centred on the multiscalar nature of urban time, and the urban subjects is fundamentally a temporal subject. The results are linked to relevant literature on temporal urban themes and temporal subject formation.

Chapter 8 recaps the research aims and objectives, presents a summarized discussion on the three RQs, explains the contributions of the study, and suggests avenues for further research.

CHAPTER 2

DISCURSIVE PRODUCTION

2.1 Foucauldian Discursive Production

2.1.1 Discourse as productive

Perhaps I cannot speak my thoughts clearly, but you are sensible, you will understand what I am trying to say. (A7, Pos. 21)

Philosophical thought of the late 20th century has been marked with a shift towards the study and analysis of language. The linguistic turn in the social sciences has brought to light the *modus operandi* and impacts of language use and discourse in the human lifeworld (van Dijk, 1997). Language is increasingly seen as a significant form of social practice, especially within the urban societies of late modernity (Fairclough, 1992; Mills, 1997).

The conventional understanding, up until the mid-20th century, of the relationship between language and the world external to language (that is, objective reality) has been one of representation: language has traditionally been viewed as a medium of expressing and representing ‘out there’ truths. Within this view, it is typically assumed that objective reality already pre-exists independently of its expression in language. Consequently, language is viewed merely as an assortment of words and phrases that are handpicked to name and describe tangible objects, abstract phenomena, and subjective experiences that already exist. In social psychology, for example, psychoanalysts believe in and discrete emotions such as anger, lust, and envy existing inside every human being. They assert that these emotions are attributes that are common to all humans, that the emotions describe the cognitive

and emotive constitution of the individual, and that the English words anger, lust, and envy are merely labels that have been arbitrarily assigned to these actually pre-existing emotive states (Burr, 1995).

This conventional understanding of language can largely be attributed to the idea of *essentialism*: that persons, physical objects, and social artefacts are reducible to *essences* that can be linguistically captured and cognitively interpreted in an exhaustive way. The definitions of these essences then provide the basis for further analysis of such persons, objects, and artefacts³. In contrast, poststructuralist theorists such as Derrida and Foucault emphasize the arbitrariness and inadequacy of the essence. For them, the definitions and identities of essences are historically produced, and are profoundly contingent on social conditions for them to be manifested in discourse and cognition in particular ways (Howarth, 2010). In this vein, a social constructionist view of language would assert that it is only *because of* the English words anger, lust, and envy that individuals within specific English-speaking cultures have come to define particular feelings and phenomena they experience as anger, lust, and envy. The feelings and phenomena that English-speakers use these words to refer to actually pre-date their expression in language. In learning to speak English, individuals are restricted to use only these words (and various synonyms) to refer to those abstract feelings and phenomena: they are

³ This concept underlies Saussure's structural linguistics, a significant foundation for theorizing discourses. The categorization of our experience into discrete words, phrases, and concepts, whether these are physical (such as a house, a city, money) or abstract (such as affordable, unpleasant, poverty), depends on a large extent to the structure of the language itself that is doing the categorization of these experiences. Words, phrases, or concepts, which Saussure calls 'signs', contain two components: the 'signifier', which is the spoken sound or written text; and the 'signified', the physical or abstract object that the signifier refers to. However, Saussure asserts that the relationship between the two is arbitrary. And not merely for the obvious reason that there might have been alternate naming conventions within one particular language, or that the signified may have a different signifier in another language; but because, according to Saussure, the signs that describe and categorize the signified are *arbitrary categories* of our experience.

restricted to understanding such concepts only through the linguistic attribution that the English language offers (Burr, 1995)⁴.

This poststructuralist position on language is starkly different from the conventional understanding. It views the individual person and their world as constructed *primarily* through language use. The attributes that make up the individual and their objective reality cannot pre-exist their expression in linguistic terms: it is language itself that creates a particular ‘version’ of the individual and their reality. Of course, this does not suggest that within the poststructuralist paradigm objective reality is categorically dependent on language for its production, and would not exist outside of its linguistic representation. Poststructuralist discourse theories claim just the contrary: it is not that material reality is produced through language; rather, our access to and understanding of material reality is mediated through language use and discourse (Jacobs, 2006). In its attempts to describe to us the perceptual understandings of our world, discourse is no longer considered merely a value-neutral medium of representing truth and knowledge (Cheek, 2008).

The concept of discourse relates language use to its embeddedness in social interaction (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 415), where discourse denotes ‘a system of statements⁵ which constructs an object’ (Parker, 1992, p. 5). Bourdieu regarded discourse as an instrument for power and conscious action that indisputably affected social relations. In his view, language accomplishes a dual role within society: firstly,

⁴ The particular language used to express or represent some form of knowledge or idea is central in determining how that knowledge comes to be represented. Some languages restrict certain kinds of representation (e.g. metaphysical, poetic, scientific representations). Others allow more in depth explanations. The limitations and allowances make up the *expressive adequacy* of a language (Way, 1991). For example, Shakespearean English can provide a valuable corpus for analyzing and indeed producing anew a particular kind of literature, but not as much for analyzing modern memes or cultural references. Similarly, technical information comprising ‘expert knowledge’ in a variety of scientific as well as social science domains is also shaped by the particular language employed to construct the knowledge base. Some languages may simply be inadequate and fundamentally limited in their structure and vocabulary to contribute to certain kinds of technical knowledges.

⁵ The statements might include words, phrases, and metaphors; be in written or spoken forms, images, or other kinds of visual or cognitive representation; and together assign meaning and value to the object that they produce.

as a basic medium of communication; but more importantly, as a conscious attempt to *produce* and uphold power hierarchies. By achieving this dual role, discourse shapes the society's understandings of its existence and being (Bourdieu, 1991). This view is shared by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 258), who propose a dialectical relationship between discourse and the social realm: 'discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it'. Hence, according to the poststructuralist position, individuals and societies occupy a *subjectively constructed world of objective* reality: the structure of language constructs the *categories* within which we place the objects that we experience. This is the basic idea underlying linguistic construction; what this study, using a Foucauldian framework, theorizes as **discursive production**.

For Foucault, a discourse refers to *a group of beliefs* about an object or phenomenon, such as capitalist discourse, or Christian discourse (Flowerdew, 2013). He considers discourse primarily as a practice. Based on Foucauldian conceptualizations, within all possibilities of discursive production, not all discourses are accorded equal authority or productive power: a *particular* prevailing discourse produces *one version*, the dominant version, of certain objects, events, or persons. This inevitably implicates power relationships in the processes of discursive production. Any number of alternate versions or explanations for the objects, events, and persons remains possible within a *different* discursive framework, drawing on different power resources and networks. Foucault claimed 'the object does not await in limbo the order that will free it and enable it to become embodied in a visible and prolix objectivity; it does not pre-exist itself, held back by some obstacle at the first edges of light. It exists under the positive conditions of a complex group of relations' (Foucault, 2002, p. 49). This group of relations points to discursive and non-discursive social practices. Foucault's later genealogical work analysed the historical development of such practices aimed at regulating and controlling individual bodies and social groups. He conceptualized this as the power of discourses to produce

regimes of truth, and to produce humans as subjects. Through these two fundamental concepts, he aims to decipher what he terms an ‘ontology of the present’. His ontological position starts with the primary question: who are we [archeology]?’ More accurately, he asks: ‘who are we today [genealogy]?’ (McHoul & Grace, 2002, p. viii).

When talking about the productive power of discourse, Foucault did not expressly categorize the discursive and the material as being two distinct realities but as two aspects of the same reality intertwined in a relationship of productive tension. Hence, within a Foucauldian theoretical framework, discursive practices and strategies *produce* the themes, definitions, and categories that a social group employs to construct and propagate understandings of their lifeworld (Burr, 1995): through this act of *production*, discourse plays a key role in how social norms, subject positions and power structures within a society are conceived, represented, reified, and eventually naturalized. In other words, discourse acts as the cognitive frame of reference through which an understanding of the social realm is constructed: and it is then within this specific, discursively constructed cognitive framework that subsequent societal decisions, such as those of urban planning, can be proposed, contested, and asserted (van Dijk, 2008).

In following a discursive productivist orientation for this study, it is not only helpful but also necessary to elucidate a few basic concepts from Foucauldian theory as employed within my research: power, the regime of truth, and subject formation.

2.1.2 Discursive power

Urban planning is, in Foucauldian terms, a technology of power: as a domain of expert knowledge, planning is inherently imbued with the effects of power. Planning is based on claims to knowledge that rely upon specific instantiations and manifestations of discursive power; hence, in the urban realm, knowledge and power are mutually constitutive (Foucault, 1977, p. 27). Additionally, power is not

necessarily positive or negative, nor fundamentally emancipatory or repressive, according to Foucault. Hence, power is not a hierarchical phenomenon: it is not practiced from above, nor radiates out from a central point. It is at once everywhere (Foucault, 1998), permeating the social fabric. Within such a conceptualization, every actor implicated in discursive exchange produces and asserts their own form of discursive power. This constitutes power as fragmented, non-intentional, and with multiple origins.

Since power does not radiate out from one source but can have numerous origins, it can simultaneously produce conflicting realities, a ‘multiplicity of force relations’ within the urban realm, which denotes the ‘sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization’ (Foucault, 1998, p. 92). This relational way of looking at power precludes its conceptualization as hegemonic, omnipotent, or inexplicable: rather, power in the urban realm is conceptualized as being distributed across the multiplicity of actors who manifest it in their own discourses.

Against this basic understanding of power, this study is *not* an extended examination of Foucault's notion of ‘power’ in the urban domain, per se. There have been various detailed studies on the power of urban planners and of the urban planning enterprise (Yiftachel, 1998; Forester, 1989; Flyvbjerg, 2002). Within planning research, Richardson (1996, p. 280) has written extensively from a Foucauldian vantage point on how ‘power appropriates knowledge, and weaves it into discourses’ in pursuit of particular planning objectives. The aim of this research, specifically, is to relate Foucault’s notion of power to its role in *discursive production*. This study follows the Foucauldian conceptualization of power being decentralized, permeable and pervasive, as opposed to power being centralized, hierarchical and repressive, and extends this conceptualization to discursive power, specifically, the power of discourses to *produce*. Such discursive power is seen to operate within urban processes and interactions, and to contribute to the discursive production of regimes of truth and urban subjects by the relevant actors. Traces of power can be determined from the way the individual discourses are structured, negotiated, and eventually prevail or disappear. It is only possible to comment on the discursive power of actors

in a *retrospective* way, analysing what elapsed when their discursive productions came to confront one another in urban space during a particular time.

More broadly, within the discursive conceptualization of this study, planners, institutions, and the urban population all produce distinctive discourses that simultaneously form their respective regimes of truth. Competing regimes of truth correspond to specific instantiations of power, and create opportunities of negotiation for urban space, and urban time. This process is especially evident within contested or fragmented urban scenarios (Hastings, 1999), of which Karachi is a prime example. Within contested cities, particular conflicts in urban discourses can be read as scaled down versions of larger societal structures and relations at work. Although this does not necessitate linguistic reductionism or determinism within the urban domain, a critical approach to understanding how and why people speak in the ways they do within the urban realm can inform us of embedded societal cognitions, interactions, and conflicts (Collins C. , 1999) within a society.

2.1.3 Regime of Truth

Discourses operate at various scales. Fairclough categorizes three distinct ‘orders’ of discourse, increasing in abstraction: discrete *texts*; which are part of a broader *discursive practice*; and the overarching *social practice* within which the former two are situated (Fairclough, 1992). Foucault defines a discursive practice as the process through which dominant reality comes into being (Foucault, 2002) as a ‘regime of truth (ROT)’ (Foucault, 1980, p. 131). A regime of truth is the strategically constituted discursive field within which a particular conception of truth is produced as a tactical force in the functioning of power relations within a society. Regimes of truth encompass the ethics and politics of its producers’ worldviews. They outline the criteria which determine what is acceptable as truth within a specific society’s epistemological and ethical framework. The regime of truth helps the members of a social group to distinguish fact from fiction, define the principles of material and non-material value, and organize the hierarchies of individual and collective

credibility. Within a ROT, particular discourses are normalized as truth as it is in the interest of the most powerful stakeholders within a society that these very discourses, and not any alternate or competing ones, are branded with a label of ‘truth’ and become the commonsense understanding.

However, when talking about ROTs, Foucault does not expressly focus on the *contents* of specific statements that denote what is or is not purported to be true. His inquiry into discourses is *not substantive, but procedural*: he is interested in the set of *rules* that allow certain statements to be recognized as being true or false, rules that delineate what constitutes the ROT and what lies outside the ROT. In this way, discursively produced ROTs, by setting up specific rules, make possible fields of credible and actionable knowledge by telling us how to discern fact from fiction, whatever the substantive nature of those facts and fictions.

Several researchers have come up with innovative methods to scrutinize ROTs in the urban sphere, although not exclusively with a focus on the linguistic and textual aspects of discursive production. For example, some studies have analysed how discourses produce the *preconditions* – the ‘conditions of possibility’, what some have called practices of ‘structuration’ (Richardson, 1999) – for referencing ideas and objects, by delimiting what is conceivable and speak-able and what is not, with respect to the contextual cues and conditions *already* in place (Hajer, 2002). Discourses set up ontological frameworks and epistemic criteria that together limit the *expressive horizon* for objects and ideas that are imaginable or speak-able within particular socio-cultural settings. This strategic bracketing goes beyond inevitable limitations of language use, such as the linguistic capacity of a particular language, or the expressive adequacy of an individual speaker. In contrast, discourses themselves act as the blinders that, by their very operation, draw out the boundaries within which an individual is *allowed* to think, communicate, and act, by producing particular categories as reified realities, and delegitimizing certain other categories. In this way, discourses lead to the ‘reification’ (Kooij, 2015) of definitions and categories, a process that others have referred to as ‘institutionalization’ (Richardson, 1999) and ‘object-stabilization’ (Duineveld, Assche, & Beunen, 2013).

Through such processes, discourses help make clear, in an explicit way, objects and ideas that do not otherwise become manifest. They ‘allow us to see things that are not “really” there...once an object has been elaborated in a discourse it is difficult *not to* refer to it as if it were real’ (Parker, 1992, p. 5). By interweaving knowledge and power over time in such a way, discourses produce particular regimes of truths, while simultaneously delegitimizing, obscuring, or outright erasing others (Foucault, 2002). Other researchers, such as Potter (2008), outline the elements that comprise a ROT: the general *body of statements* that represent the genealogy and archeology of a domain of knowledge, such as psychiatry or urban planning; the *rules* and mechanisms (laws, and regulations; criteria; yardsticks and standards) that help distinguish true and false statements; the medium or *genre* through which such truth is then sanctioned (through speech, law, or direct force and violence); the *positionality* of those whose discourse is considered to be the truth (the epistemologists, the specialized experts); and the implicit or explicit *rules* for the formation and transformation of statements and objects. These elements coalesce to form a ROT.

2.1.4 Subject Formation

Foucault elaborated how his intellectual project has been not ‘to analyse the phenomena of power, nor to elaborate the foundations of such an analysis’, but rather ‘to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects’ (Foucault, 1982, p. 777). Althusser asserted that humans do not have a universal or eternal essence, but *become* particular kinds of context-bound subjects by becoming part of a discourse that assigns them *specific positionalities*. However, Foucault goes a step further to assert that these positionalities are transient, and only as durable as the discursive framework within which they are situated (Angermuller, 2018). For Foucault, discursive practices produce the *positionalities* of the *objects* and *subjects* that constitute a social body within a particular regime of truth (Evans,

2008), by employing ‘arbitrary acts of power that include and exclude individuals and groups’ (Cunningham & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 50).

Foucault’s last works were focused around the formation of subjects through discursive and material practices (Foucault, 1982; Foucault, 1998). His project finally converged on tracing the origins and the pathways of thought that have led to the constitution of man as an object of knowledge (Kooij, 2015) and an object of systematic inquiry (Locke, 2004); and, by extension, an object of normative prescription.

Once discourses reify certain subject positionalities as part of the operationalization of a particular regime of truth, these positionalities are normalized as possessing *objective* value and identity, which other subjects have to comply with. From here on, subjects can be *disciplined*, made docile, and ‘cured’ from a paternalistic or pastoral position (Howarth, 2010). A striking aspect of subjectification is the way in which subjects are taught to *self-regulate* their bodies. A discursively produced regime of truth necessitates the subject to *self-evaluate* their own positionalities and sets out their obligations and responsibilities within the proposed social reality. Hence, discursively produced subjects are not merely docile bodies operating within a particular regime of truth, but they are also expected to become the *participants*, the *audience*, and the *witnesses* of their own compliance (Evans, 2008).

Studying the discursive production of social inequality, Angermuller (2018) explains how discourses reproduce and normalize material distinctions between various subjects by processes of valuation: participants in a discourse are implicated in an relational evaluation of their roles versus the roles of other participants, *negotiating* the categorization and labelling they are continuously being subjected to. This is inevitable as they become enmeshed in a discourse community (Angermuller, 2018, p. 9) – or, as Foucault would put it, a social dispositif.

2.2 A Foucauldian framework for urban discursive production

2.2.1 Urban discourse as productive

After the conceptual exploration of the discursive production of the ROT and the subject in Foucauldian theory in **Section 2.1**, this Section provides a brief analysis of how urban planning practices have produced urban ROTs and the urban subject, from a Foucauldian perspective, by commenting on the dominant paradigms of planning theories and practices of the last and current centuries. Briefly, it also identifies the way that scholars have studied the production of ROTs and subject formation in the urban through urban planning, and what kinds of gaps, theoretical and empirical, remain in such research.

The genealogy of urbanization is founded upon temporally sequenced processes such as centuries of industrialization and the advances of globalization. These processes have, over time, produced contextually differentiated material and institutional conditions that underlie and frame particular urban lifeworlds across the Northern/Western and Southern/Eastern urbans. The processes of urban production, including spatial and social (re)productions, have been conceptualized in myriad ways, focusing on particular socio-spatial materialities as sites for empirical research. These interpretations have been conducted through various frames of analysis. Some emphasize the ‘city’ as a tangible anchor for conceptualizing discussions on ‘urban’ phenomena, and others debate the effectiveness of such nominations. Some view the urban as an ideological construct only, whereas others pay more attention to the material-spatial aspects of cities and urban life. Harvey considers the urban as a conflict over the ‘production, management and use of the urban built environment’ (Harvey, 1976, p. 265). In *The Condition of Postmodernity*, he elucidates four potential future directions for urban studies, one of which is attention to how rhetoric and representations within the urban – *urban discourses* – produce and enable symbolic systems of control, and how these discourses then contribute to the reproduction of such systems of control (Harvey, 1989, p. 355).

Within urban studies more recently, Kooij (2015) has argued how the theorizations and practices of urban planning as a process of socio-spatial regulation might be enhanced through attention to the discursive production of objects and subjects, something which Foucault alluded to in his analysis of power and discursive formations.

Discourses are everywhere within the urban: the discourses of urban architecture portray national pride, nostalgia, or civic reform; discourses of urban fashion indicate liberalism or conservatism; the discursive practices of particular urban institutions produce hegemonic bureaucracies or pave the way for public inclusivity. Everything that possesses and produces meaning within the urban milieu is a text, an instance of language use, and a manifestation of discourse. A study of urban discourses sets as its foundation the position that all urban is, and can be read as, *text*. As Jacques Derrida, the prominent deconstructivist, comments, ‘there is no outside-text⁶’. For the current study, this maxim can be interpreted as ‘there is no outside-discourse’. However, this study restricts urban discourse only to ‘text and talk’ within the urban. Text and talk are the two primary *linguistic* expressions of discourses. The study of urban discourses is not extended into the domains of architectural, visual, institutional, cultural-traditional or other *symbolic* discourses.

Manifested as text and talk, urban discourse constitutes a social practice which interacts with various other societal processes. Urban discourse is both an expression and an aspiration, actively shaping a society’s perception of its being and of its becoming. Urban discourse necessarily entails overlapping semiotic systems, pools of knowledge, and epistemologies of the urban actors involved, including planners and administrators, as well as urban residents. Such urban discourse contributes to

⁶ In French: ‘*il n’y a pas de hors-texte*’. The phrase is often mistranslated into English as ‘There is nothing outside of the text’, implying that Derrida advocates linguistic determinism as objective reality. However, what he does advocate by this phrase is the importance of linguistic signifiers, whether they are visual, verbal, or written, considering them all as ‘texts’. He also does not differentiate between the signifiers in terms of whether they are written, spoken, or represented in other media. For him, every instance of language use constitutes a text, one that can be examined, critiqued, deconstructed, and radically transformed.

the *social construction of urban reality* (Burr, 1995): it enables the conception of the structures and practices of urban social reproduction, and subsequently guides urban spatial reproduction, two processes that are *inherently* interdependent. Hence, a particular instantiation of urban discourse is not merely *representative* but essentially *constitutive* of the experience of its corresponding urban condition: within the urban, discursive practices do not only *represent* but actively *construct* socio-spatial reality. The emerging physicality of the urban springs from a pre-propagated discourse and the conditions of possibility it has helped manifest. As discourses produce and validate what comes to be understood as *real* and *true*, they produce corresponding *knowledges* (Fairclough, 2001) and subject identities. They also grant credibility and legitimacy to particular knowledges and identities, and delegitimize others. It is through discourse that certain statements within the urban realm come to be regarded as broad and commonsense *truths*, while certain other statements can be – authoritatively – dismissed as being parochial, backward, or merely ignorant. In this way, the discourse of an urban society can be interpreted as a microcosm of the overarching socio-spatial relations and structures already in place in that society (Collins C. , 1999). Planning discourses in particular provide hints to the structures of domination and subservience underlying the functioning of cities (Imrie, Pinch, & Boyle, 1996).

2.2.2 Discursive power in the urban

Friedmann considers urban planning as an expert domain of knowledge and social practice which should continually revisit its theoretical and ethical bases for it to remain socially relevant (Friedmann, 1998). Planning theorists has long debated how the planning enterprise can be made more inclusive, democratic and representative. Historically, urban planning has been a top-down, mostly state-led, approach to manage the socio-spatial aspects of the urban (Hall & Tewdwr-Jones, 2011). Through its various paradigms and approaches, urban planning addresses complex and ‘wicked’ urban issues (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Harvey has defined urban

planning as a tense landscape situated at the intersection of social and spatial analyses (Harvey, 2009), while Dear & Scott consider it a 'historically-specific and socially-necessary response to the self-disorganizing tendencies of privatized capitalist social and property relations as these appear in urban space' (Dear & Scott, 1981, p. 13). Ideally, planning aims to strike a balance within the urban through knowledge- and evidence-based action: a balance between various social actors and stakeholders, between costs and benefits of particular projects and policies, and between individual and public uses of urban space (Friedmann, 1987). As an act of deliberated decisionmaking to accomplish social-spatial change (Fischler, 2012), urban planning contributes to producing a particular socio-spatial 'urban expression' (Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*, 1977). Planning enables urban agents and institutions to interact in particular ways, producing and reproducing the urban not as a *net* result of the *individual, conscious* choices of *all* its residents, but through *distinct, deliberative* decisions made by a *few* powerful players within it. These few, powerful players consist primarily of urban planners and policymakers. This urban production occurs in a clearly *asymmetric* way with respect to the planners' and residents' *knowledge of* and *power over* the urban (Fischler, 2000).

Urban planning theories and practices operate under various ontological frameworks, epistemological stances, and rationalities. There are theoretical, practical and discursive variations within the various planning paradigms. The rational-synoptic paradigm emphasizes criteria which are technically-empirically defined for universal application (Alexander, 2000); the communicative paradigm pushes for intersubjectively discovered criteria for particular communities (Healey & Gilroy, 1990); morally-influenced advocacy planners propagate notions of social and spatial justice (Davidoff, 1965); transactive approaches focus narrowly on the specific community for targeted action rather than chasing functional goals (Friedmann, 1973; Hudson, Galloway, & Kaufman, 1979); radical approaches contest existing practices of city building and promote the decolonization of planning epistemologies and planning actions (Friedmann, 1987). In all its paradigmatic variations, urban planning is inherently constituted by discourse, and by discursive

practices. Such discourse is not merely a neutral and objective medium of communication. Within the urban realm, it becomes a powerful and politically charged instrument with the capacity to produce and reify what becomes subsequent urban reality, in the cognitive, epistemic, and pragmatic sense of the word. The urban realm cannot be conceptualized without reference to the regimes of truth constituted by planning knowledges, as well as without reference to the discursive practices that enable the conditions of production of such knowledge. Within the urban milieu, ROTs propped up by planning and policy discourses determine the acceptable formulations of behavioural and cognitive *legality* and *propriety* within the corresponding urban society, where objects and subjects keep being produced and reproduced through discourse (Kooij, 2015). Therefore, urban planning cannot occur as an activity independent of the effects of language use, of semiotic systems, and of discursive representations: urban planning is inherently constituted by discourse, and by practices of discursive production.

Planning entails transforming knowledge (and what counts as knowledge) into action (Friedmann, 1998) *through* discursive exchanges. It involves communicating ideas using a variety of available media and linguistic devices. Planning processes are centred on discursive exchanges around many kinds of urban knowledges. Any attempt at urban planning has to take into consideration the meta-theoretical problem of how technical knowledge can be successfully translated into actions for public good (Friedmann, 1987). But as Foucault rightly argues, all structures of knowledge are *contingent upon* the contextual instantiations of power they are buttressed by. A basic principle of Foucauldian thought maintains that discourse defines and produces the *objects* of our knowledge (Foucault, 1982). Then, from a Foucauldian perspective, the discourses that produce what counts as urban knowledge also, by extension, produce the objects and subjects (Kooij, 2015; Duineveld, Assche, & Beunen, 2013) within an urban regime of truth. Through its discursive history as well as its many contemporary manifestations, urban planning provides a rich backdrop to analyse the production of objects and subjects (Kooij, 2015).

Subject positionalities and their interrelationships are produced as a result of historically and socially contingent domains of knowledge that have been supported over time – genealogically – by particular manifestations of discursive power in the planning profession. In this respect, urban planning is not merely a problem-*solving* activity in the urban milieu; it is primarily a problem-*identifying* one, or more accurately a problem-*defining* one. This act of problem-definition involves the question of *who* does the defining: the power structures and relationships that produce the knowledges categorizing certain urban phenomena as ‘problems’ to be ‘solved’. After all, in a multifaceted urban milieu, hardly a handful of issues can be unanimously agreed upon as problematic for *all* urban stakeholders. The persistence of a ‘problem’ could in some way be beneficial to one or more urban stakeholders, which is precisely why the ‘problem’ continues to exist. In such a scenario, the ones bestowed with the privilege of identifying and categorizing certain urban phenomena as ‘problems’ are the strongest discursive actors, possessing the power to negate alternate perspectives which might define the same phenomenon as a non-problem, or indeed as a benefit. Traditionally, urban planners have been the holders of this kind of discursive power within the urban domain: the power to define, identify, and produce urban truths, and urban subjects. Skillington’s (1998) analysis of news articles in the 1990s issues of the Irish Times newspaper dealing with urban renewal and the demarcation of public and private space in the city is especially compelling in this regard. He observes how particular narratives built around the notion of urban development can reinforce pre-existing power structures in society. Predominant power hierarchies permeate the urban and establish an insulated hegemony which precludes an opportunity for alternative definitions, approaches, and visions. Such powerful actors can also cause discursive shifts to reiterate older concepts that had lost their appeal or been subject to criticism when introduced earlier, such as gentrification or urban renewal policies cloaked as actions for communal or public good (Healey, 1999).

2.2.3 Urban Regimes of Truth

The objectives underlying early efforts at urban planning range from purportedly altruistic, to utilitarian, to purely extractive. Throughout its historical application, the urban planning enterprise has always been justified to be morally and technically objective, neutral and value-free in the pursuit of enhanced living conditions for urban populations (Hall, 2014). The need to plan out urban societies derived from particular understandings of human work, value, and accomplishment. These categories were discursive products of the capitalist mode of industrial production that drew people into cities on an immense scale during the 18th-19th centuries. Concepts such as employment, accommodation, commute, and recreation were embossed onto the newly emerging urban populations of industrialized Europe, and were precursors to the eventual ‘imperative to plan’. The foundations of contemporary planning theory and practice lie in the philanthropic and paternalistic modes of managing the industrial ‘city of dreadful night’ (Hall, 2014, p. 13). Such *discursive origins* of urban planning derived from the contemporaneous industrial philosophies of efficiency and professionalism in dealing with the management of people and resources on a large scale. 18th century theories of classical physics and economics dictated the principle of least means to be incorporated into planning thought, where tasks pertaining to the maintenance of the urban environment could be carried out with the least input of resources such as capital, time, material, and labour. Planning aimed to comprehensively enhance urban life through designing solutions to specific structural problems that had arisen out of the socio-spatial configurations of capitalist industrial societies (Fischler, 2012). It was the 19th century which saw the *discursive differentiation* of urban planning as a discrete profession which could be placed in the category of newly discovered, distinctly ‘urban’ occupations. The substantive and procedural nature of early formal planning was marked by a focus on physical and land use planning. This focus on physicality centred on discourses of beauty, cleanliness, and visual aesthetics: a reaction to the ‘horrors’ and ugliness of the Victorian slums (Hall, 2014, pp. 13, 16, 32, 50).

Physical planning inspired the Garden Cities of England, and produced the City Beautiful plans for Chicago and Vancouver. Burnham's discourse of "make no little plans" described the essential spirit of the planning profession and advocated drastic changes in the living condition of urban populations through grand architectural designs (Fainstein, 2000). Subsequently, early and mid-20th century European urban planning expanded nascent technical and public health concerns to engage with broader civic themes, such as nationalism and identity formation within urban societies, and post-war urban renewal in nostalgic or progressive spirit for cities such as Manchester, Glasgow, and London. The city was still understood as a physical-spatial product, something to be crafted from a detailed blueprint. And in the domains of related sciences, neoclassical economic theorists drew from a positivistic ontology and epistemology, reducing the physical-spatial urban to the cumulative economic actions of perfectly knowledgeable households and firms making rational decisions within an urban free market. For such theorists, the changes in urban morphology and character depended on the *net* outcome of rational individuals' decisions, such as assigning land uses according to economic efficiency.

The earliest normative planning model, the rational paradigm, views urban planning as a conscious and deliberative exercise in problem identification and resolution, based on decisions taken by purportedly rational individuals – the planners – or by groups acting as rational quasi-individuals such as organizations, agencies, or commissions (Alexander, 2000). The paradigm conceptualizes as its epistemological basis the individual rational thinker-philosopher, embodied in the technically trained urban planner. The paradigm has dictated much of 20th century planning theory and practice (Fainstein, 2000). Making planning synonymous with rational thought processes and actions is the basis for any kind of planning discourse within this paradigm (Friedmann, 1998). There have been strong arguments why planning could not be but rational, why the notion of irrational planning is an oxymoron (Alexander, 2000), and why the rationality paradigm still holds relevance in theorizing about planning (Dalton, 1986). The rational model asserts the superiority of scientific-empirical processes to sociocultural valuations as *the* foundation for an urban

epistemology. Its discourse produces a regime of truth which incorporates practical efficiency and technical rationality, emphasizing the comprehensive physical master plan; technical and bureaucratic hegemonies within public offices; and centrist or statist planning endeavours. The paradigm produces the planner as the foremost expert on urban knowledge, and urban subjects as pawns to be managed in a paternalistic way by the urban planner.

As the shortcomings of the rational planning paradigm were brought to light, the communicative model of planning was developed based on the Habermasian concepts of communicative rationality and communicative action (Habermas, 1984; Habermas, 2003). Habermas himself drew inspiration from Hegelian ideals as well as Wittgenstein's linguistic analyses. His ideas on intersubjective communication were incorporated into urban planning by academics and practitioners such as Healey, Hillier, Innes, and Forester (Fainstein, 2000; Outhwaite, 2015). Within the communicative paradigm, purposes and actions for the urban are communicatively discovered and explored rather than being predefined based on abstract a priori prescriptions (Healey, 1992). This expands the role of the urban planner from merely a technical expert to a negotiator and intermediary amongst various stakeholders and social agents (Fainstein, 2000). Communicative rationality offered a new form of planning through interdiscursive communication, a way of 'making sense together while living differently' (Healey, 1992, p. 160). Focusing on processes of bargaining, facilitation, mediation, and anticipatory coordination, communicative planning defines not merely the end goal of a planning endeavour, but also the means to achieve it in a social context (Alexander, 2000). The knowledge base is expanded from a technical repertoire to include non-professional inputs and tacit knowledges, by integrating reliable on-ground contacts and social networks (Forester, 1982). Through these processes, the communicative paradigm accords more significance to linguistic and discursive inputs than the technically oriented rational paradigm. The communicative paradigm can be considered a first step towards attempting to democratize the discursive aspects embedded within urban planning, away from a pattern of hegemonic discursive production under the rational paradigm, to an

intersubjective process of discursive production that is more open, inclusive, and participatory. Within this paradigm, the ability of discursive urban production has been delegated from one fully rational planner-philosopher to multiple stakeholders who are only partially knowledgeable, and partially rational. However, this model has also been extensively critiqued as operating on the presumption of a homogenizing, power-neutral field. Such presumptions could lead to conflating the contingency of decisions with token participatory actions, and hence create optimistic misrepresentations of the superficial democratization of the planning process (McGuirk, 2001). Flyvbjerg, especially, has written extensively on how different ‘real-life rationality’ (Realrationalität) is from traditional conceptualizations of rationality within communicative processes (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Nevertheless, the communicative paradigm has paved the way for a number of interactive, intersubjective, and interdiscursive approaches to critically analyse and enhance urban planning, such as transactive planning (Friedmann, 1973), communicative practice (Forester, 1989), collaborative planning (Healey, 1998), and dialogical planning (Harper & Stein, 2006). In comparison to the rational planning paradigm, this paradigm can be seen as a more inclusive discursive production of the urban.

2.2.4 Urban Subject Formation

A historical-genealogical overview is beneficial in conceptualizing the temporal evolution of a planning process not just as a ‘(discursive) practice of interpersonal communication but as a (discursive and non-discursive) practice of government’ (Fischler, 2000, p. 365). This implies the formation of urban subjects to be governed under the expert domain of urban planning with its own structuration of knowledge and power. Hence, a genealogical-temporal analysis of planning processes helps ground urban subjects in their contemporary relational positionalities as they have evolved over time in planning discourses. As a domain of expert knowledge, planning undoubtedly implies a mode of subjectification (Kooij, 2015). To build a

critical frame of reference for urban social production, it is important to understand *its basic constitutive unit*: the urban subject, *within* an urban regime of truth, as theorized and produced through urban discourses.

Planning is considered an inherently political activity, exercised within asymmetric power structures and within competing claims to various kinds of value. This directly counters the strongest justification for planning, which is the ‘public interest’ discourse. Subsuming planning practices under all-encompassing narratives of the public good or universal values is widely critiqued; in fact, many planning critics often challenge the notion of the ‘common good’ itself (Murphy & Fox-Rogers, 2015). Within such discourses, the normative conception of a compliant urban subject is based on the idea of a planned, prescribed urban ‘self’ versus an allegedly unplanned and unregulated urban ‘other’, who must be integrated, through planning, into the material and social urban realm.

The rational planning paradigm provided not just a metanarrative for planning theory, but, more importantly, it discursively produced an overarching social theory by defining and creating a new subject as the basic unit of the urban society: the individual utility maximizer. Rational planning set up for itself a self-righteous, hegemonic paradigm, that of presuming, in a rather patronizing manner, the needs, desires, and behaviours of its discursively produced unit of analysis, the rational, utility maximizing urban citizen. Such individuals formed homogenous urban populations within the discourses of the rational planning paradigm: ethnically and linguistically neutral, culturally and racially identical, economically mobile and self-motivated. Fortunately, most urban societies are far more complex and heterogeneous, across both Northern and especially Southern urbans. In reality, absolute or substantive rationality is not accomplishable by agents, whether they are urban planners or non-planner urban actors. Individuals cannot be expected to encompass all knowledge perspectives on an issue simultaneously and in a wholesome way; some perspectives may simply lie outside ontological frameworks, requiring a re-orientation of the framework itself. Indeed, the language itself of an urban society indisputably determines the ways in which the society constructs its

referential frameworks for understanding and articulating its socio-spatial urban lifeworlds. Hence, realizing the shortcomings of the rational comprehensive model of planning, planning theorists and practitioners attempted to incorporate more realistic improvisation into planning paradigms, beginning by critiquing the rational subject as planner and citizen. Planners called for more sensitive interpretations of this fundamental unit of analysis and theory-building, by addressing basic human attributes, the most important being that humans are not always rational decision makers (Healey & Gilroy, 1990). The notion of the rational utility maximizer as the basic subject of rational planning processes was demoted to one that employs a bounded form of rationality (Alexander, 2000). The concept of bounded rationality accommodated for lapses in human knowledge, and subsequently the processes of human judgment, valuation, and communication, and thus enabled alternate decision-making dynamics, such as compromises (instead of consensus), satisficing (instead of maximizing), and incrementalism (instead of large scale urban projects). As the planning profession matured over the decades, the understanding of the urban subject shifted from a monolithic basic unit to a more variegated, context-specific positionality. Under the influence of social constructionist approaches, discussions began on whose voices should be engaged in planning and to what extent. In fact, urban residents began to be seen as potential co-creators of their own spatialities, and the planning profession began encouraging them to engage in collaborative planning practices. These discussions led to communicative planning paradigms, which opened up the domain to non-technical inputs, such as 'values' and cultural norms (Healey, 1992).

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE: LYARI EXPRESSWAY

The LEW, it did not really get made [لیاری ایکسپریس وے تو بنا ہی نہیں]

(NHA official, Jan. 2022)

3.1 Conceptual alignment of the case with theoretical framework

The case chosen for this study had to represent an extended interface between the domain of urban planning and the existing lifeworlds of Karachi's urban population. The construction of the LEW comprised a critical moment situated in the planning of Karachi at a crucial transition phase between two master plans. Being an expressway, the LEW was a federally administered project, because the construction of all highways within the country are delegated to the National Highway Authority (NHA), a federal agency. This implicates actors at the federal, provincial, and local levels in the planning process; as well as the more directly affected urban residents. Hence, the LEW project provided a new discursive space within the city, where all-new discourses emerged and fought for dominance. This was a new arena for the interaction of planners and affectees, with the civil society assuming the role not just of auditor and commentator, but an active mediator, facilitator, and activist. The research field was conceived in this way, as an interface between three intertwined actors. It was then within this discursive field that a working timeline of the LEW was constructed, which contained references to relevant events and positionalities (concise timeline in Table 4.2, extended timeline in Appendix H).

As a 'subjective and pragmatic decision' (Sharp & Richardson, 2001, p. 204), this study focuses on a single discursive issue within the selected case. It examines deeply

only one aspect of a broader urban process. That issue is the discursive production of a regime of truth that entailed the corresponding production of affectees as a particular *kind* of urban subject. This discursive production was aimed *primarily* at justifying the already pre-decided planning action to demolish certain settlements to construct the LEW, which had already been discursively produced as a necessity for the city. The decision to compensate unleased affectees, the actions taken in this regard by various actors, and the associated discourses such practices subsequently prompted hence constitute the ‘critical moment’ (Sharp & Richardson, 2001, p. 201) that foreground this study. These discourses created the logics that underlay the discursive production of the LEW as a necessity for the city as a two-pronged solution to traffic congestion *and* hazardous informal settlements. Hence, besides the transportation aspect, the project was proclaimed as a merging of philanthropy *and* solving the *katchi abadi*⁷ problem in the city’s core: something which has repeatedly failed again and again in Karachi – and was to fail, yet again. The focusing helped elicit data on how exactly the LEW spatially manifested onto the built fabric of the city, originating in the discursively produced ROT that ultimately prevailed, and the kinds of processes, both discursive and other, that this spatial manifestation entailed. The key research questions hinge this manifestation on the necessary production of a ROT and an urban subject.

3.2 The LEW story

3.2.1 1986-2001: various proposals for the LEW

In the 1974-1985 Karachi Development Plan (KDP), the Karachi city government proposed the Northern Bypass and Southern Bypass to direct port traffic to the Super Highway heading out of the city (Figure 3.1). But these projects could not be started

⁷ A *katchi abadi* is an informal or slum settlement. *Katchi* = non-durable/illegal; *abadi* = settlement.

due to several reasons, including lack of funds and political unwillingness. In 1986, after the duration of this Plan had expired and the bypasses had still not been built, some civil society members collectively proposed the idea of the LEW for the same function of accommodating port traffic. This proposed LEW was to pass along the LR, as an alternate to the Northern and Southern Bypasses. Other citizen groups and NGOs raised objections to the proposal straight away, citing reasons of air and noise pollution through Karachi's primary residential areas, as well as the significant number of evictions that it would cause for communities already living along both banks of the LR.

However, in 1994, the KMC went ahead and removed about 8000 small shacks and commercial units along the banks of the LR on the pretext of clearing the ROW for construction of the LEW. Since the buildings that were demolished did not include any houses, the affectees were quickly labelled by the local government as 'encroachers' who had already extracted years of profit from illegally occupying the space along the LR for commercial activities, and not paying rents or taxes to the city. This portrayal was supposed to justify the removal of such commercial units from the LR banks, and to kick-start the actual demolition phase of the LEW. But conditions for the LEW project were still not ripe; demolitions were stopped soon after, not because of any outcry from the civil society, or a resistance by the affectees, but purely because of the incapacity of the local government to carry out the construction of the LEW in its entirety.

The idea of the LEW then lay dormant until June 2001, when the federal government took up the project. A federal agency, the NHA, was assigned for its construction. Hence, LEW was re-inaugurated in May 2002 by President Musharraf. The city's last master plan, the KDP, had expired in 2000. Activities for the subsequent master plan, the Karachi Strategic Development Plan 2020 (KSDP), were initiated in 2005. By 2005, LEW demolitions and compensations through the LERP were already in motion. The KSDP was published in 2007. It acknowledged the LEW as the first expressway of the city, and proclaims it 'almost complete' (MPGO, 2007, p. 17). The LEW was briefly mentioned as a component of an 'integrated logistic system'

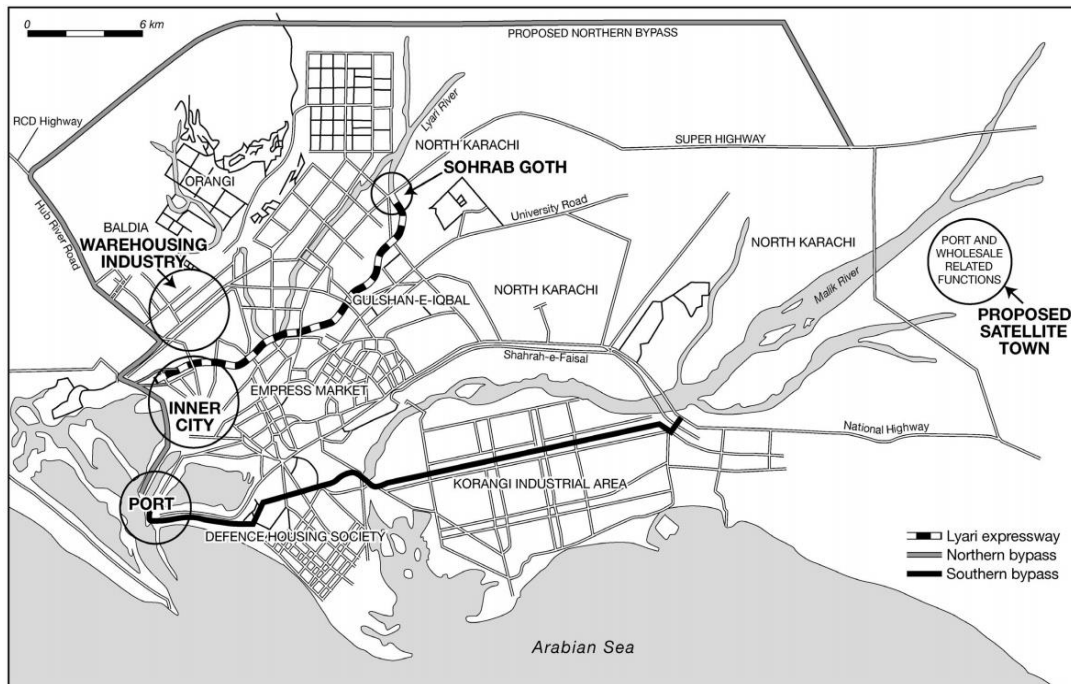


Figure 3.1. The proposed map of the Lyari Expressway.

(MPGO, 2007, p. 13) as part of the Central Ring Road R1 (MPGO, 2007, p. 78), catering to the ‘heavy traffic to and from the Karachi port’, along with the NBP and SBP (MPGO, 2007, p. 13). The KSDP also tentatively ‘envisions’ the LEW as a potential public transport corridor in the future, integrated with a broader park and ride system across the city if adequate supporting infrastructure is provided (MPGO, 2007, p. 73). But overall, there was little mention of how the LEW was supposed to be integrated within the projected future growth or transport needs of Karachi, something in which the KSDP was otherwise very detailed. The lack of mention of the LEW and LERP within the city’s new master plan said a lot about the project: it was not something that the local government had any decision-making power in, except for implementing the orders from above – the federal government. The local administrative bodies and planning agencies could not ‘plan’ any aspect of the project except carrying out their designated role in ‘clearing the ROW’ so that construction could continue.

3.2.2 2001: evictions and demolitions

A total of 38 km of land – 19km long corridors along each bank of the LR – was to be acquired by the federal government for the construction of the LEW. This was to be accomplished by eviction and demolition drives to clear the ROW of the LEW from occupants who were both *illegally encroaching* that land as well as *legal-leased residents* whose houses happened to fall within the ROW (Figure 3.2). People who had legal properties were compensated for their demolished houses by being provided ‘market-rate’ prices, according to the Land Acquisition Act (LAA) 1894. Those who were labelled as ‘illegal encroachers’ – essentially, anyone who could not furnish proof of legal/leased property along the ROW – were forcefully evicted and their houses were demolished. There was a quick public proclamation of the



Figure 3.2. Typical informal settlements along the Lyari riverbank.

intended project, and residents were given little time to clear out their houses and belongings. A survey was carried out to ascertain the number of affected families, but the lists of the affected people were not made available for them to verify. Demolitions started in piecemeal fashion, depending on the rented demolition machinery. Many families living along the LR did not know until the last minute whether they would be removed or spared.

3.2.3 2002: resistance to the project, and announcement of the compensation plan

Soon, residents from multiple settlements, whose homes and businesses came in the ROW of the proposed design, began mobilizing and demanded clear details of the project from the authorities. People from the Civil Society, including academics, media persons, and NGOs, also began supporting the ground-up resistance against the LEW project, which they also believed would cause intense human rights violations. Some residents filed cases in court, against the demolition of their leased houses. Other residents went even further and demanded to be made consultants and co-planners of the project – an unimaginable demand in Pakistan’s planning context! But none of these demands were met immediately. The planners kept emphasizing that the LEW was a federal government project, all aspects of which had been pre-decided. It had to happen the way it had been planned, and there would be no changes in design or implementation.

However, the resistance movement gained traction, and made operation of the demolition and construction teams difficult along the LR banks, where residents were continuously protesting. The pressure from the Civil Society, media, and international human rights agencies also grew considerably on the federal, provincial and local governments, as well as the construction agency, to address the concerns being raised by the residents.

Faced by unexpectedly fierce resistance from such affectees, as well as unprecedented support to this resistance by the civil society and critique by media and academic circles, the government decided to design a compensation and resettlement plan for the unleased home-owners who were being evicted from the LEW ROW. This not just helped pacify the protestors, but more importantly, gave a strong justification and grounding to the construction of the LEW itself: the planners could now conflate the discourse of easing traffic problems, which was purportedly the original aim of the LEW, with a newly established discourse of improving the lives of those who were being evicted from the LR banks in ‘miserable’ conditions. 2005: the resettlement plan, implemented

However, the resettlement plan – the Lyari Expressway Resettlement Program (LERP) – was itself designed and implemented in an arbitrary and ad hoc way: the LERP website cites the resettlement program as a ‘by-product’ of the LEW and not something that had been planned at the conception stage of the project. Hence, the LERP viewed the resettlement process in a particular light – of accommodating the suddenly homeless affectees under the pressure of their resistance – rather than an a priori design for a smooth transition from their old settlements into a new area. This forced resettlement impacted everyday lives and living standards on multiple scales: the affectees were uprooted physically and materially, as well as economically and occupationally from their previous abodes, besides the social, emotional and psychological ramifications they had to bear (Anwar, et al., 2021).

The leased home-owners whose houses had been demolished by the ROW clearance were paid market-value compensation for their demolished properties, according to the LAA. As for the unleased affectees, most of them were given a compensation package which consisted of 50’000 PKR as a check, plus an 80 square yards plot of land in one of three resettlement sites. These sites were located on the outer peripheries of Karachi: to the north in Taiser Town, and to the west in Baldia and Keamari Towns. This research examines affectees at two sites: at HAV, along the LR, which was demolished only partly during 2013-2016, and whose affectees still

await compensation; and LB, one of the resettlement sites in Taiser Town, where affectees who received plots and money came and settled, from 2005-06 onwards.

After the compensation package was announced, some affectees accepted and shifted immediately. Others were not so lucky, and spent several years looking for rented accommodations near their original places of living, as they were engaged in jobs in nearby areas and could not afford to travel so far every day from the peripheral resettlement sites. This increased their costs of shifting over time; most of the 50'000 PKR amount was also spent on rent during the first year of displacement, rather than as an investment to construct a new house at the relocation site. At the resettlement sites, infrastructure, health and education services, and other urban amenities were planned and laid out in advance, for the incoming settlers. By 2006, many settlers had started constructing houses at LB, one of the resettlement sites (Mustafa, 2006). This settlement process continued incrementally over a period of about 15 years – as of 2022, many allotted plots are still vacant. The facilities that had been provided during the initial years of settling have either dried up, or are simply non-existent today: government schools are no longer functioning; the promised government hospital was never inaugurated; electricity and water are precariously supplied; and roads show disrepair, with piles of trash occupying open areas as well as streets (Figure 3.3).

3.2.4 Current status of LEW

The resistance from the people living along the ROW, stay orders from the court, interference from political actors based on selective vote banks, and the subsequent re-alignments of the ROW and changes in LEW design, all contributed to the construction of the LEW being stretched over much longer than had been planned (Social Policy and Development Centre, 2012). From an initial completion data in



Figure 3.3. What was demarcated as a neighborhood park lies undeveloped in Sector 51, LB. Source: Author, 2022.

2003, the project lingered on for years on end (Figure 3.4). Eventually, the LEW was officially declared as fully open to the public in 2019. Today, the LEW is used primarily by private vehicles. Ironically, port-related heavy traffic is completely banned from the LEW – what was initially proclaimed as its primary target user. As of mid-2022, most of the settlements originally marked for demolition along the LR banks have been fully demolished, except a few rare cases, where the design of the LEW was altered and some leased settlements were not spared. Although the construction of the LEW itself has been completed, many of the service roads initially planned along the entire LEW remain unbuilt, mostly due to issues of ROW clearance. In terms of compensation to the affectees, most of these were disbursed during the early years; some compensations are still pending, especially for areas cleared during the last phases of demolition in 2016-2017. These can simply not be disbursed, at least not in the foreseeable future, as the funds for compensation initially allocated by the federal government have already dried up.



Figure 3.4. This photo from 2006 shows one completed track of the LEW. The settlements on the other bank of the river will soon be razed to make way for the return track. As of 2019, both tracks are completed and fully functional.

3.3 The need to study the LEW case in more depth

Today, once the dust has settled, a more critical analysis of the *outcomes* and *impacts* of the LEW has become not just useful, but intensely needed: the precarity that these populations were subsequently pushed into is representative of many urban populations who are undergoing similar displacements in urban Karachi, such as with the proposed construction of the Malir Expressway (MEW), and the rehabilitation of the Karachi Circular Railway (KCR).

However, it must be made clear that an in-depth study of the empirical specificities of the LEW's impacts is beyond the scope of this research (such as socio-economic impacts, or demographic-ethnic changes in urban areas, or the long-term reduced access to livelihoods and urban services). Other studies have sought to analyse such impacts in empirical and phenomenological depth over the years (Hasan, 2004;

Social Policy and Development Centre, 2012; Anwar, et al., 2021). This study looks primarily at the discursive production of ROTs and urban subjects in the LEW case, and intends to use the findings to propose a sensitized approach to conceptualizing and implementing urban projects.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY: OPERATIONALIZING THE FOUCAULDIAN CDA

There are a lot of things that are not in books... they are buried in my, your, our chests. (A5, Pos. 6)

4.1 Conceptual framing

4.1.1 Linguistic Research, and Critical Discourse Analysis

Contemporary linguistics research branches off into the analysis of several linguistic features, such as grammar, phonology and phonetics⁸, morphology⁹, semantics¹⁰, syntax¹¹, among others. Most of these methods are concerned with the use of language at the level of single words or single sentences. These approaches are categorized as pragma-linguistic approaches: they work at the micro-level of speech. Discourse Analysis (DA) is a socio-pragmatic approach to analyse language use¹². It is concerned with precisely how social actions are accomplished through discourse, and how language is employed within discursive events (Hastings, 1999). The philosophical and sociological antecedents to analyzing discourse derive from Wittgenstein's late philosophy (Wittgenstein, 1974) as well as interactionist sociology (Berger & Luckman, 1966). Methodologically, DA analyses language use *beyond* the sentence: it evaluates how singular words fit together to make sentences,

⁸ Speech sounds, pronunciations, dialects, etc.

⁹ Structure and components of individual words.

¹⁰ Meaning-making, and the relationship between signifiers in speech.

¹¹ The set of principles that determine the structure of sentences, including the order of words.

¹² A socio-pragmatic approach such as DA works at the macro-level and involves the researcher's attempt to bring forth worldviews and cognitive understandings of the subjects which the latter express through their discourse.

and how sentences form larger genres of speech. DA emphasizes the significance of the socio-cultural context for language use, and investigates how context determines the contents of spoken and written discourse.

Over the years, DA has developed into an extensive epistemological and empirical framework, and is applied to conduct quantitative and qualitative research in a variety of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. Examples include narrative analysis (Labov, 1997), conversation analysis (Schiffrin, 1990), psychological aspects of text processing (van Dijk, 1997), and text linguistics (Webster & Halliday, 2014). Conversation analysis approaches have been applied to ethnomethodology to evaluate how moral order sustain over time, by social scientists like Goffman and Garfinkel (Samra-Fredericks & Bargiela-Chiappini, 2008). The Discourse Historical Approach has been explored by Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl; Maarten Hajer and Herbert Gottweis have focused on analyzing discourses within policy studies; and the Essex School of Discourse Analysis led by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe has proposed discourse analysis within a post-Marxist theoretical framework (Howarth, 2010). Finally, Foucauldian streams of analysis employ a more 'critical' approach focusing on power, on the genealogy and archeology of expert domains of knowledge, and on the formation of subjects. This study draws inspiration primarily from Foucault's notions of discourse and discursive formations.

The critical approach to DA is now a standalone tool of inquiry, known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This has followed the development of critical theory strands in various other social sciences, including Critical Planning Theory (Gunder, 2015) inspired by the antipositivist and social constructivist paradigms. CDA was pioneered by Fairclough and propagated by Wodak and van Dijk (Flowerdew, 2013). Broader theoretical contributions underlying CDA include Marxist writers such as Gramsci and Althusser, the Frankfurt School, Giddens, Habermas, and poststructuralists and postmodernists such as Bourdieu, Derrida, and Foucault (Ehrlich & Romaniuk, 2013), and their critique on societal values, worldviews, and lifestyles (Flowerdew, 1999). Foucault has extensively examined the link between

semiotics-semantics and extant power relations in society (Foucault, 2002), and Derrida has undertaken the deconstruction of texts against social contexts (Derrida, 1978; Critchley, 1996).

Although such theorists have emphasized the crucial role played by language in social construction, most have not analyzed the specifically *linguistic* aspects of text. CDA, however, aims specifically to relate social practice to discursive practice as these are manifested in texts: CDA emphasizes the crucial relationship between the linguistic and the social domains. It adopts an applied pragmatics approach. CDA analyzes how certain social and political issues are produced and represented in discourse (Flowerdew, 2013; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), how discourses reproduce political and power structures in society (van Dijk, 1997), how domination and power abuse can permeate and be legitimized as *natural* (Fairclough, 1995), and how the ‘human mind can be tricked, deceived or manipulated through the use of language’ (Chilton, 2005, p. 41). Like many other ‘critical’ analyses, CDA is ‘engaged and committed’ (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258), it ‘intervenes on the side of dominated and oppressed groups and against dominating groups’ and it ‘openly declares the emancipatory interests that motivate it’ (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 259). CDA helps demystify and denaturalize how discursive structures work towards normalizing particular social cognitions that promote existing societal injustices (van Dijk, 2008), in the hope that being cognizant of the orchestrated naturalization of particular discourses might help disrupt such practices. In this attempt, CDA is explicitly political: it is concerned not merely with the critique of discursive practices, but with proposing alternate practices aimed at societal transformation. It challenges the natures of ontology, epistemology, and methodology, that frame the understanding of social worlds. As an ultimate aim, CDA seeks emancipation from discursive and material forms of oppression (Hammersley, 1997).

4.1.2 CDA methodology

Methodologically, most CDA research is exploratory. It advances on *tentative* propositions and develops insights along the way as the collected data is *situated* within a preconceived theoretical framework and is subjectively analyzed by the researcher. CDA studies are not restricted to a single or dominant method. Researchers often employ a variety of methods and data types as they deem fit in order to address their research questions in the most effective way. In fact, *methodological pluralism* remains a salient feature of contemporary CDA research. Van Dijk views CDA as a *critical perspective* on doing research rather than a *method* for doing it (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 138).

Lastly, CDA does not posit the interlocutors of a discursive exchange as necessarily ‘good’ vs ‘evil’ social actors (van Dijk, 1993). In fact, the participants might not even be aware of the nuances of their own positionalities and respective discursive powers during an interaction. CDA helps bring such relationships to light (Flowerdew, 2013).

4.1.3 A methodology for a Foucauldian CDA

Methodologically, a Foucauldian-inspired CDA is similar to any other CDA approach. Theoretically, it draws on Foucault's broader conceptual engagements with discourse and discursive formations from various stages of his work. A Foucauldian CDA seeks to challenge truths that have become *normalized*: it examines how such truths have been constituted over time (genealogy and historicity), what enables these truths to maintain their status as truths (archeology: knowledge and power), and what alternate truths could have existed in their place, or could potentially exist in the future (contingency). These theoretical understandings guide the kind of questions to be posed, the data to be gathered, and the process of analysis (Cheek, 2008) in a Foucauldian CDA.

However, there are two caveats: Foucault's own writings do not consist of a homogenous consolidation of his ideas on discourse; nor did he articulate an explicit *method* for conducting CDA. In fact, his theories on discourse evolved over time, and he amended several of his ideas as he developed new insights in later writings. Foucault's own study of discourse as practice is based on the genealogical aspect of discursive formations as 'traces of historically specific frameworks of thought and action' (Fischler, 2000, p. 359). Broadly, Foucault's conceptualization of discourse extends beyond language use and texts into an analysis of more abstract social practices (Ehrlich & Romaniuk, 2013). This framing of discourse as practice underscores the role played by power in creating and curating knowledge. A Foucauldian CDA views *power as existing prior to language*: linguistic practices are based on and driven by notions of pre-existing power (Burr, 1995; McHoul & Grace, 2002). In doing so, language becomes the principal means through which power relations are enacted in a society: it is not merely the case that language use is influenced by existing power relations in society, but that such power is reified and reinforced by language use itself. Foucault theorized these relationships as discursive formations or discourses in his earlier writings, and later consolidated these as power/knowledge structures and regimes of truth (Kooij, 2015) that permit *acceptable* articulations of problems and solutions to those problems (Foucault, 1980). Towards the end of his career, Foucault further elaborated that his project entailed critiquing 'the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects' (Foucault, 1982, p. 777).

In this vein, a Foucauldian CDA views discourse as contributing to the *production of objects and identities* within the human lifeworld (Boyle & Rogerson, 2001; Fairclough, 1992), and hence deems it more crucial to evaluate and critique the *discursive frames of reference* producing particular a priori definitions and categorizations.

Most Foucauldian analysis of urban discourses focuses on urban spatial practices intertwined with social justice concerns, such as citizenship, rights, value, governance, and power hierarchies in society (Merrifield & Swyngedouw, 1996),

and the decolonization of purportedly objective planning knowledges (Resende, 2018) that produce naturalized understandings within the urban (Gunder, 2015). For example, Richardson's (1996, p. 283) work questions 'how, why and by who, truth is attributed to particular arguments and not to others'. Kooij employs a Foucauldian theoretical frame to examine the discursive formation and stabilization of objects and subjects in the planning and design of a university campus in the Netherlands. Utilizing qualitative analysis of data comprising media reports, news articles, consultancy documents, websites, as well as personal observations, semi-structured interviews, and site visits, he studies how the 'innovation' campus was discursively produced in academic, media, and policymaking circles within the national planning regime to entice a new kind of subject to the campus, the 'entrepreneurial researcher'. In his case, the formation of this new kind of campus as a spatial manifestation of the urban ROT necessitated the *pre-production* of a specific actor. Without the discursive production and stabilization of this actor, the campus could not have gained traction in planning discourse, nor could have spatially and physically materialized within the city (Duineveld, Assche, & Beunen, 2013). Foucauldian discourse analysis has also demonstrated how concepts of poverty and urban decay have permeated academic and practical discourses regarding descriptions of urban transformations in 20th century cities, and how these discourses act as normalizing instruments for large scale urban restructuring projects (Mele, 2000).

In applying a Foucauldian approach to CDA, it is important to clearly articulate which parts of Foucault's theorizations the study alludes to (Cheek, 2008). In this study, the primary investigation is on the discursive analysis of Foucault's concepts of **regimes of truth** and **subject formation** within an urban planning project. The objective in undertaking a Foucauldian CDA of planning is an analysis of planning *processes*, as stressed by several urban analysts who integrate Foucauldian themes into their work (Duineveld, Assche, & Beunen, 2013, p. 94; Flyvbjerg, 1998). Studying a process necessitates highlighting the contingency of urban production over a *temporal* and *spatial* timeline, which is a key feature of this study. This study

analyses instances of urban production, representation, and confrontation as they manifest in the discourses of various urban actors over a 20 year period of their engagement with the LEW project. It examines how discursive production in the works: what kinds of actors engage in what kinds of discursive practices to achieve what kinds of ends at the expense of what other actors. In this vein, it proceeds *methodologically* from a theoretical frame based upon the intersection of discursive power, temporal-genealogical processes, regimes of truth, and the formation of urban subjects. Philp (1990) outlines certain crucial questions to be asked of the data subjected to a Foucauldian CDA. What rules allow the formation and acceptance of certain statements? How does one distinguish between statements that are purportedly ‘true’ and those that are alleged to be ‘false’? How are systems of classification enacted, and what kinds of rules allow the categorization of entities into groups? According to Cheek (2008), whenever it is possible to identify or decipher *a set of rules* underlying the answers to these questions, one is dealing with some kind of discursive production at work.

4.2 Key elements of the research

The key terminologies employed in designing the methodology of the Foucauldian CDA are presented below:

4.2.1 Object of analysis

‘Discourse’ was considered the primary object of analysis in this study. The term ‘discourse’ was used in the Foucauldian sense to denote language use within a social context, and is seen as a productive process of formation. Discourse was asserted as being both representative but more importantly constitutive of socially produced reality.

4.2.2 Data

The primary data comprised the natural discourse of the sample. This data was collected through open-ended, semi-structured interviews, and comprised the participants' direct responses in Urdu, which were translated and transcribed in English.

4.2.3 Sample

The sample for this study consisted of the participants directly engaged in the LEW project, categorized as 3 Actor Groups. This study followed the Foucauldian conceptualization of power being decentralized, permeable and pervasive, as opposed to power being centralized, hierarchical and repressive. All recruited participants were conceptualized to be imbued with discursive power in relational ways.

From a cursory reading of the secondary sources on the LEW, the antagonistic arrangement of two main actor groups, the planners and the affectees, was clear from the very start. But a detailed reading of secondary sources, especially media articles and academic work on the LEW, brought to light the indispensable work of a third actor which lay beyond the discursive and material struggles amongst the two key actors. This third actor was the Civil Society: those who neither planned, nor were affected directly, yet were voluntarily engaged in various acts of patronage, activism, or solidarity, directly relevant to the project. The inclusion of this third actor not only enriched the elicited discourse, but was also seen to validate and triangulate the discourses of the two primary actor groups. The Civil Society actors had purportedly adopted a neutral stance, although they were seen by the planners as 'against development'.

4.3 Sampling

The first round of shortlisting potential participants for the study came from a quick skimming of the secondary sources on the LEW (detailed list of the secondary sources consulted is provided in Appendix I). The potential participants included names and designations of actors who had been recorded over time by several researchers, and who had appeared in articles, media interviews, and documentaries. This constituted the first list of actors, which contained about 90 potential names or designations, across the 3 actor groups (Appendices IJ, K, and L). Where names could not be located, designations or role descriptions (such as Program Director LERP, or affectee living in LB) were provisionally noted down. This list was narrowed down further after deeper inspection of the actors' roles, and discussing with some of these actors. This provided a more detailed picture of who was involved in what capacity and at what time in the project, and brought to light new names and positionalities.

Once some names were finalized, purposive sampling was adopted for recruiting participants for the interviews according to two criteria. Firstly, participants were selected either if they occupied key roles and positions during the project, or had been impacted directly by it. By ensuring their direct engagement with the project, their knowledge and insights about the project could be trusted to be reliable and valid. Secondly, participants were also selected based on their ease of access and availability. Personal contacts in academia and the researcher's professional circle were used to link up with certain individuals in the target actor groups. Especially for the category of planners, strong links were sought who could connect the researcher to participants, as approaching them without a strong personal reference had proven to be not just cumbersome, but also unfruitful. For the other two categories, affectees and civil society, access was generally easier. Names and designations were removed from the list of potential participants where they: (a) were inaccessible or logistically difficult to reach; (b) were not directly relevant to the study; or (c) occupied positions that were already being covered by another

participant. At this stage, the list was shortened to 25 potential participants in total. Out of the 25 who were approached, only 16 interviews could be conducted; 6 potential participants could not be available for an interview despite multiple attempts to set a time, or due to personal reasons. A3's interview was not substantial enough in content, and had to be dropped. This is because A3 did not quite engage with the interview questions, but talked on end about not having received compensation, blatantly cursing and swearing at multiple officials throughout the interview. Due to this, the interview also had to be politely cut short. Hence, the final sample consists of 6 planners, 7 affectees, and 3 civil society actors (interview details provided in Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. The 25 shortlisted participants, out of which interviews could be conducted with only 17. *A3 interview not used for analysis, as explained above.

N.	Actor Group	Anon. Initials	Affiliation	Designation	Interview conducted
1.	A	A1	HAV	Village elder, HAV	Yes
2.	A	A2	HAV	Lawyer, affectee, HAV	No
3.	A	A3	LB	LB settler, not compensated	Yes*
4.	A	A4	LB	LB settler, partially compensated	Yes
5.	A	A5	LB	LB settler, compensated	Yes
6.	A	A6	LB	LB settler, partially compensated	Yes
7.	A	A7	LB	LB settler, compensated	Yes
8.	A	A8	LB	LB settler, compensated	Yes
9.	A	A9	LB	LB settler, compensated	Yes
10.	C	C1	URC	Director	Yes
11.	C	C2	Engineer	Engineer; alternate LEW design	Yes
12.	C	C3	Media	Human Rights Activist; journalist	Yes
13.	C	C4	Researcher	Chairman URC	No
14.	C	C5	URC	Joint Secretary	No
15.	C	C6	Academia	Dean	No
16.	P	P1	CDGK	Mayor Karachi (2005-2010)	Yes
17.	P	P2	CDGK	Town Nazim Gulshan	Yes
18.	P	P3	FWO	Former General Manager (Construction) – LEW	Yes

Table 4.1 (continued)

N	Actor Group	Anon. Initials	Affiliation	Designation	Interview conducted
19.	P	P4	CDGK	UC Nazim Gulshan	Yes
20.	P	P5	EA Consultants	Consultant LEW 2001-onwards	Yes
21.	P	P6	NHA	Project Director LEW	Yes
22.	P	P7	LERP	Project Director LERP	No
23.	P	P8	CDGK	Town Nazim Liaqatabad	No
24.	P	P9	KMC	Former mayor, Administrator KMC	No
25.	P	PX	CDGK	Assistant to Mayor Karachi, 2001-2005	No

The conceptualization of the actors in this relational way countered the alleged antagonism inherent in a CDA approach, that it divides society into an oversimplified dichotomy of the oppressor-oppressed positionalities only. These relationships were represented not just as a standoff between a stronger and weaker group, but as a microcosm of existing social relationships within the urban populace, ranging from alliance and solidarity to mediation and advocacy.

4.4 Pre-field: designing the interview

4.4.1 Limitations of local methodological precedents

There are various gaps in knowledge when it comes to CDA of planning in cities of the Global South. Firstly, most CDA has been conducted in the English language, of data taken from English-speaking contexts, and through methodologies developed and applied in English-speaking contexts. Linguistic researchers in various departments of English Linguistics within Pakistan, in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad, were consulted in the early stages of this study, but information on

currently ongoing urban CDA projects could not be acquired. Urdu Linguistics academics consulted at the University of Karachi indicated that there is no substantial or normative CDA research in Urdu language, mainly due to limitations of advanced analysis of Urdu texts, as well as the non-existence of specific vocabularies pertaining to technical knowledge domains such as urban studies. There are a few individual attempts at analysing the content and tone of Urdu newspapers and media discourse, but these researches themselves have been carried out in the English language, through translation and interpretation. Published CDA researches from Pakistani academics focus usually on media, politics, and terrorism-related themes. There is also some research on English language pedagogy as practiced in Pakistan, but that about sums up the CDA research being conducted within Pakistan. Hence, only a few local precedents for CDA could be consulted prior to the design of the methodology. These precedents were mostly limited to the broader themes of media discourse and pedagogy, which already have substantial coverage in international CDA research.

In the absence of clear methodological precedents, the following were the key considerations in designing the interview: an indirect approach to the questioning; the linking of interview questions to the research questions; and considering the order of interview questions to ensure a smooth transition from one key theme to the next – although, the latter condition did not hold for almost all interviews, as the conversations flowed more naturally and less in a structured way.

4.4.2 Indirect approach to questioning

Data elicited from interlocutors for CDA purposes can be prone to systemic distortion, by intimating the speakers as to the final purposes of the research and the ethnical and value judgements the researcher or reader might place on their utterances and language use, even when the data is anonymized. A study that categorically aims to capture the discursive production of subjects through discourse is in itself a value-laden and subjective endeavour. It is of utmost importance that the

elicited data is not mediated, tailored, or hedged in any way by the participants to suit what they believe to be agreeable analytical outcomes. This would have been impossible to achieve if the theoretical framework of the research would be fully explained to any potential participant, as it would automatically mean they provide conscious and calculated answers that might paint them in a different way. Secondly, because the research questions were from a theoretically specific domain, participants could not be expected to have the base knowledge of that domain to answer questions about the regime of truth or subject formation if asked in direct way. Thirdly, an indirect approach was also necessary to ensure that participants do not provide inaccurate responses out of courtesy or to deliberately misguide by hiding their true intentions. Hence, in designing the interview questions, an indirect approach was adopted to eliciting the required responses (Saville-Troike, 2003). Even when participants got off on a tangent in response to some of the more open-ended questions (mostly going off about political or sentimental concerns, or in-depth personal stories not directly relevant to the study), smaller probing questions on the spot helped bring them back to the topic. Overall, the indirect questioning technique proved helpful in eliciting the required data.

4.4.3 Linking Interview Questions to Research Questions

The 10 open ended Interview Questions (IQs) were designed around the 3 main RQs, to elicit specific information. For each research question, there were a few corresponding interview questions. For RQ1, the IQs asked participants about their perception or knowledge regarding the objectives and driving forces behind the LEW, and why the LEW was given so much importance by the government; and how the idea of ‘public good’ was linked to the LEW. For RQ2, the IQs elicited data on how particular actors and their opinion of the project changed over time, including their opinions on the affectees and the planning agencies; as well as what kinds of planning decisions and events might have caused the actors to behave in certain ways. For RQ3, the IQs asked for the participants’ personal roles or stories, including

a description of their everyday activities, as the LEW project was ongoing; their personal evaluation of the LEW and the vision behind it, and whether they evaluated the LEW in the same way today; and some events that were personally significant for them, out of the whole LEW story. At the end, as a closing question, IQ 10 asked the participants about which individual or institutions they believed should be given the credit (or blame) for the LEW and its impacts. The full questionnaire with corresponding RQs is provided in Appendix D. An English copy of the interview questionnaire is provided in Appendix E, and an Urdu copy of the questionnaire (which was administered verbally to most participants) is provided in Appendix F.

4.4.4 Designing a concise timeline as an interview tool

To reference the interview questions according to events along the LEW story, an extended timeline for the LEW (Appendix H) was developed by studying secondary literature on the topic as well as talking to relevant academics. Initially, all relevant secondary material was organized into a chronological timeline, with dates and events extending back to pre-colonial times, such as descriptions of native settlements along the LR preceding the annexation of Sindh by the British in 1839. The timeline was updated with more recent events such as the post-1947 Partition of British India that resulted in the establishment of residential and industrial units along the LR, as well as various flooding incidents over its history. The timeline also contained relevant political events, such as changes in federal, provincial, and local governments. However, for the purpose of the interview, this timeline had to be made more concise, so that it could be used in combination with the questionnaire, to engage the participants in a temporal interpretation of the LEW story, to elicit responses from the participants about their insights into the different phases of the project, and how certain events marked ‘turning points’ or ‘discursive shifts’ within the project. For this reason, the final timeline (Table 4.2) was reduced to just 5 chronological phases, around which the interview questions were then posed to the participants.

Table 4.2. Concise Timeline of the LEW, designed for the interviews.

PHASES	DETAILS
Phase 0: Pre-LEW: LEW only in discourse	Pre-2001: discussions, LEW designs 1, 2, 3 proposals, limited action, political instability.
Phase 1: LEW Launch: Proposal, ROW demarcation, eviction notices, demolitions begin	2001: LEW Design 4 proposed by <i>FG+NHA</i> : elevated expressway with sloping embankments along LR; NHA uses satellite imagery to demarcate ROW; FG orders PG+LG to vacate ROW to begin construction; eviction notices issued to houses falling within ROW; demolitions begin; no plan for compensation/ resettlement yet.
Phase 2: Opposition: affectees protest, file cases; civil society gets actively involved	2001: Communities react; on-site resistance turns violent, creating disorder; affectees connect with local/international NGOs, mobilize against evictions; leased settlers go to court; some mobilize political support; concerned citizens file public interest litigations.
Phase 3: Compensation: Compensation plan announced; LERP set up; listing surveys; court verdict; resettling starts	<p>2002: Rehabilitation plan announced by LG; LERP set up; 1st listing survey to document affectees: satellite imagery provided by NHA used to count structures on ROW; Resettlement starts at Hawkes Bay sites.</p> <p>2003: SHC verdict: favours leased affectees, grants stay order against demolition, orders market-rate compensation according to LAA 1894, orders 2nd listing survey; does not stay against demolishing <i>unleased</i>.</p> <p>2004: 2nd listing survey, conducted at SHC orders; Resettlement starts at Taiser Town Scheme 45, Sectors 35 and 36 (LB).</p> <p>2005: NHA files case against ‘encroachers’ in SCP.</p> <p>2007: 3rd listing survey: definition of ‘family unit’ updated, discrete kitchens per plot now counted as discrete families.</p> <p>2008-2009: Resettlement starts at Baldia Town Scheme 29, Sector 1.</p>
Phase 4: Slowdown: One LEW track complete; LERP out of funds; LEW/LERP work continues at a slow pace	<p>2010: Southbound track completed; delays in ROW clearance on northbound track, resistance from communities; NHA proposes re-aligning ROW; institutional friction between former LG and NHA.</p> <p>2010-2012: LERP runs out of funds; LERP excluded from federal and provincial budgets 2010-2011 onwards; LEW construction delays due to un-cleared ROW and disagreements on realignment.</p> <p>2013-2019: Demolitions continue; construction continues at a slow pace, LEW costs keep increasing; FG grants additional 6b PKR for expediting remaining work on LEW.</p> <p>2018: LEW is officially ‘completed’; formally inaugurated in a televised public ceremony by PM Abbasi; both tracks fully functional.</p> <p>2019-2022: Some service corridors still remain to be constructed; some LERP compensations still pending.</p>

These phases were categorized thematically according to the major changes that occurred during the project, as it was expected that major shifts in discourse would also be occurring in a corresponding way, which could be captured in the interviews. This process of making the timeline more concise was possible by talking to relevant academics and going through the secondary data a second time, in more detail, with reference to the research questions. As an example, the SHC judgement of 2003, which ordered compensation for leased houses, was considered as a standalone turning point within the LEW story. However, one of the academics pointed out that it was the pre-decision opposition and pressure, and not merely the SHC judgement, which should be considered an actual turning point – had there been no opposition from the affectees’ side, which itself started in 2001 shortly after the LEW was announced, there might never have been a court case to begin with. Hence, the SHC should be read as part of a longer-drawn out phase of resistance beginning around 2001, rather than as a discrete event in itself. This, and other similar discussions, helped refine the timeline to the final form.

4.5 On-field: conducting the interviews

4.5.1 Data recording and flow of interviews

All interviews were conducted physically, face to face, except C3, P2, and P5, which were conducted via Zoom due to CoVid protocols in Karachi during 2021. All were conducted primarily in Urdu, and all participants provided answers in Urdu. C2 preferred to answer the interviews with written responses in English, so his transcript is used verbatim from the notes he provided, editing only for spelling errors. Because the questions were open-ended, rather than closed and direct, participants often provided answers to the later questions within questions that had been asked earlier. For example, when answering Q1, they would also put in a few words about their own personal vision (which was supposed to be asked discretely in Q4). To maintain the flow of the interview process and to make the participant feel comfortable about

opening up without restricting them to the interview structure, they were allowed to continue without being interrupted. Letting participants continue with the logical flow of their own narrations helped the researcher discover several different paths to ask the same questions in successive interviews rather than stick to the structured questionnaire. This also provided the researcher with feedback on the design of the interview, by enlightening him to how participants preferred to proceed when asked to elaborate on their own value positions, roles and their evaluation of the project as a whole. Subsequently, during the analysis of the data, the order of the questions and responses did not affect the open coding process, as explained ahead.

Personal smartphones (Samsung Note 4 and Samsung A52s) were used to record the audio for all interviews, using the inbuilt Voice Recorder app. Audio recordings were immediately uploaded to a Google Drive folder for backup, as soon as the interview ended. The audios were then download to PC and then translated and transcribed directly in English into MS Word.

4.5.2 Limitations on field

Participants who did agree to the interview were generally comfortable in sharing their experiences. Although, the time that each participant could take out for the interview session varied, due to their current obligations. For example, P1 initially promised an hour for the interview; on the interview date his coordinator reduced the meeting time to 35 minutes; but the eventual meeting only lasted 25 minutes due to the timing of the evening prayer, which P1 had to rush off to. In contrast, C1 was more than welcoming, offered generous insights and extra information, and the interview lasted well over an hour. Hence, each interview had to be paced depending on the time available at the start, and the placement of the interview questions and follow-up/probing questions had to be planned accordingly, improvising on how much time was remaining. Despite these limitations on time, participants generally responded in detail, and the data gathered was deemed sufficient for meaningful analysis after the translation and transcription stages. Overall, going out of the order

of interview questions did not significantly affect the overall orientation of the interview, or the objectives of the data gathering exercise. During 2021, the CoVid pandemic also affected the pace of the interview process. Several times, interviews had to be put off or postponed in light of new lockdown restrictions. Another limitation that was encountered, especially for Affectee interviews, was the availability of affectees mostly on Sundays. All of them work 6 days a week and only got free late in the evening, at which time it was impossible to conduct the interviews as the LB resettlement site is quite far from the city.

4.5.3 Non-engagement of participants with the timeline

A surprise awaited on the field with regards to the timeline that had been meticulously designed as part of the interview questionnaire: most of the participants did not really engage with the structured timeline, even when suggested multiple times to engage in chronological descriptions of events (for planners: when asked about exact dates of project inception, dates of their full-time engagement, various transitions in the project; for affectees: when asked about when they were born, when they settled along the LR, when the evictions happened, how long they had to wait to resettle). In fact, most participants' references to the notion of time were conceptual and abstract, rather than numeric and calculated. It was here that the notions of temporal relevance, and more importantly of chronological accuracy/ambiguity, began to become evident in the participants' responses. As the interviews progressed, it was becoming clearer that, in their recounting of the various events that had transpired in these 20+ years, participants hardly paid attention to exact 'years', or the 5 thematic phases which the researcher had diligently crafted before entering the field. Instead, they kept employing temporal references that seemed arbitrary and ambiguous to the researcher: personal memories, descriptions of waiting periods, metaphors, interstitial activities, saving and investing time, repetitions and reiterations of routines; all pointing to an interpretation of urban time as more than just a linear phenomenon for the participants. It was also this

engagement – rather, *dis*engagement – with the chronology of the project on the side of the participants that alerted the researcher to the perceptions of temporality as a fundamental concept upon which the premise of the LEW story rested.

4.6 Post-field: desk work

4.6.1 Translation and transcription

Translation of the elicited data poses a potential limitation for authentic analysis. Because the source language (Urdu) is not being analysed in this study but rather the target language (English), an extensive translation was undertaken for the elicited data to increase the internal validity and reliability of the research process. The audio recordings were heard on Windows Media Player and translated from Urdu into English, and were directly transcribed in English only in MS Word, phrase by phrase, as they appeared sequentially in the Urdu audio recording. During the interview, English words, phrases, or even whole sentences would be spoken by the participants, and, where relevant, these have been indicated in the excerpts. Urdu phrases that were meaningful, powerful, or nuanced were transliterated and retained in parenthesis within the transcript, as well as providing the English translation without breaking the flow of the translated text. During the translation process, an attempt was made to remain true to the authentic discourse being produced. Some changes to the language and meaning do inevitably occur, which reflect the subjectivity and choice of words or phrases by the researcher. The researcher's own exposure, their knowledge of the languages and the urban planning domain, and the fact that they consider themselves bilingual, are all factors that impacted the translation process. The grammar and sentence structure in English were not significantly edited for cohesion or flow, so that the phrases and fragments of discourses would read naturally as they would in Urdu. Hence, the English transcripts read in a slightly fragmented or incoherent way. Each minute of the Urdu

audio recording took about 5-6 minutes to translate into English and transcribe. Hence, a one-hour recording took between 5-6 hours for being transcribed fully.

4.6.2 Cleaning and organizing the transcripts

All 16 transcripts (3 C, 7 A, 6 P) were conducted within MS Word, as it was much more convenient as a word processing tool than MAXQDA itself. The cleaning process included removing spelling errors from the transcriptions, and making transliterations of Urdu words (such as nouns and place names) consistent across all documents. A copy of each transcript was created and backed up to a new folder. These new copies were imported directly into MAXQDA. Within MAXQDA, three document groups were created: Planners, Affectees, and Civil Society. A new document variable was also added to each document for each Actor Group. The imported transcripts were located within each corresponding group.

4.7 Notes on method

4.7.1 Linguistic positionality of the researcher

In a study of this kind, it is imperative to explicitly state the positionality and influence of the researcher. Being a study based on language use in a particular cultural context, it is crucial that the researcher has first-hand experience of the culture and language of Karachi, the city that the study is situated within. The researcher is an ‘Urdu-speaker’¹³. He is also bilingual (Urdu-English), and his entire education since pre-school up to the doctorate study has been in the English

¹³ In the cultural context of Karachi and Pakistan, being an ‘Urdu-speaker’ is not merely a linguistic denomination but also an ethnic identity. It denotes the generation of migrants – Muhajirs – that came into Pakistan from India after the Partition in 1947. Demographically, Urdu-speakers constitute roughly 40% of the population of Karachi today.

language. As a translator and interpreter of the participants' responses through the discourse analytic approach, he has been placed in a position to impose his own interpretation onto someone else's text and talk. Hence, as a precondition for a researcher who is not just studying but also producing (interpretive) discourses (Cheek, 2008), he believes himself to be competent in both the source language (Urdu) and the target language (English). This is an important skill for the study being conducted, and it would not have been possible to engage intellectually with the data in a wholesome and authentic way without possessing native-level competency in both the languages.

4.7.2 Notes of caution regarding Critical Discourse Analysis

Before an in-depth exploration of urban discourse, two cautionary notes are in order. The first note addresses misunderstandings about the agential role of language; the second note addresses inaccurate expectations regarding the purpose of CDA research.

Firstly, it is quite erroneous to treat *language* itself as an active, autonomous, or agential force that produces urban social and spatial reality. It must be realized that the individual *agents* in the urban arena are the *users* of language – the participants of a CDA study. The discourse of the participants is merely a *conscious* and *selective* act of linguistic expression, employing language which passes through various personal, cultural, and cognitive filters to reach its final expressive form as a spoken or written utterance, *not least* as a direct response to the interview questions. The aspect of conscious autonomy and active agency lies with the speaker, not with the words and phrases they employ to express their agency and autonomy.

Secondly, the primary objective of CDA research is *not* to provide normative recommendations or best solutions based on what was studied. In that sense, a CDA does *not* seek necessary closure to the issue under analysis by providing the only

possible way of looking at things. The results of CDA research are interpretive and subjective, and provide only one way of analysing the issue and talking about it.

Understanding these two concepts regarding the analysis of urban discourse will help avoid an unrealistic linguistic determinism between urban discourse and the materialities of urban social and spatial processes.

4.8 Potential threats to validity and reliability

Two main threats to validity (Robson, 2002) were realized in this study: respondent bias, and researcher bias.

4.8.1 Respondent bias

This can spring from doubts regarding inauthentic responses by participants. This can happen when questions are asked bluntly, might be personal, or elicit uncomfortable details. As a precaution, this study designed the questionnaire in a neutral tone, and asked only for relevant experiences and memories from the participants, in carefully selected words. Follow-up prompts made sure to investigate deeper anything of interest that the participants mentioned in passing, especially when they started narrating personal details of their life trajectories with respect to how the project had affected them. Care was taken to circulate back to the main interview questions in a gentle way, connecting the participants' innate enthusiasm about sharing their life stories with the objectives of the study. Hence, the researcher believes that respondent bias was minimized through the way the questionnaire was developed and implemented. However, this also meant that more data was gathered than needed, but this was something that was conveniently sorted out during the data analysis phase, by assigning appropriate code labels to distinguish between the primary themes and the secondary details narrated by the participants that would not be central to the study.

4.8.2 Researcher bias

Researcher bias can result when the researcher's pre-held beliefs about the site, the sample, or the contents of the study itself start to impact the methods, analysis, or interpretation of themes in the current study. To reduce this kind of bias, the researcher took utmost care to enlist participants. Various networks and personal contacts were tapped into, who then helped contact gatekeepers, who could then provide access. Although the researcher has worked in LB before, as part of another project a few years ago, care was taken to select a different site, new gatekeepers, a different community, and a different kind of questioning format, to ensure that the qualitative data gathered would not be contaminated by the researcher's previous work. Secondly, the interview questions were also derived from the theoretical framework for this particular study, and were not directly linked to previous studies on LEW, or aiming to fill in the gaps in previous work on LB.

4.9 Steps taken to ensure validity and reliability

There were a few additional steps taken to overcome these two kinds of bias and to ensure the validity and reliability of the data, as common in qualitative approaches (Creswell & Poth, 2018) to assess how accurately the data represents actual phenomena.

4.9.1 Prolonged engagement

Prolonged engagement with the site and the participants was consciously made a part of this study. The first interview was conducted in Feb 2021, and the last in early May 2022. The nature of this research necessitated a good social rapport with the participants and a certain degree of trust, after which they were keen on answering the interview questions. Prolonged engagement meant multiple visits and conversations in the field, and being open and forthcoming about the study,

addressing any queries or concerns raised by the participants, both individually as well as in communal settings. Every visit would not result in a discrete interview, or any substantial data being gathered. However, such visits helped build up the rapport with the participants, in particular the affectees.

There was also an attempt to have a prolonged engagement with the data. The researcher conducted all the interviews by themselves, translated and transcribed their own data, all the while making reflective memos and voice notes as they interacted with the data in various forms. The researcher believes that this step has enhanced the credibility of their data and their results, based upon a long period of engagement and constant processes of refining.

However, it would be inaccurate to say that such a prolonged engagement was planned completely in advance. There were several other factors which prolonged the engagement with the site and participants much longer than expected.

The CoVid pandemic and its protocols were the biggest limitation during fieldwork in 2021. But this also helped elongate the social contact over a longer period, resulting in several phone calls, more spaced out social visits, and several rounds of Eid greetings with the interlocutors, which helped strengthen mutual trust.

Availability of Affectees only on Sundays was another limitation that stretched out the fieldwork longer than expected. This essentially meaning that only one detailed interview could be conducted per week, at most. Sometimes, several weeks would go by and not a single Affectee could be available.

Peak heat seasons (March-June and September-October) also severely limited commute to and from LB, which is quite far from the city, and difficult to access through public transport.

Planners were more difficult to get appointments with, due to their current professional obligations, and a few appointments had to be rescheduled.

All these factors collectively contributed to the engagement with the participants to be extended for over a year and a half.

4.9.2 Circulating between participant groups

Prolonged engagement reduces the risk for respondent bias, but increases the risk of researcher bias, for which the next step proved helpful: circulating between participant groups (Terrell, 2016). Circulating between members of different actor groups when conducting the interviews gave the researcher more reflexivity, to better gauge the responses from the individuals in each actor group, by interpreting them in light of what another actor group had to say. This way, the researcher could be more direct in their questioning, instead of assuming what several members from the same group would tell them in sequence. They could also cross-question about things mentioned by other actor groups.

Circulating between actors was also adopted in the transcription as well as the coding of the data. This also helped to generate valuable memos and voice notes as data was organized and prepared for analysis.

4.9.3 Peer debriefing and review

Peer debriefing was adopted at four levels in this study, to increase the validity.

The thesis supervisory committee was the first line of reference, who helped align the interview questionnaire to the theoretical framework, and to the RQs, through several detailed discussions during late 2020 and early 2021.

On the field, starting early 2021, the data collection methods, as well as the analysis of the data coming back, were discussed with professional colleagues working on urban issues, specifically one colleague who had worked in LB, and could comment on the veracity of the data.

Several discussions on the coding of a few initial transcripts were held with a colleague (an urban planner and researcher). This was helpful in the initial stages of data recording and analysis, to help be more transparent with the interpretation of the

data, and to help justify certain decisions regarding data collection and analysis, as well as the labelling of codes.

For the field interviews (approach, getting and negotiating appointment times, duration of interviews, selection of venues for interview, appropriate behaviour and offering tea/snacks during the interview), a senior gatekeeper was instrumental in providing tips on how to navigate the field, due to his several decades of fieldwork experience. He was also crucial in discussing the data with the researcher in terms of its content and genuine representability. However, the method of analysis was not discussed with him, as that was not his area of expertise.

The researcher intended to seek more detailed peer review from specialized CDA researchers in Karachi, especially on the design of the questionnaire, and on the methods and tools of analysis. But this could not be accomplished due to limitations in time, Covid protocols, as well as the non-availability of qualitative researchers specialized in urban discourse studies. The non-affordability of qualitative analysis software such as NVivo and MAXQDA to researchers in Pakistan also posed a hindrance for training or mentoring sessions with other researchers. For example, a senior qualitative researcher at IBA cited this reason for her preference to carry out qualitative analysis on Word or Excel, rather than a QDA software, and hence regrettably informed the researcher that she could only comment on the interpretations of the data as a Word file, and not on the actual process of data analysis which was being conducted using MAXQDA.

4.9.4 Audit trail

The most important step taken to ensure validity was the maintenance of a clear, detailed, and sequential audit trail. The researcher kept a daily log of all activities pertaining to interviews, data entry and transcription, and the coding process. All these processes were clearly annotated and organized into respective folders and files on the researcher's laptop, and also backed up to a Google Drive folder.

A detailed methodological log of the entire data analysis phases of the study was produced while carrying out the analysis, including the decisions taken at each stage. This helped to go retrace the steps and go back to correct errors when a tool or a workflow would not work out as intended. This also helped to link memos, transcribed segments, and the codes together, both in MAXQDA and in the Word log file. A refined version of the audit trail has been included as Chapter 5 in this manuscript.

During the study, the audit trail also helped ensure the thematic consistency of codes throughout the coding and analysis process, minimising definitional drift as transcripts from different actor groups were coded sequentially.

The most important advantage of the audit trail is that it helped to make the whole process of data analysis more transparent, and it might also be helpful in setting up a replicable methodological precedent for other researchers to follow who wish to conduct a similar qualitative analysis. Hence, it adds to the transferability of the research (Shenton, 2004).

4.10 Limitations of study

4.10.1 Language and translation

The study has limitations in the multiple rounds of translation that were undertaken. Firstly, the conceptual positioning of the study, the literature review, and the research questions are all framed in English, as the target language of the study was English. The interview questionnaire was also designed in English, drawing from the research questions. Additionally, all the secondary data on the LEW that was used to build the case background was in the English language as well. However, for the fieldwork, the questionnaire had to be translated into an Urdu version, so it could be administered in a coherent way, in Urdu, to all the participants, so that the accuracy of their responses could be assured. Hence, the responses to the questionnaire were

received in Urdu, which were audio-recorded verbatim. At the stage of transcription, the Urdu audio was translated and simultaneously transcribed in English, as the primary data. Since the Urdu text was not retained (except for a few key phrases, indicated as bold within the quoted segments), some nuances or attributes of the original responses might have been missed out, leading to a slight reduction in the accuracy or reliability of data. For example, imaginaries of time that the participants invoked using Urdu metaphors or colloquial phrases might be lost in the English translation, and hence in the analysis. However, since this study was to be conducted in the English language, it would not have made sense to analyse the Urdu transcripts using English codes and themes; and hence this was a necessary limitation of the study. Perhaps, in a future CDA study being conducted entirely in Urdu, using Urdu data, codes and themes, this limitation could be overcome.

4.10.2 Gender

The gender of the participants might be a potential limitation to the study. All of the study's 16 participants were males, and gender diversity might have brought some different themes to light. There were two explicit reasons for the non-inclusion of females. Firstly, from the side of the affectees and civil society, due to prevailing socio-cultural norms, females were not readily accessible to describe their long term memories of the LEW story. The gatekeeper could not provide access to females at the resettlement site; additionally, the participants presumed that the researcher would wish to talk only to male 'heads' of the household regarding the experiences of the LEW episode, who believed themselves to be sufficiently knowledgeable on family histories. The researcher's own gender was perhaps the most important factor in determining the lack of access to deeper and more meaningful female participation, due to socio-cultural propriety within the field. Accessing male participants was more socially acceptable. As the sample size was small, the non-inclusion of females was seen to not pose a significant problem to the data; in fact, gender diversity might have introduced a new variable which would have to be

accounted for, in the data coming out of the participants. This might have further complicated the analysis in terms of explaining the gender differences between participants' discourses, in addition to the categorization between the 3 actor groups as well as the temporally differentiated subjects. Hence, the non-inclusion of females was indirectly beneficial for a more focused approach to the data.

Secondly, on the side of the planners, the researcher could not locate any female planners from the LEW story. Traditionally, females do not occupy prominent planning or policymaking positions in Karachi as of 2022. The administrators, consultants, and engineers, from the first list of potential participants to the final list of interviewees, were all (mostly) males.

The inclusion of females might have led to different results in terms of interpretation of themes: nor necessarily more correct, more accurate or more credible results, but differentiated in a gendered dimension, perhaps highlighting various *other* aspects of the temporal complexities involved in the LEW story, which the male accounts might have missed out on. Perhaps this is something that could be integrated in future studies on displacement; recent accounts of displacement in Karachi (Anwar, et al., 2021) especially highlight the disproportionate impacts being inflicted on females. A detailed look at discourses of specific female populations would give deeper insight into gender-differentiated temporalities or temporal experiences in Karachi.

4.10.3 Not using secondary sources for triangulation

The study did not use secondary data to triangulate the primary data being gathered. There was no content analysis of secondary sources, such as the various policy documents that had been published on the LEW and the LERP, or the master plans of Karachi. Although including data from secondary sources might have expanded the empirical basis of the study, it might also have affected the presumption of particular themes in the analysis of the data. The study intended to prioritize subjective inputs gathered through the natural discourse of the participants; hence,

inclusion of secondary discourses might have deviated the main inquiry, and might have introduced some deductive themes into the inductive coding frame. This would inevitably have led to contamination of the analysis.

The study was premised on the notion that people construct reality and truth by engaging in discourse. It was more interested in the everyday usage of discourse, beyond the institutional role of the planner; hence, institutional, formal, or other kinds of published discourses would not contribute to the interpretation of individual discourses. The researched wanted the primary data to align with themes that were generated by individuals, and not necessarily systematized into an institutional discourse, such as a report, a documentary, or a regulatory manual. Secondary sources were consulted only to understand the context of the participants, the sequence of events, the chronology, and the reasons for some of the actions and decisions in the LEW story. The objective of going through secondary or published data was not to use these to contribute to the data interpretation, but only to provide a chronological or a relational backdrop to the main objective of the study, which was to explore, through the natural discourses of the participants, how ROT and subject formation occurred as the participants remembered past events and compared these to the present impacts of the LEW. Hence, the inclusion of documents, reports, and other published material as data might have contaminated the analysis process by providing unnecessary cues to new kinds of themes, rather than providing interpretational triangulation and strengthening the data analysis. For this reason as well, the coding strategy was inductive from the very start – the researcher did not want to impose themes picked up from secondary sources or mixed methods to influence the interpretation of the primary data.

4.10.4 Sequencing of data collection, organization, and analysis

The various sequences in which data was dealt with throughout the study might have affected the final analysis. This included the order in which interviews were conducted, the order of transcriptions, and the order of coding and analysis of the

transcripts. A different order in any of these stages of the research might have produced slightly varied themes, or differently prioritized themes. However, this remains a limitation with all qualitative CDA research: the alternate end results cannot be known unless the entire research is re-done by a different researcher.

4.10.5 Non-access to lower-tier planners

Another limitation was the non-access to planners belonging to lower tiers of administration or execution. The study interviewed only top-level planners, who were accessed through privileged personal contacts: consultants, program directors, and city government administrators. Engaging with a wider sample from the planning dispositif, such as the ground crew, the demolition machinery operators, the people who served eviction notices, the DDOs themselves, and other ‘frontline’ workers, might have yielded richer or more complex themes in how such arms of the planning enterprise feature in the chain of command of the LEW story with respect to their temporal experiences. This could definitely be incorporated in a future study, especially in the analysis of more recent displacement projects.

4.10.6 Limited input from Civil Society

Although the Civil Society was conceptualized to be a substantial part of the sample, only 3 members could be tracked and interviewed. This was because most had moved on from their active engagement in the LEW as time had gone by, and were engaged in various other kinds of professions. They were virtually untraceable due to their long dissociation with the project. As a result, there was a smaller thematic contribution to the data from the side of the Civil Society, and the primary focus of the analysis remained the Planners and the Affectees. Perhaps, in the analysis of more recent urban projects, actively participating Civil Society members might be able to contribute more meaningfully and substantially to a similar CDA study.

4.10.7 Non-access to prominent actors

There were at least two prominent actors who had been deeply engaged with the LEW, but could not be accessed. The first was Niamatullah Khan (Mayor Karachi 2001-2005), under whose tenure the LEW started, who was a strong force in setting up the LERP for the affectees, and someone who many of the affectees fondly recalled. He passed away in 2020, soon after this study was initiated. The second was Pervez Musharraf (President of Pakistan, 2001-2011), who formally launched the LEW and whom many planners and affectees still remember as the one person to whom the ‘credit’ or the ‘blame’ of the LEW goes to. Throughout 2021 and early 2022, he was in ill-health and was being treated abroad. The researcher was offered an in-person meeting with Musharraf through a close contact of his, but could not make the foreign trip due to logistical issues. An online interview was also not possible because of Musharraf’s health. The inclusion of these two voices would have been instrumental in the kinds of experiences they would have been able to share, both temporal and otherwise.

4.10.8 Limited peer review

The peer review of translations as well as data analysis was very limited, due the non-familiarity of academics and researchers in Karachi with urban CDA research, both in Urdu and English. Hence, the data was discussed only with the immediate research supervisor and the advisory committee for feedback. Engagement with a broader research community would definitely have enriched the data analysis, but such a contextually aware research community would take some time to develop in Karachi.

4.10.9 No opportunity for member-checking

As is advisable in qualitative research, discussing the results and the analysis of the data with the participants might enhance and add richness to the outputs. However, for this study, the data could not be discussed with the participants due to three specific reasons. Firstly, the language of data collection through interviews was completely in Urdu, according to the linguistic convenience of the participants; whereas the transcription and analysis occurred totally in English. Most of the participants were not well-versed in the English language, and would not have been able to engage meaningfully or effectively with the analysis and interpretations. In fact, their input might even have deviated from the English interpretations. This linguistic incompatibility proved to be the first limitation for member-checking of the data.

Secondly, the research topic itself was theoretically quite complex. The participants were not expected to have background knowledge of social constructionism, discursive production, or Foucauldian themes. Hence, member-checking would have been difficult even if the linguistic limitation was not there in the presentation of the data to the participants.

Thirdly, time on the field was a major limitation for member checking as well. Making recurring trips to LB and getting follow-up appointments for any day except Sunday was quite difficult, due to the busy routine of the participants. Naturally, not all Sundays could be dedicated to the fieldwork too, due to other pragmatic concerns. Hence, the limited opportunity for contact also meant that the interactions between researcher and researched had to be restricted to data collection only.

4.10.10 Negative case analysis

Negative case analyses highly enrich case studies in qualitative approaches. However, in this study, negative case analysis could not be employed. Firstly, the sample from each actor group was quite small. There were only a few cases to begin

with, who had been selected very specifically from a pool of potential but difficult-to-access participants. Many interviews that had been planned and scheduled simply did not work out, due to non-availability of participants, CoVid protocols, or other reasons. All of the interviewed participants gave consistent information. Out of the 16 participants, only one transcript (A3) was found to be abrupt and incomplete in the required data, as he was too distressed to continue the interview, and kept going on about broader current injustices, rather than focusing on the questions being asked. That interview was politely concluded. So there were actually no negative cases for the researcher to analyse.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Brief overview of the three phases of Data Analysis

The objective behind the data analysis exercise was to explore the themes emerging naturally from the data through the coding process. This was accomplished using an inductive coding approach. Only two deductive codes had been decided by the researcher, based on the conceptual framework and the Research Questions. These deductive codes were ‘Regime of Truth’ and ‘subject formation’. Apart from these two deductive codes, inductive coding was carried out on all the transcripts. This is because a reliance on only deductive coding would have limited the scope of coding and caused omissions in capturing essential nuances within the participants’ natural discourse data.

As is the norm in qualitative research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), data analysis was carried out simultaneously to other research tasks. This made the data analysis process reflexive and recursive in nature. Analysis tentatively started in the early days of data collection: paying attention to participants’ responses and creating appropriate notes, making quick memos while transcribing, following up with new insights during the subsequent interviews, recording voice notes as reminders and guides during and after the interviews, detailed labelling of codes while open coding, branching and nesting of codes during the detailed (line-by-line) coding process, and iterative cycles of code merging and sorting were all employed during three distinct phases of data analysis.

The main thrust of the analysis started with the open coding of the first transcript, and continued up until all transcripts had been coded and the coding frame had been locked, to generate final results. The exact sequence of steps taken for the three main

data analysis phases is provided in M. Sections 5.1.1 to 5.1.3 give a brief overview of the three phases of Data Analysis, whereas Sections 5.2 to 5.4 provide a more detailed explanation for each phase.

5.1.1 Data Analysis Phase I: Coding and Refining

Data Analysis Phase I started with an open, inductive coding process. A basic coding frame was developed as the first few transcripts were coded inductively. This coding frame was repeatedly refined after each transcript, where code labels were made consistent, and subcodes were nested under a few broad parent codes. Where too many discrete codes existed for the same theme, these were merged or renamed to be more specific. Additionally, the Creative Coding¹⁴ tool was employed to generate more substantial relationships between parent codes and subcodes, and to arrange the emerging codes for thematic consistency. Subsequently, new codes were inductively added with the analysis of further transcripts. Parallel processes of open coding, retrospective coding, and code-refining were carried out, based on the new codes that had emerged, and the parent code hierarchies that had been generated, up to this point. Eventually, code saturation was reached, and some reflexive adjustments were made to eliminate deviant or incongruous codes. All transcripts had been fully coded by the end of Data Analysis Phase I.

¹⁴ Creative Coding is a tool in MAXQDA that allows a visual and iterative way to organize codes, create relationships between codes, and assemble hierarchies or nesting structures within the coding frame. As all segments for each code are also viewable within this tool, it is highly effective for refining the coding frame. It has been employed various times during Data Analysis, as detailed in Appendix M.

5.1.2 Data Analysis Phase II: Identifying prominent themes and relationships in the data, and adjusting the coding frame

For this phase, various tools within MAXQDA were used to identify patterns in the data. The Code Frequency tool identified the proportions of various codes which had been used; this helped distinguish which codes would contribute to generating the most prominent themes. The Code Coverage tool allowed the examination of particular codes across each transcript; this helped discern convergent and divergent themes across the actor groups, and help prioritize or deprioritize particular codes. The Code Cloud tool was employed to generate visual representations of the most common codes, disaggregated into the 3 actor groups; this visual method determined the relative prevalence of particular themes across the actor groups, and also helped to discern convergent and divergent themes. After these three tools had been used, a round of refining was carried out for the coding frame, where the overall hierarchy and arrangement of codes was made more coherent. Lastly, the Creative Coding tool was employed again to refine a prominent theme, 'SUBJECT FORMATION'.

5.1.3 Data Analysis Phase III: Generating Results

This phase consolidated the insights from the first two phases to generate thematically consistent results as an outcome of the analysis process. The following tools within MAXQDA were used: Overview of Codes, Code Frequencies, Code Relations, Browser, Code Map, Similarity Analysis, and Code Coverage. Using these tools, three patterns were identified in the data: the frequency of usage of individual codes, which pertained to how actors talked about singular themes; the intersections between codes, which portrayed how advanced themes were emerging, such as the intersection of temporal processes and temporal subjects; and converging and diverging themes across actors and actor groups.

5.2 Data Analysis Phase I: Coding and Refining

5.2.1 Developing the coding frame: inductive coding, memoing, and Creative Coding

Inductive coding was carried out on each transcript. Segments within each transcript were read and one or more relevant codes were created for each. Memos were also added to both codes and individual passages where appropriate, to help emphasize pertinent concepts. At this point in the coding process, the contents within each paragraph would offer multiple options to generate new codes, and so the first transcript (A4) produced a substantial amount of the total codes in the Code System. The most prominent codes to emerge here included ‘time as everyday practice’, ‘temporal subjects’, ‘temporal processes’, ‘knowledge’, ‘initial conditions in LB’, ‘difficulties faced on arrival’, and codes that related mostly to life before, during, and after the ‘eviction/demolition process’, as well as ‘comparison of living conditions’ before and after the displacement. Descriptive memos were inserted for some prominent codes, to help keep the coding consistent as additional transcripts were coded.

The first transcript helped to set up a basic coding frame, where it became evident that time and temporal comparisons were an essential aspect of this particular affectee’s discourse. At this stage in the coding process, an attempt was made to capture even small and specific details: such as ‘water’ and ‘electricity’ as distinct codes when talking about the infrastructure facilities within LB. Most codes were quite specific, and there were only a few abstract parent codes, such as ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’. Some codes that were closely related, such as ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ and ‘subject attributes, others defining’ or ‘subject attributes, self-identification of’ were named in alphabetical order, so that they would line up sequentially during the code-sorting stage, and would be more convenient to arrange in a hierarchy under similarly-named parent codes. The next transcript to be open-coded was also an Affectee (A5), and several new codes, such as ‘LERP’, ‘LEW,

'personal usage' and other minor codes were added to the Code System. After coding A5, the A4 transcript was skimmed to accommodate and apply these new codes. Then, a third affectee transcript (A6) was coded in a similar way. This introduced some more specific codes. For example, for the broader code 'compensation', there were now multiple scenarios that could be distinctly coded with their own labels, such as 'compensation not received', 'compensation insufficient', and 'compensation given wrongfully'. These were grouped together under 'compensation', which was provisionally made a parent code. Similarly, the subcodes 'future, hopes for the' and 'future, foreseeing the' were grouped under 'FUTURE', which was also made a parent code. These and other new sub-codes that emerged from A6 were also applied to the previous two transcripts in a systematic way.

After coding the first three transcripts, the Code System was arranged alphabetically, and a primary refining process was carried out for all the codes and subcodes. This entailed a close reading of the coded segments and eliminating inconsistencies in the content being coded under the same label. Additionally, some codes were made parent codes, and other were nested under them as subcodes, depending on their thematic alignment. Also, some codes were merged, and some wrongly-coded entries were eliminated. For example, the two codes 'incremental process over time' and 'temporal process, step by step' both had 24 segments, which were believed to be duplicated. However, on closer inspection, it was realized that they had been coded for distinct segments, yet their code labels were quite similar. Some of these segments had been over-coded or wrongly coded, and these were eliminated. Finally, a thematic consistency was reached amongst both these particular codes, and then they were merged into a single code, 'temporal processes' – which would later be nested under the main theme, 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR'. From here onwards, open coding on individual transcripts and refining of the coding frame were conducted as parallel processes, either following one another, or simultaneously, for each transcript. This helped refine the hierarchy of the coding frame, and also kept

the new codes from the subsequent transcripts thematically coherent with the existing hierarchy of the coding frame.

After the first three transcripts had been coded and the coding frame had been provisionally refined, Creative Coding (CC) process was used to examine relationships within parents and subcodes. Two parent codes were picked to be organized: 'Life during eviction', and 'Life after eviction'. The subcodes nested under each parent were re-organized, some were merged, and some eliminated, based on a reading of the segments under each code. This helped arrive at early thematic relationships amongst the concepts being coded. Figure 5.1 shows the un-nested codes and subcodes under the provisional parent code 'Life during eviction'. Figure 5.2 shows the same codes after they were arranged and re-nested. As seen, the main subcode here became 'eviction/demolition process', and all other subcodes were nested under it: such as 'giving/receiving', which included various aspects of the 'compensation' (such as 'compensation not received', 'compensation insufficient', and 'compensation given wrongfully'); 'urban citizenships, proof of', which included various 'verification processes' such as 'registered address' and 'NIC'; and various 'emotive aspects' pertaining to the eviction days.

Similarly, Figure 5.3 shows the un-nested codes and subcodes under the provisional parent code 'Life after eviction'. Figure 5.4 shows the same codes after they were arranged and re-nested. The subcodes were re-organized in a more comprehensive way, branching off into many 'conditions' codes: 'initial conditions in LB' (including 'difficulties faced on arrival'), and 'current living conditions' (which contained subcodes of 'infrastructure and amenities at LB': schools, hospitals, transport, electricity and water, and so on). This way, the nesting and branching of various subcodes under their parent codes was done to make the coding frame more cohesive, eliminate inconsistencies, and orient the structure of descriptive writing in subsequent stages of analysis.

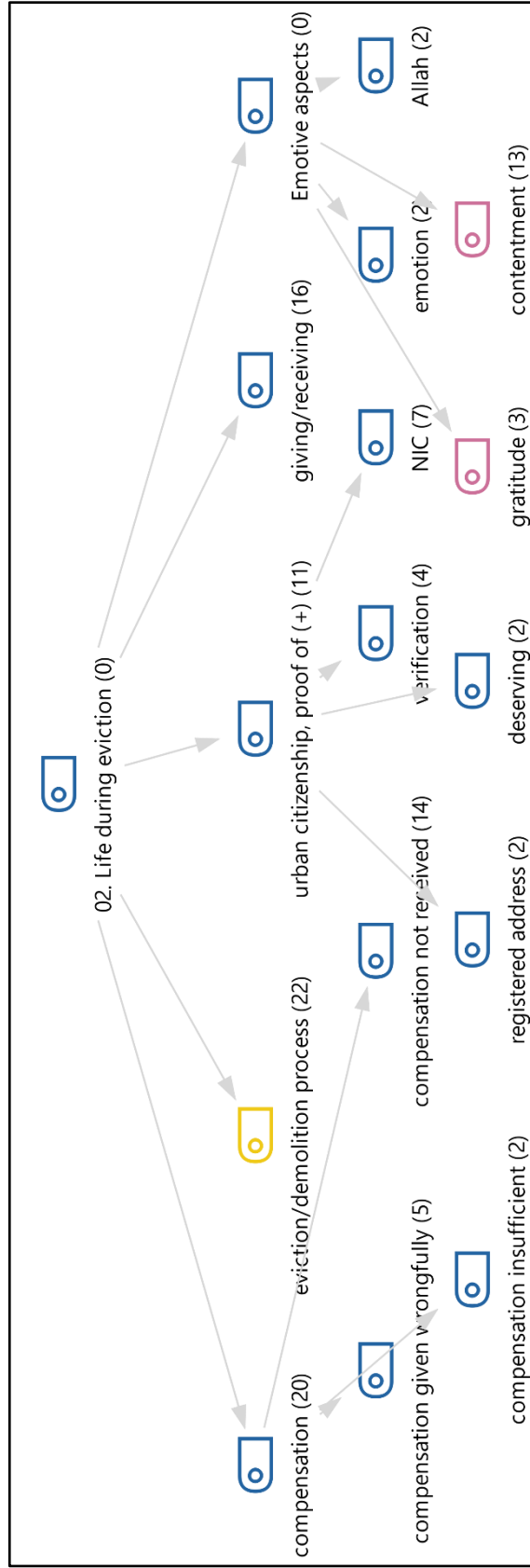


Figure 5.1. Free codes and subcodes before the CC process for 'Life during eviction'.

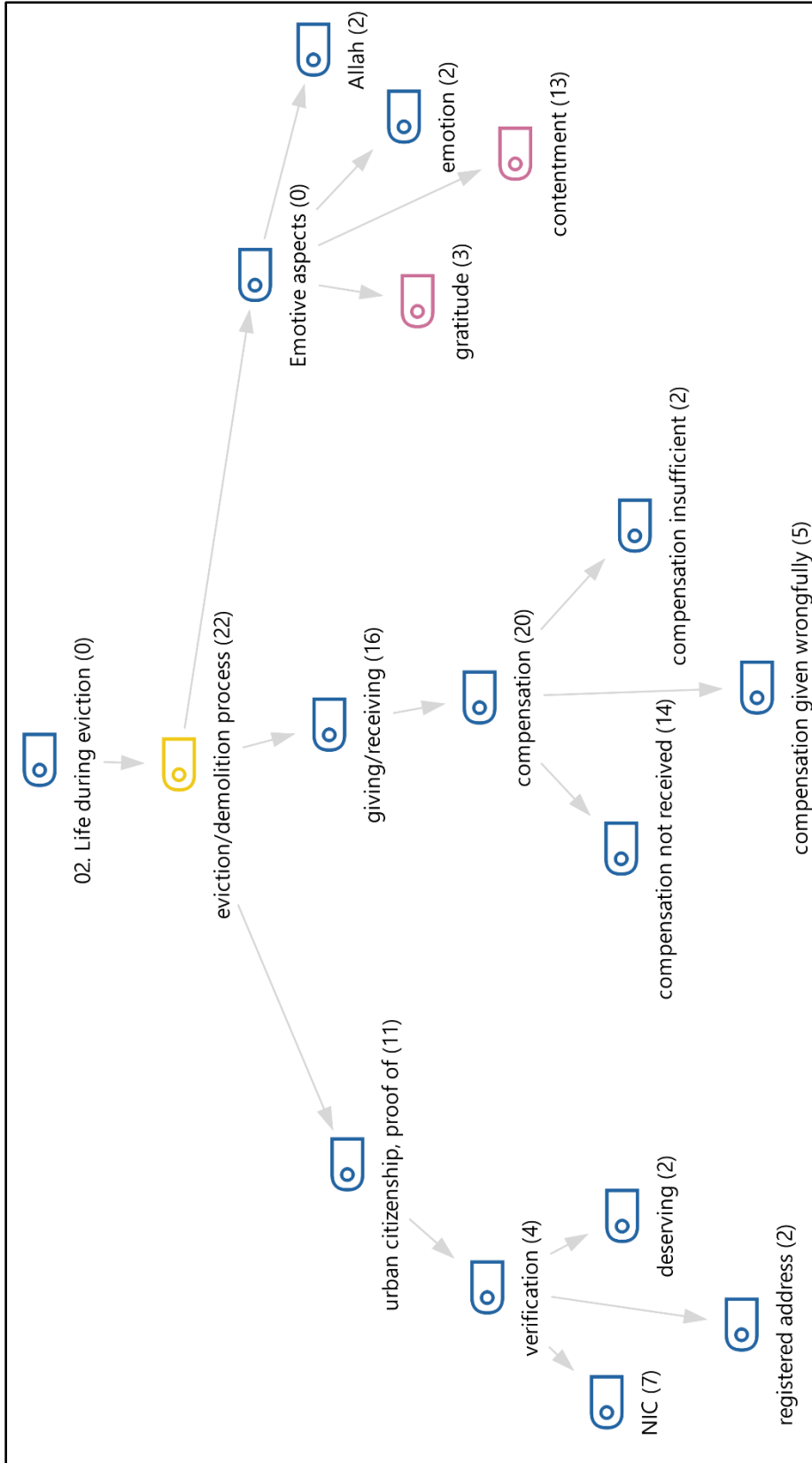


Figure 5.2. Nesting of codes after the CC process for 'Life during eviction' .

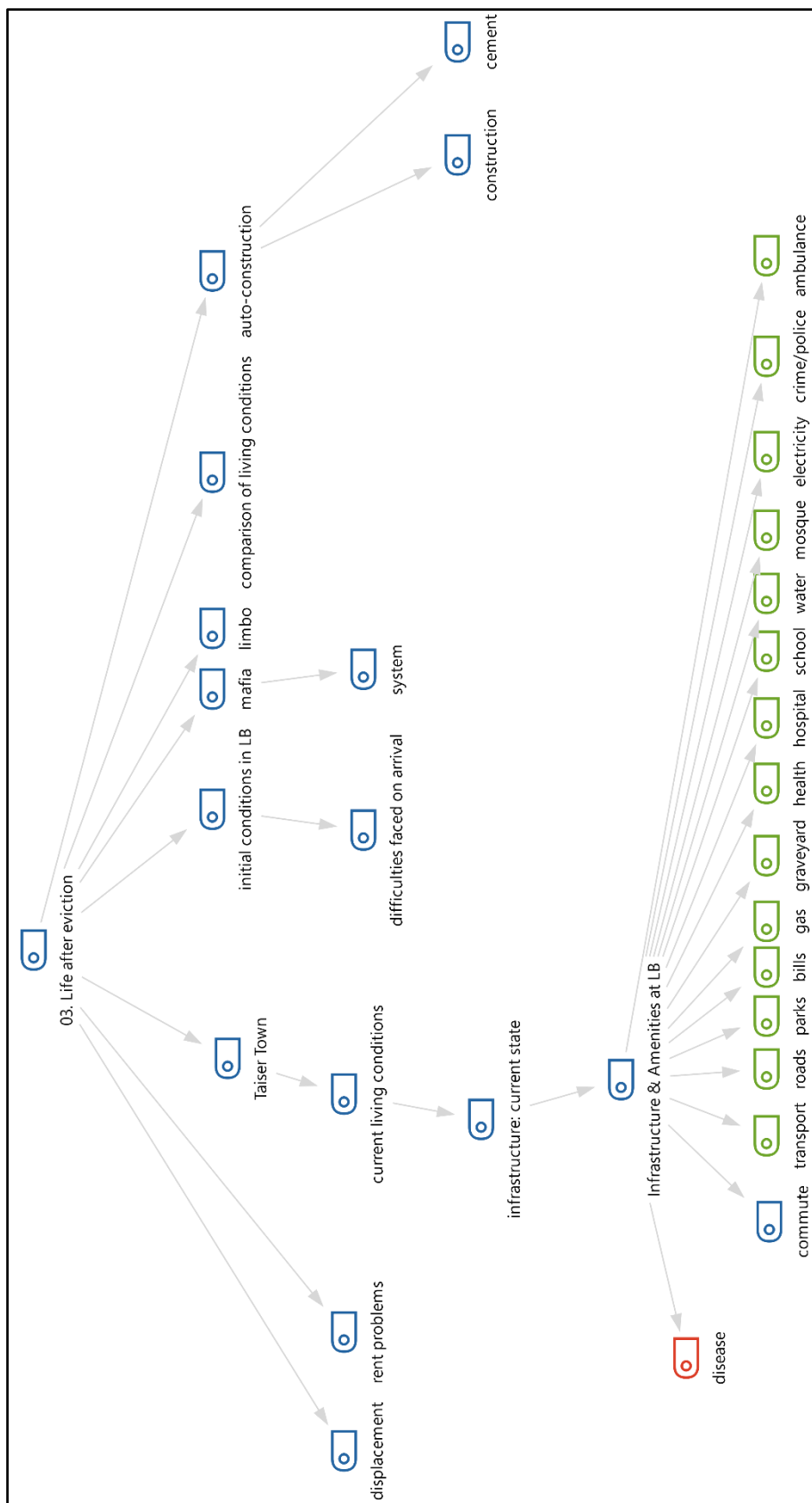


Figure 5.3. Free codes and subcodes before the CC process for 'Life after eviction'.

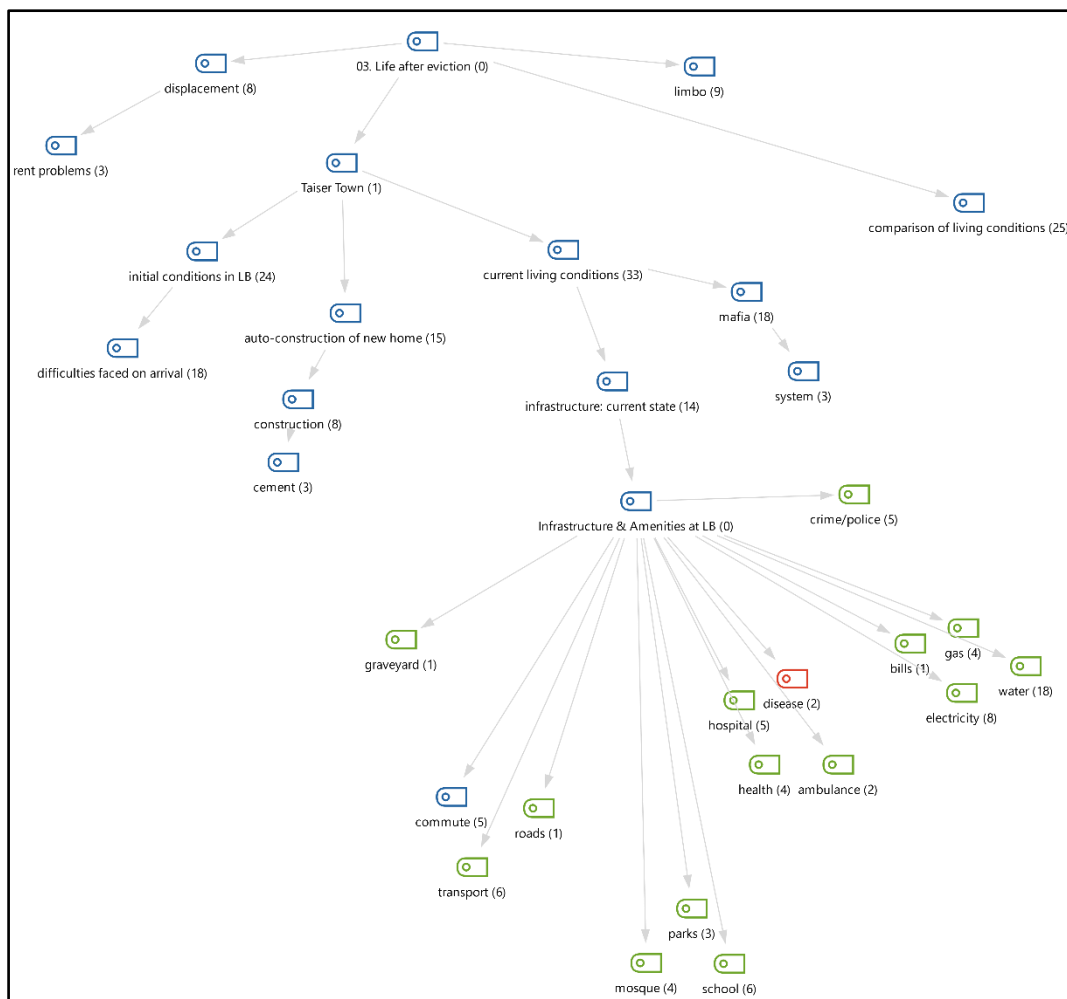


Figure 5.4. Nesting of codes after the CC process for ‘Life after eviction’.

5.2.2 Refining the coding frame: retrospective coding and creative liberties

After the CC process, the basic coding frame became thematically more consistent and coherent. However, there was still a major limitation, as all three transcripts that the coding frame was based on had belonged to Affectees only. It was necessary to now introduce some complexity into the coding frame, to make it more reflective of

the whole data set. Hence, a Planner transcript P1 was picked for open coding next. As expected, coding a Planner’s transcript added a lot of new codes to the Code System, which were quite distinct from the codes assembled during the first three transcripts. Most of these, such as ‘provincial government’, ‘freeways’, ‘project constraints’, and ‘project funding’, were very specific to the planning domain, to the role of planners and planning institutions, and more specifically, to interactions between planners and affectees during the LEW process. But interestingly, by this time, there was not even one segment that alluded to or could be coded for ‘power’, even though power was expected to be a prominent code throughout the discourse of the various Actors. Figure 5.5 gives a complete list of the new codes that were created for the fourth transcript, P1.

Code System		2335			
political reasons	1	role of institutions			2
ownership	1	federal government			1
rehabilitation	1	LEW and LERP as one project			2
learning from local cases	1	project funding			4
encroachments on LEW ROW	2	house documents			1
challenges in construction of LEW	2	compensation criteria			3
media	1	clearing the ROW			1
learning from international precede...	1	CDGK			1
ground realities	2	NHA			2
buying time	1	supervision			1
public transport	2	help in rehabilitation			1
signal free corridors	1	planner			1
freeways	1	personal role			1
credit for the LEW	1	pakka houses			1
connecting parts of the city	1	improving lives			1
LEW has made a difference	1	uncivilized			1
easing traffic problems	2	beautiful			1
changes in LEW design	1	resettlement sites			2
vote bank politics	2	LERP objectives			1
provincial government	1	hygiene			1
mayor	1	highway			1
civilized	1	port traffic			1
ownership/tenure	1	NBP			2
project constraints	1	users of the LEW			1
unpleasant experiences	1	ROW (right of way)			2
writ of the government	1	city center			1
LEW construction	1	light traffic			1
FWO	1	traffic problem			1
		transport traffic			1

Figure 5.5. New codes created for the fourth transcript, P1.

As seen in Figure 5.5, various new codes emerged after coding a different Actor group. Hence, it was decided to code another planner transcript, P4, so that a level of consistency could be reached within the coding frame with regards to the codes in Planner transcripts. Coding the fifth transcript also produced a number of new codes: ‘power’ (at the very end of the interview, P4 mentioned that Musharraf had the ‘power’ to make big decisions and release funds quickly; other than that, ‘power’ did not occur in the whole conversation); ‘katchi abadi’ (surprisingly, this diminutive nomenclature for ‘informal settlements’ had not occurred in any of the Affectee’s transcripts, nor in the first Planner’s transcript); and very importantly, ‘temporal anomaly’ (2 coded segments in the fifth transcript; ‘temporal anomaly’ would soon become a prominent code that occurred in almost all transcripts). Figure 5.6 gives a complete list of the new codes created for P4. Other important codes included ‘inevitable’, ‘LEW as a blessing’, ‘full speed’, ‘genuine case’, and ‘slow pace’,

Code	Count	Code	Count
temporal anomaly	2	LEW as a blessing	1
everyday issues	1	freedom	1
civil society	1	traffic rules	1
academics	1	commercial traffic	1
LEW, critique on	1	engineers	1
power	1	LEW, technical details	2
visits to LB	2	UC chairman	1
LB is a thriving place	3	KSDP 2020	1
inevitable	1	local government	6
compensation fully given	3	DDO	2
legal process	1	full speed	3
due process	1	FIR	1
fatwa	1	fraud	1
relocation	1	non-deserving	3
systematic process	1	temporal longevity	3
personal evaluation	1	genuine case	3
fake claims	2	Appellate Committee	2
dispute resolution	1	our people	1
katchi abadi	1	UC Nazim	3
residents	1	convenience	1
jurisdiction	6	Keamari	1
		everyone	3
		time, slow	1
		slow pace	5
		junctions/interchanges	2

Figure 5.6. New codes created for the fifth transcript, P4.

amongst others. Coding a different Actor group at this stage helped derive the new codes that were then successfully applied to the previous Actors' transcripts as well.

After these new codes had been discovered in the planners' transcripts, the affectee transcripts were re-read to see where these new codes could be applied. For example, one such code was 'public transport', which had not been used before for segments in the first three transcripts referring to public transport. This was because the exact phrase had not been employed by the speakers. Instead, themes around public transport in these earlier transcripts had been captured under codes such as 'transport', 'difficulties faced on arrival', and 'time loss or wastage', even when such segments talked about the lack of public transport available at LB during the initial few years without actually using the phrase 'public transport'. However, once 'public transport' was explicitly uttered and recorded as a code in P1, it was retrospectively also applied to the relevant segments in previous transcripts, such as:

In the initial years, even buses did not used to come here. That far-off place, at the beginning of LB, the LERP office, one bus used to come there, I think D-17. And it used to drop us over there, at the last stop. From there we used to come here, to our incomplete home. It took about 40 minutes, 45 minutes, to walk this far. But we had to do this every day. (A4, Pos.10)

Similarly, the code 'informality' that had emerged in the planner transcripts as describing a process in relation to 'formal' planning modes was also added to several segments in the affectee transcripts. Even though the first three transcripts of affectees had described processes of settling, auto-construction, and incremental development over the years in their areas, this code only emerged as a noticeable theme while coding the fourth and fifth transcripts, which were by planners. Segments such as the following were retrospectively coded with 'informality':

They have a lot of money... so they are making systems in this area, they are cutting plots on empty lands, they are making files, they are selling these files to their own people. (A4, P.13)

Another instance of retrospective coding is the following very segment:

When they were sending us here, they told us, go live there, for the first 5 years you will get free electricity, free water, free everything... they had

made water tankers in every street. We used to get water from there and fill our own house tanks. We came at a time there was only dust here, dirt was flying around everywhere, no human in sight... our children used to run around in the open space and we could see them from so far. Then our water started getting stolen, it was redirected to the other illegal settlements around here... electricity, it is almost not present at all... when it comes, the voltage is so low, you can hardly run a few lights... and on top of that, they send us bills for 1000 PKR or above. (A4, Pos.17)

This segment had been coded for several infrastructure codes such as 'infrastructure: current state>water', 'infrastructure: current state>electricity', 'infrastructure: current state>gas', and so on. Now, the code derived from the planner's discourse, of 'Regime of Truth>LB is a thriving place', was also added to this segment, which would help contrast the analytical findings when intersecting codes for this segment were analysed, to compare what the affectees vs what the planners had to say about the living conditions at the resettlement site.

Several decisions were taken regarding code sorting, organizing, and nesting, depending on in-depth reading of the coded segments over and over, and across different actors. This was done to determine what the best nesting place could be for a particular code, when there were several competing parents, all of them thematically significant. For example, the code 'help in rehabilitation' could have been placed as a subcode of various other parent codes: it was well-suited either within 'Life after eviction>initial conditions in LB' OR within 'Life during eviction>eviction/demolition process>giving/receiving' OR within 'planning process>personal role'. However, considering that it had only 1 coded segment at the time, and it was from P1 regarding how he helped the affectees during his tenure as Mayor Karachi, it was decided to provisionally nest this particular code within the parent code 'planning process'.

Also, it was realized that the code 'political reasons' could be included within the parent code 'planning process>governance', as all the coded segments talked about why certain planning decisions were taken/not taken because of some political reasons. Initially, the code 'political transition' had been placed under 'planning process> governance' as well. But a closer engagement with the coded segments

highlighted why ‘political transition’ should be included within the parent code of ‘time as multiscalar’, as an indicator of a broader temporal process and not merely the planning process only.

Similarly, the code ‘power’ could be placed either under ‘subject formation>subject attributes’ but also under ‘planning process’. The latter was chosen, because the coded segment was more relevant to this. Later in the coding process, ‘power’ was moved under ‘PLANNING PROCESS>concepts’. Another code, ‘informality’, was provisionally nested under ‘Life before eviction’. Later, as more segments were coded with ‘informality’, it was realized that the code referred to informal practices that were more broadly in place in the absence of formal service provisions even during life *after* eviction, such as acquiring water, or auto-construction of homes and extensions. Hence, this code was moved to ‘planning process’, to indicate its wider association as an alternate mode of planning, which also resonated with conventional literature on informal planning practices. Later, in the final stages of code refining, it was moved under ‘PLANNING PROCESS>concepts’.

An important consideration was to *not* code any segment with ‘discourse’ or ‘discursive production’, as, according to the theoretical framework of the study, all elicited data was considered discourses, and hence discursively produced. Hence, coding for these labels would mean that that would have to be applied to almost all segments, making them virtually useless to filter and analyse later.

Several codes were also deleted at this cycle: ‘unpleasant experiences’ was deleted; it contained only 1 segment that referred to the demolition/eviction. This was only a tangential code, and it was not coherent with the other codes. Another code, ‘traffic rules’, was also deleted. This also had only 1 coded segment and discussed how people generally don’t follow traffic rules in Karachi. It was dropped as it was also found to be not directly relevant to the study. Dropping these tangential codes early on in the open coding process, during the process of code consolidation, helped to make the coding frame more coherent and thematically consistent, reducing outlier

codes that only occurred in one transcript, or only mentioned one relatively irrelevant aspect of the whole story.

As a next step, all the various ‘Actors’ – local government, federal government, provincial government, CDGK, FWO, NHA, civil society, media, academics – were placed under the parent code ‘actors’. Some of segments coded under these labels were narrations by the actors themselves, but most occurred as another person mentioning their role, such as the mayor talking about NHA, or the UC Nazim talking about the provincial government. Following these steps, all of the remaining open codes were organized into the following parent codes, to form a hierarchical coding frame, as depicted in Figure 5.7.

Code System	Count
Code System	2763
> 01. Life before eviction	25
> 02. Life during eviction	196
> 03. Life after eviction	299
> actors	45
> changing space	11
> 00. Rhetorical devices	54
employment	11
gender	2
home	20
> knowledge	15
> LERP	13
> LEW	82
> life	75
> locations	6
> planning process	345
> Regime of Truth	110
> resistance	30
> ROW (right of way)	16
> space	40
> subject formation	344
> TIME	986

Figure 5.7. A provisional, hierarchical, multi-level coding frame.

There were still a few free-floating, non-nested codes, such as ‘employment’, ‘gender’, and ‘home’ which had a significant number of coded segments but could not be categorized under one specific parent code, as the coded segments alluded to differing themes. However, this provisional coding frame was adopted for the time, and the first three coded affectee transcripts (A4, A5, and A6) were revisited to see if the new codes which had emerged during the planner transcripts (PMK and P4) could be applied to the three Affectee transcripts.

Hence, the reflexive decision-making regarding the sequencing of the various steps of the coding process derived directly from the new codes being recorded in each transcript, and the parallel processes of refinement and CC during and after the transcripts were being coded.

5.2.3 Consolidating the coding frame

From here on, new transcripts were sequentially coded, new codes were retrospectively applied to previous transcripts, and a round of code-refining/CC was undertaken after every 2-3 transcripts. Care was taken to alternate between transcripts of different actors rather than code actors from one particular group first and then proceed to the next group. This way, consistency was ensured across the segments being coded for similar themes, across all three actor groups. This rotation in coding sequences also enabled the discovery of codes that could be merged, eliminated, or better attuned in their phrasing to the overall coding frame.

Within A7, only 3 new codes had been added. These were ‘councilor’, ‘regulations’, and ‘right’. The rest of the transcript was coded using already existing subcodes and parent codes present within the coding frame. This indicated that a certain level of saturation had started to come in, across both the affectees and the planners’ discourses. Within A9, 5 new codes had been added: ‘criminals’, ‘opportunistic’, ‘simple people’, ‘risk’, and ‘edge of the city’. The first three were subject attributes,

mostly with negative connotations. Similar segments in the previous transcripts were immediately coded with these.

Three adjustments were also made at this point: slight modifications were made to the code hierarchy, to accommodate these new codes within parent codes; the codes that were being applied most commonly were capitalized, to indicate their significance within the coding hierarchy; and major parent codes and their subcodes were color-coded to differentiate these on the transcripts and segments that were being coded with multiple overlapping codes. This resulted in an updated coding frame, with capitalized and color-coded parent codes, as shown in Figure 5.8.

Code	Count
Code System	3364
> 01. Life before eviction	31
> 02. Life during eviction	240
> 03. Life after eviction	337
> ACTORS	58
> changing space	15
> 00. Rhetorical devices	80
employment	13
gender	2
home	25
> knowledge	18
> LERP	14
> LEW	91
> life	82
> locations	11
> PLANNING PROCESS	410
> Regime of Truth	119
> resistance	40
> ROW (right of way)	17
> space	46
> SUBJECT FORMATION	474
> TIME	1218
> Word/PDF Text Highlight	0
Yellow	23
Sets	0

Figure 5.8. Updates to the provisional coding frame.

The two most prominent themes, 'TIME' (1218 coded segments) and 'SUBJECT FORMATION' (474 coded segments), had amassed a substantial number of free subcodes that needed to be arranged hierarchically and thematically. Since the number of subcodes was too large, the CC tool was used again to achieve this purpose. Before the CC process, 'TIME' had three major subcodes, 'PAST', 'PRESENT' and 'FUTURE', each of which had their own secondary-level subcodes as well. All the segments coded under these three codes were examined individually. Where it was felt that particular subcodes could be merged with other distinct codes, it was done. For example, most of the coded segments for 'PAST' (35 segments in total) were also coded for either 'initial conditions in LB' or 'difficulties faced on arrival'. Hence, such segments could easily be nested under the broader 'Life after eviction' parent code, while retaining these subcode labels. Another instance of 'PAST' was the following segment:

...just like the 20 years of our life that we lost when we came here, and just like we have spent the previous 20 years just rebuilding that life. (A5, P.15).

This particular segment had also been coded as 'repetitions/ reiterations/ forced to repeat', which was a more specific code for it, rather than the generic label of 'PAST'. Hence, 'PAST' was detached from this segment. A similar refining process was carried out for all segments coded under 'PAST', 'PRESENT', and 'FUTURE'. Similarly, another segment was found coded under 'FUTURE' that could be detached:

So they make sure they keep creating one problem after the other, every few days... so that out of frustration, people here start leaving their plots, their homes... an then the mafia can buy those plots and homes at very cheap prices, saying, this settlement is worth nothing, we are just buying this house as an investment, who wants to live here in these conditions, you were so patient, you are so pious that you were living here with so much patience, we salute you... but they say all this just to reduce the price of the house... and then they buy and sell it on profit, and then suddenly everything in that street starts working well, water starts coming, gutters start working. (A4, Pos. 36)

This segment too already had a substantial number of overlapping codes that were more specific, such as 'causality', 'expired services', 'perceived truth', 'place

attachment', and also 'foreseeing the future', itself a subcode of 'FUTURE'. Hence, the label FUTURE was removed from this segment. A similar refining was done for all 26 segments coded under 'FUTURE'. Figure 5.9 shows the un-nested codes and subcodes under the parent code 'TIME'. Figure 5.10 shows the same codes after they were arranged and re-nested. By the end of the CC process for 'TIME', the new code hierarchy became more refined. Examining the contents of the coded segments, **'TIME' itself was renamed to 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR'. This indicated the various ways in which time was being talked about, at varying scalar interpretations. At this point, it was also realized that perhaps this might become a key theme. Within this major theme 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR' (color-coded black), two prominent facets (color-coded green) of time were also emerging: 'TEMPORAL PROCESSES', and 'TEMPORAL SUBJECTS'**. The codes 'FUTURE', 'PAST', and 'PRESENT' were also provisionally retained at this point. In terms of coverage, most codes within 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR' were attached to a number of segments across all the coded transcripts.

Similarly, the CC process for 'SUBJECT FORMATION' also helped to streamline all the free-floating and non-nested subcodes. Figure 5.11 shows the un-nested codes and subcodes under the parent code 'SUBJECT FORMATION'. Figure 5.12 shows the same codes after they were re-arranged, merged, and re-nested through the CC process. At this point, the main subcodes under 'SUBJECT FORMATION' referred to practices of **attribution** ('subject attributes, other defining', 'subject attributes, self-identification of', and 'subject: compliance'), practices of **differentiation** ('subjects, differentiation between'), as well as the **interaction** and **subjectification** of the researcher ('researcher relationship'). However, it was realized that substantial changes to this hierarchy were very much possible, in light of the coding of subsequent transcripts. This hierarchy was considered a satisfactory provisional arrangement that worked with the data coded up to this point.

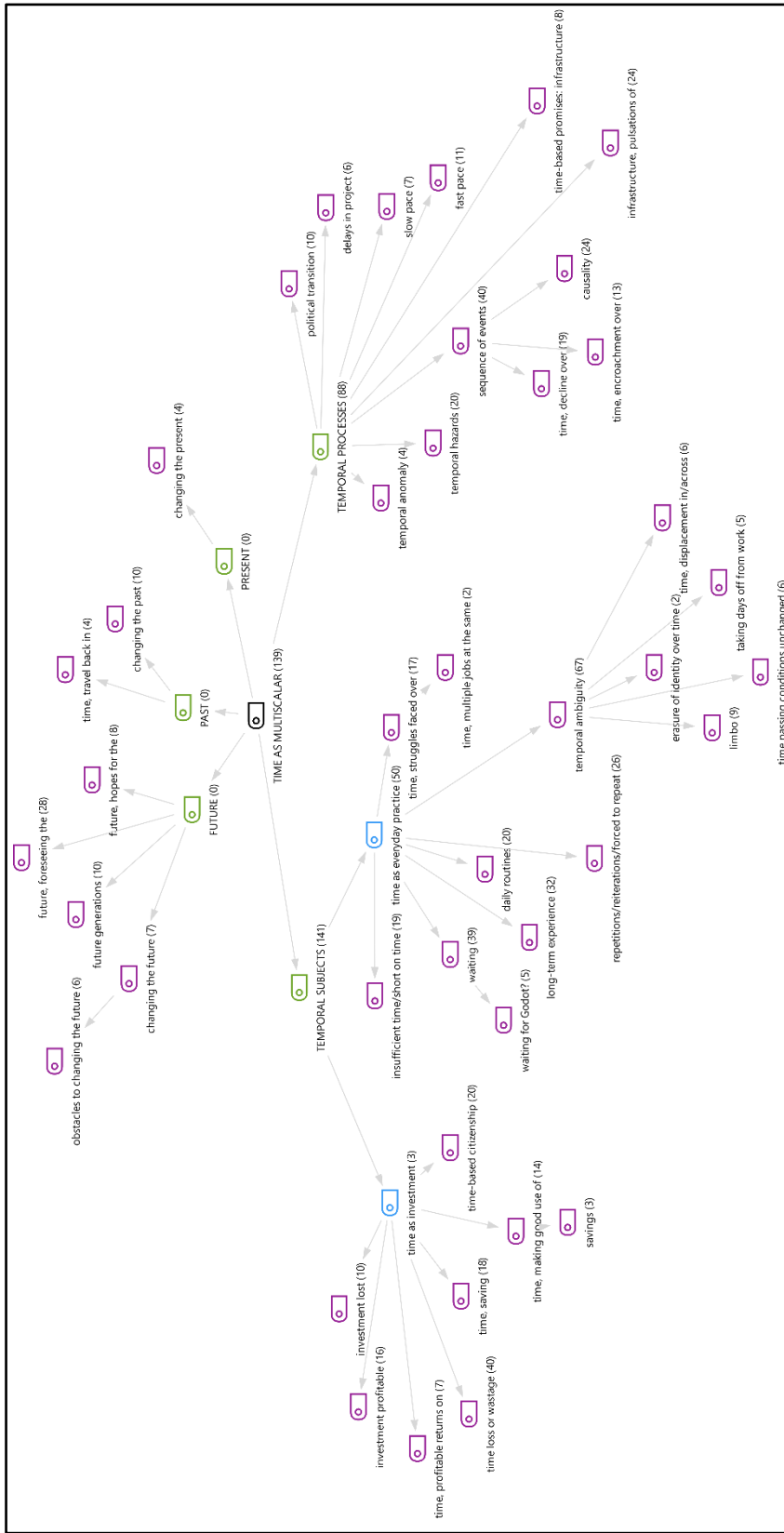


Figure 5.10. Nesting of codes after the CC process for 'TIME'.

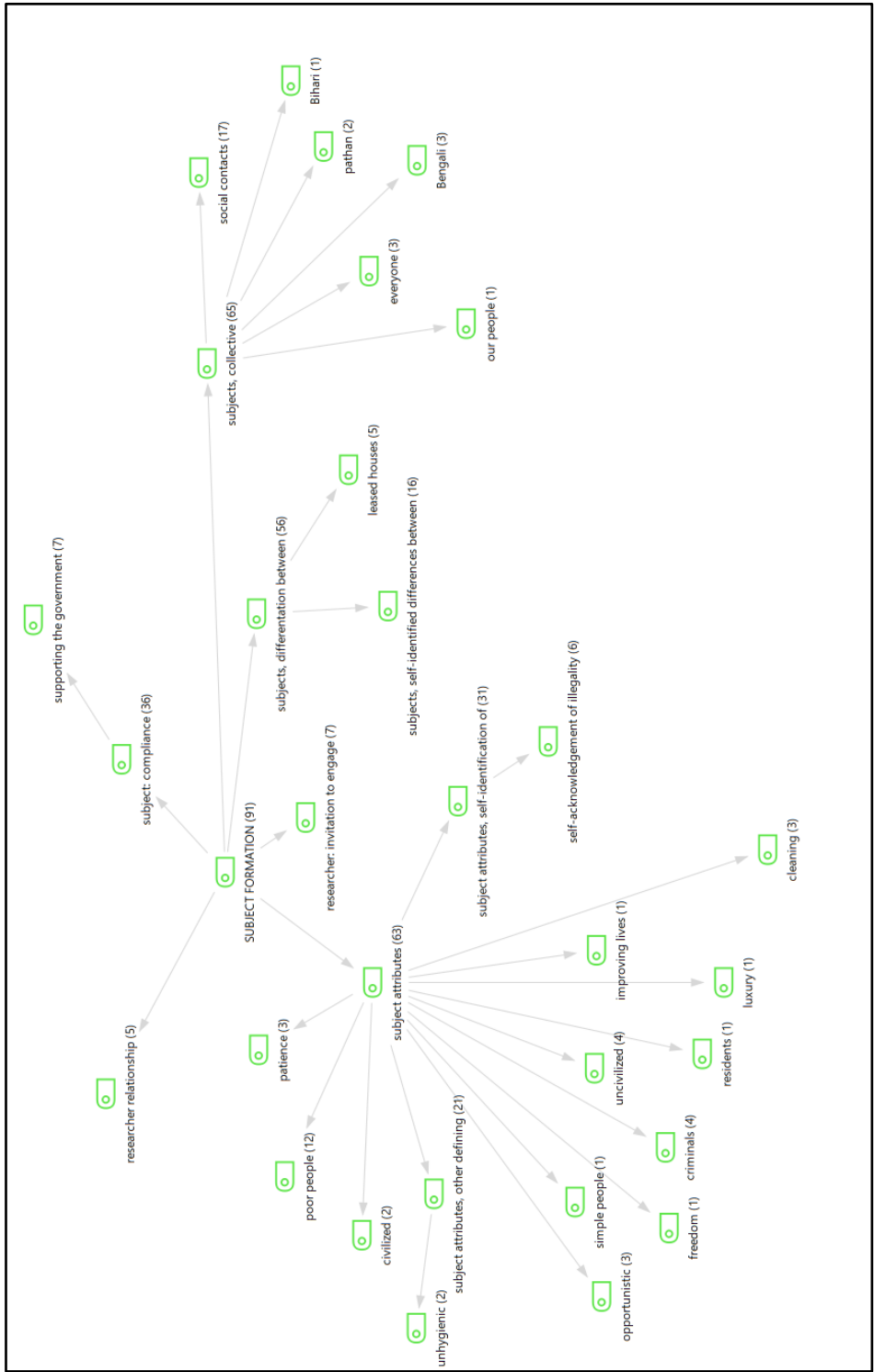


Figure 5.11. Free codes and subcodes before the CC process for 'SUBJECT FORMATION'.

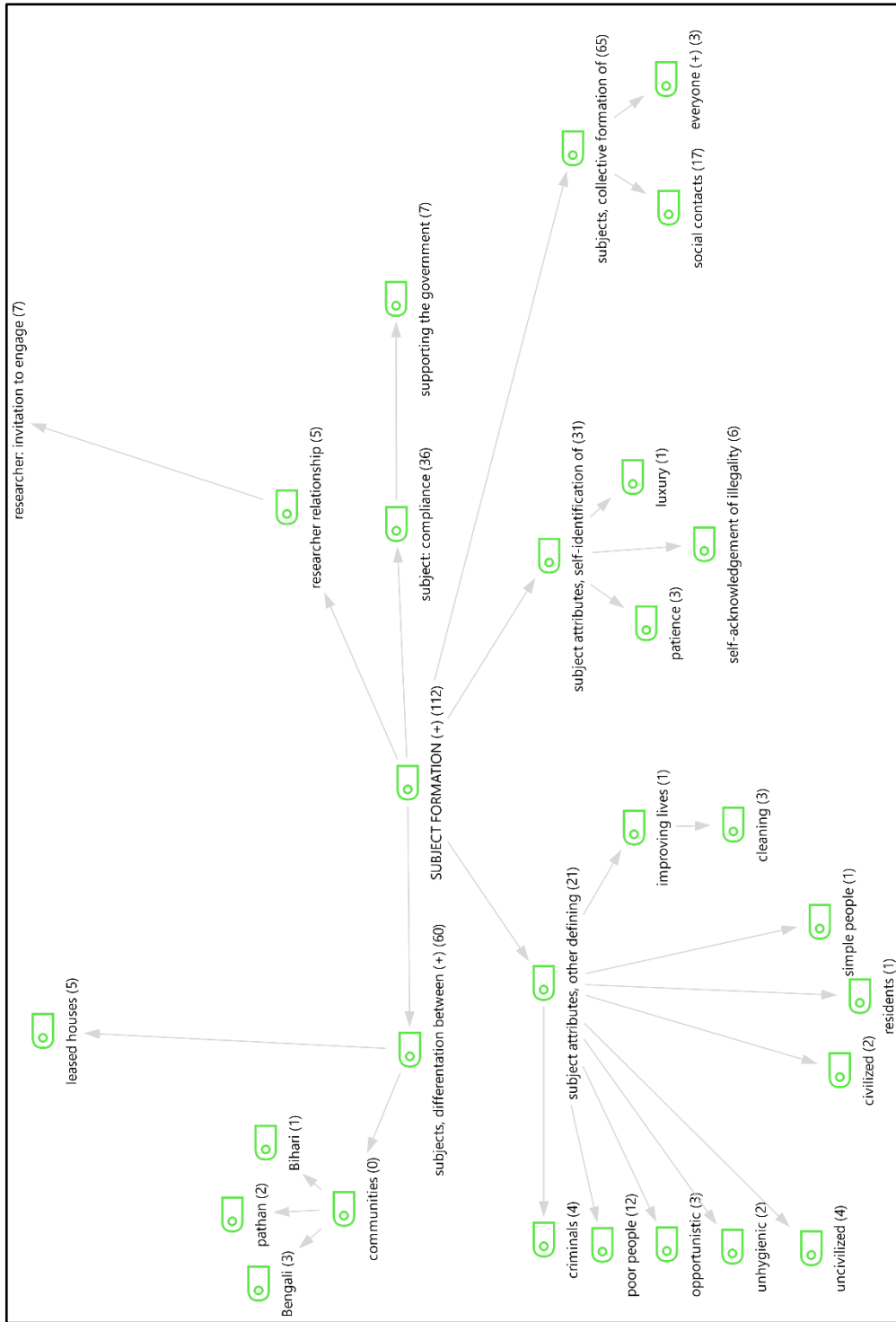


Figure 5.12. Provisional nesting of codes after the CC process for 'SUBJECT FORMATION'.

Once codes had been consolidated to this level across the two major actor groups, Planners and Affectees, the next step was to begin open coding on a transcripts from the third (minor) actor group, the Civil Society. The first transcript to be open-coded was C1¹⁵. As expected, a substantial number of new codes emerged from C1’s transcripts. These were mostly related to technical details of the LEW, shortcomings in its planning process, the various actors involved over the years, and most importantly, the resistance against the LEW and its outcomes. A complete list of the new codes created for C1 is shown in Figure 5.13.

Code System	Count
LEW, blame for the	2
consultant	1
LAA 1897	1
EIA	1
change in opinion	1
environmental concerns	1
shifting discourses	4
NGOs	1
LEW is underutilized	1
international actors	1
bureaucrats	1
representation	5
saving money	1
DHA	1
shortest distance	1
speculative investment	4
working class	1
low income groups	1
politicians	4
land value	5
builders and developers	7
LEW purpose not achieved	2
LEW as an incomplete project	3
LEW, lack of vision	1

Figure 5.13. New codes encountered in the third actor group transcript C1.

¹⁵ Chronologically, C1 was the first interview that had been conducted in the phase of data gathering for this study, in early 2021.

Actor Code	Count
PLANNING PROCESS	84
ACTORS	0
builders and developers	7
consultant	3
NGOs	1
international actors	1
bureaucrats	1
Musharraf	8
Mustafa Kamal	4
Naimatullah	4
DHA	1
politicians	4
councilor	3
provincial government	2
federal government	6
UC chairman	1
UC Nazim	3
FWO	1
local government	7
NHA	7
planner	11
engineers	3
DDO	8
civil society	7
CDGK	6
academics	1
mayor	2
media	7

Figure 5.14. The refined list of Actor codes, nested under ‘PLANNING PROCESS’.

The most prominent codes included ‘shifting discourses’, ‘representation’, ‘speculative investment’, ‘land value’, and ‘LEW as an incomplete project’. These were appropriately consolidated under the appropriate parent codes, and applied to the previous transcripts as necessary. Open coding was continued for P5 and P6. More detailed codes pertaining to the activities of planners emerged here. For example, the ‘court’ was added as a new ‘ACTOR’ who has the power to delay the LEW construction process, by giving a stay order in response to the grievances of affectees who have launched a case there. ‘Transporters’ was also added as a new

actor. As segments were also coded with ‘consultant’ and ‘personal role’, it was realized that the long list of free-floating ‘actor’ codes were starting to come together thematically as part of the planning apparatus, and could therefore be nested within the ‘PLANNING PROCESS’. At this point, the code ‘ACTOR’ was made a subcode for the parent code ‘PLANNING PROCESS’, and color-coded as red, including its sub-codes. This also enabled the inclusion of formerly free-floating (blue) codes of various planning actors such as ‘builders and developers’, ‘bureaucrats’, ‘politicians’, and others, within ‘ACTORS’ as well, to make the role of individuals and institutions embroiled in the planning process more visible and coherent. Figure 5.14 shows this new sub-hierarchy. A few smaller adjustments were made to the coding frame at this point: ‘LEW, clear vision’ was moved into ‘LEW’. ‘Curiosity’ was moved into ‘SUBJECT FORMATION>subject attributes, other defining>curiosity’. ‘Design process’ was moved into ‘LEW>design process’. ‘TORs’ was moved to ‘LEW>TORs’. ‘Peak timings’ was a very interesting code, and there were several options where this could be moved to. It was decided to move it to ‘TEMPORAL PROCESSES> infrastructure, pulsations of>peak timings’, indicating the temporally-determined utility of the LEW since its inauguration.

‘LEW’ had become a major parent code up by this point; essentially, it had to capture the whole story of the LEW, through how effectively its subcodes were being organized. By moving, renaming, and re-nesting the various subcodes under ‘LEW’, the temporal narrative as well as the perspective of the affiliated actors would come through more clearly. An important consideration for re-organizing ‘LEW’ was the temporal aspect. How should all the subcodes under it (Figure 5.15) be arranged so they tell a cohesive story, but one that also makes sense, chronologically? As a first step, three temporal labels were created: ‘time before LEW: t=0’, ‘time during LEW: design & construction process’, and ‘time after LEW: temporal reflections’. All the subcodes as well as free-floating codes under ‘LEW’ were categorized under these three temporal codes only (Figure 5.16).

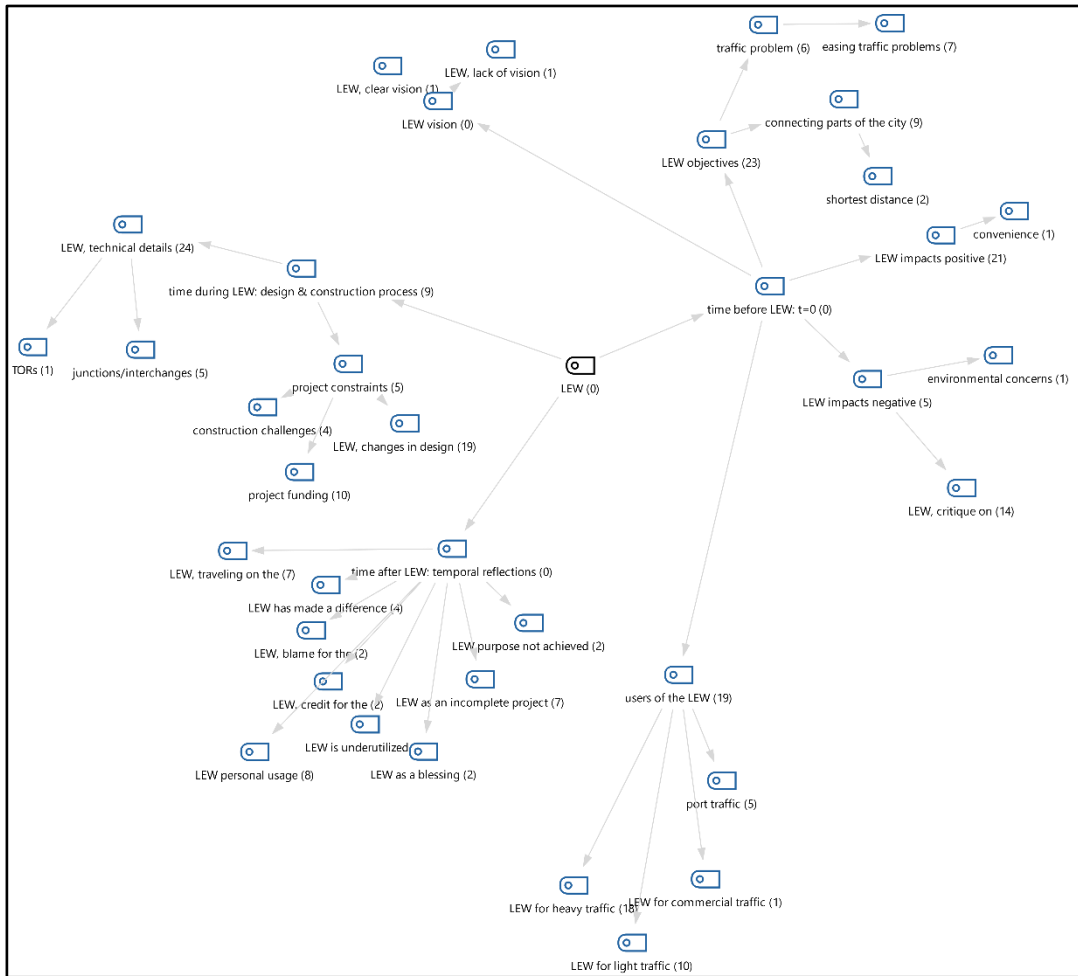


Figure 5.16. Nesting of free codes and subcodes after the CC process for 'LEW', under three broad temporal codes: 'time before LEW: $t=0$ ', 'time during LEW: design & construction process', and 'time after LEW: temporal reflections'.

As visible in Figure 5.16, 'time before LEW: $t=0$ ' included codes about the project objectives, its vision, its intended users, its foreseeable positive and negative impacts, and critique on the project, from the point of view of all three actor groups. Under 'time during LEW: design & construction process' were grouped together codes that described technical details, project constraints, and various construction challenges. Most segments coded under here were uttered by Planners or Civil

Society actors. Similarly, ‘time after LEW: temporal reflections’ contained codes on the retrospective evaluation of the project, in terms of meeting its proclaimed objectives, its contemporary usage, and personal experiences of traveling on the LEW. Here, the coded segments represented all three actor groups. A round of refinement was carried out on this basic framework, to produce a more appropriate hierarchy. Some labels were renamed (such as ‘time during LEW: design & construction process’ was renamed to ‘design & construction process’, and ‘02. Time during LEW: project ongoing’ was introduced as its parent code). All three temporal codes were color-coded purple. The main parent code ‘LEW’ was color-coded black. All the subcodes were aligned in a more readable format. Figure 5.17 shows the resulting arrangement.

Certain interesting points could be observed in this hierarchy, and by reading the coded segments. **Most negative opinions of the LEW were based around temporal evaluations: what was expected but not achieved, or promised but not delivered, or feared and came true. Most positive evaluations of the LEW assumed time-neutrality, and a dissonance from the events, expectations and promises of the past; as a kind of instantly gratifying experience, of personal use, of immediate experience, covering over the long-stretched process underlying the arrival up to this point in time.** Hence, it could be tentatively established that the *evaluation* in the present was dependent upon and tied to *expectations* of the past. **It was also becoming clear at this point that the story of the LEW was a story of urban time.**

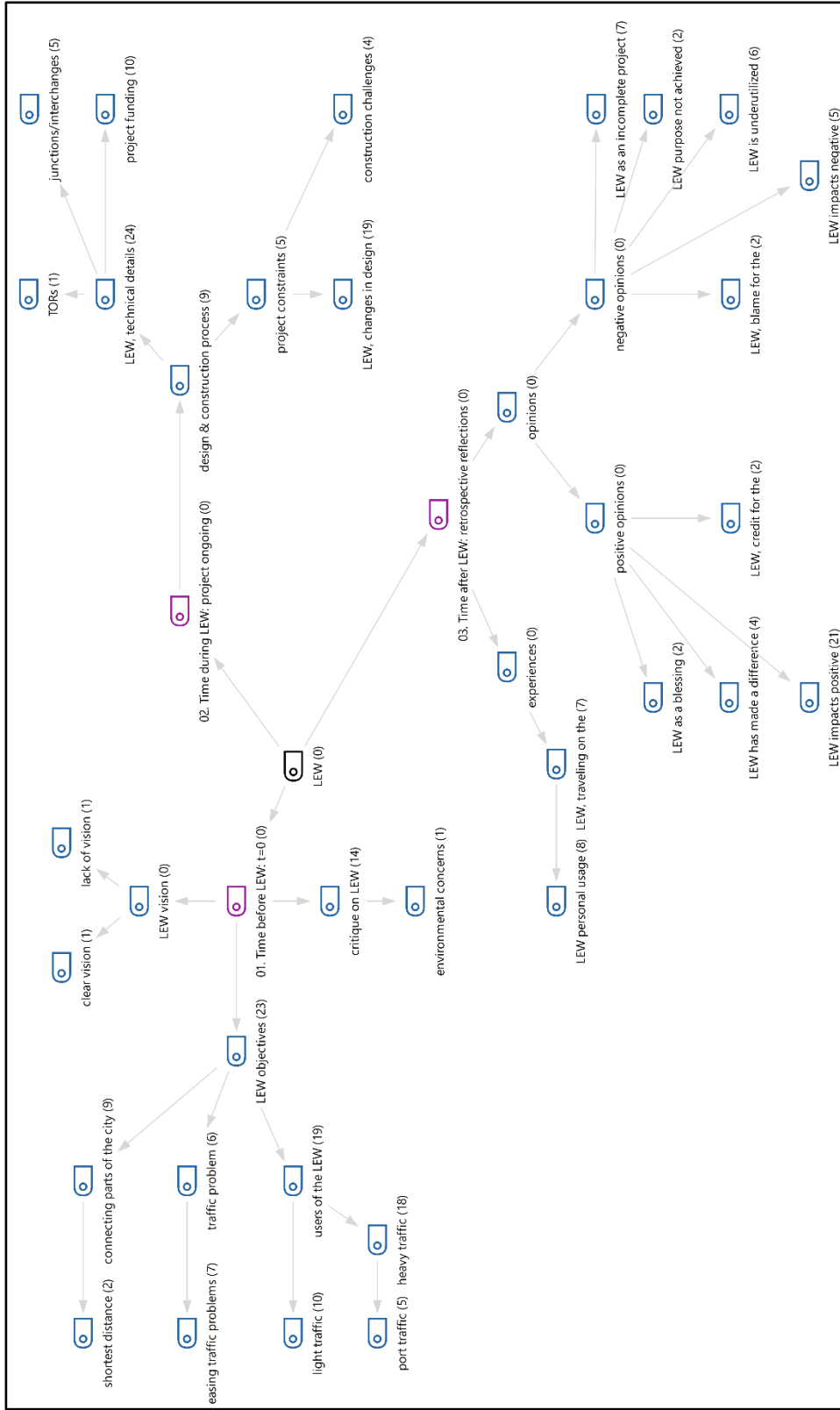


Figure 5.17. Final nesting of codes after the CC process for 'LEW'.

After 'LEW', 'PLANNING PROCESS' was also emerging as another major parent code. The number of subcodes under it had increased substantially, and needed refinement. A thorough process of shifting, renaming, and re-nesting codes helped to make the parent code 'PLANNING PROCESS' more streamlined. Some subcodes were found to be thematically overlapping. There were also some codes that were inaccurate as to their alignment with particular parent codes. But at this moment, these codes could not really be organized any more concisely based only on the coded segments alone. For example, the subcodes 'consultant' and 'engineer', coded under the parent code 'ACTORS', were neither state actors (in that they were not regular employees/representatives of the state), nor could they be placed under 'non-state actors' (as they were engaged in the planning and design of the LEW, in coordination with the federal government). This meant that at this stage, the hierarchy of 'ACTORS' itself was somewhat misrepresentational, or at least incomplete, and might have to be tweaked at a later stage in the analysis to accurately nest these relatively deviant actor identities; which, insofar as the planning and execution of the LEW was concerned, were anything but deviant – they were quite central to the whole design and construction process! Although this arrangement was an intermediary one that seemed to work for now, it was clear that this hierarchy needed a revisit after coding a few more transcripts. Figure 5.18 shows this provisional hierarchy.

No new codes emerged during the open coding of the next transcript, A8. Most coded segments were related to experiences at LB, life through the 20 years post-displacement, comparison of areas within LB, memories of the demolitions, received knowledge on the LEW, and personal evaluation of how LEW is a failed project because heavy traffic does not use it currently. All of these themes could be accommodated with codes from the existing coding frame. It appeared that a degree of saturation was being reached in the data, where the themes encountered in upcoming transcripts had already been captured in the ones before through an adequate coding frame. However, this could only be known for sure once all transcripts had been completely coded.

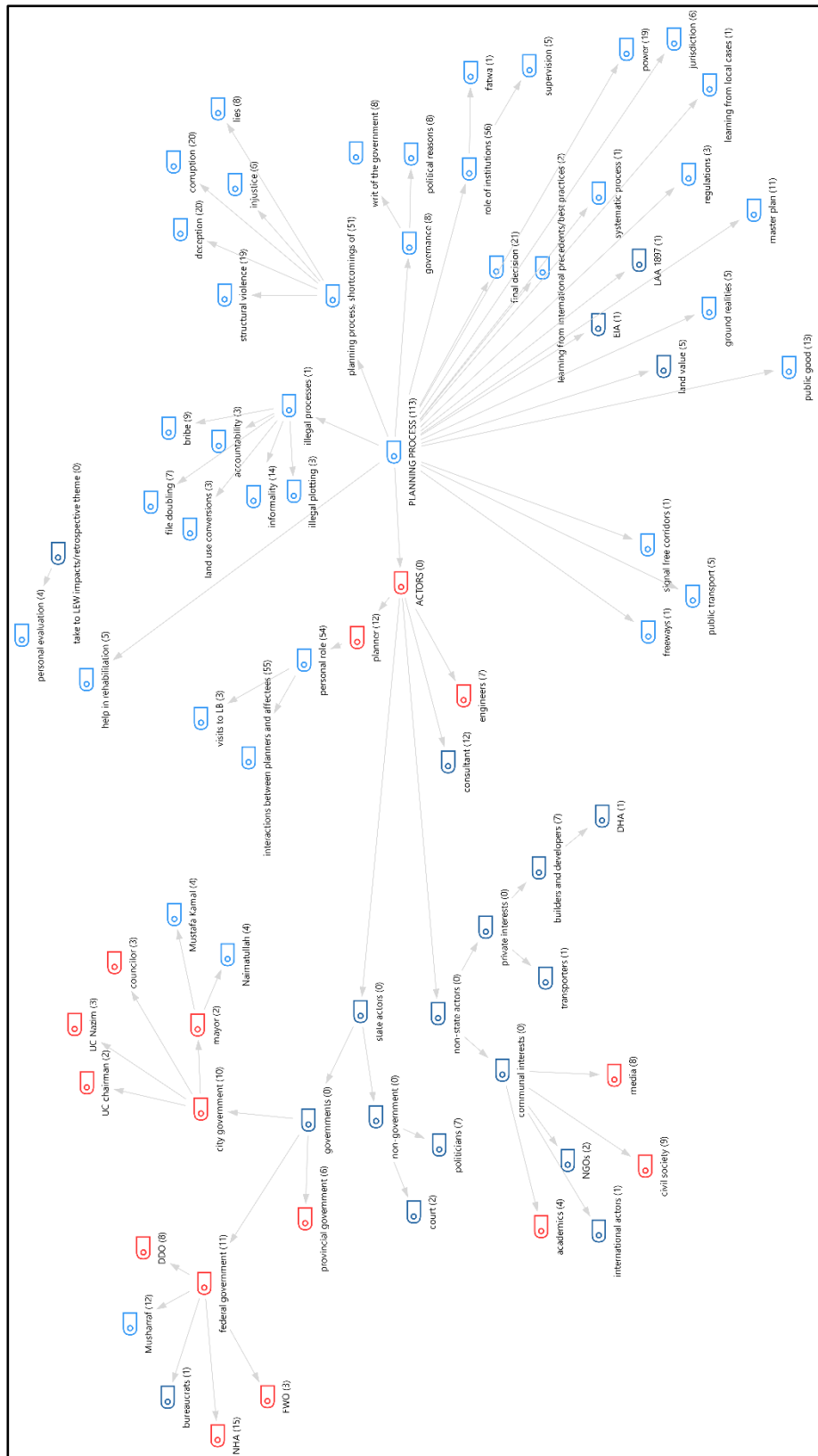


Figure 5.18. Results for the provisional CC process for 'PLANNING PROCESS'.

The next transcript, A1, gave three new codes, which were particular only to this affectee's narrative and could not be coded in any other transcripts: 'Punjabi', 'Sindhi', and 'Hazarewal'. All three codes referred to three specific ethnic groups, none of which were directly relevant to the LEW story. It was realized that apparently, for A1, ethnicities were a primary identity, and he used these to make points about why planners or administrators belonging to certain ethnic backgrounds acted in a particular way, believed in a particular truth, or considered the affectees in a particular light. However, these codes were retained for the time, in case they would be encountered in subsequent transcripts. They were placed under 'SUBJECT FORMATION>subjects, differentiation between>communities'. In the later stages of code refinement, however, all three codes were deleted, as they had failed to occur in any other actor's discourse.

The A1 transcript also gave one more code: 'police', near the very end. This was placed under 'PLANNING PROCESS>ACTORS>state actors> governments> provincial government>police', according to its jurisdiction. However, it should be noted that this 'police' was different from the code 'crime/police', which had been nested under the parent code 'Life after eviction>resettlement sites>Taiser Town>current living conditions>infrastructure: current state>infrastructure and amenities at LB>crime/police'. The former 'police' derived from A1 pertained to the role of the police as part of the planning actors; the latter 'crime/police' alluded to the existing law and order/security conditions post-eviction at the new resettlement site, and had much more mentions than the former code.

The next transcript, C3, was a journalist from who had got engaged in the LEW process. It was pertinent to note his individual professional engagement as a 'journalist'. However, the appropriate 'ACTOR' code did not exist till yet. The nearest code that existed for 'journalist' was 'media'. Hence, the code 'PLANNING PROCESS>ACTORS>non-state actors>communal interests>media' was renamed to 'PLANNING PROCESS>ACTORS>non-state actors> communal interests> media and journalists', to better suit the segments being coded for C3. This renaming step also made the code itself more chronologically consistent, as, during the early

2000s, there were not many media outlets (television, radio and newspapers) in Pakistan. In 2001, there was only one state-run TV channel (PTV) and one private channel (STN). Hence, most people affiliated with the ‘media’ industry were actually journalists or reporters working with newspapers. The renaming of the code made it more inclusive of the individuals affiliated with the ‘media’ in that era. No new codes were added to the coding frame during the subsequent coding of C3’s transcript.

Now that the coding frame was becoming saturated, a few more adjustments were made to it at this point. For example, the 14 individual segments for ‘informality’ were examined; some of these had been also coded with processes such as ‘illegal plotting’ and ‘land use conversions’, to make them more specific in terms of what informal practices or concepts they were talking about, and nested under ‘informality’.

Additionally, the 8 segments for the code ‘lies’ were examined; these were identified to be thematically consistent with another code, ‘deception’, which had 25 coded segments. Both codes had already been placed together under the parent ‘PLANNING PROCESS> planning process, shortcomings of’, and most segments coded as ‘lies’ had already been coded for ‘deception’. Hence, the two segments that were not, were added to the ‘deception’ code. Subsequently, ‘lies’ was deleted, as it was now redundant as a discrete code.

Thirdly, segments for the code ‘personal evaluation’ were examined, and, depending on the contents, merged with either ‘Time after LEW: retrospective reflections>opinions>negative opinions’ *or* ‘Time after LEW: retrospective reflections>opinions>positive opinions’. Once these changes had been made to the coding frame, the coding frame looked as shown in Figure 5.19.

The screenshot shows a software window titled 'Cod...' with a search bar containing 'decep'. Below the search bar is a list of codes under the heading 'Code System' with a total count of 5699. The codes are listed with expandable arrows and their respective counts. Some codes have icons next to them, and some have warning or folder icons at the bottom right of their count.

Code	Count
Code System	5699
> 00. Rhetorical devices	178
> 01. Life before eviction	95
> 02. Life during eviction	398
> 03. Life after eviction	401
> changing space	15
employment	14
false hopes	9
gender	3
home	39
> LERP	21
> LEW	495
> life	92
> locations	14
> loss	23
NBP	11
> PLANNING PROCESS	903
> Regime of Truth	305
> ROW (right of way)	55
> space	51
> SUBJECT FORMATION	764
> TIME AS MULTISCALAR	1794

Figure 5.19. Coding frame after updates and consolidation.

5.2.4 Reflexive observations and adjustments

When starting the open coding process code, it was believed that some codes would keep recurring throughout the transcripts, for example the description of the LEW extents. It was assumed that affectees would describe the LEW referring to settlement names, or more personalized references to locations, such as the place where they used to gather, or the place where such and such person lived; and planners would use more accurate and calculated descriptions of the LEW extents,

such as using standard measurements or names of prominent roads. This was a distinction that was expected to occur over and over in the transcripts. That is why, while coding the first transcript, A4, a code was created for 'LEW as defined by affectees'. Segments such as those below were coded with this: "From Agra Taj to Sohrab Goth, they made this huge bridge, right." (A4); "The LEW passes right through the centre of the city. So, a lot of areas were affected by it." (A6).

However, a distinction was not observed between the planner and affectees' references to the LEW extents. There was no particular difference between the ways in which affectees and planners mentioned the LEW extents. Both referred to areas, the river, settlement names, and road names, interchangeably. No particular group seemed to prefer one kind of nomenclature or associational reference over the other. Perhaps a more detailed conversation on the particulars of the project's physical footprint itself might have revealed these differences in the choice of words, but no such difference was recorded with the current data. Hence, it was eventually decided that this code itself would produce no meaningful basis for analysis across categories, so it was deleted.

This reflexive adjustment was also made for one of the two deductive codes ('Regime of Truth' and 'subject formation'). Very few segments were being coded with 'Regime of Truth'. On the other hand, 'subject formation' occurred much more frequently across multiple segments throughout all transcripts. Hence, 'subject formation' had to be differentiated into several sub-codes that provided more insight into exactly *how* subject formation was operating as a process. Eventually, 'SUBJECT FORMATION' would become a major thematic code.

It was also realized that 'TIME' was the most coded theme: 1218 coded segments in all, as opposed to the two primary deductive codes 'REGIME OF TRUTH' (119 segments) and 'SUBJECT FORMATION' (474 segments). It had been believed that the two deductive codes would come to be the two central themes of the research. However, these two deductive codes were far less prevalent as themes in the transcripts coded up to this point. Even the coding for various stages of the

‘PLANNING PROCESS’ had recorded more segments (410) than any of the two individual deductive codes. Hence, it was realized that these two deductive codes, which had been based on theoretical readings and had been used to build up the conceptual framework of the study, might not be as immediately applicable, conceptually and practically, as were more grounded themes that were occurring naturally in the elicited discourses. This was acknowledged as an outcome of the open coding process, and was used to let the transcripts guide the subsequent coding choices, rather than making these forcefully subservient to the deductive codes. Such reflexive learnings were applied throughout the coding process.

Repeated rounds of code refinement and CC between the transcripts also helped to eliminate deviant and incongruous codes, and made the overall coding frame more consistent and connected across the three actor groups. By the end of Data Analysis Phase I, no further transcripts remained to be coded, and hence there were no more new codes to be added inductively to the coding frame.

5.3 Data Analysis Phase II: Identifying Prominent Themes and Relationships in the Data, and Adjusting the Coding Frame

The objective of Data Analysis Phase II was to refine the coding frame. At this point, all the transcripts had been coded, but the coding frame itself was still open to changes in response to the thematic patterns being discovered as the coded segments were being re-read. Phase II did not aim to produce final results. Rather, this phase helped to refine the coding frame by examining the data more closely.

5.3.1 Tool 1: Code Frequencies

The first step to identifying the prominent themes was to observe the percentages of code frequencies of the number of segment characters coded for each parent code and subcode, both at the aggregated level of the parent, as well as the disaggregated level of each distinct code. Some insights are shown below in Figure 5.20.

	Percentage
TIME AS MULTISCALAR	28,21
PLANNING PROCESS	25,64
critique on LEW	25,56
TEMPORAL SUBJECTS	24,24
planning process, shortcomings of	23,84
deception	21,85
power	20,87
sequence of events	20,84
interactions between planners and affectees	20,08

	Percentage
TEMPORAL SUBJECTS	81,03
resistance	64,18
subjects, collective formation of	60,05
SUBJECT FORMATION	59,87
interactions between planners and affectees	57,97
subjects, differentiation between	51,28
TEMPORAL PROCESSES	42,71
TIME AS MULTISCALAR	42,26
eviction/demolition process	39,72

	Percentage
Regime of Truth	56,28
subjects, collective formation of	33,15
TEMPORAL SUBJECTS	32,96
SUBJECT FORMATION	31,51
TIME AS MULTISCALAR	30,99
personal role	29,57
role of institutions	27,50
LEW objectives	26,35
PLANNING PROCESS	26,27

Figure 5.20. Frequencies of code occurrence per transcript, expressed as a percentage of all coded characters: for C1 (top), A1 (middle), and P1 (bottom).

As observed, 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR', 'TEMPORAL SUBJECTS', 'SUBJECT FORMATION' and 'PLANNING PROCESS' appear to be prominent codes. A closer inspection of all 16 transcripts revealed that these were indeed the codes with the most segment characters coded.

5.3.2 Tool 2: Code Coverage

This tool was employed specifically for two purposes:

1. To examine which particular codes occurred most frequently across which actor groups, so it could be gauged where the focus of discourse for each actor group lay. This would also help to also determine which codes were consistent or divergent across the 3 actor groups.
2. To seek out codes that were specific only to particular transcripts within each group only, and not largely representative of the actor group as a whole. These codes could be de-prioritized as indicating tangential or personal themes only, and removed from the main coding frame being used for the broader analysis.

For the first round of code coverage analysis, the three most-used parent codes were selected: 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR', 'PLANNING PROCESS', and 'SUBJECT FORMATION'.

The code 'FUTURE' only occurred in one transcript, A8. This was considered as a de-prioritized code, as it was specific only to a personal story rather than more pervasive themes throughout the data. Moreover, the segment coded under 'FUTURE' was removed, and the segment had already been coded with various subcodes of FUTURE ('future generations', 'future, hopes for', and others). The latter subcodes were present within various transcripts, making them more accurate and relevant than 'FUTURE' only.

The code ‘erasure of identity over time’ occurred only in A4. This was also de-prioritized and color-coded **yellow**, for easy readability during subsequent rounds of fine coding, to be eventually removed from the main coding frame.

Some codes that were relevant to particular roles or positions occurred only within the corresponding transcripts. For example, the code ‘Town Nazim’ occurred thrice, but only within the transcript of P2, the Town Nazim himself, when describing his own role. These kinds of ‘professional reference’ codes were retained.

The code ‘learning from local cases’ occurred only in A1, who discussed how international precedents had guided in the various projects under his tenure. Although relevant to the parent code of ‘PLANNING PROCESSES’, the segments coded under this subcode were evaluated to be not directly relevant to the LEW story, but instead were indicative of his broader mayorship roles. Hence, this code was also de-prioritized for removal from the main coding frame, and color-coded **yellow**.

The subcode ‘role of institutions>fatwa¹⁶’ occurred only once, in P4. This referred to a particular incident where clearing the ROW caused the planners to consult religious leaders to permit the removal of religious buildings such as mosques along the ROW:

We also took fatwas from the religious leaders, to make sure they were all on board, and we were not doing something inappropriate. Everything happened according to a due process, in legal ways. (P4, Pos. 45)

However, since this process of seeking a fatwa was not present in the narrations of any other planners, it was regarded as a singular incident, or one that was thematically not emphasized by the other planners. This code was also de-prioritized and color-coded **yellow**.

The code ‘curiosity’ as a subject attribute of the affectees was mentioned only once, in P5. This was also de-prioritized and color-coded **yellow**.

¹⁶ A religious edict passed by a religious scholar, which makes a particular action legal or binding.

Other de-prioritized, **yellow** codes included: ‘Hazarewal’, ‘Sindhi’, ‘Punjabi’ (all three were ethnic identities, only mentioned in A1); ‘Bihari’ (another ethnic identity only reported in A5).

The code ‘Bengali’, although also an ethnic identity, was **retained**. This was because it was recorded multiple times, and across all 3 actor groups (three Affectees, one Planner, one Civil Society).

One segment had been coded with ‘LEW vision’ by accident, although this was supposed to be a parent code. Hence, the segment was coded for its subcode, ‘LEW vision>clear vision’, and the code ‘LEW vision’ was removed.

‘TORs’ was mentioned only once, by P5. Hence, it was merged with the broader code ‘LEW, technical details’.

The code ‘legal process’ occurred only once, in P4’s transcript. The segment coded under it described the operation of the compensation criteria and mechanism. Hence, this code was merged with the broader code ‘compensation criteria>due process’.

‘Appellate Committee’ was merged with ‘dispute resolution’, both of which also only occurred in P4’s transcript. ‘Dispute resolution’ was then merged with ‘compensation>compensation criteria’, as the segments under both codes were thematically consistent.

The codes ‘FIR’ and ‘fraud’ were only present in P4’s transcript, and were merged with ‘verification>fake claims’.

The code ‘domestic routines’, which only had one coded segment, was deleted, as that segment was already coded under the more common ‘time as everyday practice>daily routines’.

The following codes, which also had only one coded segment each, were deleted as well due to similar reasons: ‘bills’, ‘roads’, ‘Keamari’, and ‘highway’.

At the end of this first round of filtering, all de-prioritized/yellow codes were removed from their parents and nested under a new parent, 'De-prioritized codes'. They were subsequently deleted.

Merging certain codes, especially those that had only a few segments, or those that occurred within individual transcripts only, helped to decrease the granularity of the data, and scale it up to a workable level of abstraction, rather than having many loose, participant-specific segments.

5.3.3 Tool 3: Code Clouds

This tool was employed to get a visual representation of the most prominent codes across the transcripts for both parent codes and subcodes. This visual representation was then used to gauge the prevalence of certain kinds of codes, and how some of them were coherent or divergent across the different actors. Additionally, the frequencies of subcodes were not aggregated into their parent codes, so it was possible to see the prevalence of individually coded segments. For example, 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR', itself a parent code, would only count the 119 coded segments under this specific label only, and would not count all its aggregated subcodes. There was no need for a stop-list for the code cloud, as all the codes have been generated by the researcher, and consist of explanatory phrases rather than generic English words. The minimum frequency of each code to be recorded was set at 10 hits. Only the top 25 most commonly used codes were considered.

Figure 5.21 shows the code cloud produced for all transcripts and all codes. For the combined content across all the transcripts, 'TEMPORAL SUBJECTS' appeared to be the most prominent code at first sight. 'TEMPORAL PROCESSES' and 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR' also appeared to be significant secondary codes. Looking at the overall set of transcripts, 'Regime of Truth', 'SUBJECT FORMATION', and 'PLANNING PROCESS' seemed to be tertiary in importance. Other codes relating

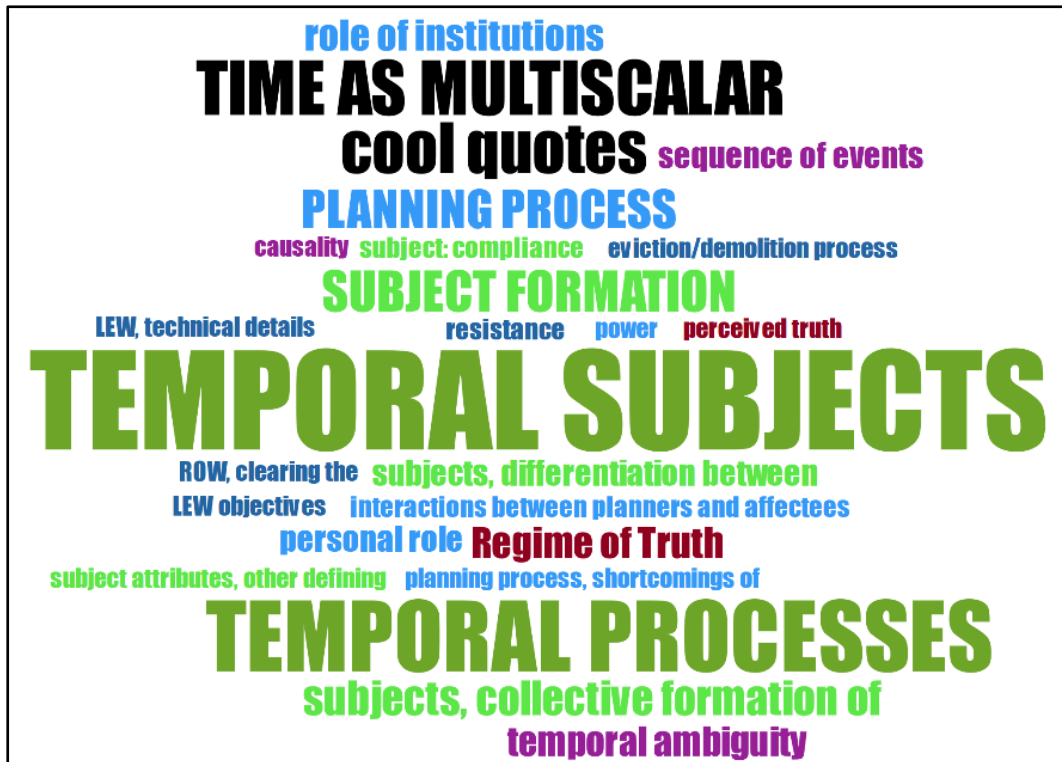


Figure 5.21. Code Cloud produced for all transcripts.

to the whole LEW story, such as ‘LEW objectives’, ‘eviction/demolition process’, and ‘resistance’ seemed to be minor, compared to the most prominent codes.

However, this changes when codes are disaggregated across actors: it was worthwhile to look at how the different actor groups’ individual discourses appeared in terms of the number of codes employed. Figure 5.22 shows the code cloud generated *only* for the Civil Society actors. Here again, ‘TEMPORAL SUBJECTS’ appeared to be the most prominent code. Even though ‘TEMPORAL PROCESSES’ was a significant secondary code, there was not as much emphasis on ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’, possibly because these actors were observing the whole process from a third-person perspective, and not engaged directly as a planner or an affectee over a longitudinal period. The segments coded under ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ for Civil Society also expressed time as immediate, or processes with direct

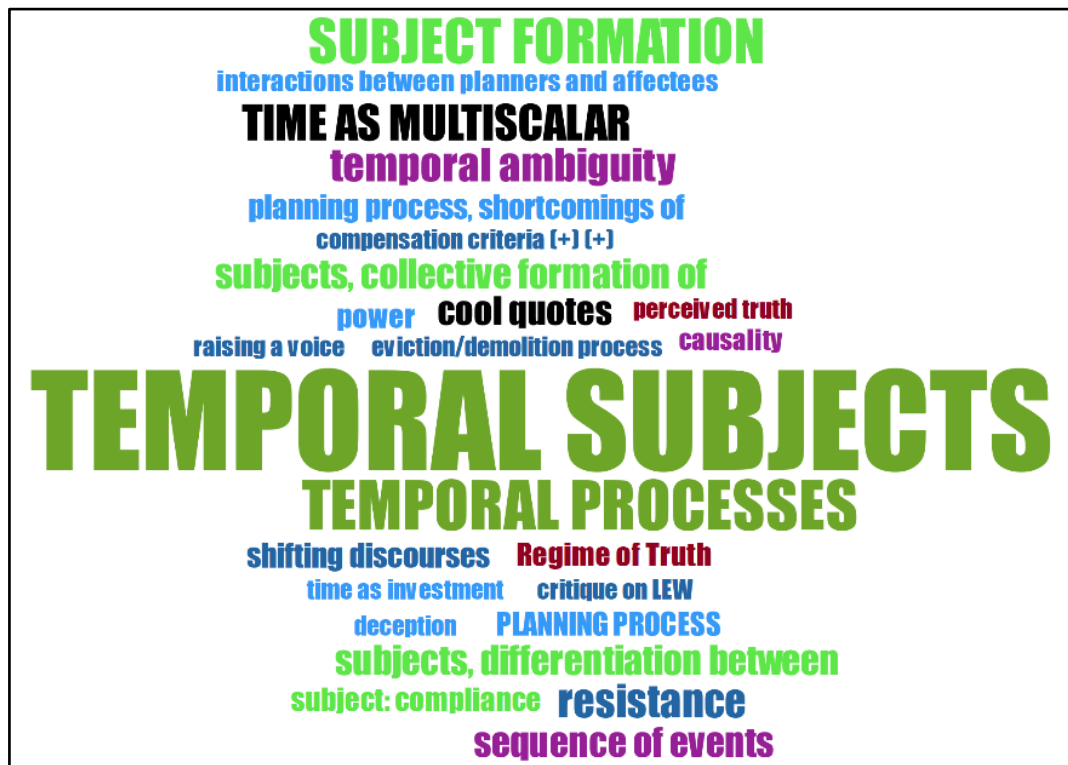


Figure 5.22. Code Cloud produced for Civil Society transcripts.

causalities, and less of long-term experiences. ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ also appeared to be a prominent secondary code. All other codes appeared tertiary.

Figure 5.23 shows the code cloud generated only for the Affectees. ‘TEMPORAL SUBJECTS’ still remained the most prominent code. But immediately, it also became clear that ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ and ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ were both much more prominent in the discourse of the Affectees, and understandably so: their experiences of the whole LEW and displacement episode were both temporal, as well as under particular forms of subjectification. A mention of ‘TEMPORAL PROCESSES’ was still limited, as were the discrete details of the LEW story, such as codes pertaining to ‘resistance’, ‘comparison of living conditions’, ‘perceived truth’, as well as the ‘eviction/demolition process’. All other codes seemed tertiary.

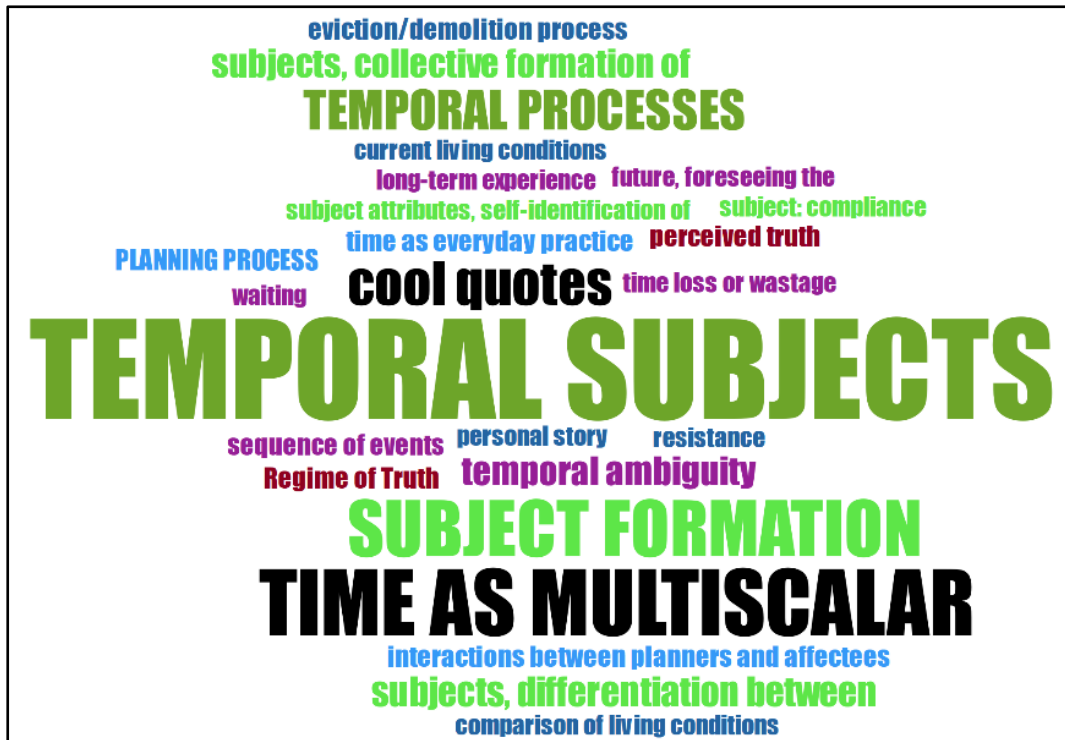


Figure 5.23. Code Cloud produced for all Affectee transcripts.

Figure 5.24 shows the code cloud generated only for the Planners. As apparent, ‘TEMPORAL SUBJECTS’ still remained the primary code. However, ‘TEMPORAL PROCESSES’ was much more emphasized than in any other group’s discourse, as was ‘PLANNING PROCESS’. This was natural, given that planners usually emphasize the temporal aspects of planning processes, and that planning itself is based on deliverables that are temporally bracketed and measured. In a similar way, ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ also retained its significant secondary position, similar to the Affectees’ discourse. However, unlike the Affectees or the Civil Society, ‘Regime of Truth’ appeared much more significant in the Planners’ discourse. Other codes pertaining to the planning process, such as ‘personal role’ and ‘role of institutions’ also appeared significant. Interestingly, ‘SUBJECT

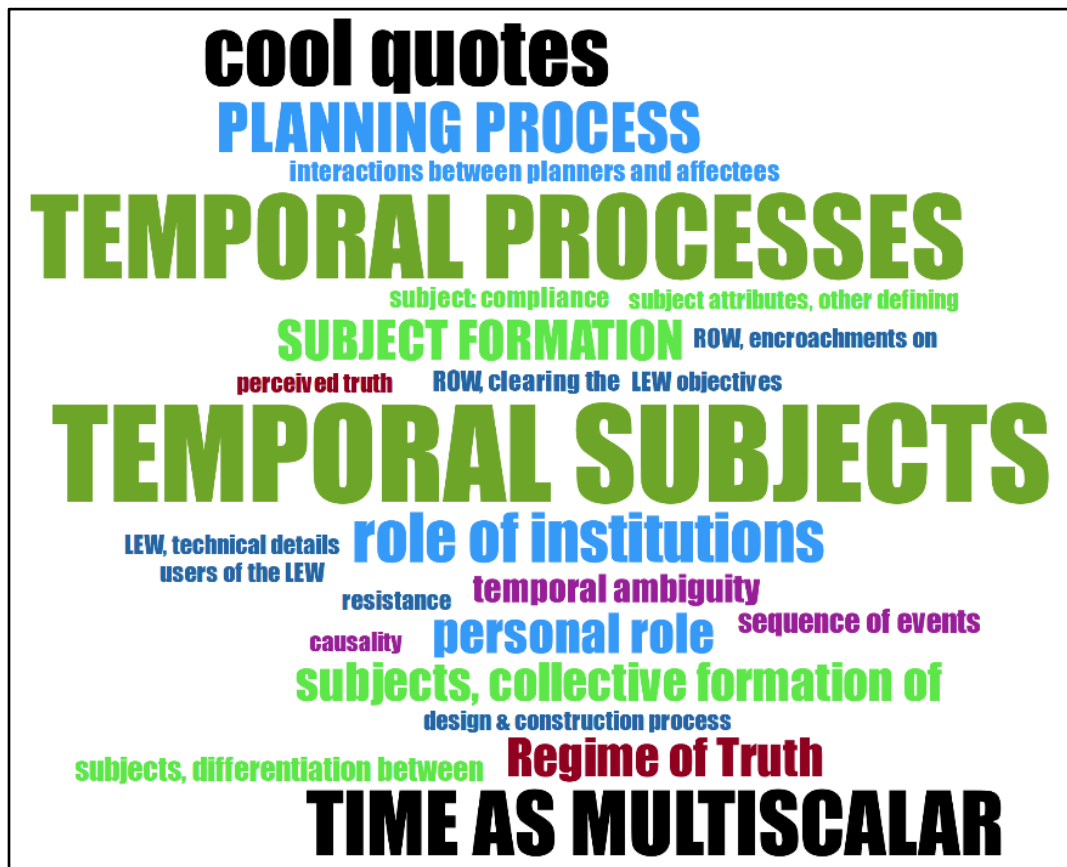


Figure 5.24. Code Cloud produced for Planner transcripts.

FORMATION’ was not as pronounced as it had been in the Affectee and Civil Society transcripts.

These code clouds gave more visual clarity to the numbers and frequencies of codes that had been ascertained by Tool 1 and Tool 2. However, they pointed to a need to restructure some of the hierarchies, and to merge certain codes so that these became conceptually more coherent and gelled together in a more meaningful way. This led to Tool 4, refining the coding frame.

5.3.4 Tool 4: Refining Codes

By this time, it was necessary to necessary to refine the free-floating codes in the coding frame, as well as some of the wrongly-nested subcodes. Table 5.1 presents a summary of the most significant changes made to the coding frame at this point.

Table 5.1. Details of the refining process for free-floating and wrongly-nested codes

Code and nesting location	Coded Segments	Action taken	New nesting location	Explanation
gender	8	Retained, nested	INSIGHTS>gender	Sheds light into nuances of eviction; also settling process after the eviction had occurred, e.g. how gender played a role in denying or acquiring compensation. New nesting location indicates that this was a tangential yet significant theme that would merit its own descriptive/ analytical section.
home	43	Retained, nested	INSIGHTS>home	Similar to gender, good insights from recollections of the old homes, to what it means to have a durable home, to place attachment, to the home-making endeavours of affectees; retained to provide nuanced overview of long-term space association.
locations>city centre	10	Deleted		A less specific and redundant code. Its various segments were examined, and re-coded for more specific codes, e.g. 'land value', 'shortest distance', etc.

Table 5.1 (continued)

Code and nesting location	Coded Segments	Action taken	New nesting location	Explanation
locations>edge of the city	6	Deleted		Similar to 'locations>city centre'; redundant code; segments examined, and re-coded for more specific codes, e.g. 'land value', 'shortest distance', etc.
changing space>changes over space	15	Retained, nested	space>changes over space	Nested under broader parent code 'space', which also had additional subcodes for spatial phenomena.
changing space	0	Deleted		This was a parent code containing only one subcode, 'changes over space'. After taking 'changes over space' to the broader parent code 'space', this was deleted.
ROW>ROW, encroachments on	30	Retained, nested	LEW>01. Time before LEW: t=0>ROW, encroachments on	Coded segments examined; only 2 segments had been coded in Affectee transcripts, remaining were all in Planner transcripts; realized that settlements were being referred to as encroachments primarily by planners only, so this code would be more relevant under LEW codes. Hence, re-nested.
ROW>ROW, clearing the	49	Retained, nested	LEW>02. Time during LEW: project ongoing>design & construction process>project constraints>ROW, clearing the	Segments referred to actual demolition process, or plans for demolitions. Segments mostly dealt with preparations for demolition, or demolition itself, rather than experiential or compensation aspect. Additionally, out of 49 segments, 32 were planners, and 11 from only one affectee. Hence, this subcode taken to more specific parent.

Table 5.1 (continued)

Code and nesting location	Coded Segments	Action taken	New nesting location	Explanation
ROW (right of way)	18	Retained, nested	LEW>02. Time during LEW: project ongoing>design & construction process>LEW, technical details>	Originally a parent code for both 'ROW, encroachments on' and 'ROW, clearing the'; after the former two associations were removed and re-nested, this was itself nested under a new parent.
Life after eviction> rehabilitation> help in rehabilitation	10	Moved to new parent	SUBJECT FORMATION> interactions between planners and affectees> help in rehabilitation	All the coded segments belonged to either planners or civil society actors, none to affectees. Most segments talked about the assistance handed out by the planners towards the resettling process. Since 'help' was always talked about in terms of a patronizing endowment at various scales, this code more accurately described a value position more than a platonic giving/receiving relationship; hence, this was moved to a new parent.
Life during eviction> emotive aspects> gratitude	6	Moved to new parent	SUBJECT FORMATION> compliance> gratitude	Most segments talked about feeling grateful for being given a plot; or an assertion by the planners that the affectees should be grateful for the compensation package. After considering nesting the code under 'Regime of Truth', it was decided that a more accurate place for it would be under 'SUBJECT FORMATION'.
life>place attachment	8	Moved to new parent	SUBJECT FORMATION> subject attributes, self-identification of> place attachment	Analysing all the coded segments, it became clear that these were more relevant as subject attributes that both planners and affectees had narrated.

Table 5.1 (continued)

Code and nesting location	Coded Segments	Action taken	New nesting location	Explanation
life>personal story	82	Moved to new parent	SUBJECT FORMATION> subject attributes, self-identification of> personal story	Thematically similar to 'place attachment', this was also moved under the same parent.
life	0	Deleted		This was only a provisional parent code for 'personal story' and 'place attachment'. Once both these subcodes had been moved to a new parent, this one was also deleted.
space>chances over space	15	Moved to new parent, renamed	TIME AS MULTISCALAR > TEMPORAL PROCESSES> temporal spatiality	Most of the coded segments pertained to changes in space that occurred over time. Including longer-term shifts such as occupying and building, as well as individual changes. Hence, it was more accurate to nest this code under a temporal theme.
space> spatial scatter	14	Merged	space> spatial connections disrupted	Almost all segments under this code had already been coded for another subcode under the same parent. Additionally, both subcodes were almost identical. Hence, merged.
space> spatial connections disrupted	37	Moved to new parent	TIME AS MULTISCALAR > TEMPORAL SUBJECTS> spatial connections disrupted	Disrupted spatial connections means that these connections now have to be compensated in terms of spending more time in accessing the same spatialities; hence, moved under temporal subjects.
PLANNING PROCESS> systematic process	2	Deleted		Both segments referred to the demolition process itself, and were only tangential.

Table 5.1 (continued)

Code and nesting location	Coded Segments	Action taken	New nesting location	Explanation
PLANNING PROCESS> ACTORS> non- state actors> private interests> builders and developers>DHA	2	Merged		Both segments referred to builder and developer interest groups of private real estate developers; did not contribute anything of additional value by being coded as a discrete construction group; hence merged with its immediate parent 'builders and developers'.
PLANNING PROCESS> ACTORS>state actors>planner> interactions between planners and affectees	116	Moved to new parent	SUBJECT FORMATION> interactions between planners and affectees	This was a significant code, and most segments referred to various instances along the whole timeline of the project. Thus, it could not be nested within either 'LEW', or within 'Life before eviction', 'Life during eviction', or 'Life after eviction'. After closer scrutiny, the best parent for this code was decided as 'SUBJECT FORMATION', as all the coded segments talked about some kind of subjectification during such interactions, whether in paternalistic or violent terms.
PLANNING PROCESS>final decision	42	Moved to new parent	Regime of Truth> final decision	The coded segments talked more about the finality/rigidity of the decision that had already been made, i.e. LEW will be constructed and how this decision was irrevocable. Hence, this subcode was conceptually more relevant under 'Regime of Truth' rather than under the broader 'PLANNING PROCESS' parent, and was moved there.

Table 5.1 (continued)

Code and nesting location	Coded Segments	Action taken	New nesting location	Explanation
PLANNING PROCESS> learning from international precedents/best practices	2	Deleted		Initially, this was moved under 'Regime of Truth'. However, there were only 2 coded segments for this code, which were not directly relevant to the broader themes, and had already been coded for more specific themes. Hence, this subcode was deleted.
PLANNING PROCESS> planning process, shortcomings of>illegal processes> informality	17	Moved to new parent	PLANNING PROCESS> concepts> informality	Informality is conceptually an independent urban process in the Global South, more than an offshoot of formal planning. It is not relational or dependent upon the 'formal' state-led planning processes, let alone being a shortcoming of it; hence, this code was moved away from the nesting location of formal planning to a new parent.
PLANNING PROCESS> planning process, shortcomings of> injustice	5	Deleted		All segments from one affectee only; had already been coded for more specific themes such as 'initial conditions in LB' or 'compensation not received'.
PLANNING PROCESS> planning process, shortcomings of> accountability	2	Deleted		Segments already coded under more specific themes, such as 'deception'.
PLANNING PROCESS> planning process, shortcomings of> land use conversions	3	Deleted		All 3 coded segments were by same affectee, describing how plots were being used for non-designated functions in LB, such as residential plots for schools. Tangential theme only, hence deleted.

Table 5.1 (continued)

Code and nesting location	Coded Segments	Action taken	New nesting location	Explanation
PLANNING PROCESS> role of institutions> supervision	7	Merged with parent		No additional subcodes for 'role of institutions'; more importantly, most segments coded in 'role of institutions> supervision' already coded for parent; hence, merged.
PLANNING PROCESS> public good	29	Moved to new parent	Regime of Truth> public good	Contained suitable mix of segments from all groups. Most segments about public good conceptions and interpretations; hence, moved
PLANNING PROCESS> planning process, shortcomings of> illegal plotting	5	Moved to new parent	Life after eviction> resettlement sites> current living conditions> mafia> illegal plotting	Since all segments talked about post-resettlement conditions at LB, this code was nested under this particular parent.
PLANNING PROCESS> planning process, shortcomings of>file doubling	8	Moved to new parent	Life after eviction> resettlement sites> current living conditions> mafia> file doubling	All segments were particular to the duplication of compensation plot files of the LB, and not generally about planning processes. Hence, moved.
PLANNING PROCESS> planning process, shortcomings of>bribe	14	Moved to new parent, renamed	SUBJECT FORMATION> compliance> bribery	Bribery seen to be a specific technique of ensuring compliance of subjects, either through coercion, or more lucrative forms of persuasion. Hence, moved there.
SUBJECT FORMATION> subject attributes, other defining> working class	4	Merged	SUBJECT FORMATION> subject attributes, other defining> poor people	Coded segments thematically very similar to those under 'poor people'; both codes almost synonymous in their application. Additionally, 3 out of the 4 segments coded for 'working class' had already been coded for 'poor people'. Hence, merged.

Table 5.1 (continued)

Code and nesting location	Coded Segments	Action taken	New nesting location	Explanation
SUBJECT FORMATION> subjects, differentiation between> communities> Pathan	2	Deleted		Segments indicated a differentiation between the affected communities, but did not add much of value, thematically. Hence, marked for deletion, similar to the previous 'communities' codes of 'Hazarewal', 'Sindhi', and 'Punjabi'.
SUBJECT FORMATION> subjects, differentiation between> communities> Bengali	6	Deleted		Segments indicated a differentiation between the affected communities, but did not add much of value, thematically. Hence, marked for deletion, similar to the previous 'communities' codes of 'Hazarewal', 'Sindhi', and 'Punjabi'.
SUBJECT FORMATION> subject attributes, other defining> improving lives> cleaning	6	Moved to new parent	Regime of Truth> cleaning	On analysing the coded segments, it was realized that this code described a prescriptive action rather than a subjective evaluation; hence, it depicted a strategy of producing a Regime of Truth, rather than a strategy of subject formation; hence, moved there.
SUBJECT FORMATION> subject attributes, other defining> improving lives	25	Moved to new parent	Regime of Truth> improving lives	On analysing the coded segments, it was realized that this code described a normative and prescriptive approach rather than a subjective comparison of living conditions only; hence, it depicted a strategy of producing a Regime of Truth, rather than a strategy of subject formation; hence, moved there.

5.3.5 Tool 5: Creative Coding: ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’

At this point, codes were coming together coherently in terms of thematic alignment. It was time to go for a final round of CC, to consolidate the codes, eliminate tangential codes, de-prioritize inconsistently coded segments, and essentially restructure the coding frame into a final form that could then be tied back effectively to the theoretical framework. This occurred in parallel with refining the code list, as some codes nested within ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ were also re-nested, deleted, or taken outside of this parent to a new parent, such as to ‘Regime of Truth’. These re-iterations were based on reading and re-reading the coded segments, then reading segments with thematically similar codes. Corresponding memos were also created when merging, deleting or nesting codes under new parents. Figure 5.25 shows the un-nested codes and subcodes under the parent code ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ before the final round of CC. Figure 5.26 shows the same codes after they were arranged and re-nested in the final round of CC for ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’.

5.3.6 Summary of Data Analysis Phase II

Figure 5.27 displays the before (left) and after (right) view of the code system after using these tools to refine the parent codes and subcodes across the coding frame. As immediately visible, the number of codes applied to segments had been slightly reduced from 7262 to 7134. Changes had also been made in the hierarchy and overall arrangement of codes. At this point, the coding frame was locked. There were to be no more changes to the subcodes, parent codes, or coding hierarchies. The prominent parent codes were identified as the key themes coming out of Data Analysis Phase II: **‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ was conceptualized as the first theme, aligning with the first inquiry, the Regime of Truth; and ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ was the second prominent theme, aligning with the second inquiry, subject formation.** Next, Data Analysis Phase III aimed to generate final results using the familiar tools of analysis.

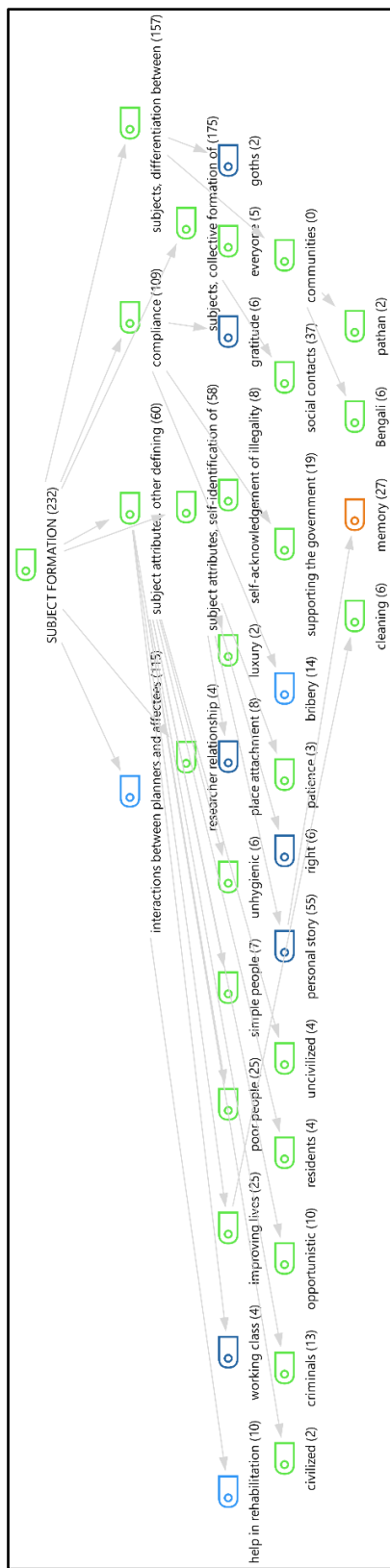


Figure 5.25. Free codes and subcodes before the final round of CC process for 'SUBJECT FORMATION'.

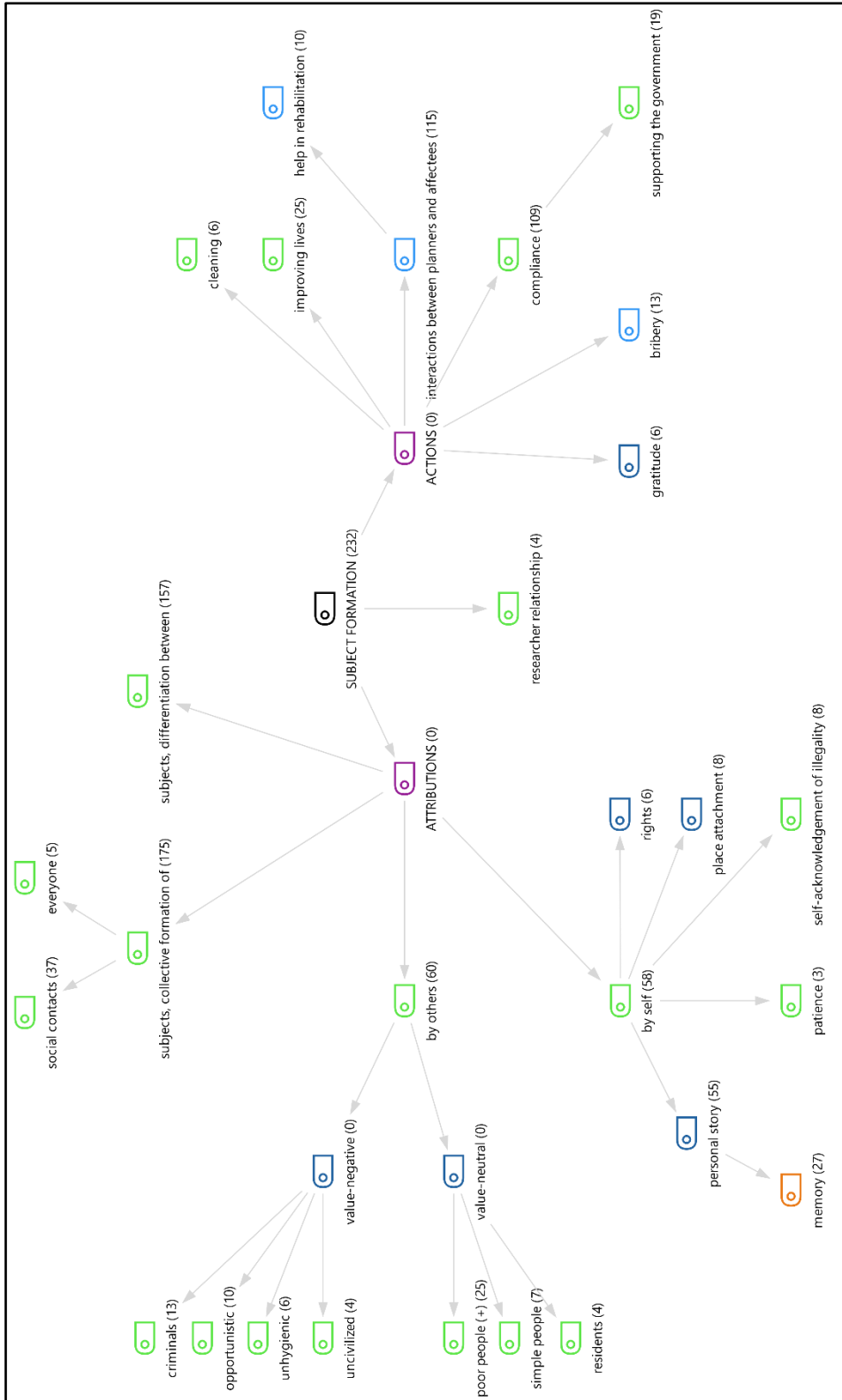


Figure 5.26. Nesting of codes after the final round of CC process for 'SUBJECT FORMATION'.

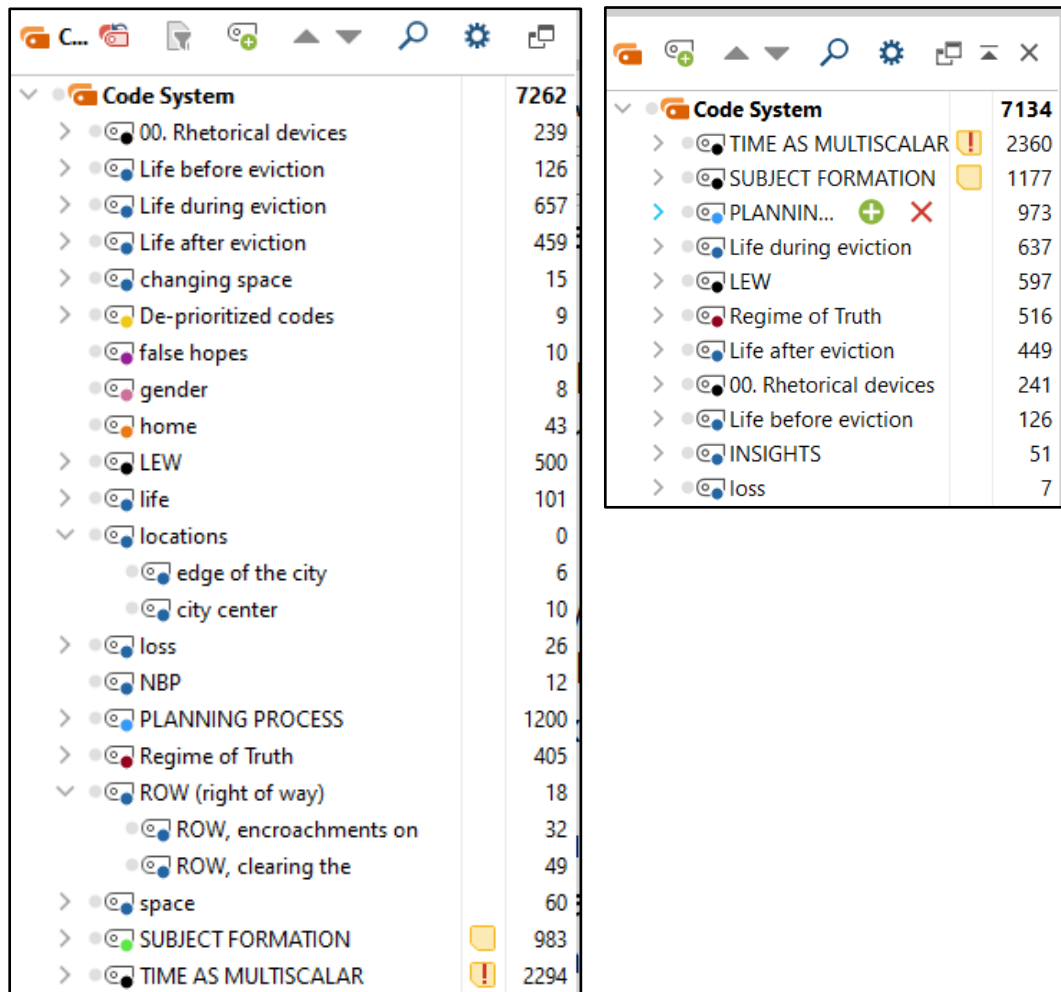


Figure 5.27. Before (left) and after (right) view of the coding frame during Data Analysis Phase II.

5.4 Data Analysis Phase III: Generating Descriptive Results

This section provides an overview of the third phase of data analysis, which aimed to generate the results, i.e. the most prominent themes. Phase I and II of the Data Analysis process had helped refine the coding frame to a level of consistency and

coherence. The next objective was to identify the prevalence of patterns and themes in the data. This was done by identifying three key patterns in the data: frequencies of codes, intersections of codes, and convergences/divergences of codes across actors and actor groups. Before starting Data Analysis Phase III, the coding frame had been locked to its final hierarchy, and no more changes to the subcodes, parent codes, or code relationships were to be made. This ensured that the results generated in Data Analysis Phase III reflected the consolidated coding frame, and could be used for the final analytical discussion. This descriptive results section contains the patterns that become visible when the existing coded segments were arranged and organized in different ways, cross-tabulated, made to interact, and their content (the coded segments) was gauged for thematic convergence or divergence. This phase consists of the following processes as shown in Table 5.2 and Figure 5.28:

Table 5.2. Overview of Data Analysis Phase III

Pattern	MAXQDA Tool	Objective	Output
Patterns A. Frequencies of codes	Tool 1: Overview of Codes	Which parent codes occur most frequently?	Numbers
	Tool 2: Code Frequencies	Which disaggregated codes occur most frequently?	Numbers
Pattern B. Intersections of codes	Tool 3: Code Relations Browser	Which disaggregated codes intersect most frequently?	Table of most intersecting codes
	Tool 4: Code Map		Graphic of most intersecting codes
Pattern C. Convergences/ divergences across groups	Tool 5: Code Coverage	How similar/ different are the individual actor's coded transcripts amongst one another?	Comparative table and graph

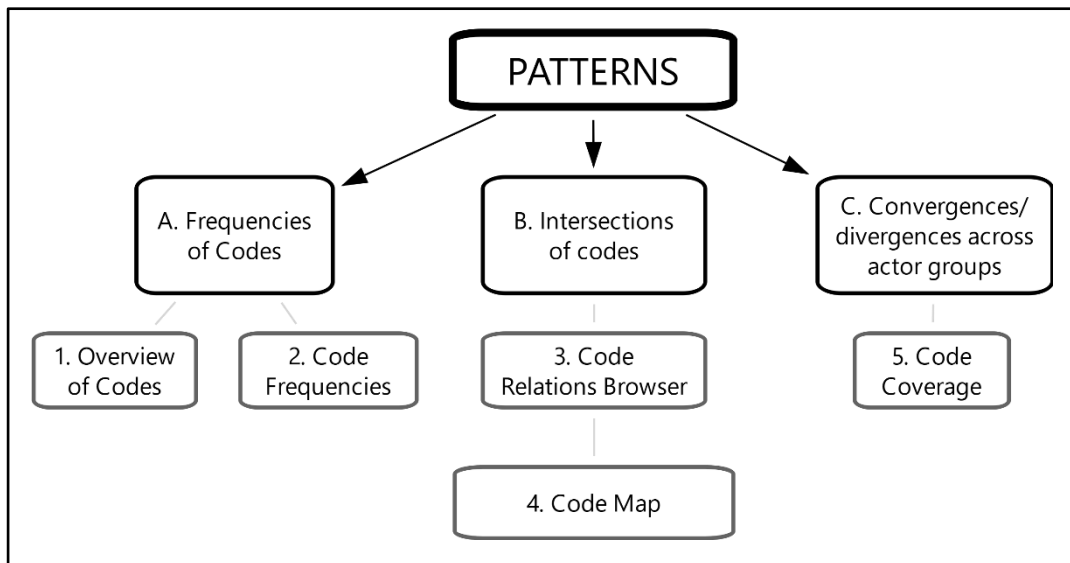


Figure 5.28. Data Analysis Phase III workflow.

5.4.1 Pattern A. Frequencies of Codes

5.4.1.1 Tool 1: Overview of Codes

The objective of this step was to view a total of the frequencies and percentages of the parent codes most used once the coding frame had been finalised. This helped to reinforce the primary themes drawn for analysis. Table 5.3 shows the overview of most used parent codes. Figure 5.29 shows the same data in a graphical form.

As immediately evident, ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ was the most common aggregated code in usage, with a total of 2360 coded segments across all its subcodes, or a 33% coverage of the coded segments across all documents. **This formed the first theme of the study.** This indicated that thematically, the parent and its subcodes had very high relevance to the research topic – almost one third of all data that had been coded, has been assigned this code or one its subcodes. The second most common parent code was ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’, which constitute 1177 coded segments, or 16.5% of the entire coded data. **This formed the second theme.**

However, even though ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ was a deductive code, derived from the theoretical framework before approaching the data through the open coding process, its coded segments are only about half of all the segments coded with ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’, which suggested the overwhelming significance of the latter code. The third most used code was ‘PLANNING PROCESS’, which came in quite close to ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ in its usage, with 973 coded segments representing 13.6% of the coded data. Interestingly, segments under ‘Regime of Truth’, the second deductive code along with ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’, constituted only 7.2% of the coded data, or 516 coded segments – less than a quarter of the primary code ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’. This data suggests that the inductive coding process has brought in much more depth and nuance to the codes that were generated, rather than depending primarily on the deductive codes of ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ and ‘Regime of Truth’ for the coding process.

Table 5.3. Overview of most used parent codes.

Parent Code	Frequency	Percentage
TIME AS MULTISCALAR	2360	33,08
SUBJECT FORMATION	1177	16,50
PLANNING PROCESS	973	13,64
Life during eviction	637	8,93
LEW	597	8,37
Regime of Truth	516	7,23
Life after eviction	449	6,29
00. Rhetorical devices	241	3,38
Life before eviction	126	1,77
INSIGHTS	51	0,71
loss	7	0,10
TOTAL	7134	-

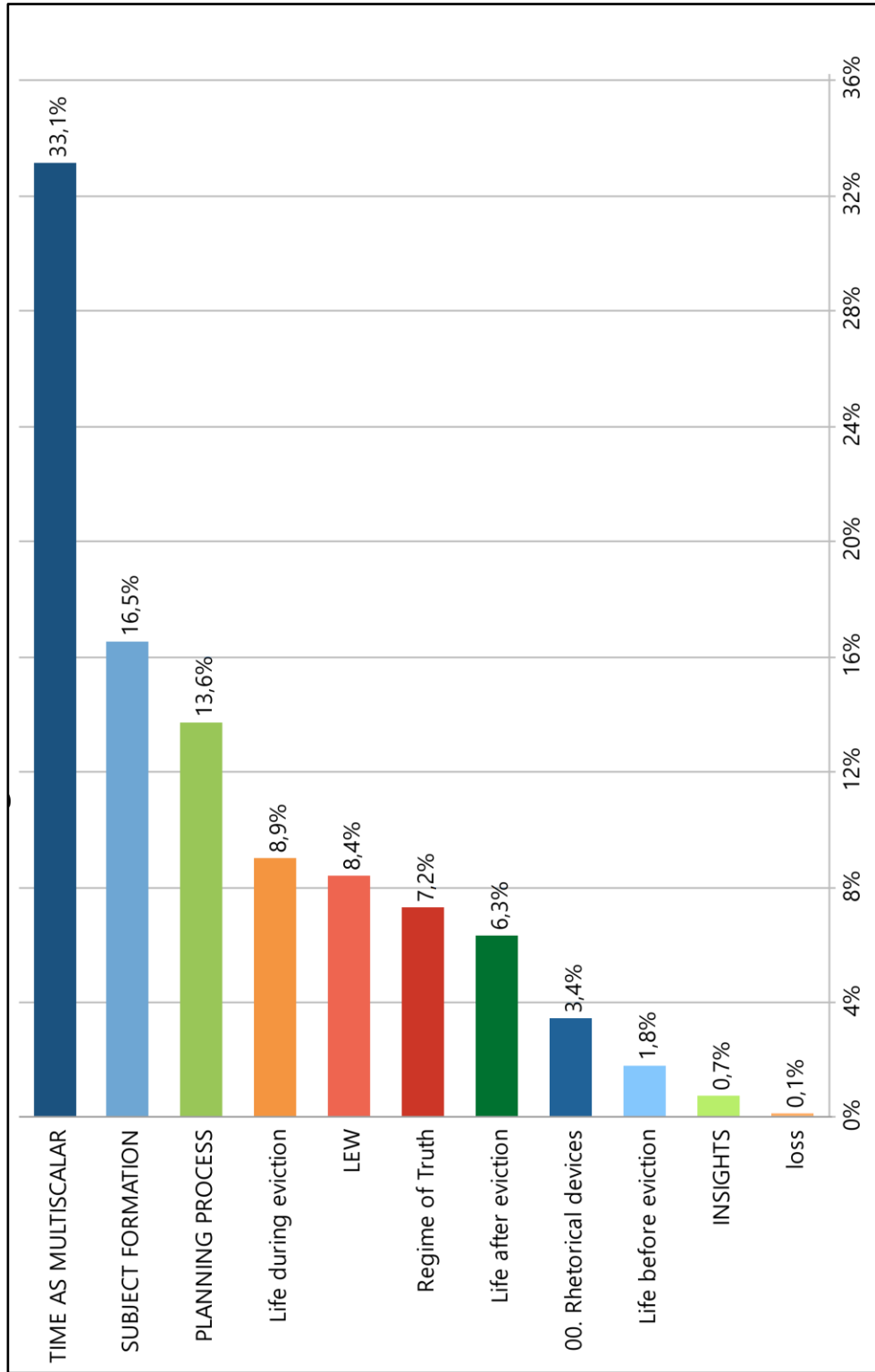


Figure 5.29. Overview of most used parent codes in graphical form, showing percentage coverage of coded segments.

5.4.1.2 Tool 2: Code Frequencies

This tool was used to determine the most frequently used individual codes, disaggregated across parent codes and subcodes. Table 5.4 shows the results of this step for the top 20 most used codes. Figure 5.30 shows the same data in a graphical form.

Table 5.4. Overview of most used disaggregated codes.

Disaggregated code	f	%
TIME AS MULTISCALAR\TEMPORAL SUBJECTS	336	10,99
TIME AS MULTISCALAR	261	8,54
TIME AS MULTISCALAR\TEMPORAL PROCESSES	245	8,01
SUBJECT FORMATION	232	7,59
00. Rhetorical devices\cool quotes	227	7,43
SUBJECT FORMATION\ATTRIBUTIONS\subjects, collective formation of	175	5,72
TIME AS MULTISCALAR\TEMPORAL SUBJECTS\time as everyday practice\temporal ambiguity	164	5,36
SUBJECT FORMATION\ATTRIBUTIONS\subjects, differentiation between	157	5,14
PLANNING PROCESS	153	5,00
Regime of Truth	141	4,61
TIME AS MULTISCALAR\TEMPORAL PROCESSES\ sequence of events	128	4,19
SUBJECT FORMATION\ACTIONS\interactions between planners and affectees	115	3,76
SUBJECT FORMATION\ACTIONS\compliance	109	3,57
Life during eviction\resistance	100	3,27
Life during eviction\eviction/demolition process	95	3,11
Regime of Truth\perceived truth	95	3,11
TIME AS MULTISCALAR\TEMPORAL SUBJECTS\time as everyday practice	91	2,98
PLANNING PROCESS\ACTORS\role of institutions	89	2,91
PLANNING PROCESS\ACTORS\state actors\ planner\ personal role	73	2,39
PLANNING PROCESS\planning process, shortcomings of	71	2,32
TOTAL	3057	-

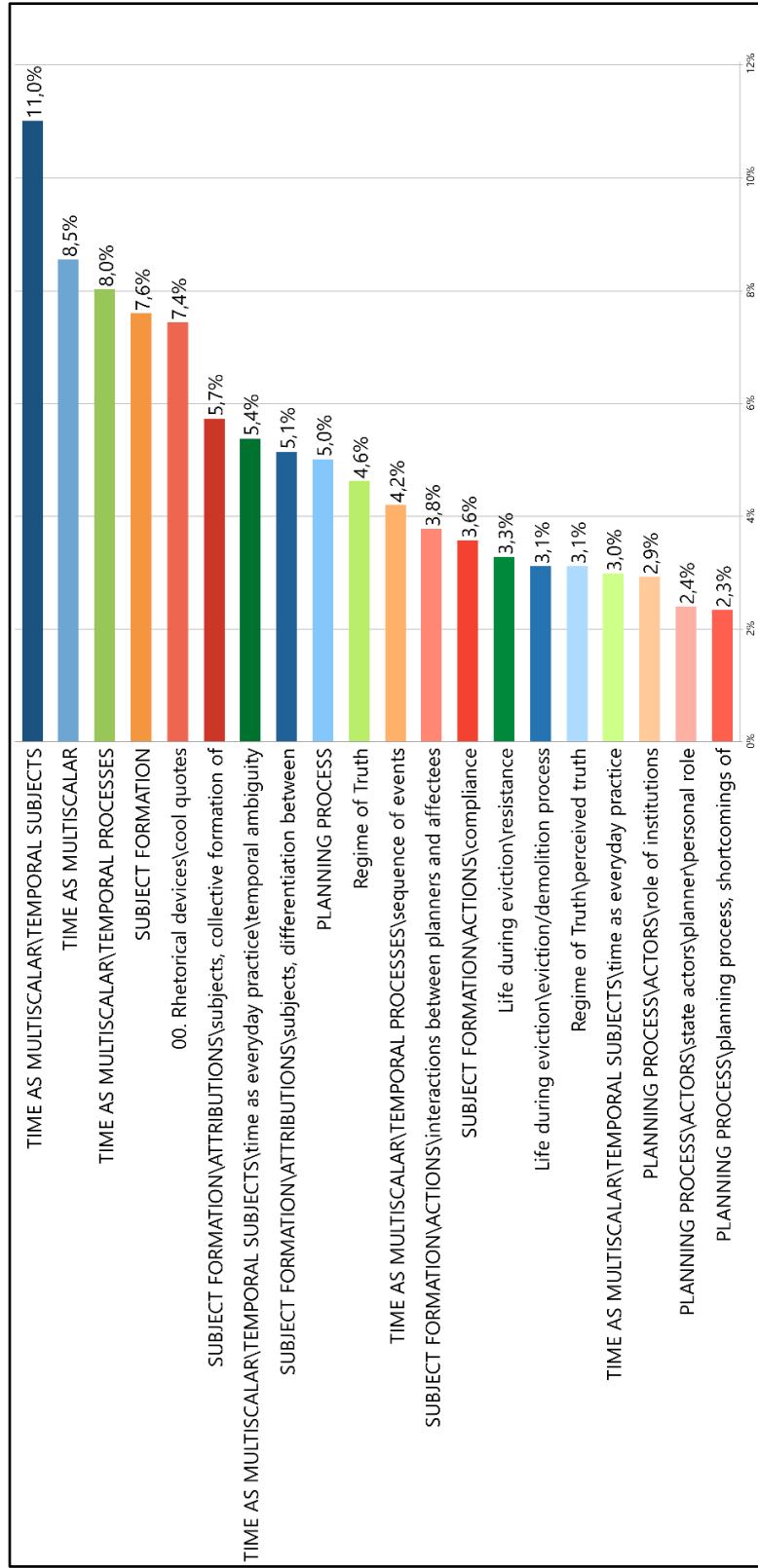


Figure 5.30. Overview of most used disaggregated codes in graphical form, showing percentage coverage of coded segments

In terms of disaggregated individual codes, the most applied code was ‘TEMPORAL SUBJECTS’, with 336 distinct segments coded under it. ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ was the second most used code, with 261 distinct segments. The third most used code was ‘TEMPORAL PROCESSES’, with 245 distinct segments. The disaggregated code ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ had 232 segments coded, at the fourth. The code ‘cool quotes’ was not a thematic code, but was used as a label only to highlight parts of the transcript that would make for interesting linguistic insights that could be inserted as metaphorical references throughout the text. The segments coded under this code were inserted at various places throughout the thesis. Following this, the major codes were ‘subjects, collective formation of’ (175 segments), ‘temporal ambiguity’ (164 segments), ‘subjects, differentiation between’ (157 segments), ‘PLANNING PROCESS’ (153 segments), ‘Regime of Truth’ (141 segments), ‘sequence of events’ (128 segments), ‘interactions between planners and affectees’ (115 segments), ‘compliance’ (109 segments), ‘resistance’ (100 segments), ‘eviction/demolition process’ and ‘perceived truth’ (95 segments each), ‘time as everyday practice’ (91 segments), ‘role of institutions’ (89 segments), ‘personal role’ (73 segments), and ‘planning process, shortcomings of’ (71 segments). The recurrence of these codes throughout the data helped to build a clearer understanding of the themes emerging from it.

5.4.1.3 Results of Pattern A: Frequencies of Codes

‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’, ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ and ‘PLANNING PROCESS’ were the three most prominent parent codes. This indicates that the overall themes of the research were aligned with the objectives and RQs, which revolved around investigating the process of subject formation in a particular planning process, the LEW story. The emergence of ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ as the most prominent aggregated theme was clearly a result of the inductive coding process. This theme had not been foreseen at the start of the research. It could be conceptualized as a theme that emerged only when the data was consistently coded

and reflexively analysed, eventually becoming the most prominent theme coming out of this study. ‘Regime of Truth’ did appear to be a recurring theme, as expected at the onset of the research when it was decided as a deductive code, although it appeared to be not as significant in the discourses as originally envisioned at the onset of this research. Thematically, it was seen to align with the dominant overarching theme of ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ – that time as was conceptualized as being multiscalar was the truth coming out of this research. On the other hand, participants engaged intensely with the deductive code of ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’, as the IQs were targeted specifically at subject roles and positions, as well as at examining interactions and relationships between the various actors.

The data of disaggregated codes from Tool 2 suggests that the most pertinent themes talked about by the participants throughout the LEW story revolved around the notion of **time in the urban realm**. This included the multiple ways in which time was used, recorded, interpreted, referred to, and kept track of, through the narrations, recollections, and references that participants across all three groups employed. Participants mentioned time in terms of its relationship to the process of subject formation, as well as to other temporal processes, such as the construction of the LEW project, the process of waiting on part of both the planners and the affectees, the everyday practices of repetition and reiteration of daily routines during the 20 years of this project, and the long-lasting impacts of such practices. At this point it could tentatively be established that **the ROT springing from the data was centred on the notion of urban time**. The CDA of the data helped *reveal* the ROT from within the data rather than imposing certain ‘requirements’ that would be met when segments would be coded with ‘Regime of Truth’. That time was being talked about in a significant way across all participants was the indication that it formed a substantial part of the ROT for the LEW story.

5.4.2 Pattern B: Intersections of Codes

5.4.2.1 Tool 3: Code Relations Browser

The objective of this step was to view how, across all transcripts, various codes intersected or overlapped most commonly, and which codes did not intersect at all, or were only tangential. The intersections of codes would indicate which themes co-occurred frequently, and which never co-occurred at all. Figure 5.31 demonstrates a partial, zoomed-out view of the intersections of each code with every other code. Figure 5.32 displays a closer look at this data, where the total number of intersections between individual codes can be read. Figure 5.35 gives a more in-depth look at the same data at a higher resolution.

Not all the segments with intersecting codes were extracted. Only those with the highest count of intersections (for example the code ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’, having 196 intersections with the code ‘TEMPORAL SUBJECTS’), or those that were thematically consistent (for example the code ‘TEMPORAL PROCESSES’, being consistent with the code ‘future, hopes for the’) were extracted from the body of total coded segments. This helped feed into the further analytical development of themes.

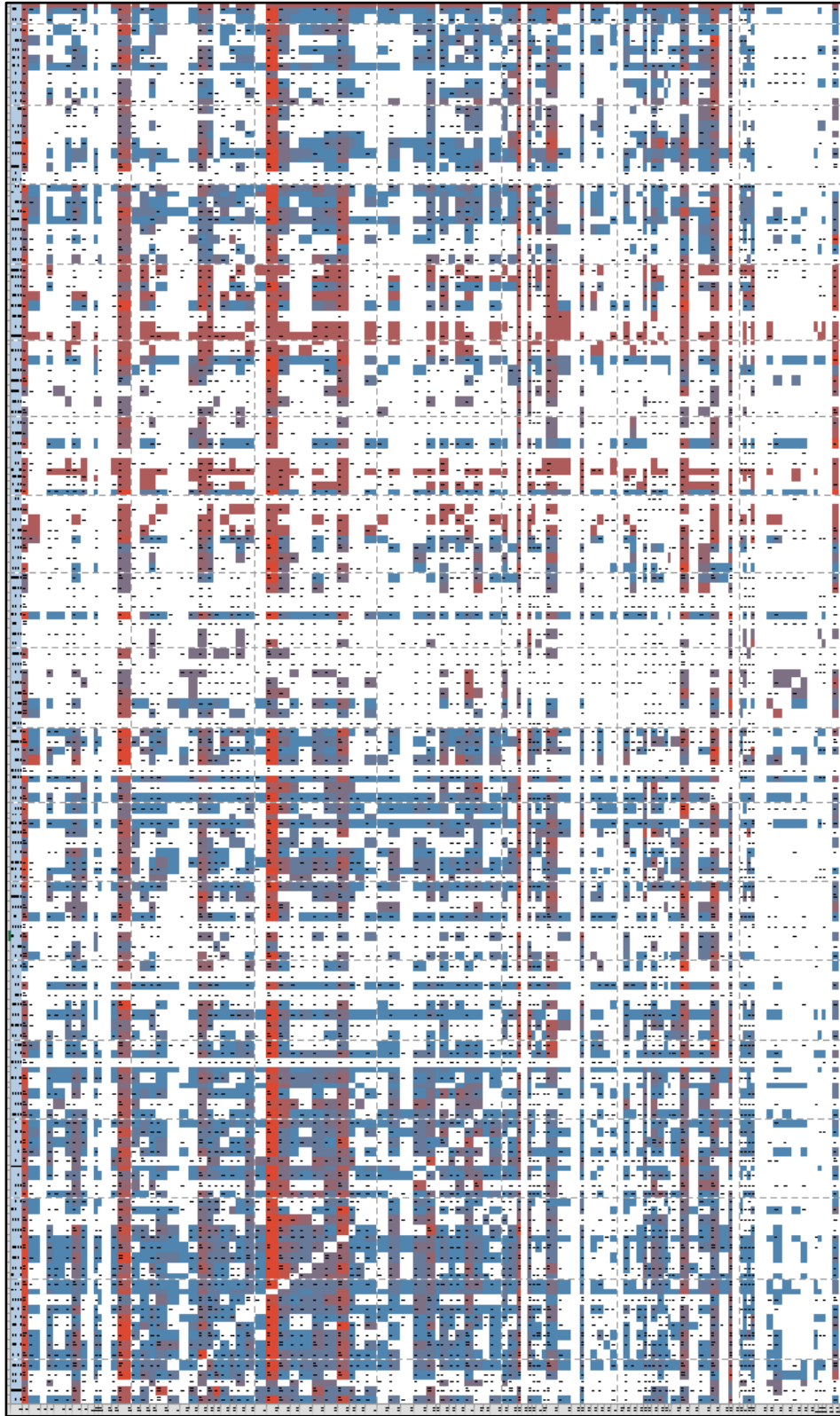


Figure 5.33. A zoomed-out view of the full intersections sheet, which helped to quickly identify the redder color-coded intersections as being the most prominent.

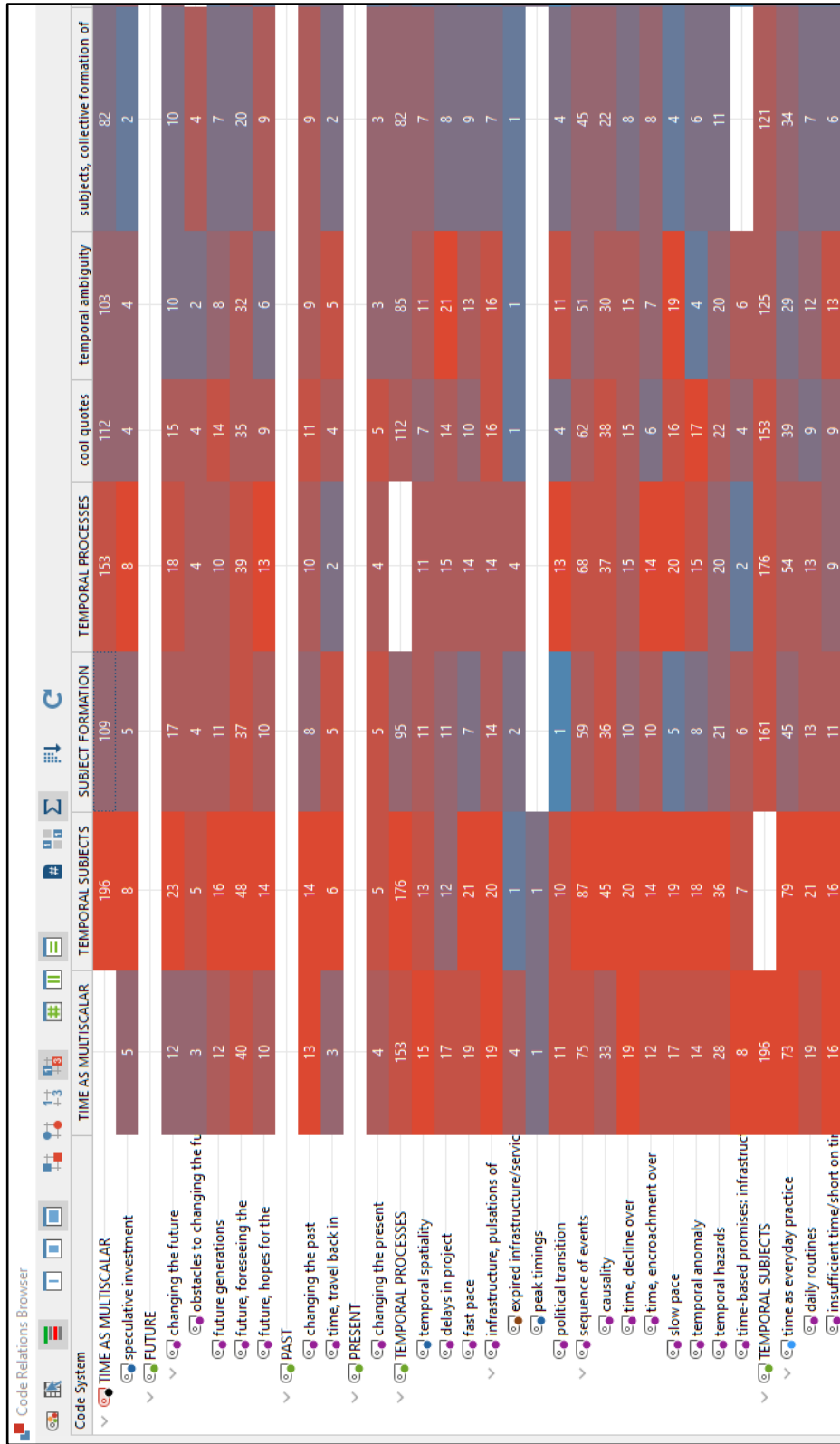


Figure 5.34. The most common intersections of codes shown as a partial snapshot, as a zoomed-in version of Figure 5.33, with darker shades of red indicating higher number of intersections, and blue/grey shades indicating lower number of intersection.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Code System		TIME AS MULTISCALAR	TEMPORAL SUBJECTS	SUBJECT FORMATION	TEMPORAL PROCESSES	cool quotes	temporal ambiguity	subjects, collective formation of	subjects, differentiation on between	Regime of Truth	time loss or wastage	time as everyday practice	comparison of living conditions	long-term experience
1		0	196	109	153	112	103	82	66	65	45	73	25	32
2		5	8	5	8	4	4	2	5	2	1	0	1	1
3		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4		12	23	17	18	15	10	10	12	5	4	4	1	5
5		3	5	4	4	4	2	4	0	2	3	1	1	1
6		12	16	11	10	14	8	7	4	4	6	1	6	3
7		40	48	37	39	35	32	20	25	18	13	14	9	18
8		10	14	10	13	9	6	9	4	4	1	4	3	3
9		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10		13	14	8	10	11	9	9	5	4	3	1	4	1

Figure 5.35. A detailed view of the intersecting codes: 'TIME AS MULTISCALAR' intersects with 'TEMPORAL SUBJECTS' on 196 segments.

5.4.2.2 Tool 4: Code Maps

After the intersection of codes across actors had been identified through Tool 3, a visual code map (Figure 5.36) was generated for the intersecting codes through an iterative process to organize these intersecting relationships into a readable conceptual diagram. The following parameters were used: codes which had no intersections were ignored; code size and font size reflected code frequencies; and colours were assigned according to the original coding frame. The density of the Code Map (how many links to display for a balance between easy readability and maximum representation) was decided iteratively, by generating multiple rounds of the Code Map. For example, setting a minimum of 10 intersections between codes to be shown as a link produced a very dense and quite unreadable map; 30 minimum intersections produced a good representation, but 70 minimum intersections produced the clearest map without losing too much nuance. Figure 5.36 shows the multiple iterations of the code map with a minimum of 10 (top left), 30 (top right), 70 (bottom left) and 99 (bottom right) intersections.

5.4.2.3 Results of Pattern B: Intersections of Codes

The Code Map with 70 minimum intersections was decided as the most balanced between readability and representation, and was refined into a final thematic diagram, as shown in Figure 5.37. There were strong conceptual links between the intersecting codes. Segments coded under ‘TEMPORAL SUBJECTS’ had also been coded under ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’, indicating a strong link. The same could be said of ‘temporal ambiguity’, which co-occurred with ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’, ‘TEMPORAL SUBJECTS’, and ‘TEMPORAL PROCESSES’.

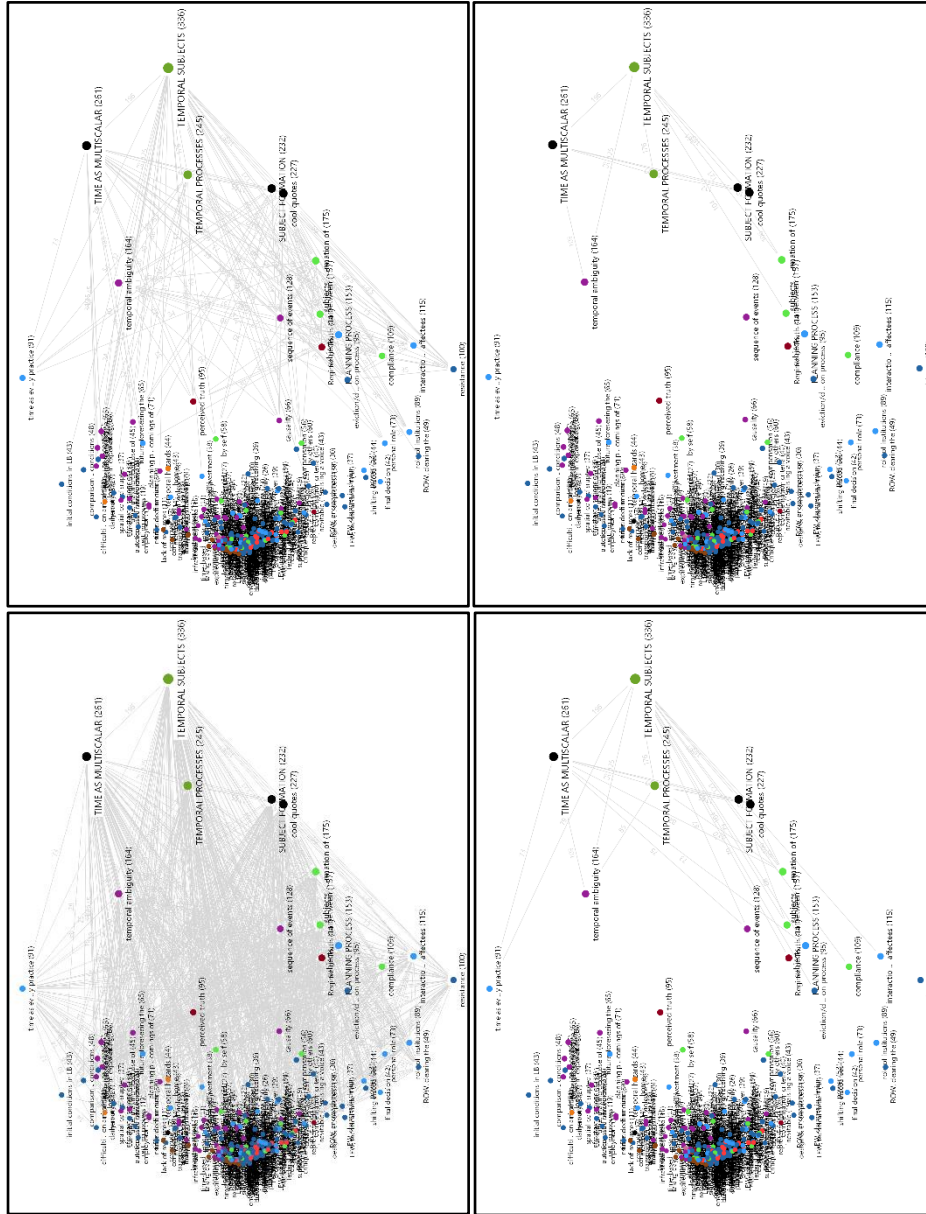


Figure 5.36. The various iterations of the Code Map with a minimum of 10 (top left), 30 (top right), 70 (bottom left) and 99 (bottom right) intersections amongst codes to be shown as grey lines linking the codes. As visible, codes to the extreme left of each map are the least connected to other codes.

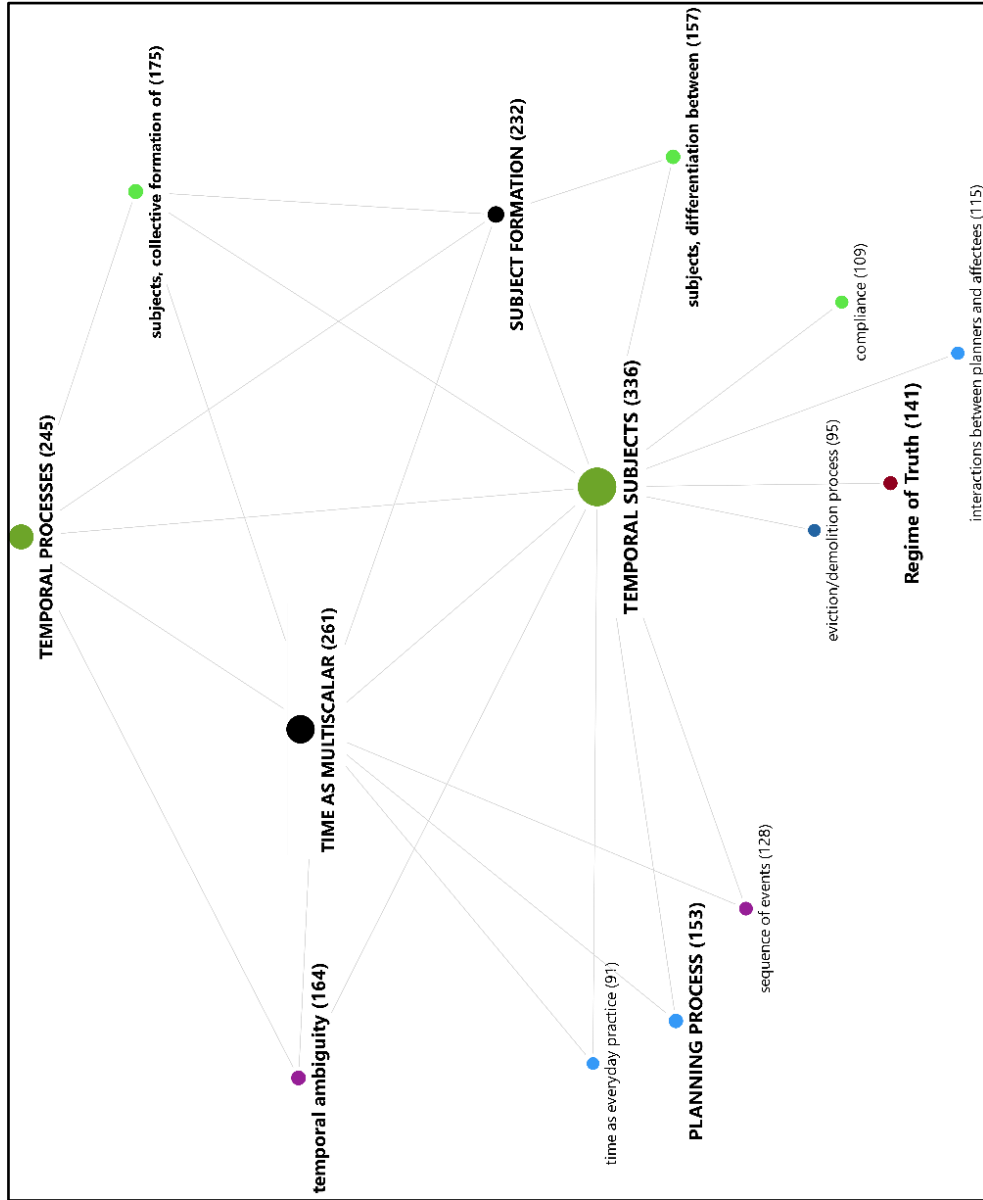


Figure 5.37. The most intersecting codes, visualized as a thematic diagram.

5.4.3 Pattern C: Convergences/ divergences across actors and groups

5.4.3.1 Tool 5: Similarity Analysis

To get an accurate idea of similarity and difference across actor groups in terms of coded content, a Similarity Analysis was carried out. Figure 5.38 presents a snapshot of this step, which demonstrates the thematic convergences and divergences across the Actor Groups, by displaying the percentage of coded content across each Group. Figure 5.39 presents this comparative numerical information in a visual bar chart. This step was used to gauge which group places emphasis on what kinds of themes as they address the interview questions. As visible, thematically, there was a high convergence in the use of particular codes across the discourses of the Civil Society and the Planners – codes such as ‘PLANNING PROCESS’ and ‘Regime of Truth’ were talked about much more by them than the Affectees. Similarly, both Civil Society and Planners also talked about various technical stages of the LEW, as opposed to the Affectees. They did not emphasize the various aspects of ‘Life after eviction’ as much as the Affectees did, which is expected, given the Affectees’ longstanding personal experiences during the long resettlement period. The Affectees talked much more about the main theme ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ than the other two Groups. Their mentions of the theme of ‘SUBJECT FORMATION’ was also slightly more emphasized than the other two groups. The Affectees also did not talk much about various aspects of the ‘PLANNING PROCESS’. Interestingly, there is a slight convergence in the Affectees’ and Planners’ discourses in the limited mention of ‘Life before eviction’; but the Civil Society mentions this almost twice as much. This points to the latter’s intense engagement during the earlier years of the project, which fizzled out over the years as the post-demolition resettlement issues progressed. However, ‘Life during eviction’ is where strong convergences are found in the Civil Society’s and Affectees’ discourses: this is the period of close collaboration, solidarity, and a consolidated front against the actions of the Planners.

	Civil Society	Affectedes	Planners	Total
> ☐ TIME AS MULTISCALAR	29,6%	37,4%	28,2%	33,1%
> ☐ SUBJECT FORMATION	14,2%	18,5%	14,6%	16,5%
> ☐ PLANNING PROCESS	18,2%	8,0%	19,9%	13,6%
> ☐ Regime of Truth	8,5%	5,8%	8,7%	7,2%
> ☐ Life before eviction	3,2%	1,5%	1,3%	1,8%
> ☐ Life during eviction	10,1%	9,9%	6,8%	8,9%
> ☐ Life after eviction	2,4%	10,6%	1,8%	6,3%
> ☐ LEW	11,2%	3,4%	14,4%	8,4%
> ☐ INSIGHTS	0,5%	1,1%	0,3%	0,7%
> ☐ 00. Rhetorical devices	2,1%	3,5%	3,8%	3,4%
Σ SUM	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
# N = Documents/Speaker	3 (18,8%)	7 (43,8%)	6 (37,5%)	16 (100,0%)

Figure 5.38. The variations in code usage across Actor Groups.

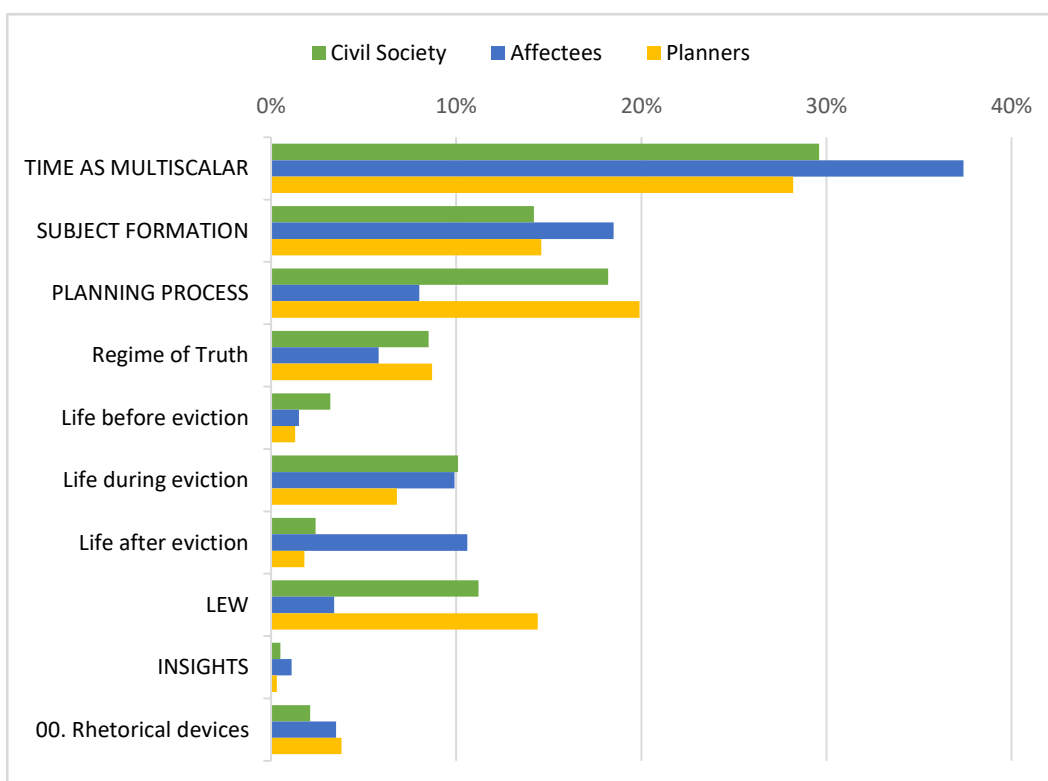


Figure 5.39. Actor Groups' proportionate usage for each code. Civil Society (green), Affectedes (blue), Planners (yellow).

5.4.3.2 Results of Pattern C: Convergences/ divergences across actors

Figure 5.40 shows how the actors engaged with particular themes individually. Each row gives the percentage of spread for each code across all 16 transcripts, adding up to 100% total usage. For example, across all coded segments for the code ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’, 4% of these are found in C1’s transcript, 0% in C2’s, 7% in C3’s and so on. The most mentions of ‘TIME AS MULTISCALAR’ occur in A6: 17% of the total segments under this code are located within this transcript, indicating a strong recurrence of temporal themes in his discourse. Similarly, ‘TEMPORAL PROCESSES’ appear to be evenly distributed across all actors, with only C2 having no segments coded under this. On the contrary, ‘PLANNING PROCESS’ has relatively fewer mentions across affectee transcripts, except A6, and a substantially higher usage across planners and civil society members. The codes ‘role of institutions’ and ‘personal role’, both pertaining to formal planning processes, occur exclusively in transcripts of planners, with very few mentions in civil society transcripts, and none in affectees’ transcripts. Similarly, the codes ‘resistance’ and ‘eviction/demolition process’ have much higher recurrence in the affectees’ transcripts than in the planners discourse.

Code System	C1YB	C2ES	C3BN	A1JM	A4MY	A5SZ	A6IH	A7NS	A8GF	A9SU	P1MK	P2WJ	P3BZ	P4RR	P5TA	P6TS	TOTAL
TIME AS MULTISCALAR	4%	0%	7%	11%	2%	8%	17%	4%	6%	4%	2%	5%	7%	6%	7%	9%	100% (244,472)
TEMPORAL PROCESSES	3%	0%	11%	12%	2%	4%	8%	5%	8%	4%	2%	13%	7%	5%	7%	9%	100% (230,671)
sequence of events	5%		13%	16%		5%	12%	2%	6%	3%	2%	6%	10%	2%	6%	11%	100% (142,440)
TEMPORAL SUBJECTS	3%	0%	12%	16%	1%	4%	11%	6%	9%	5%	2%	9%	6%	6%	4%	6%	100% (326,483)
time as everyday practice	2%	1%	9%	12%	4%	10%	24%	9%	7%		1%	7%	8%	0%	3%	1%	100% (91,320)
temporal ambiguity	4%	1%	10%	7%	2%	5%	14%	4%	14%	6%	1%	5%	7%	3%	7%	11%	100% (160,507)
SUBJECT FORMATION	3%	1%	10%	17%	4%	6%	10%	5%	7%	9%	2%	8%	5%	5%	4%	5%	100% (222,566)
compliance	5%	1%	10%	15%		3%	13%	5%	11%	4%	2%	9%	13%	4%	2%	4%	100% (121,538)
interactions between planners and affectees	6%	0%	9%	29%	1%	3%	8%	6%	7%	2%	1%	11%	8%	6%	2%	1%	100% (128,718)
subjects, collective formation of	3%	1%	11%	22%	2%	2%	9%	4%	6%	7%	3%	13%	5%	4%	4%	5%	100% (177,733)
subjects, differentiation between	4%	0%	10%	20%	3%	3%	12%	3%	9%	5%	1%	10%	8%	4%	4%	3%	100% (163,896)
PLANNING PROCESS	7%	0%	7%	8%	4%	5%	14%	1%	2%	4%	3%	2%	10%	10%	11%	13%	100% (136,416)
role of institutions	3%	1%	2%								7%	19%	20%	9%	17%	22%	100% (86,177)
personal role	4%	0%	3%								7%	12%	12%	16%	17%	28%	100% (70,163)
planning process, shortcomings of	16%	2%	8%	6%	5%	9%	21%	5%	5%	4%	1%	10%		6%		1%	100% (54,483)
Regime of Truth	3%	1%	11%	18%	3%	7%	10%		1%		8%	8%	8%	2%	10%	11%	100% (122,791)
perceived truth	7%	0%	4%	13%	3%	6%	20%	2%	12%	4%		7%	10%	4%	3%	3%	100% (83,685)
resistance	6%	0%	18%	37%		3%	4%	3%		4%	2%	3%	8%	2%	3%	7%	100% (112,743)
eviction/demolition process	5%		13%	27%	5%	2%	13%	2%	8%	6%	2%	5%	3%	6%		1%	100% (93,964)

Figure 5.40. An overview of the usage of each code across all transcripts; overlaps are not counted, hence each row adds up to 100% for individual codes.

However, it is worth mentioning here that the transcripts were of differing lengths, and the coded paragraphs and segments themselves varied in the amount of content. As a result, Figure 5.38, Figure 5.39, and Figure 5.40 present data as indicative only. The data should not be taken as an absolute numerical comparison. Rather, it is presented only to give an idea of the overall spread and distribution of themes compared across the transcripts.

5.4.4 Summary of Data Analysis Phase III

Data Analysis Phase III consisted of identifying three key patterns in the data: the frequency of usage of individual codes, which pertained to how actors talked about singular themes; the intersections between codes, which portrayed how advanced themes were emerging, such as the intersection of temporal processes and temporal subjects; and converging and diverging themes across actors and actor groups. The outcomes of Data Analysis Phase III are presented as the Results Chapter.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

This research aimed to investigate how discourses of the LEW produced the urban ROT and urban subjects, and compared the convergences and divergences in the discourses of the actors who were engaged in this discursive production. This chapter will present a description of the most prominent themes emerging from the data analysis in terms of these aims, as an answer to the 3 main Research Questions.

6.2 RQ1: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban regime of truth?

The following sections present segments from the data to support the themes underlying the ROT. In the specific themes presented below, the structure of this section is more abstract and does not follow a chronological flow. Rather, the flow is thematic, where the concepts of temporal multiscalarity, temporal knowledge/power and temporal ambiguity are explored, to address how ‘time as multiscalar’ forms the urban ROT, in accordance with RQ1.

6.2.1 Time as multiscalar

The most prominent theme to emerge from the data was that of **urban time as being multiscalar**. Participants’ discourses were especially striking in the way they indirectly but consistently alluded to **urban processes as being anchored in various kinds of temporalities**. Across the discourses of all 3 actor groups, this manifested as descriptions and interpretations of temporally bound spatialities, promises and

pulsations of infrastructures, linear sequences and cyclic causalities of events, temporally orchestrated malpractices, and temporally compounded disadvantages for particular populations.

Firstly, planners directly stressed the value of time in cultured urban societies:

In today's world, in any developed and cultured society, in any urban society, time is the **only thing of value**. And time is a **priority**, and time is the **most valuable asset** for **anyone**... and it is quite unfortunate that we as a nation do not value time as it should be valued. (P2, Pos. 29)

The discourses of the planners were structured around the understanding of time as a resource and an asset, which formed a fundamental basis for any urban planning activity. Another planner reinforced the central tenet of planning as a temporal activity, one that *employs* but also *modifies* perceptions of time in terms of concrete and measurable outputs that are sequentially structured, step-by-step:

See, whatever projects you make... behind that there is a **long** and detailed feasibility study: what the project is **supposed to do** or accomplish; how many people it **will** benefit; how much revenue **will** come to the government from that project; how **will** the project impact the environment, how **will** it impact the surroundings. **After** looking at all of these aspects, **then** only such projects are made. (P3, Pos. 42)

An affectee too acknowledged the temporal aspect of urban development over time. He expressed **the link of urban artefacts to urban time**, through connections, densities, flows, and incremental development:

20 years ago, we did not even used to come till Nagan Chorangi... why? Because it was so desolate. There were no houses, no construction, there was wild overgrowing vegetation everywhere. **Then the government did development here**, they made this into a liveable place, **after that**, they shifted so many people here. (A5, Pos. 51)

Such urban processes are believed to be calculated, based on foresight, and the planner's technical knowledges. Planners' references to urban time introduced the perspective of calculations and exact estimates of time, in terms of the 'returns' on urban projects. They compared the *long construction time* of the LEW to the *even longer 'returns' time*, when the project will be fully functional, foreseeing the future:

When we calculate the costs vs benefits of such large scale projects, **we don't consider only the coming month, or the coming year... we calculate it over the next 10 years, 15 years, what will be the return on this project...** all our projects, whatever we plan and construct, **we don't make them to last only 1 year... their construction period can be very long, 3, 4, even 5 years...** but we have to plan for the **returns** on that project for **the next 25-50 years.** (P6, Pos. 56)

In a similar vein, a planner emphasized the longevity and **continuation** aspects of development projects for them to be fruitful, rather than projects being erratic or instantaneous only:

But see, development is not a one-side project. Development should be an **ongoing** endeavour, like an ongoing project. (P2, Pos. 50)

In such long-term development projects such as the LEW, the **temporal role of the planner** was also brought into focus. The time allocated by the planner to their duties regarding the LEW was accurately calculated and contracted, as it had to be accounted for at the end of the construction period. This was especially necessary since the resistance to the LEW had stretched out construction times, and the various administrators, consultants, and engineers on the project were all unsure about the temporal commitments expected out of them:

The construction took place in a **piecemeal** fashion, it **only progressed** as the ROW clearance used to come. **Then** we used to go in, we used to do the additional surveys, and orient the design back in the office, **then** we issued the design. So that is how it was happening in a piecemeal way. (P5, Pos. 54)

This also meant running multiple planning operations at the same time, where the LEW was considered only a *part* of the planners' temporal commitments. In fact, one planner clearly mentioned the LEW as a break in his 'normal' temporal routines. He articulated that his role was only related to the ROW clearance and addressing the affectees' grievances, and he was not engaged with the project once this phase passed:

After 2006, I wasn't really engaged with anything related to the LEW. **Once the demolitions had crossed our area** and the disputes of compensation were settled, by the end of 2006, then I was **back to my regular UC Nazim responsibilities**. The **everyday issues** of water, electricity, the residents' domiciles, PRC certificates, and such mundane tasks... repairing roads,

laying out sewerage lines, connecting water lines to households, we did all of that. **In this way the LEW episode was just a break from our normal UC activities**, it kind of *disrupted our routine*. But we were soon back to *normal*. (P4, Pos. 54)

A quote from one of the affectees' transcripts below gives more detail on how time was being **experienced at multiple urban scales** as events of the LEW project unfolded:

They were demolishing my brother's house, it was a **Friday**... he called me, I went running. He had not got a file **yet**, but the bulldozer was **already** at his house... the DDO and his team, they were in the area and they were demolishing the houses **one by one**, and now it was my brother's **turn**. But I went running, I went to the demolition team and said, with so much trouble we have managed to gather all our documents, we have submitted our documents in your office, we have done all the paperwork... but we have not received the file **yet**, from your office... **now** if you break this house **today**, and we don't have the file, what are we supposed to do? We cannot live here because the house is broken, and we cannot go make a new house because we don't have a file... and we **will not** even have a proof to get a file... and **we don't know how long it will take** to get the file... so **please wait until** we have the file, at least, **then** you can break whenever as you want. But he said, **we have a long list of tasks today, and we are short on time, it is already Friday so we have to wind up early**, go and do your work and let us do our work. I said, how will you break it, I will not let you break it. I stood in front of the bulldozer. He said, are you a thug, are you a big criminal, how will you stop us... I pleaded, I requested them, **I am not stopping you from working, I am just asking you for a few minutes of your very precious time, please come with me and please listen to me for just two minutes [bus aap k qeemti waqt se 2 minute maang raha hun, aap mere sath ajayein aur bus 2 minute mera baat sun lein]**. When I started arguing like this, then they started threatening me, that I will run the bulldozer over you. I said, yes, you can do that, you have the power... but **all I am asking you is for 2 minutes of your time, not more**, just listen to my request. Then, the DDO came to us, he had big big moustaches, he asked me politely, son, what is the problem? I said, we have not received a file, if they break this house, where will we go... and when I told this to the demolition team, they started shouting at me, and calling me a criminal, and saying they will run the bulldozer over me. (A7, Pos. 33)

The affectee talked about time in multiple ways and at multiple scales. The temporal concepts in this affectees' narration of the demolition story included the race against time, as well as counter-temporalities to the planner's imposed times, schedules, and

routinized practices. The affectee mentioned time as **exact and immediate** (Friday, now, today); the **sequencing** of temporal activities (one by one, turn, wait until, then); and the various **scales of waiting** (yet, already, wait until). He alluded to **uncertainties** of time (how long, until, wind up early). Most importantly, he mentioned **time as an asset and a bargaining tool** (long list of tasks, short on time, a few minutes of your very precious time, two minutes not more). All these fragmented references to time itself within one contiguous passage constitute the ways in which time was being imagined, calculated, and negotiated by the affectee, who himself was being made a temporal subject of the planning process. Planners also invoked the idea of time as a ‘precious’ urban **asset**, an investment that could be ‘saved’, and **an object with an equivalent exchange value**: ‘time that you can spend’ on numerous activities that he continued to list down. He evaluated how the LEW had saved and continues to save time ‘every day, for so many citizens’. Hence, his conceptualization of urban time was tied to its evaluation **at multiple scales** – the **everyday**, the **annual**, and the **lifelong** – and **for multiple temporal subjects** – the **commuter**, the **family man**, and the **citizen**:

You see, this was such a large megaproject, which has totally changed the whole traffic pattern of Karachi. Now you see that if you find traffic jams on the Sharae Faisal, you can take the LEW and exit directly at Sohrab Goth, there is **no need to waste time** standing in traffic, **wasting precious evening hours, time that you can spend with your family, on your hobbies, to relax... all of that time is saved, every day, for so many citizens...** when such big projects take place. (P3, Pos. 100)

Planners also talked about adherence to temporal sequences and obligations in their roles working on the LEW project:

I still remember this phase of my life very vividly, just like it was yesterday. There hardly used to be a day when we would not have left homes **very early in the mornings**, around 8 am, 830 am, and would return home before 1 or 2 in the night. All the ‘heads’ of the various government departments... they would give us **such odd times to meet them... especially times when the public wouldn’t be out and about, so we could meet quickly and discreetly...** times such as just near the Fajar [morning] prayer... so we left our homes at Fajar time, to reach these meetings. So, this was a process that required working through the day and the night. (P3, Pos. 47)

Here, the planner referred to using time as a strategic tool of operation in the urban; a valuable resource that could be employed in a particular way to evade the public eye, and to carry on their temporal roles unhindered by unsolicited public interactions and protests. An affectee confirmed and critiqued this covert way of operating by the planners, something about which the public eventually did come to know:

Now, Pervez Musharraf did not come on that day for the inauguration, as planned and as we all knew through the newspapers and the media... but **he came that very night, late at night, around 10pm, when we had all gone to sleep**. He came **silently** and **quickly** did the inauguration by laying the foundation stone, and cutting a ribbon...**imagine, at ten in the night!!** 10th April, 2003, 10pm at night...and he left as quickly... now see the statement we gave in the newspaper the very next day... I wrote for the newspaper, I said in it, "**The project whose foundation stone is laid in the darkness of the night, that project will soon disappear into the dark**". And went into the dark the project did, at that time... it lay dormant for a long time, and there was no one who knew what was happening, and what was planned, and how much more time it would take to be completed... it just stood there like a skeleton for years. (A1, Pos. 63)

But within such temporal relationships, planners considered themselves subservient and compliant only to the state in carrying out the responsibilities assigned to them regarding the project. For them, the affectees were simply *in the way* of these state duties, and had to be treated insofar as this helped planners meet their temporal obligations and deadlines. The data also indicated how planning processes are inherently gauged by their performance over time. This was demonstrated by an emphasis on making the city safe and clean **over time**, converting the banks of the LR to a public recreational area, as a secondary objective of the LEW. Strong images, slogans, and visuals accompanied the LEW discourse, where things **would become** more 'beautiful':

There was great publicity for this project, and there were all these **images**... that the LEW **will be** made, and **along the river** there is a madam who is walking arm in arm with her husband, and a dog is walking in front of them, and the man has an umbrella in his hand, which he is using as a walking stick, **just like an Englishman**... so we used to make fun of all these images... so they had painted such beautiful pictures of this project in the eyes of the

public, that even when we went and spoke against the LEW, a lot of educated and middle class people used to tell us, that **you lot have a destructive mentality, the government is doing such a good project for the city, and you just don't want to see our city prosper**, you are working on your own agendas. (C3, Pos. 71)

Additionally, the area along the banks of the LR, which had been up to this time a place of mundane habitation for thousands of families, was now discursively imagined to be a new, sanitized 'destination', a visual spectacle, and a recreational zone – **after** the LEW had been constructed, and the encroached families, who were aiding 'criminals' in their areas, **had been** cleared out from the ROW:

...at Sohrab Goth, there were not only **mafias** ruling the area, but also the biggest problem there was, that there were a lot of **criminal elements** finding refuge in that area, from dacoits to all kinds of shady characters... so it was **very necessary to clear out** these criminals from the area, right? And today you can see that the area has been cleared out. **Today**, that area is **not in the same condition** as it was 20 years ago. **Today**, even though I am currently not living there and seeing the place myself, but my friends tell me that there was a time that even sitting there at Al-Asif Square near Sohrab Goth used to be such a security hazard... today, sitting there is no longer a security hazard, **you can go there alone, you can go with your family, your friends, and sit there, eat there. People are going and enjoying life there.** (P2, Pos. 22)

To achieve the objective of rehabilitating the LR banks into a visually and experientially pleasant destination of the city after removing the settlements along the ROW, a **retrospective** dual-discourse on the urban subjects along the ROW emerged as soon as the project was launched. This necessitated an invocation of temporal changes that would lead the city into a cleaner, safer future.

6.2.2 Temporal knowledge/power

The concept of temporal action and decision-making was found to be closely related to the notion of exclusive technical knowledges. This tied in substantially with the conceptual position on the ROT being produced and propagated by an already powerful group in society, the planners. An aspect of according agency was also clear in the data, pertaining to such temporal knowledges. There was no place for

dark futures in the planners' temporal imaginaries: for them, the LEW project and the entire resettlement process had **already** made particular urban subjects accelerate into brighter futures. This was the ROT here: the order of developments they cited, and the chains of causality they invoked, all made it seem as if a blissful existence **was already in place before** the people were expected to move out to the relocation site. These described the preconditions (Richardson, 1999) that had been generated, as against the apprehensions of the affectees, which lay outside the ROT:

And the people living along the LR were shifted to 3 spaces, after removing them from the drains. Lands were purchased in 3 different spaces across the city, and then infrastructure was laid on those lands, roads were made there, water was provided there, sewage lines were laid all throughout the settlement. **And then** people were given 80 sq yards plots, and one check of 50 thousand PKR. So, those settlements at the new sites were created for them, in a civilized design. (P1, Pos. 16)

This kind of extended long-term planning based on proclaimed foreknowledge also belied the patronizing attitude of the planners towards urban subjects who were expected to be the grateful recipients of a state welfare program. The state was benevolent; planners were the prophets who handed out the state's bounties to its subjects. This interaction indicated the planners' beliefs about the temporal non-agency of the urban subject, by not engaging them in discourse and negotiation beforehand, but only handing out the decision to them after it had been made and approved. This could only be possible when the planner had elevated themselves to a position of temporal and epistemic foresight. Such temporal foresight was reserved for the planning 'expert' only: commenting on how only technical experts such as planners could interpret time from a positionality of privileged knowledge, a planner mentioned time as a form of veil that common urban residents, and especially the critics of the LEW, could not see beyond; but one that the planners had the foresight to see and plan for, in advance. The planner predicted that **eventually**, critics would come to realize the benefits of the LEW project; however, that time had not arrived **yet**, when the LEW had just been launched in 2001. This change in the perception of non-planners would arrive in time, because the materiality of the LEW will take time to manifest:

At the time when they [critics] were writing about it, they were only critiquing the theory behind the project, only **what they thought they knew** about it. **When they were writing, the LEW hadn't been built, it was still in process**, the tracks weren't complete, that you can go one way and come back the other, **in a matter of minutes**, and you can reach your home with a **peaceful** mind. So whatever they were writing against it, **it had no basis**, see, **they hadn't travelled on it themselves**. This is the thing. This is why people were writing and speaking against it, because **they could not see how beneficial it would be after it had been made**. (P4, Pos. 72)

This suggests that the planner believed how time itself might be transformative towards previously held opinions: he believed that time might be considered an agent of new knowledge. In his version of time, the experience and evaluation of the project were inherently tied to temporal experiences. Before construction, the experiential aspect of the LEW for non-planners stretched into the unknown future, foreboding ominous outcomes; once the project was completed, the experience of the LEW would have been warped into a 'matter of minutes' based on personal usage. But until that day 'after it had been made', the opinions of anyone on the LEW except the planners' would have 'no basis', as no one other than the planner would have experienced the projected reality of the LEW as the planners had, in their temporal foresight. In a similar vein, another planner commented on how privileged knowledge and far-sightedness helped planners to see long-term impacts of projects that were easily missed by non-planners:

So all of these civil society people... they looked only at the immediate surroundings, and the **short term impacts** this project would have, what would happen as a **direct result**... they did not **foresee** all the benefits that it would bring, how it **would** move **us all** forward, how it **would save time**, all the good impacts that it **would have**... every aspect of such projects, these things are **not in the common knowledge of everyone**. How things **will** work out, how this **will** be beneficial, **people are short-sighted** and do not see all those **long-term results**, what will happen after 5 years, 10 years, and more. (P6, Pos. 54)

Now today, a lot of the people from those who were speaking against it, now today they say, oh yes this is an incredible project. (P5, Pos. 76)

Here, time was invoked as a yardstick for gauging knowledge and engagement with urban affairs, as well as an ability to predict future outcomes. The planner had the

power to morph urban time: they could change how the city would look and feel at a future point in time, simply by the applying their temporal foresight to justify the modification of the urban present at their hands. An affectee conjured up surreal future imaginaries of the resettlement site as a recollection from the past: the LEW, a temporal anomaly that defied the projected progression of urban time-space and the urban socio-material fabric for thousands of families. Even over two decades, the affectee believed, the peripheral area where LB is located today would have continued to lay dormant had it *not* been for the LEW manifesting itself in the centre of the city:

This place, that you are sitting in right now, LB... a forsaken settlement on the outskirts of the city... **20 years ago, when there was nothing here, could you have imagined that 20 years from now, you would be sitting here, in this house, having a cup of tea?** (A9, Pos. 76)

The planner was the conjurer of futures unimagined and unimaginable to the urban population, due to their knowledge of and power over urban time. But according to another affectee, such privileged fore-knowledge could easily have aligned with malicious, premeditated intents to exploit temporal sequences for the urban residents, by scheming ahead of time. Affectees commented on how, even though the urban administration purportedly possessed exclusive knowledges about the everyday ongoings of the urban, the latter's decision to turn a blind eye to the slow and steady process of encroachment along the LEW ROW belies their ill intents:

When you know that in this place, there **will be a road in the future**, why have you **allowed** people to make houses in that area? As the government, you should keep a check on all your land. How is it that people came and sat on your land, and they made houses, and they had children, and they lived and died there... and then **suddenly** you wake up one day and you say, oh who are these people, why are they sitting here, **how long** have they been here? **Didn't you know all this time? Of course you knew**. There are some people sitting inside every institution, who we can call black wolves. They join together, and the plan and scheme, and then do these kinds of things, so that they can earn on the side. And they earn more than their own salaries through these illegal things. (A6, Pos. 28)

The affectee's allegations were twofold: firstly, he directly questioned the planners' self-proclaimed claims of fore-knowledge and technical expertise over the urban,

insinuating that their knowledge of what had been going on since decades had failed them, in that people had actually come and settled in these areas for long durations without the planners ever knowing. Conversely, the affectee also hinted that some individuals within the planning and administration bodies might have known all along that eventually, LEW would be constructed along this particular ROW; and hence, any settlements that already lie within the ROW would have to be demolished when the project would be announced. Yet, by choosing to be selectively opaque about this knowledge, they schemed with various actors on the ground to illegally subdivide, sell, or rent out the land along the ROW to low-income urban families who were looking for cheap accommodation. This privileged temporal knowledge allowed additional side-income for many in planners' guise, but also enabled a systematic growth of illegal settlements on the ROW, which were built upon legal and temporal precarity. Interestingly, a Civil Society participant, apparently more knowledgeable than the Affectee, also confirmed this speculation. He asserted that some powerful interest groups always have foreknowledge of large urban projects well before they are launched. Hence, they are able to plan ahead, to collude with malicious state authorities, and create exploitative conditions that would benefit a few urban actors at the expense of many others:

We had imagined that this is only a matter for the poor people of the city, but **we came to know over the years** that a lot of different kinds of interest groups were all operating in their own ways within the project, both from the side of the government as well as on the ground level... who wanted to gain benefits, land, and money out of this project. There were even some groups who **had knowledge of the project before it had even started, and they had quickly built up new settlements on the banks of the LR before the project was announced, using their own people... just so that they could quickly get a lot of plots and money.** These were related to the construction and real estate industries. They were after the land that was coming as a result of the project. These are the same people who take money from new migrants, and help them settle illegally in different parts of the city. They just need a place to stay and work in the city, so they go here and there in search of an affordable place to live, and wherever they find a cheap place, at a reasonable distance from their place of work, they settle down there. **But who do they pay, to buy or rent that land? That is the big question.** All this 'informal settlement' we talk about, these processes are not random. All of them happen in a very **calculated** manner, and there are **structures** in place that benefit

from all this **settling process** going on. **So they operated pretty much like an alternate state, with their own systems of governance.** And these practices were so widespread and so well-organized, that you wouldn't believe it if you hadn't seen it with your own eyes. (C3, Pos. 47)

Through such practices, time was seen to be employed as a tool of malice and profiteering, even in the face of incompetence, on behalf of the planners and project contractors. The Civil Society participant also speculated on how even the long-drawn out construction process itself might have been part of a malicious planning agenda: to help private contractors on the project make more and more profits as the project lingered on for years:

...the **delay** in the LEW was **not purely because of the resistance.** If people were resisting, you **should have hastened** the compensation process. The **long delay in construction was precisely because** the government agencies did not have the capacity to complete the project in **the time that they announced.** If the LEW was proposed, and the project **would have been completed in 3 years as planned,** then all these contractors **would not have gotten the same profits as they did from the project getting delayed...** so it was in the interest of these contractors and agencies that the project gets delayed, so their profits could keep increasing... (C3, Pos. 64)

But such malicious practices were not limited to the construction of the LEW alone. Such temporally exploitative practices are seen to form a series of recurring urban processes in the urbans of the Global South, where time and privileged knowledges could be used to disadvantage certain populations.

6.2.3 Temporal ambiguity

Temporal ambiguity came across as a strong recurring theme. This pertained to extended periods of time where conditions were unclear, and it could not be ascertained where future trajectories were headed. This theme was prevalent across the discourses of all actors. For the planners, temporal ambiguity was quite straightforward, and pertained to immediate processes related to the project. It manifested in the form of project delays, the clearance of the ROW, uncertainty

about contract renewals, the uncertainty about their own engagement with the project, and rising costs of materials and labour during the construction:

So if the construction work is **going on**, if our people are **actively working** on the site, **only then** the government would pay us... I personally feel that **if Musharraf sahab had stayed on for 1 or 1.5 more years, then this project would have been completed by 2008 or 2009**. That was the force behind this project, and **when that went away, the tempo of the project faded away**. The 2 remaining legs [of the LEW] then, **after 2008, their situation became uncertain**. That whether the people there **would move or not move**, whether these legs **would be opened or not**... then in 2016 or 2017, these were completed, after such a long delay. (P5, Pos. 56)

After 2010, work on the LEW was really slow. Actually, **work had slowed down after 2008, when Musharraf went away**. I don't think anything significant happened after 2008... the project just lost steam, and started to slow down... for the next 2 years, **even we kept sitting, but there was just nothing happening**... MK [Mayor] kept sitting from 2008 to 2010, **waiting** for new developments, he also **waited** for other new projects to be launched for the city by the provincial government, **but nothing was launched** by the Sindh government. Because now there was a new federal government, and they had different priorities. (P4, Pos. 55)

The planners were concerned with ambiguous temporalities in the present. As for the distant future, there was no ambiguity in the minds of the planners: the LEW would *eventually* be good for the city; the affectees would *eventually* be moved to peripheral sites; their next generations would *eventually* be better off.

However, for the affectees, temporal ambiguity manifested in two forms: one, pertaining to the past; the other, regarding the future. Their temporal ambiguities of the past revolved around the fear of loss: concerns of material durability, longevity of stay in their settlements once the LEW had been announced, and speculations about the long-term investments on their houses and their neighbourhoods going to waste. They considered how they had invested materially and emotionally into their current houses along the LR, spending so much time, effort, resources, and labour into building up the semblance of an urban life, that might soon be dismantled:

And in our old neighbourhood, our area was also well-populated and there was such cohesion amongst the whole neighbourhood. Everyone knew

everyone else, we had been living together since at least two generations. (A8, Pos. 78)

When I was there, it took me almost ten years to make that house. I was living there since birth, I opened my eyes in [that area]. I was born in 1977, and had lived there since... and our house was demolished in 2006. (A9, Pos. 17)

They had spent years and decades building up their lives on the banks of the LR, and were bewildered by the thought that it would all be snatched away from them, suddenly:

What of the life they built there? Where has that life, that time, gone? I won't even speak of dramatic things, emotional things, like memories, like attachments, like the love of a place... **those are luxuries that poor people like us cannot afford to spend time talking about... but what of real things**, jobs, education, cost of commuting to work... all that was so suddenly dismantled. (A6, Pos. 31)

20 years, 40 years, he has spent a long time here, by the side of this dirty river, and he has made this his home... he came and he sat by the river, and then others followed him, and he made this whole place into a community, with others like him. If he had not come and settled here by the river, the others who followed him and set up the whole neighbourhood, they might not even have come to this place. He has a hand in the making of this whole place. (A7, Pos. 48)

The affectees invoked their own role as a 'maker' of not just their own houses, but the whole settlement along the LR. These were, self-reportedly, individuals and communities that had a hand in the shaping of a particular urban space over time – which was soon to be dismantled before their very eyes. Now that their investments in the LR settlements and houses were just coming to fruition after 20 years of living here, now that they were settled and embedded socially and materially, it was very difficult for them to imagine why they were not being recognized and given leases after spending such a long time at the site; why they were not being acknowledged as equal urban subjects; why were they being removed as if they had just arrived yesterday, without considering their long-standing relationships to this place.

The people who settled along the banks of the LR, they made that place come alive. It is because of them that the area became so popular, it gained the attention of everyone, and the government thought that this is such an important area, there should be a road passing through it, and this should

definitely happen. So those are the people who settled here, it is because of them that the LEW was conceived. So they should definitely get compensated. (A6, Pos. 80)

Regarding the future, temporal ambiguities were quite strong amongst the affectees: what would be the next step after eviction? How long would it take for them to actually move into and start living at the resettlement site? What would they be doing for the intermediate time, in terms of accommodation, jobs, and commutes? All these concerns played into a sense of temporal ambiguity about the future:

When we came to this site to visit, there were only dust clouds everywhere... open and vast, it was such a strange world... when we returned home, our families said, where are you coming from, which historical era did you go to? (A6, Pos. 13)

When they came here, they just had 50'000 PKR. What could they have done with 50'000 PKR? Nothing. They saved **over the years**. No one came here and **just made** a home and started living. Everyone, this is the story of everyone, **they came and they went**, they made one wall, **then** they went away, **then** they came next month and put up a window, **then** they went away... everyone's houses were built in this way. **There was a long duration of time when everyone either had two homes, or no homes**, however you might choose to describe their condition... they were just **hopping** between two places. And **they didn't know when they should stay** at one home, or when they should move into the other and leave the previous one forever. And **they didn't know how long this would continue...** if they would be able to live a complete life inside their new home... or will they die, and maybe their children will **continue** building their plot here in LB. Time is very cruel, you see. (A7, Pos. 15)

...when we came here 15 years ago, we didn't shift here **immediately**, because we couldn't make the house at that time. So we had to live **for a while** in father's friend's house on rent. **At that time**, this area was still quite barren and empty. There were hardly two to four houses that **had been** constructed in this area. Someone had made a shack, someone made a basic walled house. So looking at them, we only made a small shack first, **then** our father **started** building the house slowly, and **eventually** it was in a state that we could shift into it. (A8, Pos. 70)

In this way, the affectees remained ill-informed and uncertain about the next phase in their urban temporality.

Interestingly, the **planner's temporal ambiguity** pertained more to *present* circumstances: the construction of the LEW project, the encroachers' resistance to

demolitions, the delays in ROW clearance, and political transitions that changed the priority given to the LEW by the government. For the planners, the future impacts of the LEW were not ambiguous at all: LEW would be a ‘blessing’ for Karachi, as one expressed. Neither was the future life of the affectees a cause for temporal ambiguity for the planners: that life had already been planned and diligently curated. The LERP had meticulously envisioned and materialized the trajectories of development and prosperity that were being offered to the affectees henceforth. In contrast, in the minds of the **affectees**, it was the *future* that **was temporally more ambiguous**. Their attempts to resist the demolitions might have created temporal ambiguities for the planners in the present, but such attempts also gave a hope of temporal longevity to the affectees: that the affectees might be able to extend their stay on site, that perhaps their homes would be spared, and they might not have to be hurled into the future being promised to them by the planners. The last condition was what created uncertainty for them the most, given that they knew that this was a new site far away from the city.

6.3 RQ2: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban subject?

6.3.1 Eternity: subjects to the state

For planners, all urban subjects were primarily, from the eternal past into the eternal future, subjects of the state. Every urban subject was subservient to the ‘national interest’: the nation-state came before the city; and national agendas reigned supreme over urban space and time. Planners justified planning actions of national importance as bigger than the independent lives and stories of urban subjects they intended to affect:

...in the national interest, if you are making a project, wherever in the city, in the country... **right now** I am sitting in Defence, the most elite residential neighbourhood of Karachi, right, in this grand bungalow. Now, **if** in the

national interest, even if this bungalow comes in the way of the national interest, **then** I will have to vacate it and hand it over to the government. In the national interest, ok? So, **when** the national interest comes, **then** nothing else can hold. Anything else **can be compromised**, everything else becomes **secondary**. (P3, Pos. 35)

Hence, when it came to urban projects of national importance, the state could decide which urban subjects to prioritize over others; who the beneficiary of national projects were, at which others' expense. The LEW was a project of national significance; and the state could decide when to launch it, effectively meting out displacement sentences to hundreds of thousands of urban residents. And the LEW was not just a transportation project for the state: it was also in the interest of the state to make Karachi 'safe' and 'clean', and the banks of the LR as a public recreational area, in a truly 'urban' sense of living. The LEW helped accomplish these national goals. Strong images, slogans, and visuals accompanied the LEW discourse. But a Civil Society participant critiques such an approach, citing it as unreasonable and distanced from ground realities:

There was great publicity for this project, and there were all these **images**... that the LEW will be made, and **along the river** there is a madam who is walking arm in arm with her husband, and a dog is walking in front of them, and the man has an umbrella in his hand, which he is using as a walking stick, **just like an Englishman**... so we used to make fun of all these images... so they [planners] had painted such beautiful pictures of this project in the eyes of the public, that even when we went and spoke against the LEW, a lot of educated and middle class people used to tell us, that **you lot have a destructive mentality, the government is doing such a good project for the city, and you just don't want to see our city prosper**, you are working on your own agendas. (C3, Pos. 71)

Additionally, the area along the banks of the LR, which had been up to this time a place of mundane habitation for thousands of families, was now discursively imagined to be a new, sanitized 'destination', a visual spectacle, and a recreational zone – once the encroached families, who were aiding 'criminals' in their areas, had been cleared out from the ROW. As a planner put it:

...at Sohrab Goth, there were not only **mafias** ruling the area, but also the biggest problem there was, that there were a lot of **criminal elements** finding refuge in that area, from dacoits to all kinds of shady characters... so it was

very necessary to clear out these criminals from the area, right? And today you can see that the area has been cleared out. **Today**, that area is **not in the same condition** as it was 20 years ago. **Today**, even though I am currently not living there and seeing the place myself, but my friends tell me that there was a time that even sitting there at Al-Asif Square near Sohrab Goth used to be such a security hazard... today, sitting there is no longer a security hazard, **you can go there alone, you can go with your family, your friends, and sit there, eat there. People are going and enjoying life there.** (P2, Pos. 22)

To achieve the objective of rehabilitating the LR banks into a visually and experientially pleasant destination of the city after removing the settlements along the ROW, a *retrospective* dual-discourse on the urban subjects along the ROW emerged as soon as the project was launched. The LEW was supposed to make not just the LR banks, but the city itself, safer, more beautiful, and more efficient in an urban sense.

6.3.2 Stasis: ‘affectees’ *before* the project

Interestingly, for some planners, the temporal subjectification of the ‘affectee’ went even further back in time than the LEW project itself; the latter’s subjectification as affectee was longer lived than the project. It was not the LEW that had caused them to become visible as ‘encroachers’ and ‘affectees’ in the urban realm, only after which they started being labelled as such in the common discourse. In fact, asserted one planner, these encroachers had been **‘affectees’ of their own acts and life choices long before** the LEW was launched:

See, the affectees of the project... in fact, **these people were affectees even before the project was conceived...** sitting inside the bottom of a dirty river... with their children... **in real terms**, they were affectees **even at that time.** (P5, Pos. 75)

The planner described how this condition of affectee-ship was not something that was brought about by the LEW, or originated after the LEW was launched. In fact, he indirectly implied just the opposite: that the subjects’ temporal existence as an affectee **would have continued unhindered** had the LEW *not* been launched. It was the LEW that transformed them from affectees *into* compensates, on the pathway

to an ‘improved’ future state: a temporal subject that was given an opportunity to shun their weary identity and would integrate materially and socially into the urban, shifting away from ‘inside the bottom of a dirty river’. Another planner described how it was a **lack of temporal foresight** on behalf of the affectees, attributable only to their ill planning: they knew this demolition was **eventually coming**, and they should have prepared for it **beforehand** rather than acting bewildered when it was **suddenly** upon their heads:

...but **they knew this was waiting to happen, when** they had decided to make their houses along the river... just like **they knew that eventually** their houses would be demolished, when the LEW would eventually be constructed, **they had known since a long time**... (P6, Pos. 81)

But even in the lack of foresight or knowledge on behalf of the affectees, planners had the power to create such kinds of temporal subjectifications: they talked about *using* time to create new kinds of subjects. The subject formation process itself was tied to and dependent on the temporal. Subjects could be formed, or tamed, through **temporal sequences and actions**, *once the project necessitated that they be made temporal subjects*.

The affectees had a different version of their temporal habitation of the LR banks way before the project was launched. For example, one affectee mentioned how some families had foreseen the future 50 years ago, when they had migrated from Bangladesh to Karachi in the early 1970s. Seeing the state of affairs and the way refugees were being treated in the urban areas of Pakistan, they had decided to move out of Pakistan. They knew, at that time, that buying an illegal plot in a rapidly sprawling city like Karachi would land them in future trouble with the planning authorities. Hence, they decided to forego the chance to buy land in an informal settlement:

The ones with families, they couldn’t run away out of this city. The ones who could, they left as soon as they realized what was going on... they foresaw that we will never have a home here... they left Pakistan and ran away to Greece, Italy... (A4, Pos. 14)

But other incoming urban migrants were not so far-sighted. Their vision of the future was based on immediate acquisition of land and provision for the family. For them, the charm of their own piece of land, where they could tentatively set up a house and raise a family, promised an enticing future, even when it meant living with the knowledge that this future might be short-lived:

We had been living in that area, in Bhangoria Goth, in Azizabad, since the 1980s. When we had bought the land, we had been hearing since that time that a new road will be created through this area, along the river. So **we did know that eventually, these houses would be demolished**, and there will be some project that will be built here over our homes. **But we weren't sure when, so we decided to settle down at that time, because it looked like a good place to live, and it was affordable.** So our father thought, it is a good deal at this time, I will buy the land here. Maybe the project will get built 5 years later, maybe 10 years later. **But if I wait 5 or 10 years, land will become more expensive**, so let me buy this land and settle here first, **so my family can get some rest and my children can start going to school.** (A6, Pos. 8)

6.3.3 Borrowed time: an encroacher remains an encroacher

In the shape of the LEW, planners promised a bright *future* for the affectees once they had been removed from along the LR. But to convince the affectees of a future that was 'better', the planners had to discursively produce a *present* that was 'worse'. Hence, a dual-discourse of illegality and uncleanness regarding the present living conditions of the affectees emerged. This dual-discourse employed strong temporal elements to validate itself. The first aspect of this discourse was that of 'illegality': that the people living along the LEW's planned ROW **are** 'encroachers', and **always have been**. Parallel to this, the second negative aspect was that of unhygienic and 'dirty' living conditions: that their lifestyles **are** perilous, their children **are** exposed to health hazards, they **drown** in floods, they **are** getting sick living near the dirty river, and they **have** no sanitation facilities. The people along the LR corridor were viewed as living a backward, non-urban existence that was just 'in the way' of the natural trajectory of urban development in a rapidly progressing city like Karachi. As encroachers, they had no right to be sitting in places where they have already

been sitting nevertheless for a long time. Their lives were discursively produced by the planners as representing **perpetual, recurring cycles** of destitution:

Hundreds of thousands of people, who you can imagine were living in a very **uncivilized** way, inside drains, inside the river, every year there were rains, water would come into their settlements, **people would die**, they would wash away or drown. They **did not have proper** electricity, neither did they have any hygienic system or sanitary conditions of living and healthcare... I mean, definitely **you can very well imagine, how people living in drains would be living, the poor souls.** (P1, Pos. 18)

Before the LEW was started, the LR was so much encroached... and even if there was a little rain in the city... all the people who were sitting around the LR... water used to **fill all their houses**... and there used to be deaths... children used to drown... some people also drowned in their sleep, **without knowing anything**, when suddenly water used to flood during the night... so **all of these things caused problems for the people living on the river edge. Those people, they had to be shifted**... so taking people onto **safe locations** after their houses were demolished, **giving** them houses, **giving** them plots, **giving** them money, **giving them security and protection from the elements of nature.** (P3, Pos. 29)

These imaginaries of the subject were objectively true to some extent: floods did inundate these settlements occasionally, and sometimes children did die; sanitation was poor in some areas along the LR; and living conditions were not quite enviable. Acknowledging their precarious positionality within the urban realm, one affectee himself remarked:

If the poor person was not poor, why would he sit alongside a drain... he is poor, that is why he is sitting on a drain, isn't it, by doing whatever was possible for him to do. (A7, Pos. 48)

Here, the affectee painted himself as poor and helpless, his occupation of the ROW the only possible shot he had at an urban life that was presented to him 20 years ago. At that point in time, out of extreme helplessness and poverty, he would decide to purchase this plot of land beside the LR 'illegally', and then go on to incrementally construct an 'illegal' house there over the next decade, to raise his children as he earned a living working in nearby areas of the city. He asserted that **if** they had the money **at that time**, they would not have been forced into this form of subjection, and would not have suddenly been pushed out after spending 20 years there. Their

lives would be on a different temporal trajectory, had their starting conditions been different – had they not been poor to begin with, when they arrived in the city looking for work. They might have settled at a legally purchased place then, extending their prosperity over the next two decades. The same two decades might have been an investment for them rather than a liability, and a measure of their precarity. They might even have managed to educate their future generations, had their initial poverty not limited them to them being represented by their ‘illegally encroached’ life along the ROW:

But **at that time**, in that settlement where we were located, all the families were really poor. Even my father was a labourer, a mason, so my family might never have thought about sending me or my siblings to a good school. (A8, Pos. 40)

But the planners were really clear on this identity: for them, encroachment was unjustifiable, and an identity that could not be evaded, given any excuse: poverty, lack of urban knowledge, or helplessness. One planner in particular was particularly adamant about this label:

An encroacher remains an encroacher. The definition of an encroacher is very clear. (P6, Pos. 80)

Despite their apparent annoyance at the illegal occupation process, the planners did not seem to necessarily evaluate the residents in a negative light, as indicated by the data. The planners’ discursive production of the subjects’ poverty was not intentionally malicious; but they were quite clear that such poverty could not have been used as an excuse for continuing to live along the LR, especially once the project had been announced. The ramifications of the illegal actions of the affectees’ past, even if determined by their poverty, had to be borne in the present, in the form of their removal from a place they had occupied for so long. Yes, the residents were acknowledged by the planners as poor, helpless, at times even opportunistic, to have taken over urban land; but other than that, there were hardly indications of any premeditated malicious intentionality behind such attributions of affectees by the planners. However, this might seem to be the case as the data itself is in the form of

retrospective accounts, after the heat of the moment has passed; perhaps, 10 or 15 years ago, negative attributions might have been more, and more intense.

Other planners expanded upon this label of ‘encroacher’: the residents might all be encroachers from a legal point of view, but planners acknowledged the pragmatic and social variations within this broad identity. These ‘encroachers’ belonged to heterogeneous and multi-linguistic urban communities:

...there were multi-ethnic communities present there... and taking them all on board with the government’s decision, taking them into confidence, conveying the message of the government... this was such a **difficult task**... everyone spoke a **different** language, everyone had **their own way** of seeing and understanding government projects... so it took a lot of effort to communicate... even then we couldn’t get through to all of them... (P2, Pos. 79)

With the LEW, the **only problem** wasn’t that there were shacks and shantytowns... or that only slum areas existed here along the LR. In fact, it had **a lot of other things going on**... there were a lot of mafias operating here. There were brothel areas here, along the banks of the LR. Here, there were also mosques, temples, churches, graveyards... a lot of **different kinds of things and people** were present here. In fact, **there was nothing that wasn’t here – whatever your mind can think of, that thing was present here**, on the sides of the LR, and was fully operational here. And we didn’t know this at all! We did not expect such diversity of activities here... when we were told what happens here, we had to go and see for ourselves... (P3, Pos. 49)

Yet, despite such grounded differences, discursively producing all these groups as ‘encroachers’ in the present urban condition helped build the justification for what a difficult but necessary process the clearing of the ROW was that the planners had to undertake, so that they could proceed with the LEW project:

Wherever we had to face some difficulty, wherever we ran into hardships because of encroachments... (P3, Pos. 29)

6.3.4 Time to spare: temporal currency of the poor urban subject

According to the planners, the clearing of the ROW was also a necessary act because quite a few people were using the recurring floods as opportunities to demand compensation from the government every few years:

Every year, when there were floods, there used to be a lot of casualties. The water used to stand here, and **encroachers used to come and keep sitting, just so they could claim compensation**. So we had to discourage these encroachers. (P6, Pos. 11)

The planner implied the ‘encroacher’ was **an urban subject who had nothing better to do with their time or their life**: such subjects followed the flood, and arrived at the LR banks as soon as the waters subsided, to raise a hue and cry about their conditions, and demand compensation. They would spend days just sitting and waiting on the banks of the LR, in the hopes of receiving something from the government. Many of them had nothing to do at the site: they did not have houses there, and their possessions had not washed away. But they came right after the flood, and started sticking around the site, interfering with the local government’s rescue operations, and demanding excessive amounts of undue compensation. If true, this allegation hints at the **temporal poverty** of such urban subjects: the **structural cruelty of time a precious urban resource**, time that was spent waiting on site to extract value out of compensation programs, **by subjects who had nothing but time at their hands**. Such urban subjects tried to build up more ‘proof’ of their deservingness of flood compensation, by spending more time on-site, and by consistently being in the eyes of the state actors as the latter surveyed the site for post-flood damages. Solidifying their physical presence on site, the ‘encroachers’ made use of the only urban resource they had: free time. They did not possess any credible evidence for their purported temporal longevity on those sites – no house documents, no registered NICs – but the only thing they could hope to buy with spending post-flood time on site was sympathy, a few free meals, and perhaps a golden ticket to compensation. They had no greater use of their **temporal currency**; their time was quite inexpensive, and in great abundance.

6.3.5 Incrementalism: they kept pushing

Once the LEW had been launched, such part-time, temporally poor encroachers, as well as the more permanent settlements that now fell within the ROW, were instantly marked for removal. For the purpose of the clearance of the ROW, social affiliations and vote bank politics came into play; but all subjects were equally disadvantaged when it came to clearing the ROW: no one could sway favour, and all ‘encroachers’ had to be dealt with in the same way:

Mostly, the opposition was on the ground, especially when political parties used to create issues, **that this is our turf, leave the residents of this area alone, demolish that one over there instead.** But because to nobody we gave this leniency, that is why we had no problem in our stance, we could take a stand on our position because of not discriminating against any one group in particular. Wherever we used to go for clearance, without seeing whose area it is, whose area it isn’t, whatever ROW had been planned, we worked to provide that ROW to the construction agency. (P1, Pos. 86)

At this point, everyone who was within the ROW, **whether** they had arrived just after the last flood, **or** they had been sitting there since a generation: all of them had to be discursively produced as being ‘encroachers’, to justify their clearing out from the path earmarked for the LEW.

...**all of them** were encroachers... no one from amongst them was a **legal, legitimate owner** of the places on which they were sitting. **They were all encroachers within the bed of the LR.** (P6, Pos. 28)

...yes indeed, they kept extending, they **kept pushing forward** inside the river bed, kept doing it. (P1, Pos. 24)

By their acts of arriving at, occupying, and constructing near the LR **over time**, these ‘encroachers’ had kept ‘pushing’: they kept resisting against **not just** the bounds of the river, which could suddenly surge and cause a flood. But, with each new act of incremental encroachment, they also kept testing the writ and the tolerance of the city’s administrative authorities, ‘pushing’ them, step by step, with each little extension into the river: an unwanted sight which was growing slowly and becoming visible on the city’s physical fabric – not yet rapidly enough to demand an immediate response from the city’s planning authorities, but not quite as slow as to evade the

planners' watchful gaze. The city could see this growth building up over time into something that would require some kind of corrective action in the *near future* as it approached a critical threshold. The label of 'encroacher' did not correspond to the physical materiality of the houses that were being built. Whether they constructed a rudimentary shack or a multi-storied building which was materially more durable, the houses of such encroachers were still *legally* non-durable, and prone to demolition any time:

...there were a lot of *pakka* [concrete] houses as well. They had made concrete structures illegally and extended into the LR. (P1, Pos. 21)

6.3.6 Temporal compliance: encroachers to affectees

The simultaneous justification for the LEW, besides the aim of saving collective urban time, was the purported 'improvement' in the lives of the people discursively produced as 'encroachers'. This discursive subject formation of the 'encroacher' was the pragmatic and ethical rationalization behind their eventual removal from the ROW, so the LEW could be constructed within that space. But despite such a posteriori justifications, the removal of the encroachers was necessary primarily because the LEW could not have been built otherwise, had such subjects kept sitting at their places. This entailed convincing such 'encroachers' to move away peacefully without putting up too much resistance, so the LEW construction process could be unrolled in a smooth way. For this, planners had to tailor their strategies to communicate with these urban subjects: trying to make them realize their own misery; telling them that their living conditions were not very conducive; convincing them that their own betterment lay in compliance to the planners' directives. The planners' discourses of subject formation hinted at practices of patronizing and 'taming' urban subjects once they had been transformed into 'affectees' of the LEW project:

Every person who is settled, whoever is settled... when you disturb him, when his life is interrupted, of course, he will face discomfort and hardship, right. So, because of this, then people used to confront us with all their fury,

they used to come forward in anger and frustration. **At that point, it became important to tame them, and to talk them in a normal way, to take care of them so that they cooled down.** (P3, Pos. 54)

The ‘humane’ way of engaging with the affectees of the project precluded any invitation to discuss their eventual fate. **It had already been decided** that they were now **no longer** ‘encroachers’ but ‘affectees’; from this point in time, they had only two choices: *either* comply with the planners’ directives and vacate the site; *or* be ‘tamed’ by the planners and *then* comply with the planners’ directives and vacate the site. There was no third option; resistance to this would be futile, preached the planners, as it would **eventually** gain them nothing, perhaps also result in the loss of what they were being currently offered. But despite the purportedly ‘humane’ attempts at communication, not all the subjects would appreciate how beneficial the LEW project was for them; they were unable to not see the **immediate benefits**. On the other hand, the **immediate damages** were instantly visible: that of losing their homes, losing their urban privileges and amenities, and having to move into a new space and time of uncertainty before they would be able to establish themselves materially and socially once more. Planners tried to invoke imageries of future conditions to help the affectees understand how the project was ultimately for their own betterment, but to little avail:

We made them understand... we tried to make them understand... we went to the last extremes of trying to do this. And we **told** them, that this is a one-of-a-kind, the best project that is being built, and **all of you should pay attention to it.** And you are being relocated, so **this is the time to focus on your home, your children, your families.** Take them to live a **better** life, in a more **suitable** environment, take them to the resettlement sites **to spend their lives there, take them away from here.** Here, **you are living in such a detestable, such an unclean and backward condition.** This concept was **easier to understand for the educated people. But there were not many educated people living there, in these settlements. The labour class, or the ones living there, it was very difficult to deal with them, to make them understand the goodness that was happening to them.** That this was being done for their **betterment.** What is **good** and what is **bad**, this thought never made its way into **their heads.** It was impossible. (P3, Pos. 70)

It was only after the survey process had kicked off, after the markings had been made on the walls, and after notices had been served, that the ‘illegal encroacher’ now transitioned into a potential ‘evictee’:

We used to visit the sites, we **put a mark** on the walls. We **made a cross**, and noted that... **then** those house owners, **at that point** they fully understood, that now things **will** happen, it is **not just** a rumour, now these houses **will be** demolished. **The markings made this real for them.** (P6, Pos. 67)

In the planners’ cognitions, this subject no longer represented the sustained illegal occupation of valuable urban land; he was no longer a problem that had to be dealt with, or planned for. He was a problem that had *already been* sorted out, and the days of his brief lingering presence on the site had already been counted. On the other hand, the affectees were also forced to acknowledge the temporal fragility of their urban existence along the LR once they saw the actual demolitions start:

The settlements upriver, some distance away from us, they were being demolished **one by one**. So people in our settlement knew that **soon** our settlement would **also** be demolished... and then the demolition **will continue on after** we have been demolished as well, **carrying onwards in a line up to no one knows what time**. So in that way, we knew, yes... we knew that we would be demolished. (A8, Pos. 13)

For the affectees, the LEW was no longer an apprehension, a potential worry of the future. It had now become material, and imminent: it was no longer a question of *whether* these settlements would be demolished, but *when*. And usually, this *when* was rapidly becoming quite visible: as new houses were being demolished with each passing day, this *when* was creeping dangerously close. The affectees were being forced into action watching the sequence of events unfold:

...**at first** when they had come, about a month or so ago, **at that time** no demolitions had started anywhere... so all of us thought, they must be just giving our empty warnings, there might be no demolitions **after all**... but then **suddenly one day** they brought the machinery, and some settlements nearby started getting demolished... very nearby houses, maybe about a hundred houses up from us, or fifty houses from us... and they came and said, see, we have started demolitions in that settlement, **soon** we will be coming here and demolishing these houses as well... **I think that is when reality hit the residents of our settlement as well, and they knew that now they will**

have to plan and move out. So there was a **sudden** chaos all around, and people scrambled to get their things together. (A8, Pos. 23)

For the affectee experiencing the temporal shift from an ‘encroacher’ to an ‘affectee’, this also meant that they had to cognitively shift away from their own future imagery of a long-drawn out phase of **intergenerational** stay at this site, which they had, up till this point in time, believed could be expanded a little longer each passing day. Now, they had to brace for what was **rapidly** becoming apparent: that they would be removed, in due time. This change in thinking marked the cognitive and discursive shift where resistance gave way to compliance: the encroachers were now forced to accept that they could no longer fight the LEW:

So in the settlements, how we resisted was like this, **when** they brought the heavy machinery, we would go and lie down in front of the machines... so then the policemen used to come and pick us up, and took us to the lockup. But of course, a lot of people followed the police cars, and came to the lockups to protest. Then the police quietly used to transfer us to here and there, to secret locations. So this is how they used to play around and make us disappear from the scene, so that the government could **quickly** go ahead with the demolitions and complete its tasks. (C3, Pos. 37)

Rather than being **convinced** by the technical rationality of the LEW being a beneficial urban project (which itself is arguable, and definitely **not** the focus of this research), they were now **coerced** by the rationality of powerful discourses being propagated by the planners. The affectees came to realize that if they did not move amicably now, they would be dispersed and scattered from these sites in a violent way.

But for the planner, the ‘encroacher’ was an urban subject with a fixed, unidimensional identity: anyone who was sitting in the ROW of the LEW. The only way such ‘encroachers’ could shed the burden – and the label – of their ‘illegal’ existence was by complying with the directives of the planner, and by doing as told: to move away, from this site, becoming an *evictee*; and to go to the resettlement area, becoming an *affectee* [*mutasireen*]. Whatever the circumstances that had led them up to this point, whatever their reasons for being an encroacher, this was their **only way out** of their disgraceful identity as a blemish on the urban: their redemption lay

in compliance – compliance that was philanthropically motivated, but patronizingly imposed. And hence, the LEW was discursively produced not *only* as a traffic corridor, which was its primary function; but also to *simultaneously* remove the ‘miserable’ living conditions of people along the ROW:

So the original concept that we had for the LEW, to make it in such a way, and to remove these people from here, who were living in a very weird and **miserable life**. (P6, Pos. 59)

This ‘removal’ was cited as being **ethically motivated**: the encroachers were being removed from the ROW by the planners of the LEW *primarily* for the benefit of the former, so that they would **no longer** be affected by periodic floods *or* by their own miserable living conditions, which were unabatedly chronic. This was touted the greater purpose of the LEW:

They were **taken out of that predicament**, and they **received** a house with an individual ownership, **what could be better for them** than this? In fact, **this resettlement was actually the real cherry on the cake, the jewel in the crown**... this was the first direct advantage of the LEW project. (P5, Pos. 75)

See, firstly, on the LR there was a whole... a very **anti-environmental** [sic] *situation* there, people were living in *katchi naalies* (crude/unkept drainage channels). In this project, the planners **had to** improve the lives of hundreds of thousands of people... So, those settlements at the new sites were created for them, in a civilized design. (P1, Pos. 16)

However, a planner explained how not all subjects readily complied with this temporal shift in their subject identity. During the process of ROW clearance, a planner noted how some subjects were ‘good and cultured’ – those who readily complied with the directives given to them by the planners. But the majority of those living along the LR were *not* ‘good and cultured’. He reiterated how difficult it was to convince the affectees of their own future good:

...the Nazim there at the time... he played a vital role in that time... and he was able to successfully talk to the local people here... who were **good**, and **cultured**, **they cooperated with us** in this matter and they supported us... (P2, Pos. 81)

6.3.7 Bring forth your times: temporal longevity as urban legitimacy

Following the evictions, not all encroachers would be resettled. Proving **temporal longevity** on the LR sites was a precondition for receiving a compensation package once the ROW clearance operations were ongoing. This could be accomplished only if one had material or tangible proof of spending that time there. Such long-term association was invoked by some affectees as a precious resource, as evidence to claim a degree of urban embeddedness in their settlements along the ROW:

We have **evidence** for claiming that we have been **living here since 250 years**. Papers and documents **from the British era**, of land records... the graveyard that we have here... we have such **old** graveyards, in them are **so many ancient graves, of our grandfathers and great grandfathers**. And the **dates** are written on all those tombstones. They were all settled here, **they spent their time here**, they died here, and **only then** they were buried at this place... during the hearing, the judge said that I... as the judge of SHC, I accept and testify that HAV is as old as you all residents say. **The history that you have told us, and the evidence that you have showed in this court**, it has convinced me. (A1, Pos. 12)

But there were others who were not so lucky: even with a temporal longevity of stay on the site, their arguments were dismissed by the planners in the lack of ‘credible’ evidence, such as an NIC that specifically mentioned the residential address from that area, as narrated by an affectee:

This compensation was all based on the NICs. **If you have lived there even for 20 years, 30 years, but you don’t have an NIC to prove it, then you will not get a plot**. They were just **quickly** checking if we have NICs or not... they were not willing to listen to us and our **explanations**... they just said, *baba* **we don’t have so much time to listen to everyone’s reason for not having an NIC**... we have been assigned a task, we have to complete it, so that we can do other regular work also. (A4, Pos. 65)

The planner self-identified as the authority to decide which of the subjects were ‘genuine’ and were eligible to receive compensations, and which were ‘fake’ and would not be given anything in return for their unsubstantiated temporal claims. This differentiation was based on the documentation that the subjects could furnish as evidence of their temporal longevity on site:

Our role was to verify matters such as who was telling the truth, who is lying, who is doing dramas. (P4, Pos. 9)

But affectees reiterated this dilemma in the following words, citing how difficult it was to prove their temporal embeddedness in their intergenerational place of living, in the absence of particular documents:

We were taunted, we were mentally tortured, that bring a proof of your residence here, bring your NICs, and **bring the NICs of your father or grandfather... bring a proof that you have lived there for 20 years**, if you are saying that... that your father also lived here, show us your birth certificate. Where we had come from, over there children are born in the fields... there we did not even know what a birth certificate is. (A4, Pos. 74)

Tangible documents that clearly mentioned dates and names were considered the standard for verifying and handing out compensation plans. In the absence of such documents, many affectees simply did not receive any compensation. In the absence of such documents, the affectee remained only a decrepit relic of their past urban subjectification, and would not be able to transition into their new temporal subjectifications as a resettler in a new urban space.

6.3.8 Happily ever after: promises of a ‘better’ everlasting future

References to future times were quite substantial, throughout all the actors’ discourses, although discourse around the future was found to be starkly polarized amongst the actors. Planners almost always discursively produced the future as an aspiration, as a reality that was bound to come true, as something to look forward to. This ranged from simple projections of how the LEW would eventually benefit the city, to more complex predictions about how lifestyles of the affectees would change for the better. A planner commented on the future benefits of the LEW, yet unseen:

General Pervez Musharraf... understood the severity of the problem that existed in the **lack** of this project, and knew that **once this was up in place, it will be of great benefit to the city**. (P3, Pos. 13)

Planners also talked about future plans to expand the operation of the LEW:

If at two or three more places, a few **more interchanges are added** to the LEW, this could be used to **enhance the utility of this project** to a great degree. And the LEW does have the capacity to do that. So if interchanges are added at various points, 2 or 3, that would make it more accessible to **everyone**, to access it from more places. (P5, Pos. 21)

Of course, by using ‘everyone’, the planners’ discourse came back full circle to where the LEW story had started. ‘Everyone’ implied the private-vehicle owning middle class urban resident. This projected urban future precluded those without personal vehicles, such as the thousands displaced due to the LEW: such urban residents had no place in this imagined collective future for the city, where the LEW promised ‘accessibility for everyone’. They would instead have to make do with an imagined future scenario that the planners had painted for them simultaneously with the ‘accessibility for everyone’: that of a ‘changed’ future, a brighter, upgraded future for those affectees who complied and shifted to the resettlement site. A planner recounted how he reassured grieving affectees when they were lamenting the loss of their old houses, by visualizing for them the glad tidings of the future that awaited them:

It was a painful process for a lot of people, for a lot of families. Whether you are living on an encroachment, but a home is still a home, be it anybody’s home. A home contains the wife, the children, the family... a home contains memories... and a home is a home, however small or big, or legal or illegal... when you **are** living there, you do create a fond **attachment** to the place. That is natural. I have literally seen such people who used to be crying when they were leaving their areas. I did not treat them with contempt or harshness. To ease their pain, I used to show them a **bigger cause**: you are leaving the city and going to another location, at least 15-20 km away. You are going further away from your home and from the city. But you consider this, that **your future is going to be changed**. You are getting a **neat and clean environment** in the new place... your children will be there with you... if your children are grown up now, then eventually they will have children ... **now just imagine, if your children had kept living here in the same place as you, imagine what their future might have been like: it might have been like this, like your present. Today you are being displaced, perhaps a generation later your children would have been evicted from here... and perhaps at that time there might not have been such a benevolent compensation plan.** So think of all these advantages that you are getting... **think of how much potential the future holds for you, your kids, your families.** (P2, Pos. 84)

In their interaction with the affectees, the planner painted for them an image of a **bright future**, with all its associated visions of a ‘neat and clean environment’, focusing on inter-generational progress, and the **promise of ‘potential’**. He also reminded them how they had always been **temporally precarious** in their present state of living: that they **would have been evicted, if not today, then surely in the near future**. Even if the affectees had managed to evade eviction, the planner asserted, the best their children **would have** experienced of urban life in the future would have been comparable only to their unenviable state of affairs in the **present**, and nothing beyond. In a patronizing tone, he explained to them how their present could never be a future state to aspire to, for the next generation; that the contentment of the affectees on their present condition, along the LR, was a mere fallacy on their part, for it would lead only to a future that was worse-off. On the contrary, stressed the planner, the future could be brighter: but that would only be possible when the affectees agreed to subject themselves to this transition. In this way, planners were able to manipulate the temporal sensibilities and conceptualizations of the affectees, by dismissing the affectees’ present in favour of the planners’ futures for them. Once at the new resettlement site, all differences between the affectees would be levelled, all negative attributes removed, and all of them be born anew, with opportunities for growth and progress. The new urban subjects, because they complied with the planning authorities and came to settle at the new site, would not be looked upon with contempt or disapproval *any longer*. They would not be discriminated against, *based on their past* subject identities. This was manifested especially in the grooming of future generations through an education system that welcomed all poor affectee children with open arms:

Our schools accepted all children. **No matter you are legal or illegal**, that wasn’t important. What was important was that education should be provided to children. **Because if children are not getting education while living in the centre of the city, what good would that be for their future?** What do parents do, when they cannot send their children to school? Parents put them to work at a mechanic’s workshop, they make them work at a restaurant, or worse, they make them stand at a traffic signal in the evening and give them a few notebooks or stationery items to sell... even that is a sort of begging activity that was going on, right? (P2, Pos. 90)

These were the promises of the relocation scheme. **By availing this offer**, the futures of the next generation **could be** improved; **by continuing to stay illegally at the LR banks** and choosing to not be part of the resettlement program, encroachers and their children would **continue indefinitely** through **cycles** of hardships and low wages. The planner painted a bleak picture of the potential dystopic future of the affectees, had they not been ‘planned for’: the construction of the LEW, and its associated resettlement program, the LERP, was projected as a *disruption* to the temporally worsening cycle of the encroachers’ lives. The LEW provided a disjuncture in the temporality of their ‘miserable’ lives, and offered a new trajectory into the future, from this point on. This was a favour being offered to the new urban subjects: the administration was going above and beyond the LEW project, to make the impacts of the project less drastic for the populations being affected. From the planners’ point of view, given that the affectees were living ‘unauthorized’ lives along the LR, and should not have been entitled to receive anything in return for their evictions from this site, the government still decided to bless them with an outgoing gift, which should be seen by the affectees as a favour rather than an entitlement:

Because, they were living in an unauthorized way along the banks of the LR, the government wanted to make the project there on that land, the **land that belonged to the government anyway**, and the government could not really give the unauthorized residents fully constructed and furnished dwelling units, right. So that is why this model of compensation was adopted... if to anyone you provide a small piece of land, right... so people **slowly slowly** do construct a house on it **over time**... then it becomes their own property. (P1, Pos. 56)

Some affectees acknowledged that the government indeed had bestowed a favour upon them by giving them compensation when it was not obliged to. They confessed to the ‘illegality’ of their houses along the LR, and how this did not entitle them to receive anything from the government:

The ones whose houses were leased, the received compensation on the market rate. As for us, we were **unauthorized**, so **even if** we had not received anything after the demolitions, **we could not have** done anything. **Yet** we got all of this, and this was a great favour upon all of us. A lot of people still give them lot of prayers because of this. (A6, Pos. 84)

They admitted the compensation package as a favour from the government. The plot of land was there to give the affectees a **head start** into the new phase of their lives, something they could take and build upon, over time. This was their chance at redemption, at starting anew as an urban subject, avoiding the mistakes of their pasts.

But the Civil Society, even at the time these futures were being promised, was wary of the flamboyant discourses propagated by the planners, of ‘better’ futures and ‘improved’ lives. The former saw a future that had been discursively produced as a nirvana by the planners, but one that lacked long-term or substantial pragmatic foundations, and was never to materialize into the blissful reality it was being projected as:

The resettlement plan was good, it was something well-thought out, but **only as an immediate solution...** there were **no long-term considerations** in that plan, for their livelihoods, or even for small home-based industries. Now you see for yourself, all the resettlement plans that they had proposed, none of them contain an adjacent industrial area, or a busy commercial activity zone. So the whole relocation process really killed people’s livelihoods. So naturally, **people kept returning to places near their original homes**, following the same kinds of jobs that they previously had. (C3, Pos. 40)

However, the affectees did not see this transition from an ‘encroacher’ to an ‘affectee’ in the way it was being painted by the planners. In fact, the affectees believed that the planners’ flowery discourse was a false façade to the actual process of subject formation going on: the affectees self-identified themselves, from the point of view of the planners, as being quite expendable to the broader urban. In fact, the affectees imagined that they had been discursively produced as being worthless in the broader functioning of the urban around them, when the LEW was conceptualized and launched:

Everyone just dumping things here. First, they **dumped us** here [at LB]... now, they keep dumping all the greedy land grabbers here... and those who live here, they keep dumping their own garbage into the street, **like we were thrown out of the city. We were the garbage, living with garbage, along the LR...** so the government did not want us inside their beautiful house, they wanted to add a new **showpiece**, the LEW, into their living room... but first they had to **remove the mess** from that place, to make space for the new

showpiece... so of course, they had to **throw us out, for them we were the garbage inside their beautiful living room.** (A4, Pos. 73)

Additionally, for the planners, references to the future were mostly *retrospective*: in their discourses, the future was *relative to* the past that **had already been** – the past of 20 years ago, of 2004-05. In the accounts of the planners, the future itself existed in and was anchored to the past: as a **projection** of the past, the future had only morphed into the contemporaneous present, in 2021-22. Their imaginaries of the ‘future’ hardly went beyond the contemporary condition: in 2021-22, at the time of the interviews, the future was already here; it had been achieved, it had been accomplished. What had been promised of the future, back in the past, had already been delivered from the side of the planners. From here on, in the ensuing years, there was no further imaginary of the future, except for one that already built upon the positive impacts that had purportedly been accomplished. In this regard, the future from this point in time, from 2022 onwards, was simply a happily-ever-after extension of the (imagined) present, which the planners had promised 20 years ago, and had delivered sequentially. They ruminated on the pre-LEW past of the affectees mostly as backward, non-urban, and something that was drastically **awaiting** a change. According to the planners, the LEW project was able to deliver people out of a deteriorating past:

When we flip the story and see it today, **8-10 years later, 20 years later...** all those people, who here in the River were spending their lives in the most **pathetic** condition... **today they possess legal possession** of their own homes, they are sitting peacefully in their own individual houses. Then got up from that place and are **now** living in a clean and tidy place. And on the other hand, our riverbed, totally, was almost 50-70% encroached, all that got absolutely cleared out. (P5, Pos. 51)

In contrast, for the affectees, the future was, quite pragmatically, located way ahead in time: in 2021-22, it had not *arrived* yet. The affectees almost always referred to the future as a state of living which was *yet* to arrive. They both looked forward to it and planned for it, but were also apprehensive and downright hopeless about it. But ironically, the planners still believed that the future had arrived: it was here, to

comment on, to evaluate in its entirety. Planners believed that the whole process of removing and resettling the affectees was one of upgradation and betterment of the latter's lives, and not of dispensing with the 'trash', as the affectees were asserting. In fact, the planners firmly believed that the affectees themselves were grateful that the construction of the LEW had provided them with a way into a 'better' urban future:

They [affectees] used to say to us, yes, **we acknowledge**, our house was an illegal encroachment, and **we were illegal inhabitants** of those areas... but this project has **at least blessed** our life in such a way, that we are **now** living in a clean and sanitized environment... **yesterday** we were sitting along a dirty river... **today** we are living in a clean place... **yesterday** we were living in a polluted area, **today** we are in a non-polluted area. (P2, Pos. 58)

On the other side of the LEW story, the planners saw a worse fate for those who actively resisted the LEW and had managed to halt the demolition of their houses and settlements: those who continue to live along the LR today. The planners predicted that those who did not adhere to the planner's temporal subjectification have chosen for themselves a more precarious subjectification, that of being vulnerable to natural urban conditions of the future, such as urban floods:

See, HAV and Niazi Colony. These were the two areas, in which, till the very end, the encroachers did not vacate the ROW. Now imagine, **when** the LR floods, **what will happen?** There are no walls to stop the flood water – the water **will** flow through the piles and into these settlements. There, the people forced us to change the alignment of the LEW, to make it go vertical on piles instead of resting on protective walls. If ever, God forbid there is a high flood in the LR... **all of these settlements that did not vacate the ROW and ones that are still located right on the banks of the LR... all of them will be inundated, I am sure of this.** (P3, Pos. 28)

Planners expressed warnings for those who did not heed their auguries and imageries of continuing to live alongside the LR, and who resisted the LEW. For the planners, this was the gloomy future that the residents had chosen for themselves, by not aligning themselves with the technically-backed future plans of the planners: now the ravages of the future would be the affectees' own to bear, as they did not pay attention to the warnings of the planning expert.

Hence, this two-pronged temporal discourse – illegality and uncleanness in the present, which had to be planned and redirected towards a ‘better’ state in the future – became necessary to justify the relocation of these urban subjects to a legal and a cleaner place, the resettlement site of LB.

6.3.9 *De maar sarhey chaar: time waits for no one*

Even with all-encompassing promises of better futures, and in the presence of verified documents, some affectees still could not get compensation packages in time. The demolitions were quick – demolition teams arrived suddenly, and often redirected the protesting affectees to talk to the project officials, while they carried on with the demolitions, the task that had been assigned to them. Projects officials were not always available on site to talk to, to convince them to wait:

I went to the demolition team and said, with so much trouble we have managed to gather all our documents, we have submitted our documents in your office, we have done all the paperwork... but we have not received the file **yet**, from your office... **now** if you break this house **today**, and we don't have the file, what are we supposed to do? So **please wait until** we have the file, at least, **then** you can break whenever as you want. But he said, **we have a long list of tasks today, and we are short on time**, go and do your work and let us do our work. I said, how will you break it, I will not let you break it. I stood in front of the bulldozer. (A7, Pos. 33)

...so many houses were demolished **before** handing them files, and they had to run around for compensation **after** their house had been demolished. Many of them were not even heard **when** they approached the offices, they were told that **you don't have any proof** of your house or your stay at this place, **why should we give** you a compensation file? (A5, Pos. 44)

The quick speed of demolitions, soon after promises of a better future, were necessary for the planners to ensure that affectees come to terms with the fact that the LEW would eventually be built over their demolished homes. Any delays or prolonged consultations with the affectees would have only elongated the ROW clearance, which would have delayed the construction of the project even further. A planner recounts the pace at which the demolition teams worked to clear the ROW:

By the end of the process, they just started demolishing everything at full speed [*de maar sarhey chaar*], even those who were not in the ROW, who were legal and permissible, they even demolished some of their houses. (P4, Pos. 14)

He believed that had the planners indulged in the sensational or legally ambiguous aspects of removing decades old settlements for an urban project, matters might have lingered on for a longer time – which they did, eventually, as the resistance never fully died down. But even as they operated, planners were fully aware of the seriousness of their actions, and the impacts it would have on the residents.

Of course, it is to be expected, this is natural, that anyone's house, when you will demolish, so you will...over there... you will have to talk to them... but **once, people get to understand and they come to feel that this**, how the things are taking place, this is the **writ of the government, and it will happen eventually, and they mean business, then people start listening to what you have to say**... so were are thankful to Allah that **anywhere we did not encounter any unpleasant incident during the clearance of the ROW** by demolishing structures on it. (P1, Pos. 51)

So in that process, Sindh Government people used to accompany us, and we were also supported by the various LEAs, Rangers, police... so we did have protection when we were on the sites, so no violent or unfortunate incident happened. (P6, Pos. 69)

Hence by this point in time, using these temporal strategies, the resisting 'encroachers' had been *domesticated* into passive 'affectees', quietly accepting of their fate, gratefully or begrudgingly. From now on, they would come forth with a submissive attitude, and were acknowledged and appreciated for it by the planners. What had to happen through the 'writ of the government' had already been decided; the storm would come and pass, as had been planned. Once it did, there would only be a process of salvaging: salvaging the individual compensations from the plethora of allotment lists; salvaging the construction materials from the smoking debris; and salvaging the affectees' dignities from the heated discourses and acts of resistance they had wasted their precious times in, before finally giving in to the future that had been purposefully curated for them. This transition marked the beginnings of a phase of acceptance: a pacifist, non-violent, and compliant approach to becoming subjects. The initial anger, violence, resistance gave way to a new subject, who had now been

‘tamed’ into accepting whatever was on offer. Once the cognitive threshold from resistance to compliance had been crossed, the subsequent actions of the affectees would have now to be reframed in light of **new** struggles: not of discursive and material violence against the project any more, let alone emotional denial of the fact that the project was soon to become a reality; but struggles based around practical action, of trying to get verification documents, of salvaging any movable construction materials, of relocating furniture and household items to safer storage locations. These new practices foreshadowed what was to become the *intermediate* temporal phase between *eviction* and *resettlement*:

The residents of the area, who had metal sheets for roofs, they started removing those sheets, people who had bamboo roofs, they started removing them too. Someone who had a concrete roof, to save money they started to chip away at the cement, trying to salvage the concrete slabs. Meaning, whichever way the poor person could try to save their money, they were scrambling to do just that, and then they started preparing to leave with their belongings. Our father, he himself, when he came back home, went to the rooftop and started removing the ceilings, he removed the slabs and the lintels... then loaded them onto the moving truck, and we brought all those materials here, to LB. That same roof served us, it remained on top of this house for about 15 years. (A8, Pos. 23)

This *intermediate* phase, of course, did not exist in the minds of the planners: for them, the trajectory from *here* to *there* was **temporally instantaneous**:

My most important task... was the removal of encroachments. And **along with the removal of encroachments**, the people who were sitting there, the inhabitants, my role was **to supervise their transition into the resettlement sites**. (P2, Pos. 35)

The truck loaded with personal belongings, exiting the demolition site, was to make a direct entry into the resettlement site – there were to be no mid-stops along the way, in space, in time. The way out of the LR settlement was an automated portal into the LB resettlement site, the resettled life, where everything was already set up and in place, waiting to welcome the newly arriving evictees, as they had been pre-informed.

6.3.10 *Barzakh: between two times*

For the planners, the intermediate period from LR banks to LB was a hazy era of the affectees' personal activities, that needed little attention or intervention from the planners. The transition period was the affectees' responsibility, after the conditions of transition had been enacted by the planners. Eventually the affectees would come to settle; so for the planner, all would be well that would end well. A planner summed up the affectees' struggles during this transition phase conveniently:

So then [after the evictions], the people, from **here and there** they took loans, they **made their efforts**, and **somehow or the other** they **managed** to go and settle at those sites. (P1, Pos. 58)

The individual details of the precarity faced by the affectees were *gently brushed aside*: the youths disrupted, the school examinations missed, the social relations distanced, the occupation networks broken, the family savings squandered. All of these were, for the planner, an understandably necessary part of the transition process, but one that did not matter as long as, 'somehow or the other', the affectees achieved a 'happily ever after' state at LB. it was inconceivable for the planner to indulge in the details of each family's struggles as they moved from one temporal subjectification into another. For the planners, time was *pre-provided for*, in advance; the calendar of progress had been launched *before* the affectees had arrived there, *not after*; the blissful 'better' lives promised to them had kicked off even before they had physically entered the spatial bounds of the resettlement site. Everything was present here, and everything was in motion: schools were up and running, hospitals were functioning, streets were to be cleaned every day. The dividends were multiplying before the investment had even been made; or at least this was the projected temporal truth:

The most beautiful thing about this project was that not only were those people being rehabilitated, but there was a change coming in their life. How did that change come? There [in the resettlement areas], employment was given to them, it was provided directly. And schools were also provided. And those schools had actual teachers. And **it wasn't like this, that you go away from here and go live there, and three years later you will get a proper**

place and proper facilities – no! There [at resettlement sites], **opportunities were created first... schools... libraries... shops... bus stops... mosques... all of these were constructed there before the people's arrival.** Then whoever [of the affectees] would come and see all of this **already there**, they would **instantly** come and start building their houses here. Of course! It was such a conducive place to live. (P2, Pos. 56)

For the planner, there were only *two* temporal subjectifications: the encroacher before eviction, and the resettler at the new site. For the planner, there was no third, intermediary temporal existence of the affectee – the period plagued by uncertainties, speculations, and fragmented practices that marked the phase between displacement and settling. But for the affectee, this transition was a distinct temporal phase in itself:

In the beginning [right after the evictions], no one could find rental properties... imagine, so many houses had been broken. There were so many families looking for houses. Everyone wanted a house nearby their previous house, because they had to go to the same jobs. In this chaos, landlords became greedy too. Small houses and portions were rented out at exorbitant prices. Some families who could not afford to rent houses nearby were also looking for spaces to keep their furniture and belongings safe. And people with space were charging monthly rents for people to keep their belongings in their rooms, or in their courtyards. They said, please keep our things here, **we cannot afford to live in this area, but we also cannot pay for a truck to take our belongings somewhere else**, because we have not found a suitable house **yet**. (A6, Pos. 56)

The smooth transition envisioned by the planners, from one home to the other, from one job to the next, from the old life to the new one; this was simply not to be found in the discourses of the affectees. For the affectees, this was a period of intense turmoil, struggle, and uncertainty. They had to build new routes, new relationships, hunt for new jobs, build a new clientele, calculate the daily expenditures on new commutes, and hunt for new cheap grocery markets to provide for the family. For non-salaried daily wagers and labourers, this meant venturing into a period of *known uncertainty*, whose longevity was unclear: whether it would take a few weeks, a few months, or a few years, to get back on their feet, to a similar lifestyle they had built before they had been told to move. The old rhythms of their personal, economic and social lives had been disrupted. At LB, these expected rhythms were punctured with

inactive phases between bouts of activity: the pulsations of job hunts and new contracts followed with periods of economic inactivity, as the settlers spent time working on construction of the new house when the demand for their labour was low. But these cycles were far from predictable; and hence could not be planned around. Such were the temporal disadvantages faced by affectees in this transition phase. An affectee narrated how the work routine of his father got affected as they prepared for relocation:

His work did get affected. He was a labourer, a mason. Before the relocations, he used to work for the **local** markets, he used to visit **nearby** areas and provide his services he could **find** work easily. And he **had been working there for so many years, everyone knew him and they would recommend his name to other customers**. After coming here, it took **a while to get started** on the work **again**. Of course, there were more **immediate** issues too, like settling in, providing for the family, making sure all the furniture and everything arrived completely, and also trying to build a house on the plot, side by side. So his work did get affected. **The pattern of work became more erratic**. He would get small commissions, because the people here were poorer as well, and there wasn't really much construction going on when we shifted. So he got small jobs, **after every few days**...he would bring in a few sacks of sand, or a few blocks, and do a little work... then spend some days without work. **On those days** he used to plan for the house, and work on the house. **Then when** money started to finish, he would go out and look for work **again**. **Then** he would work for a few days, bring back the money, save a little and spend it on the house. **So this continued for a long time**. So **slowly slowly** these conditions passed, and we got older, and then we also started helping him with this chores. I used to do this, that when I used to go to school, our school would get off around 1pm, then I used to come home, after changing the uniform and having lunch, I used to go and work in a small factory... in this way we tried to help out our family. My eldest brother, who had the videogame shop, during this shifting he shifted with his family to Korangi. It was such **a time of uncertainty, no one knew what to do**... families were shifting separately, and people were getting separated from one another. The whole environment became so **chaotic**, no one could do anything. We were completely **disoriented**, all of us. (A8, Pos. 73)

The Civil Society members could see the temporal fallacies on part of the planners; they emphasized that such a drastic process of large-scale relocation cannot be instantaneous, and it needed an extended phase of planning, monitoring, and feedback to be effective. It could not have been a hit and run operation on behalf of

the planners, the way it was being executed at the moment. They called out the planners for their lack of temporal considerations in the planning of the relocation process, and the lack of attention given by them to the intermediate phase following eviction:

At that time, wages were quite low. A daily wager might have earned as little as 50 PKR per day, and out of that, 22 PKR used to be spent in his daily commute. The ones who were earning a little more, in factories or more established workplaces, might have earned about 70-80 PKR daily, and spent 22 PKR in commute. But when they were here [near the LR settlements], they didn't have to spend so much of their income on transport. They would work in a 4-5 km area... and many of them used to walk, many used to commute by their own bicycle or motorbike. Even the women would go outside the home and work for a few hours: in **nearby** hospitals and clinics, in schools, in homes as house-help, in small industries nearby. And even within these settlements, there used to be small cottage industries, which women used to operate, working from home... and there were small workshops set up inside these residential areas, and they were producing small products and earning small incomes from them. All of them were **disrupted**. (C3, Pos. 29)

He emphasized how the visions of the 'bright future' did not include the already embedded routines, practices, and economic networks of the affectees. These would all have to be remade at LB; and what would be happening during the time that these remakings were taking place was something that the planners had not given ample thought to. The affectees had initially believed the promises of the planners, of immediate bright futures ahead, right after transitioning from the LR banks:

When they were sending us here, they told us, go live there, for the first 5 years you will get free electricity, free water, free everything. (A4, Pos. 17)

But they also mention how this transition into the future was closely regulated by the planning authorities, and the resettlers were penalized if they failed to adhere to this trajectory of the planned future:

There was a rule, that after moving here, **if construction does not begin in 5 years, then the allotment would be cancelled and the plot will be taken back. But it was such an absurd condition...** Now they kept coming and checking after every few weeks, that this person has made a boundary or not, he has laid a foundation or not. **So how would we get this done in such little time? How could they make a house in 5 years, when they just have**

50'000 PKR to start with? And in this process, we saw with our own eyes, a lot of people's plots were cancelled. **These poor people kept trying to save up for 5 years, so they could start construction, but in 5 years they could not lay even a single block on their plot.** And the officers cancelled their files, saying that they were just sitting and speculating, for the land value to go up, so now they don't deserve this plot and it will be given to someone who is more needy. (A5, Pos. 49)

The hopes of a better future, promised by the planners themselves, could be dashed in such a way. Some affectees found it hard to reconcile the absurdity of these temporal expectations and obligations placed upon them by the planners of the LEW project when they were handed a small sum of money and a plot of land to move to, after their houses had been destroyed. One in particular expresses his sheer frustration at the condition of starting construction within the first few years:

But what will someone do with the plot only? Even those who got 50'000 PKR with the plot, even for them **it was not possible to immediately move to LB and start living there. So what would someone do after taking a plot only?** How will I construct on it? How will I live on it? **When** will I get to do that, 5 years later, 10 years later? **What will I do with that plot for the next 10 years, do I go and dance on it?** (A4, Pos. 67)

Given the limitations of finances, labour, and constant movement to and from the site, in addition to going about their everyday jobs and domestic routines, the affectees found it practically impossible to construct a house at LB within the specified deadline. Some did try to piece together a rudimentary dwelling, laying the foundations and erecting four walls around the plot:

Yes, of course, 50'000 PKR is too small an amount to construct a house, you know that. At that time, with the 50'000 that we received, we could **only lay the foundations and the plinth. After** the plinth is made, you can just put up a shack and start living while you **keep making rooms** and adding new things. But we had taken out a small loan to complete the house, so that we could start living in peace. So we made **one small room**, a very small sitting area, and an open courtyard. We had brought the T-girders from our old house, and we **re-used** them in the new house. **During the time** we were living on rent, we had transported our materials to a friend who was already living in LB, in Sector 35. **After** we began construction, we picked up the materials from him and took them to our plot. So this way we managed to save a little. And we weren't even able to plaster the walls, let alone paint them... we just moved in **as soon as** the walls and ceiling was up, without

plaster or anything. The kitchen was a small corner, and we used wood as fuel... I used to cut and bring wood every day from the nearby overgrowth **after** coming home from work. (A6, Pos. 62)

For them, the house-building was a continuous process, an effort that had to be sustained for a long period of time. The process was quite similar to the initial house they had constructed along the LR banks, all those years ago; in that way, it was reminiscent of the earlier efforts when settling into a new urban space – almost a reliving of the same traumas and struggles. This was especially dire because it was not just a spatial displacement. Families, connections, job networks, were all expected to be transplanted instantaneously into the new site – but the conditions of the site were a far cry from what the planners were repeatedly projecting:

When our family visited this place for the **first time**, they said clearly, we cannot live here. They saw clouds of dust flying everywhere, and no sign of a living being for miles around. They bluntly said, no, we **will not** come here. But the men of the family, we **kept on working** on the plots, **taking little bits of time** out here and there... **saving some time on the weekends** we would come here, sometimes we brought a few things with us, sometimes we would buy some materials along the way and load them on a Suzuki pickup van and bring them here... like this, **in instalments, the house kept getting built, just like the episodes of a Star Plus [soap opera]**. (A6, Pos. 54)

Hence, the intermediate phase, from rooting out the life along the LR, to the replantation of this life at LB, was a time of uncertainty, precarity, and endlessly repetitive practices and struggles for the affectees. But it was also one that the affectees believed had pushed them back in time – had they not moved, today they would have been financially and socially much stronger, building upon what they had already accomplished in the initial 20 years of their settling:

This place was a jungle, a desert, **when we arrived**. First we lost 20 years by coming back to a jungle... then we spent 20 years in building up our lives again, it took 20 years of hard work by us to make it look something like a city. **If we had stayed in the city, 20 plus 20, we would have been 40 years ahead**, don't you think? Can you imagine where our children might be? Someone might be a doctor, someone might be a *babu* [government officer] today. (A7, Pos. 45)

Others lamented imminent future hazards as soon as they had arrived here. Rent was one particular hardship for those who had lost their homes but had not received plots

to make their own houses. For them, the longevity of paying rent projected into the unseen future as far as they could imagine, without any respite.

With our people happened a big injustice... many did not get compensation, and they are forced to live on rent in this place now, since 15 years they are paying this rent. **Imagine, all their lives they spent paying rents, what will they save? Will they keep working into their old age, until their grave, just so they can pay rent?** It is much **cheaper to buy a grave** for 8000 PKR, and go and live inside that grave with peace, **forever and ever.** (A4, Pos. 11)

They described the state of limbo that existed for them in the initial years – they were back to a temporal stasis, their ‘urban’ progress nipped in the bud before their informal settlements along the LR banks had time to become ‘leased’. While a lucky few from the same settlements happened to move forward in time during the last two decades, the affectees had to re-live and re-create the same life cycles they had already been through. Potential had been lost, not gained, as the planners had promised them. However, this was a phase that seemed almost non-existent to the planners. This was the phase where the maximum effort was put in by the affectees; the planners appeared to simply not consider the efforts and the reiterations of life itself that went into this phase.

6.3.11 Re-winding the clock, every day: temporal perpetuities

The themes of temporality and temporal subject-formation featured heavily across all actors’ discourses when they drew comparisons between the pre- and post-eviction living conditions. The affectees usually implied negative comparisons, of how relocating to the peripheral resettlement site had deprived them of their former connectedness to urban services, and how they now **had to spend more time** accessing the same services. They strongly felt like the whole relocation process had pushed them ‘back in time’:

By coming here, we have actually travelled back in time. **People think, oh what is the big deal, they have just gone 20 kilometres away from the city... brother, in reality, we have come 20 years away from the city.** (A7, Pos. 44)

For the affectees, it was not merely a matter of spatial and material displacement, but essentially one of **temporal displacement**: of being displaced, forcefully, across urban time. Some commented on how this push back in time corresponded with a return to a primordial mode of non-urban uncivility that had been enforced upon them by the planners of the LEW:

We have come 40 years back. **From** the city, we have come **back to** the wilderness. **From** the civilized place with all the facilities, we are now **back in** the jungle, in the village. (A6, Pos. 134)

This forced displacement across time also implied being forced to **rebuild from scratch** the life that they had put together incrementally, and that had been violently dismantled before their eyes.

Just like the 20 years of our life that **we lost** when we came here [after the evictions], and just like we **have spent** the previous 20 years **just rebuilding** that life again [in the new resettlement site]... (A5, Pos. 13)

An affectee narrated the very tangible manifestation of what it meant to be pushed back a decade, in terms of the efforts that go into making and sustaining livelihoods over time:

When we came here to LB, it was very difficult to find work. My work depends on going here and there, building up contacts, setting up a network of customers. But here, it felt as is **my hands had been chopped off... I had to start from nothing**, all over again. It felt like **I was just walking around all day, without getting anything done**, going from shop to shop, house to house... I had to **redo all of the work again, spend the next 10 years building up my customer base from the start**. The shopkeepers here did not know me, so how could they recommend me to customers, how would they know I was honest and skilled? It took a long time to build up a name here. (A6, Pos. 51)

Others followed in the same spirit, and commented on the processes of rebuilding, restructuring, and reconfiguring their lives, being forced into never-ending temporal **repetitions**. For them, temporal scales were cyclical and predictable for certain urban populations such as themselves, by being forced into mundane reiterations of life. Fighting through such repetitive hardships, the affectees persevered, trying to overcome the fallout from the instantaneous cosmic event that had rattled their

existence: they now had to undergo the process of slow creation to patch together their urban universe once more.

In the beginning, I used to come and visit LB, looking for a house to rent, because I did not get a plot. And I used to observe how many plots were built, how many were left unbuilt, where construction was taking place. I remember, **people used to construct in such small steps**. One day, they would bring in 100 blocks, then 100 blocks the next day. They were literally building it **step by step, day by day, week by week**. Even they knew it would take a year or more just to have this house ready. And there was a rule, that if construction does not begin in 5 years, then the allotment would be cancelled and the plot will be taken back. Now they kept coming and checking after every few weeks, that this person has made a boundary or not, he has laid a foundation or not. So how would they get this done in such little time? How could they make a house in 5 years, when they just have 50'000 PKR to start with? And in this process, we saw with our own eyes, a lot of people's plots were cancelled. These poor people kept trying to save up for 5 years, so they could start construction, but **in 5 years they could not lay even a single block** on their plot. And the officers cancelled their files, saying that they were just sitting and speculating, for the land value to go up, so now they don't deserve this plot and it will be given to someone who is more needy. Now there is so much inflation, I don't have the resources, but yes I am an allottee, I have received this plot... but how can I construct a house? But they don't think like this, they just think, if he is sitting here, he must be saving this plot so he can sell it at a higher price later. (A5, Pos. 49)

All our belongings, we loaded on the same day onto trucks and brought here, all this happened in one day... we had put up four walls here... in 50 thousand PKR, we could not have made a house. So when we arrived here, there was an acquaintance of my father's... so we lived at his house for a few months, on rent. In the meantime, our father started constructing this home. He laid the foundations out of simple blocks, and then very slowly each month he used to keep adding bits to the house, a wall here, a window here, some plaster there. **For these 15 years I used to observe, our house did not have a front wall, nor a main door**. Our courtyard did not have a roof, and none of the floors of our house were finished or cemented. When it used to rain, all our rooms turned into little muddy ponds. (A8, Pos. 68)

In addition to the labour involved in constructing houses again from scratch after the relocation, even something as mundane as work commutes became physically cumbersome, temporally stretched, and financially burdening:

When I moved here, it took too long to go to work at the factory near my old house, where I was still employed. It took 1.5 hours, sometimes 2 hours, to

go one-way. I used to be absent on some days, when it became too burdening. But the factory owners were good people, they waited for me to adjust to this new phase in my life, and they didn't fire me at once. But after a year or so, I myself was finding it difficult to keep going to the same place. So I had to drop that job. (A6, Pos. 64)

When you have sent them there, you deprived them of everything. Now they don't have money in their pocket to pay for transport to their workplaces... **unless** they have money in their pockets, they **cannot** go to work, isn't that so? Had I been in the city, wherever in the city, I could have spent 10 PKR and got to work, even if that meant I had to walk for 10 minutes, 15 minutes, I would have walked, and then spent a little money to get to work. But from here? **How long can I walk?** One hour? Two hours? And even after that, I will have to spend 50 PKR, 80 PKR. It is so exhausting, even just thinking about this. (A5, Pos. 51)

Faced with such repetitive and extraneous tasks every day, some affectees considered themselves to be stuck between a rock and a hard place. They often contemplated moving out of LB, to another location in the city, to cut down on commute times, as well as the time they lost on accessing basic urban amenities. But this was a choice that had its pitfalls too – this option would spell a less affordable life. The affectees were hard pressed to choose between saving time or saving money:

Life here has been really hard from the very start. Everyone is poor. Now, if I think of leaving this place and going to live in the city... yes, **it will save time and money in my daily commute**... but a room in the city can be 8000-10'000 PKR per month, just one small room. It is impossible to keep the whole family there, it is so small and cramped... we have a big family, with children... my son is married, sometimes, our relatives also come to visit. How can we all stay in one room? **So you tell me, do we save time or do we save money? Brother, for poor people like ourselves, it is money that is more important, and time is just something that comes and goes**... one hour, two hours, what can we do with saving this time... **our whole lives have been wasted, what is the value of one or two hours**... yes, **but if we save money instead, this money will at least be useful for our children in the future.** (A7, Pos. 47)

6.3.12 Waiting for Godot: the present resented, the future unpromising

The participants' reflections on the conditions of the present, with respect to the outcomes of the resettlement process, were varied. Planners envisioned the LB of today as a thriving settlement, which had progressed naturally from the trajectory of development that they had left planned for it – for them, it could not possibly be otherwise. This point of view, that the LB has improved over the years, and is an enviable residential site for those who had been moved there, was found to be common across all planners, despite their self-proclaimed temporal dissonance with the project over the years:

No no, **I haven't gone there in a long time! Now** that place **is** like a whole big city in itself, **I believe. It is now** a big, big area, it has expanded quite far. Today, a whole new city is thriving there, a whole city. (P4, Pos. 85)

And they are **still there today, you can see how beautiful** those settlements are! One is Musharraf Colony, one is at Hawkesbay, one is at Taiser Town. So these are the three settlements. Hundreds of thousands of people, who you can imagine **were** living in a very uncivilized way, inside drains, inside the river, every year there were rains, people would die... they did not have proper light [electricity], neither did they have any hygienic system [sanitary conditions of living and healthcare]... I mean, definitely you can very well imagine, how people living in drains would be living, *bicharey* [the poor souls]. So, ultimately, hundreds of thousands of people's lives were **improved** with this project. (P1, Pos. 18)

Hence, even without having visited LB in a long time, planners claimed that the resettlement site would have undoubtedly continued on its trajectory of progress from the time that it was founded, into the present. Surely, how could things have changed, or gone against what had been projected by the planners? The affectees must surely today be 'improved' from the conditions they had been rescued from all those year ago by the planners. Most planners asserted their fore-knowledges leading into predictions of the future, which in their 'belief' had materialized today, as uncontested truths. Other planners adopted a more honest position on their own (lack of) knowledge about the current condition of LB:

But what is their condition now, these days, I do not know a thing about it... perhaps they [facilities at resettlement sites] might be working, perhaps they are now defunct. I have not followed up after 2010, when we left. Because it

wasn't a part of my domain then... so I don't know their condition today. (P2, Pos. 59)

However, the point of view of affectees was starkly different from the planners here. They commented on how the present that was promised by the planners 20 years ago, when forcing them to shift here, had not been realized even today:

You were given a **golden dream** to look forward to, when they told you that you had to come and live here. They said, you will have schools, you will have electricity, water, you will get playgrounds here. (A5, Pos. 48)

This place was **supposed to become** a mini-Karachi. There were people of all backgrounds coming in here with the resettlement program. Instead, after 20 years, **this has become** the trash can of Karachi... **this is what we have become**. (A4, Pos. 73)

Instead of what was promised to them while sending them here, affectees asserted that today, their current living conditions in LB were even comparable to the settlements they had been removed from decades ago on the pretext of those settlements being unhygienic and underserviced. They criticized how the promises and dreams had remain unfulfilled, unrequited:

Whatever thing should have reached somewhere, that thing did not reach that place. (A5, Pos. 28)

Affectees also alluded to the dormancy of the LB: where nothing was happening, a dead stillness hung in the air; but not a beautiful, peaceful, serene stillness, representing composure; but a dead, lifeless, necrophilic, and morbid one, signalling more gloom ahead. They were back to their non-urban stasis of the pre-LEW phase of their lives:

...when they had announced that this was an already developed area, all the amenities had been provided here, so why is your project still **incomplete** after 20 years? And the parts that you claim are complete, even those are defective. And the ones that are actually incomplete, they are just lying there, dormant. There is nothing there. (A8, Pos. 94)

...today you see its state, it is like we are living in a **blacklisted** settlement. Bring the LR here, and this will become the **same place** we were 20 years ago. **What is the difference between that place and this one?** Where are all the claims of better futures and a better life? It **has become** same area that we were removed from, 20 years ago. (A8, Pos. 112)

The affectees had been pushed back into reliving their same non-urban past. Today, the lives of the affectees are plagued by not just the broader alleged temporal injustices of the past, but a plethora of cumbersome temporal micro-practices in the present which result from these past injustices. These temporal micro-practices hinge around forced repetitions, and doing things over and over, or in an inefficient way, which results in a wastage of individual and collective time today:

Ask us how much time we waste, going down a street, then finding that there is a big gutter overflowing at the end, then **retracing** our steps back to the beginning of the street and going down its adjacent one... every day, going to mosque, going to market... **how many times** our motorbike tires have punctured on these broken roads, from these stones lying around randomly... **what a waste of life**. (A4, Pos. 44)

Here, there is not one home that does not have to order a water tanker every week or so, otherwise they cannot go to the toilet, they cannot wash their faces. I don't want to buy water from the local tanker suppliers... I have seen the place from where they fill the water... it is from a nearby pond, dirty and smelly, from Gadap. If you see that place, you will refuse these tankers too... so **currently I am forced** to use smaller bottles, even for household needs, which **I go and fill from the RO plant nearby**. It has been **almost 4-5 years**, I am not using the tanker water... although it is **very tedious** to get individual bottles filled for our **daily** household uses, but at least I know that water is safe to use for bathing and washing dishes... I can't trust the local tankers. Who will knowingly, by spending their own money, buy disease? (A5, Pos. 16)

These temporal micro-practices, such as those around getting usable water for everyday use, employ various individual labour-intensive processes, every day: walking, riding a motorbike with large empty bottles, waiting in line at the RO plant, bringing heavy filled bottles back home balanced unevenly on the motorbike, rationing the water for household chores, per member, per day; and then perhaps making multiple such trips per day, per week. Even imagining these routines seemed unrealistic and cumbersome, but the affectee, and many others like him, are subjected to this temporal bondage. Others narrated similar accounts of the temporal pulsations of domestic water usage, which are very much dependent on the pulsations in water supply in their pipes; these are in turn dependent on the regular pulsations of unpredictable, erratic monthly payments, calls to private

tanker-operators, waiting times for the tankers to bless them with a visit, helping the tanker navigate to their particular street on the phone; followed by hydraulic micro-practices of their own: opening underground tanks, peeking in, checking levels with long wooden sticks, getting tanker pipes extended and tied up, climbing the private tanker to check if the tanker has been filled up fully, turning on the tanker tap, waiting, preparing tea for the tank supplier, making small talk while constantly keeping check until the underground tank is done filling; and, of course, taking a day off work to oversee this important domestic chore. Or the affectee might choose to, or be forced to, risk getting their tanks filled after work, in the dark, in which case they could not check the cleanliness of the water, or the remaining depth of underground tank, or the fullness of the private tanker. Although seemingly mundane and linear routines, these micro-practices were responsible for indefinitely long-lasting temporal expenditures and uncertainties for the affectees in their present living conditions. And they could not see an end to these forced repetitive temporal practices in the near future. For any resistance to such enforced temporalities implied further temporal obligations: raising a voice or protesting such conditions, or taking legal action against these, would again require **temporal resources**, something the affectees were already strapped for. They self-identified their temporal limitations and ambiguities:

Now, shall a person look after his household affairs, or should he look at these matters? And the courts... yes, you can try to approach the courts... but brother, tell me, how will I go to a court **when** I work **all day**? **When the court summons me, should I go to work that day or should I go to my hearing?** And what if the matter doesn't get resolved the same day, **how long should I keep going** to the court? So my brother, **these things can only be done by one who has the time to do them**. We are barely living one hour to the next, **all our hours are calculated**, 2 hours in commute, 10 hours in work, 2-3 hours in coming back, a few hours of rest, and then again 2 hours to work. If I also indulge in these police and complaint matters, **what will become of my other time slots?** Where will I **adjust** these activities? Will going to the police or the courts **give me more hours** in the day, will they give me an extra hour or two in the day? That I can go to the police in **hour number 25**, and then to the court in **hour number 26**? Let's suppose, I decide that I have had enough, I will not tolerate any of this anymore. I lodge a complaint in the court. Then I go to follow it, one day, two days, three days... ten days I can

go... **then what?** My savings start to dry up... and **I still don't know how long it will be** before my complaint gets resolved. You see how **uncertain** this whole process is for us? **The day that we do some work, the next day we can eat. The day that we don't work, we will have tell ourselves to eat half, so we can save the other half for the next day.** (A5, Pos. 55)

When we wish to speak up against these things, we **don't even have time** to take care of our own families, we spend the whole day trying to meet our basic needs, **how can we take out time** to go and run after these issues? (A6, Pos. 66)

In the more recent present, an affectee woefully described how time was being used as a tool for structural violence and systemic oppression of the poorest urban homeowners. He believed that even today, the non-provision of infrastructure at LB was merely a delaying tactic, a temporal violence of sorts, that was meant to test the settlers' perseverance before they would finally give up and move away, selling their legal property here to opportunistic and speculative investors. He hinted at how times would change just after this transaction occurred: he foresaw that in the near future, facilities and infrastructures would return to the area, once the LEW affectees had been forced out:

Today, some people might be thinking that this is such good land, such valuable land, all leased as a government project, so let's torture the poor people to such an extent that they are forced to move away from here... **after that**, let's restore the area and give this space to good people, a **better** class... so that **in the coming years** the value of this place rises **again, then** we can develop it more, so it **will become** a good area, good people **will** live here, well-educated and cultured... perhaps this is what's going on in the government's thinking. (A8, Pos. 94)

He implied how 'some people' within the 'government's thinking' were deliberately creating infrastructural issues in the resettlement site, testing how long the settlers would wait out these conditions until finally giving up and selling their allotted land to a private interest group – who would then, after buying out cheap houses from several residents, collude with state infrastructure providers, supply the settlement with the much-awaited facilities, and then sell off the same houses at increased prices to new buyers. Another affectee also reflected the same concern about the current lack of infrastructure at LB:

...the only reason is this, so that, **over time**, the people here get so fed up with these everyday problems... **that over time, this land starts to lose its value... and over time, everyone here starts thinking about whether they really want to spend the next 20 years here**, or they should just move out to another area, and sell their land here... and that is exactly what the land mafia wants. (A5, Pos. 55)

Such observations depicted that in the affectees' present urban condition, time and temporal knowledges were being used as strategic tools to withhold information, to plan covertly, to collude amongst particular actors for private interest, and to create structural injustices in the urban realm for the poorest residents. This was a process not very different from the way the settlers had initially come to encroach the banks of the LR. Even 40 years ago, some people with access to exclusive temporal knowledges on the city's urban projects had allegedly caused this scheme of events to transpire. Hence, such observations by the affectees were based on retrospective realizations as well as apprehensions for the future. An affectee emphasized the 'structural' element of this exploitative use of time, by asserting that these processes were in place simply to keep certain populations *eternally* subservient within the urban realm, by withholding the flow of essential services and hence consistently **disrupting their temporal rhythms** of progress and development:

There are so many people living here, so why are they not providing the basic services here? Why are there not 4 ambulances in this area? **They [planners/government] think, if we give them [poor urban populations] the basic facilities, then they will get comfortable... if their children get educated, their generations will become prosperous...** if we allow water to reach them, then they won't buy the private water tankers from our friends [private water suppliers]... so it is a deliberate trap that has been prepared for us. (A4, Pos. 39)

The future ahead from this point in time, from 2021, was not something the affectees looked forward to; in fact, based on their transition from past to present, from their eviction to their resettlement, they inferred that the future for them would continue to be plagued with uncertainty and precarity, and these precarities would follow into their next generation:

If I keep living here [at LB] and I have children here, and my next generation grows up in this area, I do not really have a hope that my next generation will

be able to do anything for themselves, for their community, for their country... for that reason, **I will soon have to leave this area. If** I leave this area and go to a **better** place, I have a little hope that **I might** be able to have a better future, that my next generation **might** become better educated, and **might** be able to meet other people with awareness who can guide them as well. (A8, Pos. 116)

Choosing to stay here, at LB, spelt only further disadvantage in the future. If they continued to live here they failed to see how the future could be anything **but** a repetition of past and present injustices, which continued to plague any semblance of hope they might have had for working towards a better future: one that was promised by the planners as a precondition to their arrival here, but which remains, as of the writing of this thesis, yet unrequited. Other affectees did mention positive hopes for the future; but they emphasized that continuing to live in this particular present, projecting from their conditions of today, a way into a hopeful future was highly unlikely. For them, living at this disadvantaged relocation site precluded all hopes they could muster for a brighter future:

We have to take our children towards education. That is the only way to change the track that **we are** following, that **our fathers followed**, that we are also following today... there is no other way to change the future time that we are going to see... **if we want to see a different time**, we have to educate the next generation... but living here, even that seems impossible. The schools here are not capable of making our children into **someone who can change their future**. If our children get educated from these schools here, they will remain here, like me and like my brothers. And while we **wait** for things to get better, we just keep **losing time**, our children **keep getting older**, their age of studying **keeps passing**... and soon they will forget all that they have learnt, they will also lose their interest in studying... then they will discover new interests, like drugs, or like wasting time being hooligans in the city, racing bikes and what not. (A4, Pos. 22)

And such intergenerational fears did indeed come true for some affectees. A Civil Society participant mentioned how in some families, the younger generations derailed into decadence at the peripheral resettlement sites when the family's watchful eyes were removed, and the children's education had got suddenly disrupted:

The young boys and girls of the community, even when they are out on the streets, they remain in the eyes of the people. What happened as a result of this displacement, when these children were thrown so far away, and we got to hear all these reports later, was that a lot of young boys fell into addiction and substance use. Their fathers used to work in the city, they left early and came home late night, there were transport problems. Themselves, the children could not go to school for quite a while... young boys used to be free all day, playing cricket all day long, eating *paan* and *gutka*, it was a disaster. (C3, Pos. 16)

Some affectees delved into the metaphorical realm, connecting longer temporal phases across the narrative arc of their whole lives: they link their past memories of displacement to their present storylines of misery, and project this into their future trajectories of hopelessness: an intergenerational continuation of temporal violence; one that they could already foresee, but were incapacitated to plan for, or to stop from manifesting in due time:

Our **present**, it **has been destroyed**... but after coming here, even the **future** of our children **is being destroyed**. (A7, Pos. 11)

Hence, for the affectees, the thoughts, aspirations and hopes for the future fluctuated over time, pulsating and falling rhythmically as time progressed:

The thoughts of the people here, towards improving their lives, were always good, and we still think of this place as a good place. But sometimes those thoughts get a dimmed. (A8, Pos. 87)

I thank you so much, you came here, you gave me your time, you listened to me. Otherwise, I would have wasted this time just talking in my head, just being grumpy about these things and knowing that time will never change for us. (A4, Pos. 72)

But even in their current temporally restricted states, the affectees sometimes found chances to humour themselves with narrations of how they navigated the lack of time in their everyday lives, and how that enabled them to value free time even more when they suddenly came into it:

When I take a day off work, I am able to wake up **late**... my wife wakes up early, she cleans the house **quickly**, then makes breakfast for me... I keep sleeping, I wake up **late**, go and shower, **then** come to the lounge, like King Akbar, and order her, where is my breakfast and tea, serve it, **quickly**, I don't have that much time to keep **waiting**... (A5, Pos. 59)

Apart from such small, fragmented bouts of temporal liberty in their everyday routines, most affectees foresaw the future ahead from today in a pessimistic light. They commented on the progression of the various temporal phases of their urban existence as indicative of **a failed urban life**: unable to afford legal housing for decades, a violent eviction event, then being thrust back in time with their relocation and forced to rebuild, perhaps vulnerable to a second cycle of dispossession in the near future. They believed that long-term returns on their lifelong struggles remained unrequited today as they stared into the bleak abyss of a future ahead, comparing themselves to a plant ruthlessly plucked before its time.

When a small plant is nurtured in an appropriate way, only then it can transform into a fruit-giving tree... **otherwise what happens, you can see form our condition.** (A5, Pos. 61)

Maybe in the initial years, there used to be trees [in LB], perhaps they were green and healthy, maybe there used to be grass... but we don't remember, it has been so long... but today, in these parks, only those trees grow who want to grow by themselves, **who for growing do not need** water or anything else... just like us people. (A5, Pos. 63)

6.3.13 Rise, land value!

There was profound emphasis from the side of the planners on the material and financial value that had been created for the affectees as a result of the whole LEW episode. The planners stressed that the compensation plan had provided the affectees with plots 20 years ago, that today increased dramatically in their monetary value. For the planners, the investment aspect of the land given to the affectees was a primary benefit:

I say, this project was for the betterment of the people... how many people **upgraded** their lives and shifted to such good good places. Today that same plot, one plot is going [to market] for 20, 25 lakhs each. You see, how **its value has gone up over time.** (P3, Pos. 55)

The planners had a perverted sense of the inflation of land value, based purely on the exchange value of the plot of land, not its use value. They did not consider the use value or the associational value of the previous settlement for the affectees, where

they had been staying before the LEW project was launched. The values of the home, of social and economic networks, of place attachments, were all apparently inferior to the one monetary price of the compensation plot, which was sure to rise with time. Today, 20 years after the affectees had acquired it, they could potentially sell it for an infinite amount of profit – for they had, technically speaking, paid nothing for it. But this was not merely a question of rising land values only. For the planners, all alleged losses caused by the LEW – tangible, emotional, or otherwise – could be redeemed considering that at the end, the affectees now had a piece of legal land in their possession, which was an urban asset they could never have earned, even if they had stayed at their LR settlements all their lives. Hence, the legal, inflated-value plot of land was an essential component of the ‘better’ life that had been promised to the affectees. In this way, the planners equated improved lives with land value, where time spent ‘legally’ at the resettlement area would count as an investment that was potentially redeemable, in case the affectees decided to sell their house and move out today:

When we flip the story and **see it today, 8-10 years later, 20 years later**, so at least, personally I feel this way, that it was an amazing decision. All those people, **today they possess legal possession** of their own homes, they are sitting **peacefully** in their own **individual** houses. And these houses are **today worth at least** 15-30 lakh PKR... here in the River they were spending their lives in the most **pathetic** condition. **Then** they got up from that place and are **now living** in a clean and tidy place. (P5, Pos. 51)

And the ones who were removed, initially they were also complaining. But you see, all of them got a legal piece of land. They got **something** instead of the **nothing** that they had, here. Now the land that they received, even that land is **now worth a lot**, a whole new city is flourishing there, you see. (P4, Pos. 74)

The affectees did acknowledge the land value aspect of the plot that had been handed to them as part of the compensation package. Some of them, out of the inability to construct their houses during the five-year period, also had to let go of their plots, which was somewhat profitable in monetary terms:

There were many families, who did not even get a chance to come here and build their house here. Because **at that time**, there was no electricity, no

water, no gas... survival here was impossible. There was no transport. This was essentially a desert. So many families chose to not come... and **after** the 5 year compulsory waiting time was over, they **instantly** sold their plots... of course, **by that time the value of the plot had also risen**. So they were **lucky**, in that way. (A6, Pos. 124)

Those who chose to stay and build their houses in LB also hoped that eventually, the value of their homes would increase over the next few years. This incentive sprang from the idea of property being the only credible savings asset in Pakistan's volatile economic situation, where the poor and the rich all invest primarily in real estate, even those who keep living on rent their entire lives. Time is considered a multiplier for the owned property. But at LB, time was not as strong a multiplier as it might have been in any other part of the city – perhaps even in the old settlements along the banks of the LR where the affectees had been removed from:

We used to think at that time, that this is such a good place, a few years later this place and these houses will increase so much in **value**. But the value of this place has not risen as we expected, our houses are still not worth very much. And this is what everyone was thinking commonly, that in the coming 20 years, insha Allah, just wait and see what this place will become. But those 20 years have passed, and what has happened? This area is going downwards, it keeps going downwards with each passing day. (A8, Pos. 89)

Hence, the affectees were of the opinion that over time, the value of their plots had not risen as they had expected, or as the planners had promised them. In fact, accounting for inflation, their plots were continuously declining in value, considering that LB still lacked basic urban amenities today. By comparison, some affectees believed that land value could not be the only tangible measure of the increased prosperity of the affectees since moving to LB. In fact, they asserted that while their plots might arguably have increased in value, their own value as humans and as urban subjects had consistently gone down over time. They attributed this to their past, and the way they had been forced to live, and then forced to move, from the LR banks:

With time, the value of everything goes up... except our value. I think the end value over time always depends on what you start with. (A6, Pos. 61)

6.3.14 If only: turning back time

In 2022, the discourses of the actors surrounding events of the past were found to vary. Many suggested how alternate trajectories or turning points in the past might have led to different conditions in the present, conditions that might have been more just, non-violent, and collectively beneficial. They evaluated how certain events had been crucial in determining the outcomes of the project – had these events not occurred, the present conditions of both the project and the affectees might have been better off. Civil Society participants commented on how the planning of the LEW itself was not an effective way to deal with what the planners had defined as ‘problems’ in the urban realm. They commented on the shortcomings of the LEW planning process, regarding how the project unfolded in an ineffective way over the years, from its inception to its execution, as well as in its long-term impacts. They claimed that had the project been conducted in a more communicative and inclusive way in the past, the outcomes in the present would have been starkly different:

The cost **would be** reduced, the resettlement **would have been** reduced. It **would have been** built sooner, it **would not have** taken 15, 16 years. And there **would have been** a bonding between the state and the people, that the state has accepted what the people were proposing, and has made changes. But the biggest benefit **would have been** that the 25 billion PKR or God knows how much has been spent on it, that money **could have been** spent on so many other things for the city, such as the public transport system **could have been** upgraded. (C1, Pos. 91)

But a planner countered such arguments and proposed that the planners were not to blame for the ineffective implementation of the project. In fact, they asserted, more conducive political conditions of the past might have caused the project to be more effectively delivered:

If Musharraf **had stayed** longer, I think the LEW might have been more complete. For example, there **would have been** more junctions, but Musharraf **didn’t get time** you see, I think after 2008 or so he was no longer in power, Zardari sahab became the president, so this project also started declining. Zardari sahab Mashallah didn’t spend money on anything, on such projects in the city. (P4, Pos. 30)

For this planner, changing the past had been a pragmatic planning decision, but one that got derailed due to a political transition mid-way. The planning process lost an avid advocate – the President of the country himself. An affectee echoed this position when he also linked erratic political transitions in the past to the outcomes of the LEW project in the present, being especially grateful that a certain city mayor was there to ensure that affectees were compensated – had he not been there, the affectees today might have been even worse off:

If NK was alive to this date, we **would have been** in a much better position. If he had remained the mayor beyond 2005, even then our condition **would have been** much better. The truth is, because of NK, we got even this place as a home, we got plots here and we got the money. If he had not been there to stand by us when we started to ask for compensation, perhaps **we would just have been** scattered across the city, we **might not even be** in this state, but worse... **who can predict the past?** (A5, Pos. 56)

The affectee adopted a poetic way of musing on how one could never know where embarking on a different trajectory at that time two decades ago would have brought them to, in the urban present, in 2022. Had the starting conditions been a bit different, the past leading into their present today might have followed a different trajectory, for better or worse. If the mayor was alive today, and had he continued in his office beyond 2005, the affectees might have been taken better care of, up to this point in time. They might not have been left to fend for themselves after being removed from the LR banks and handed a file and a check. But conversely, had the mayor not been there to begin with, or had not supported them in the initial struggles for compensation, they might even not have their own houses today. So he was ambiguous about the past trajectory – fearing for a worse fate, but covetous of something better that might have transpired but did not. Yet another affectee commented on how trajectories in the even more distant past, at the time the affectees had first come and settled along the LR banks, might have led to different outcomes in the present, had the governance mechanism at the time been more vigilant instead of turning a blind eye to people incrementally settling and taking over state land:

If from the very start, you do not allow anyone to sit on these place, so of course, **there will never come a time** when you will have to **undo or reverse**

all those years of damage. It will be like turning back time to a good point, where no illegal occupations happened. You have your land clean from the very start, and you can make whatever you want on it. But the years and **the time that people have spent** on that land, that does not simply have to disappear. They **would have spent that time** in a different place, maybe in a legal place, and their investments... and their attachments... would not be broken, would not be smashed... so suddenly, so violently. But when they were sitting here... sitting here for 30, 35 years, and in this time, the children of their children have grown up to become adults. (A6, Pos. 30)

But even when people did settle along the LR banks, and the evictions did eventually happen for the LEW, there were several trajectories to follow from there for the affectees. Some of them were lured into corruption: they colluded with on-ground actors to duplicate and sell compensation files wrongfully. Others were hesitant to get involved in such wrongful practices, and cited moral grounds for not doing so:

There was a lot of earning in this whole project, I tell you. At that time, **had I wanted, I could have gotten** at least 100 people included in that system, and **I would have gotten** 5000 PKR from each of them... **I could easily have bought** a huge ready-built house in LB at that point! My children **could have been** the richest people in all of LB today, **had I made that unethical investment 15 years ago**. But my conscience did not allow me to do it. I have the fear of Allah in my heart. (A7, Pos. 34)

Hence, this affectee recalled the **path not taken in the past**, which resulted in his present being quite similar to that of all the other affectees: destitute, uncertain, and in wait. Had he taken the choice of corruption in the past, like several of his affectee contemporaries did, he believed that his condition today might have been drastically different from the others at LB. Only his own moral constitution prevented him from changing his present through an act he considered immoral and illegal. Other affectees wondered, had the evictions never happened, how their past residential area might have looked today:

There, where we were living before, yes, the settlement was a katchi abadi, but it **would probably have been** leased till now, it **would have become** a legal possession. **But even if it hadn't been leased, it would have been ten times or maybe a hundred times better than this place** [the resettlement site]. Whatever condition we were in, we were at least in a good place, in a good location. And here, even after 20 years, we are still in pain. (A8, Pos. 77)

Other affectees disagreed, pointing out their own lack of agency in the decisions that had already been taken by the planning authorities regarding the formers' past, and how they had to collectively come to terms with the fact that **their past was not theirs to change**:

...we were in touch with some other communities. There were some people from these other settlements, they were more educated, they used to tell me... my son SU, you can do whatever you like... but know that **this had been decided before you were even born**, that this place will be demolished, this place has to be demolished. (A9, Pos. 74)

There was no point of getting into arguments or trying to resist... they told us, that you will get files for the plots... so we knew that they had decided that the demolition would occur... so we had to accept the files. (A6, Pos. 38)

Hence, the affectees had received constant reminders through these 20 years that reinforced the belief that time was against them; that some urban processes were always pre-decided and rigged and never in their control.

6.3.15 Temporally differentiated urban subjects

As an extension to RQ2, this section explores how urban subjects were not just produced by the participants' discourses, but different kinds of urban subjects were also being compared and contrasted as the participants consciously spoke about such differentiations. The data indicated that several different kinds of subject formation processes were also occurring with respect to temporal themes. The affectees were the primary temporal subjects who were being discursively produced by all actors. But there were also other kinds of subjects, including the self-formation of the planner as subject, that were indicative that comparisons of temporal value were being enacted, in the way the participants talked about the various aspects of urban time and the users of this urban time. The reflections below speak about the relative value of urban time for planners as well as various kinds of urban subjects that are formed as a result of particular urban spatial interventions. These reflections point to questions of whose time is more important, valuable, productive, or prioritized within the urban domain; whose time is expendable, and reproducible;

how temporal violence occurs in the urban realm; and how temporal benefits are disbursed amongst urban subjects following grand urban projects.

6.3.15.1 The user/non-user of the LEW

The story of the LEW started with a discourse around the value of urban time. The LEW was essential for the city primarily because, it was widely asserted by the planners, the project would save the collective time of so many urban subjects: firstly, cargo trucks that would get a shortcut from the inter-city highway exit to the Karachi port and vice versa, taking the LEW and bypassing the city centre's traffic; secondly, elite vehicle-owners of the city who would save substantially on their everyday commutes from suburban residential areas in the north to the business district located around the southern part of the city, and back again; and thirdly, occasional users like the more modest vehicle-owners who wanted to avoid being stuck on the city's inner congested roads could also benefit from the LEW, by taking shortcuts through its several interchanges when traffic was high during the peak hours:

So the main reason was also this... that a kind of connectivity is provided, so that light traffic could go up and down the city, and could reach the Super Highway. (P6, Pos. 15)

...all our **residential** hubs in Karachi... are all near Sohrab Goth, New Karachi, Nazimabad, Federal B Area, and such neighbourhoods. These were all on the far end of the city, towards the **northern** side. And the **commercial** hub of the city, the business districts, the port, I. I. Chundrigar Road, all the banks' headquarters, businesses, Jodia Bazar [largest wholesale market], these were all at the close end, towards the **south** of the city. So to cater to this, right in the heart of the city, we found this alignment, occurring naturally, in the form of the LR. And we thought, this is a great opportunity to use both banks of the LR to make this **connection** between the residential and commercial hubs of the city. So we made the road along the LR. (P3, Pos. 15)

The project was conceptualized as an intra-city freeway, providing a quick transfer from one end to the other. It was beneficial to both the government and the urban public:

The benefit is that the government has provided you with a certain facility, and you are paying the tax on it. You pay a little amount and you get a **smooth ride**... you can also choose to go the other way, take the longer route... but for that you have to **spend more time and fuel**... so it's the preference of the people that **let's save time**. In today's world, in any developed and cultured society, **time is the only thing of value**. And **time is a priority**, and **time is the most valuable asset** for anyone... and it is quite unfortunate that **we as a nation do not value time as it should be valued**. (P2, Pos. 29)

Initially, LEW was built for heavy loads, like cargo trucks. But **later** they allowed it for **everyone, whoever wants to go can go on it**. So that it can facilitate **everyone**. (P4, Pos. 23)

As a planner asserted, it was the 'preference of the people' to save time instead of opting for a 'longer route'; using the LEW was still **optional**, for those who valued time over money. Although it was open to 'everyone', urban citizens could still **choose** to take a longer route and save the toll money. But this would subject them to a value judgement on behalf of the enlightened planners: that such urban residents were not like the 'developed' and 'cultured' urbanites who would choose to value time over money, by preferring to use the LEW instead of staying on congested inner city roads. Hence, the LEW was essential for the city, particularly because it saved time, for those urban subjects who valued time. For such subjects – the 'traffic user of Karachi, as a planner put it – the materialization of the LEW would be a 'blessing' for the city; the LEW would be a manifestation of Karachi's urban development:

I am fully convinced that LEW is no less than a **blessing** for the city of Karachi, **for the traffic user of Karachi**. You are intimately familiar with Karachi, but for someone who does not know Karachi in detail, and I say to them, that I will transfer you from Sohrab Goth to Mauripur in 10 minutes, then he would say, what, that is unbelievable, **do you have a magic spell** with you, how will you take me, what will you do? **Do you think anyone would believe me** when I tell them this, that from Sohrab Goth to Mauripur, at 80 km/h, in exactly 12 minutes, they can reach? **Imagine if the LEW was not there, then bring this thought into your head**, that within 12 minutes you have moved from one place to the other... so he will say, no, that is impossible. But this is **very much possible, all because of the LEW**, and this has happened, and **this miracle keeps happening every day, and thousands of people now live this miracle and this magic every day**, as if it is something very normal. (P5, Pos. 71)

The experience of the LEW would make time ‘magical’: a metaphor and a spectacle to behold for the urban subject. The planner positioned himself as the grand master of this conjuring; he was titillating the urban public about what was to come as the LEW materialized. These benefits, of course, pertained specifically to the ‘traffic user of Karachi’: if one was a car-owner in Karachi who had to travel through the city centre every day as part of their normal commute, using the LEW meant that:

...**straightaway** you can take your **desired exit** and reach where you want to go in the **shortest time**, to your home, to your job, to wherever you want. (P2, Pos. 26)

...back in 2009, when the northbound track of the LEW was not complete, we had made arrangements to use the southbound track as a two-way road during Ramzan of that year, so people could reach their homes in time to break the fast. From Asar to Maghrib time, that single track was used for two-way traffic. We instructed the Motorway Police... that you have to manage this arrangement during these times, because **people** have to reach their houses **on time**... (P6, Pos. 42)

Time became warped as soon as one entered the portal of the LEW tollbooth: the temporal wormhole that the LEW created carried them almost instantly to their desired exit. But for the affectees, time in all its manifestations – waiting, recovering, planning, salvaging, rebuilding, returning – there was no ‘direct’ shortcuts, no constriction or warping of time, no collapsing of routines and practices into efficient and streamlined linearities. For all other urban citizens who would not personally be using the LEW, for whatever reasons, this temporal ‘blessing’ of the LEW would be absent from their lives. Cognizant of this fact, an affectee echoed the noble temporal objectives behind the LEW, emphasizing how the LEW would have enabled traditionally-oriented urban subjects such as himself to be propelled out of an outdated state of temporal stasis and into the urban future:

We used to ride donkey carts, **our ancestors used to travel by camels** and horse carts, **we ourselves have travelled in slow buses all our lives**. And this LEW was an opportunity for us, **it was a hope, to make us faster, to make us move quicker and save time, spend that time** on ourselves, on our community. (A1, Pos. 26)

For the affectees too, LEW as a ‘promise’ of better and faster urban futures. As for those who would oppose the construction of the LEW, for a myriad of reasons, planners believed such subjects would change their opposition once they had experienced the LEW themselves:

...those who were speaking against it, I don’t think that whenever they have travelled on the LEW, they have had a **bad experience**. You see, they are **reaching in 2 minutes** – can you imagine it? Whoever wants to reach Tower, can reach there in **15 minutes**, isn’t that great? The LEW has got so many junctions. They can enter and exit anywhere. They have **freedom** to move. (P4, Pos. 23)

And that is what we want. That is what we wanted, even in that time... that things run smoothly, so smoothly, that a **common citizen** can **feel free** to move about in **their own city**. (P2, Pos. 24)

This opening up of temporal choices gave the urban subject the ‘freedom to move’ anywhere in the city, reaching the other end of the city ‘in 15 minutes’. However, this was, of course, a temporal privilege available exclusively for the users of the LEW. For those who would not be using the LEW, this temporal privilege did not apply. It was not simply the case that the LEW was on open offer for *all* urban citizens: some urban subjects were *pre*-excluded, by the very nature of the vehicles they owned. Hence, a differentiation was created between two kinds of temporal urban subjects, by virtue of the immediate **temporal benefits** for the *user* and the *non-user* of the LEW. From here on, two kinds of temporal urban subjects became immediately clear in the LEW story: one, who was specifically mentioned by the planners as the **temporally advantaged** urban resident, the private vehicle-owner, who was being presented the opportunity to pay a toll and save time in the **immediate present**; the second – the affectees of the LEW – who was being **promised** a ‘bright’ future as a **delayed gratification** for compliance in their eviction from the LR settlements and their relocation to a peripheral residential site. The former was **actively benefiting** from a temporal advantage; the latter was **simply missing out** on the same temporal advantage, by virtue of them not owning a private vehicle, or not being privileged enough to either live near high-income residential areas or work in a commercial area targeted specifically by the LEW. Hence, the distinct pre-

existing positionalities of the two urban subjects had created a differentiation in the way they were being talked about as the **temporal beneficiaries** of the project. The affectees were made to *pre*-believe the stories of how the LEW would constrict urban time, even though most of them would never actually get to personally travel on it: they mostly owned motorbikes, which had been *pre*-restricted on the LEW. The affectees still used to pass by the areas adjacent to the LEW, on their motorbikes, while cars whizzed by overhead. The affectees today realized the temporal injustice that had been committed in the broader story of the LEW, where one group of urban residents were systematically advantaged at the expense of another:

...for **anyone** who **wants** to pay 50 PKR and take a shortcut, saving 50 minutes of their commute time. What is this mechanism, that **you pay 50 PKR to save 50 minutes** of time? Is this why all of us were removed from there, **pushed back 50 years**, so some people could save 50 minutes? (A8, Pos. 53)

The affectees equated temporal advantage for one urban subject as an inflated temporal loss for many others: the former subject could pay a minimal toll to save time in minutes – the latter had, according to the affectee, been pushed back the same amount of time, but compounded in years. This perversion of time resulted directly from the inequities inherent in the planning of the LEW project. The two kinds of temporally differentiated urban subjects were both impacted by the LEW, but in exactly opposite ways: the constriction and dilation of time and space; the speed or urban progress; the pace of access to employment – everything flowed in exactly the opposite direction for these two different kinds of temporal subjects, depending on whether they were predisposed to using the LEW, or whether they had been living in one of the LR settlements:

Because of all of, all Karachiites, we know this much that at what timings the traffic will be at **full peak**. So of course, considering an alternate for that is no less than a blessing for all of us who commute. So he can use the junction and he will reach his home early. (P4, Pos. 27)

This temporally advantaged subject was explicitly talked about by the planners, as a direct beneficiary of the LEW. For the private vehicle owner, the actual temporal gains were emphasized: saving time, costs, fuel. For them, time was discursively

produced as instant, immediate, visible, and measurable. For the *actually* affected subjects – those removed from the LR settlements, and those who would probably never use the LEW in their lifetimes – time was an imaginary, a future, a hope: abstract, long-term, and fanciful rather than pragmatic and tangible. This was the experience of freedom afforded to particular urban subjects, as opposed to the experience of the ‘slavery’ of being stuck, stagnated, and bounded by temporal and spatial fixations for another subject. The planner believed that:

Now if someone is **stuck** at Liaqatabad, he is thinking, **my God I will waste my whole day here**, I cannot even cross the main Supermarket area... so he thinks, let me get onto the LEW from Teen Hatti, and **I will get to my destination quickly**. So the LEW is the **best thing** for him. (P4, Pos. 25)

For the planner, someone – the user of the LEW – who was ‘stuck’ in an inner city road due to traffic could opt to utilize the LEW and ‘escape’; but someone who was stuck in LB or another resettlement site – not out of free choice, but as a result of the LEW project – would never be offered the opportunity to voluntarily get up and move away. They would be forced to remain ‘stuck’ in the lives the planners had laid out for them.

6.3.15.2 The affectee/non-affectee of the LEW

An affectee reflects on their own ‘illegality’ as an encroacher whilst living along the LR:

So what does this mean, that we ourselves, and so many households like us, we were all actually sitting inside the river, right? But no one will accept this, that we had built our houses inside the river. No one will accept this. If you try to speak the truth to their face, they will make fun of you. So, even if the government had not given us a plot as a compensation, even then we would not have put up a fight, it would not have been fair. We were in **no ethical position** to start a fight with the government. Because, the biggest thing is, **we did not have a lease. We were sitting there illegally**. How could we have fought this [the demolitions] in the court? We didn’t have anything to show that we were right. (A6, Pos. 41)

Although the affectee mentions most settlers along the LR as having been living there illegally, a distinction in the outcomes was also observed between the affectees whose houses were demolished in the past, and those ‘encroachers’ or illegal dwellers within the LR settlements whose houses had, by chance, been spared demolition. The latter urban subjects represented a **temporal anomaly, a glitch in temporal sequencing**: they were spared merely due to the chance occurrence of their properties not falling within the specified ROW. Had the technical requirements of the ROW necessitated, their houses also might have been marked for demolition, just like their neighbours’. They might have ended up with a similar fate, banished to one of the resettlement sites along with the ‘affectees’ of the project. But the mere fact that they escaped demolition due to the technical demarcation of the ROW, even when they had ‘all’ been declared encroachers at the launch of the LEW, had created differentiated trajectories into the future. Their trajectories had led them to widely different social urban positionalities in the present than their contemporaries who had been displaced 20 years ago as affectees: today, the former have managed to get their houses leased; they are fully ‘legal’, still sitting in the heart of the city. Time has advanced for both them and their contemporaries – yet, the trajectories from that point onwards have been dramatically different: the one being pushed back to square one, zero, or even *beyond* that; forced to salvage, rebuild, and put life back together again; the other has *continued*, developing and improving right where they sat. They eventually fulfilled the temporal longevity criteria by staying on the same site for a number of years: their houses got leased, the values of their properties rose up, and they expanded their dwellings and built up vertically. Time was on their side:

Today, come with me to Zai-ul-Haq Colony [the affectees’ previous LR settlement], and do a survey. The place where they threw us out from. Come with me and I will show you the area. There is not one family there **today** that **was not as poor as us 20 years ago**, and who has not made their house into a 4 or 5 story house **today**... so what did we get by coming here? Those of us who had motorbikes, some of us had to **sell** those bikes, just to meet other expenses after coming here; and there, in Zia Colony, those who **did not even have** bicycles, they have bought big 4-wheeler cars **now**. (A7, Pos. 45)

This was a process of temporal differentiation that was probably not intentional on behalf of the planners, but one that nevertheless ended up creating two different temporally affected subjects – the ones who continued on their own temporalities and are hence better positioned today; and the ones whose own temporalities were disrupted, and they were subjected to planned temporalities of a ‘better’ future that were imposed upon them as a result of the LEW project. This ‘chance’ differentiation in temporal (dis)continuity showed how particular (planned or orchestrated) temporalities could cause present conditions drastically different even when starting conditions of urban subjects had been quite similar.

6.3.15.3 The planner/affectee of the LEW

The third set of temporally differentiated subjects observed in the data was the planners versus the affectees. An extensive examination of the temporal discourses and positionalities of the affectees has been provided in the previous section, so only peculiar temporal references from the planners’ discourses will be presented below as a comparison. Planners were deeply cognizant of the value of time with respect to the planning and the execution of the LEW project. Each pause or delay in the construction, mostly due to issues in the clearance of the ROW, would cause the planners to lose out on time. For them, time was of utmost importance, to the point that it had to be measured in terms of **production outputs**:

We measured our construction in **man-months**. (P5, Pos. 54)

On the other hand, the comparable ‘family-years’ or ‘generation-decades’ that the affectees had invested in their old settlements were merely brushed aside as non-productive or non-valued temporalities, when they were told to relocate to a new site and build life anew. The productive time of planners was more valuable than the temporal histories of the affectees, which were expendable in the present, and reproducible in the future, given the right conditions again – which the planners intended to provide, in the form of a ‘better’ future at the resettlement site.

One planner linked the concept of **temporal longevity** to his own legacy with respect to the city, and how long-term plans and projects conceived during his earlier tenure could be claimed as leading the way for contemporary urban projects in the present. He expressed time as an asset and an investment as well, but more in terms of continuation and legitimacy based on his personal long-term association with the city:

These projects are very important for the city. Malir Expressway (MEW) is also one of the projects that **we conceived back in our time**. When we were constructing the LEW, the challenges that came during working on it, we **tried to learn and apply those** to the MEW. (P1, Pos. 80)

Another aspect was the planners' **selective temporal engagement** with and disengagements from the LEW project. Within the planning hierarchy, some individuals considered the project as a temporal anomaly in their regular urban administration routines: this was a sudden obligation that they had been pulled into, as opposed to their more long-term engagements with the city:

I became part of the city government in 2005. So **my team and I are responsible only** for our actions regarding the LEW project between 2005 and 2010, **not before that and not after that**. And then we worked tirelessly on our end when the project came under us. Before 2005, I was not part of any political or administrative position regarding the LEW project, so **I cannot comment on what happened before**. (P2, Pos. 41)

It **took hardly 2-4 months** and all such disputes [for compensation] were resolved by the Appellate Committee, and **then** it stopped working, **when** all cases were resolved. They put up a board outside the office, that don't contact us now for resolving these claims... because we knew that all the genuine cases **had been resolved now**, and it was just a **waste of time to keep sitting and waiting for fake claims** to come, and then **waste further time in trying to validate** those claims. (P4, Pos. 37)

After 2006, I wasn't really engaged with anything related to the LEW. **Once** the demolitions had crossed our area and the disputes of compensation were settled, by the end of 2006, then I was back to my **regular**... responsibilities. The everyday issues of water, electricity, the residents' domiciles, PRC certificates, and such mundane tasks... repairing roads, laying out sewerage lines, connecting water lines to households, we did all of that. In this way the LEW episode was just a break from our normal... activities, it [LEW] kind of disrupted our routine. But we were soon back to normal. (P4, Pos. 54)

6.4 RQ3: How did various actors frame the LEW discourse?

RQ3 was addressed as part of RQ1 and RQ2, based on the contents of the coded segments. The individual and group-wise segments under each primary theme was compared, based on the methods highlighted in Section 5.4.3. The ways in which the discourses of the various actor groups converged and diverged on these themes, and the reasons for these, were also explored, in order to address RQ3. Although the convergences were very few, several significant divergences were observed. The coded segments under RQ1 and RQ2 were read according to the variations in the content of the themes. A detailed analytical comparison between the discourses of the actor groups is provided in Section 7.4. The same segments are utilized, that have already been included under RQ1 and RQ2.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION: THE DISCURSIVE PRODUCTION OF URBAN TEMPORALITIES

7.1 Prologue: acknowledging urban temporality

Time is multidimensional: it frames individual experiences across a spectrum of the past, present, and future; it produces trajectories, orients goals, and guides aspirations. Theorists have attempted to ground interpretations of time within tangible or material objects and routines beyond the indifferent, numerical and quantifiable aspects of linear time (Adam, 1988). Such attempts include understanding time using mundane objects that enable people to measure, relate, and talk about time (Birth, 2012). But time can also manifest as intangible perceptual phenomena, as cognitive associations, and as immaterial references to events and objects. But time can also exist as social stockpiles of tacit knowledges, feeding into collective memory, attachment, and action (Nielsen, 2017). For example, the various temporalities of the physical environment are asserted to be intertwined with the lived biographies of subjects and material objects through ‘material-temporal registers of belonging’ (Lewis & May, 2019, p. 9).

Time has been conceptualized in idealist, realist, and relational terms (Bardon, 2013; Rahman, 2015), in the ways by which it implicates objects, subjects, spaces, and events. Some have further dissected time according to its substantivist and relational manifestations: the former implies an understanding of time that is independent of the observer; the latter is based entirely upon the subjective reading of time (Dodgshon, 2008). Across the social sciences, time is conceptualized as an inescapable constraint within which humans are situated (Thrift, 1977). It has been an elusive yet enticing concept for social research (Daly, 1996; Thrift, 1996), and has been considered an essential aspect of the human experience in almost all

scientific, ethical, and philosophical inquiries into the social realm (Laurian & Inch, 2019; Nowotny, 1992). Research has demonstrated how individual temporal experiences are affected by the immediate social environment, and how personal attributes as well as socio-cultural differences impact time-perception (Adams & Eerde, 2012). Additionally, the concept of ‘*a time*’ has been used to describe the ordering of disparate temporalities into visible, tangible, and communicable *truths*, which delegitimizes other kinds of temporalities and ‘makes it difficult to imagine other times’ (Moran, 2013, p. 1).

Regardless of its multiple theoretical underpinnings (Edensor, Head, & Kothari, 2020), time as an indicator and a concept cuts across all kinds of scientific research, ranging from the scales of nature to the rhythms of everyday life (van Tienoven, 2018). In all its complex manifestations, time remains an elusive academic and intellectual concept, but one that must be navigated and negotiated as it underlies all aspects of human existence (Shirani & Henwood, 2011): time as a medium of exchange, time as epoch and period, and time as an indicator of the inevitable progression of life itself (Adam, 1995). However, given its linguistic, normative, and cultural implications (Thrift, *Time and Theory in Human Geography*, Parts I and II, 1977), until recently only a few scientific explorations of time had theoretically problematized its many meanings and manifestations, as well as its impacts, on the extended social and material realms (Adam, 1990; Adam, 1995; Fitzpatrick, 2004). More recent scholarship has started to challenge the static, linear, and homogenous perception of time, asserting the socially constructed, dynamic, convoluted, and heterogeneous ways in which time manifests itself onto the social realm. Research on the social manifestation of time critique the universalizing narratives of time as standardized, routinized, and prescriptive (Lewis & May, 2019), such as advocating for the simultaneous validities of ‘clock time’ versus the many layers of experiential time (Davies, 1994). The consideration of the socially constructed nature of temporality (Bastian, Baraitser, Flexer, Hom, & Salisbury, 2020) has also highlighted how time and temporality themselves are not static or neutral entities but are very much *produced* iteratively by differentiated subjects, social contexts,

interactions, and agential relationships (Davies, 1994; Øian, 2004; Slobodin, 2018). In the works on Foucault, time itself occupies a key position. His philosophical investigations to re-write a history of the present pursue his central question: ‘who are we today?’ (McHoul & Grace, 2002, p. viii). Foucault’s genealogical, archaeological, and ethical normativity rests upon an understanding of exactly how the particular came to be the universal; how this one present has materialized from the numerous presents that could have come about; and how exactly this present is different from the past, in terms of the truths that they both evoked (Portschy, 2020). His attempt was to understand the truth of the present, not as a standalone point in time, but as an extension of the past: he viewed the present as a force-field of relations extending back in time, but also forwards into the future. For him, it was the very temporal relationships within this force-field of the past, present and future conditions that allowed subjects and objects to ‘extend or even transgress the historical limits which fundamentally structure our present temporal being’ (Foucault, 1997, p. 127).

Some of the earliest innovative examples of the influence of time on urban space include Harvey’s work on time-space compression, where he asserted that technological advancement had *accelerated* the pace of socio-economic development by *squashing* geographical distances and differences in a rapidly globalising form of urbanization (Harvey, 1989). Urban geography has specifically linked the spatial and the temporal in their interrelated impacts on one another (May & Thrift, 2003), and time has remained a central, albeit implicit, attribute of talking about the processes and dynamics of urbanization (Crang, 2001). Taking these theoretical insights as a point of departure, Sections 7.27.4 address the 3 RQs in terms of the temporal themes emerging from the data, linking these to the broader literature on urban time and temporalities. Table 7.1 presents a summary of the main discursive shifts that occurred across the Actor Groups’ discourses in the two themes (ROT and subject formation, SF) during the various temporal phases of the LEW story, to set up a context for Sections 7.27.4.

Table 7.1. A summary of the main temporal themes in the Actor Groups' discourses, distributed across the various thematic phases of the LEW

PHASE	THEME	PLANNERS	AFFECTEES
Phase 0: Pre-LEW: LEW only in discourse	ROT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value of time; urban processes linked to temporality • Urban time as multiscalar: man-months, calendars, development outputs • Temporal (dis)engagement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value of time; urban processes linked to temporality • Urban time as multiscalar: everyday, annual, lifelong, intergenerational aspects • Temporal bondage/ fatalism
	SF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal opportunism, incremental occupation • Occupying LR banks illegally since a long time • Eternal subjects to state; malleable temporalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal precarity • Temporal bracketing, forced to settle alongside LR • Temporal poverty: abundant, inexpensive time, for waiting, building, living
Phase 1: LEW Launch: Proposal, ROW demarcation, eviction notices, demolitions begin	ROT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEW starts with discourse on time: LEW will save collective urban time; a flattening of urban time • Temporal knowledge on public good: knowing when events will happen; malicious knowledges • Temporal power: to affect when events will happen, to morph urban futures • Time as strategic tool • Fluid temporal roles: on-site and off-site; tied to political/professional shifts • Rapid demolitions • Social time colonized by institutional time; flat, homogenous urban time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal ambiguity: missing out on exclusive/ privileged urban knowledges; lack of power to alter temporal outcomes • Temporalities in flux, but affected by external influences • Temporal precarity: race against time, against rapid demolitions • ROT's material, spatial and temporal outcomes: truths enforced through material and social practices • Poetics of multiple durées dismissed
	SF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Retrospective projections: affectees before the project • Fore-knowledge of subjects; non-urban lives; stasis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vernacular lifestyles; community; slow pace • Knew this was coming, but didn't know how soon; incremental construction

Table 7.1 (continued)

PHASE	THEME	PLANNERS	AFFECTEES
<p>Phase 1: LEW Launch: Proposal, ROW demarcation, eviction notices, demolitions begin (cont'd)</p>	<p>SF (cont'd)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should have seen this coming; they were living on borrowed time only; reaped the temporal benefits of illegal occupation • Moral justification of planner as philanthropic subject; always speaks truth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living under constant temporal duress; tentative living, incremental construction
<p>Phase 2: Opposition: affectees protest, file cases; civil society gets actively involved</p>	<p>ROT</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal ambiguity: delays in ROW clearance and construction • Rising costs over time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of temporal longevity, association with home • Speculations of future resettlement
	<p>SF</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illegal encroachers wasting construction times: time to spare; temporal currency • Evidence of temporal longevity: time as exchange value; deserving vs non-deserving subjects • Temporally fixed identity categories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time as the only resource for incremental urban living; temporal poverty • Temporal ties to site, community; sequencing of everyday temporalities affected by LEW • Temporal longevity; time as bargaining tool • Temporally fluid identities
<p>Phase 3: Compensation: Compensation plan announced; LERP set up; listing surveys; court verdict; resettling starts</p>	<p>ROT</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal and epistemic foresight: better futures await; facilities pre-provided on site ready for immediate occupation; promissory notes • Time will be transformative: affectees' perception of LEW/LERP will change 'over time' with experience: time as yardstick • Already decided to remove; decision cannot be changed • LB holds 'potential' • Dismissing alternate temporal sensibilities and perceptions • Transition from here to there is temporally instantaneous 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Veil of temporal ignorance; deception, corruption, long waiting period, residual temporalities • Foreclosure of alternate futures; only choice left is to move to LB • Immediate damages more visible than any long-term benefits promised • Transition from here to there is temporally ambiguous, long drawn-out: barzakh/limbo; neither here nor there; a period of known uncertainty • Temporal fallacies of planners

Table 7.1 (continued)

PHASE	THEME	PLANNERS	AFFECTEES
<p>Phase 3: Compensation: Compensation plan announced; LERP set up; listing surveys; court verdict; resettling starts (cont'd)</p>	<p>SF</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal compliance, outcomes forced by state; a new, enforced, normative temporal ethics; temporal non-agency of urban subject; vision of 'bright' future dismissed existing routines, practices, lives • Coerced by asserting temporal foreknowledge • Could transform from encroacher to beneficiary • No longer affected by floods; will become 'urbanized' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planners had negated their urban existence by removing them from city, 'dumping' them at LB; affected to adapt to imposed urbanities and new temporal obligations • Unrealistic temporal expectations to go and start living instantly on the provided plot
<p>Phase 4: Slowdown: One LEW track complete; LERP out of funds; LEW/LERP work continues at a slow pace</p>	<p>ROT</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Today LEW has fulfilled its purpose; is good for the city • LB: land value of plots has risen, will compensate all temporal losses for affectees • LB: eventually beneficial for affectees; 'thriving' today • The future has been accomplished, in the present • Instant upgradation through new homes, new resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEW has wasted public time and money • LB: Failed anticipation; investments not profitable; plots are losing value • LB: remains unfinished and contingent; infrastructures decayed over time; services failed to arrive even today • The future is yet to arrive, beyond the present • Home-making is a long and continuous process, not instantaneous
	<p>SF</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEW saves time for users • LB: intergenerational development • Planner as temporal subject: can choose to disengage from project when tenure is over; impacts are temporally contained, not lifelong • All urban subjects benefited from LEW and LERP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEW has created temporally differentiated urban subjects • LB: Paused subjects; community of waiters; disorientation of temporal awareness; affects biographical certainty; a temporal re-living of traumas once forgotten • Intergenerational impacts

Table 7.1 (continued)

PHASE	THEME	PLANNERS	AFFECTEES
<p>Phase 4: Slowdown: One LEW track complete; LERP out of funds; LEW/LERP work continues at a slow pace (cont'd)</p>	<p>SF (cont'd)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temporal enclosure and bracketing; temporal obligations and expectations of linear progress placed upon affectees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Repetitions and reiterations of life itself; building back again • Relocation has pushed them back in time; back to a non-urban state: not just spatial but temporal displacement • Today, lives are physically cumbersome, temporally stretched, and financially burdening; unable to plan for futures; chronometricalization; temporal micro-practices • Futures looking grim; waiting for Godot; lack of discretionary time; effects temporal autonomy; chronic time shortage; collapsed futures; deprivation of temporal normalcy; existence of temporal voids • Past was not theirs to change • Formation of temporally differentiated urban subjects, placed within a larger economy of temporal worth; temporal inequities and temporal injustice

7.2 RQ1: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban regime of truth?

A ROT is the strategically constituted discursive field within which a particular conception of truth is produced as a tactical force in the functioning of power

relations within a society. Regimes of truth outline the criteria which determine what is acceptable as truth within a specific society's epistemological and ethical framework. Within a ROT, particular discourses are normalized as truth as it is in the interest of the most powerful stakeholders within a society that these very discourses, and not any alternate or competing ones, are branded with a label of 'truth' and become the commonsense understanding. Foucault's focus in discussing ROTs has been not substantive, but procedural: he is interested in how exactly, through what discursive strategies and rules certain statements come to be recognized as true or false within a social realm. In such instances, discursive production of ROTs makes possible the fields of credible and actionable knowledge by telling one how to discern fact from fiction, whatever the substantive nature of those facts and fictions. By interweaving knowledge and power over time in such a way, discourses produce particular regimes of truths, while simultaneously delegitimizing, obscuring, or outright erasing others.

The story of the LEW started with a discourse on urban time. The LEW was essential for the city, said the planners, primarily because it would save the collective time of many urban subjects. From the data, it became immediately evident that the urban ROT of the LEW discourse was centred on the multiscalarity of urban time as experienced by the various actors engaged in the LEW project. The multiscalarity of time was examined through the discourses of the various actors, who regarded time and its socially constructed interpretations (Wagn, 1976) in the urban realm: the significance accorded to time, the relationship of time to urban artefacts and processes, and the various ways in which urban time was being observed, recorded, experienced, communicated, and planned for (Birth, 2012). The LEW project was used as an anchor around which various urban temporalities of action (Sassen, 1999) were orchestrated and organized. However, selectively employing themes of temporality to justify the greater urban 'public good' from the very onset, this controversial project was painted as unavoidable – even desirable – while conveniently dismissing the temporal foreclosure of many other urban subjects who it was to subsequently impact (Watts, 2004).

In the examination of the data in pursuance of RQ1, the urban ROT was seen to be produced primarily by the planners, who tried to impose and assert their version of ‘credible’ technical knowledge of urban time and temporal processes – a time – (Moran, 2013) – as the urban truth. Although their version of the truth was contested by the affectees, it still came out dominant in terms of the material, spatial and temporal outcomes of the project. The planners’ ROT generated a new understanding of temporal urban truths (Parker, 1992), suppressing other parallel versions of urban temporalities (Crang, 2001), those generated by the affectees and the civil society actors. An interesting discursive shift was also observed in the data: the emergence of the patronistic, philanthropic, and prescriptive discourse of the LERP’s ‘new beginning’, guaranteeing the ‘bright’ future through promissory notes – themselves a key tenet of the modernist planning approach (Abram, *The time it takes: temporalities of planning*, 2014) – eventually replaced the original LEW discourse of ‘fastest route for port traffic’ and ‘easing vehicular congestion’. Over time, it was the focus on the LERP discourse which provided the preconditions (Richardson, 1999) for talking about urban time in terms of the LEW project.

The rules (Potter, 2008) for determining true from false statements within this ROT included the claims to privileged technical knowledge positions, foresight, and planning expertise by the planners. Through their discourse, the planners bestowed on themselves the moral justifications for their purportedly rational-technical actions, self-appointing themselves to a position of the thinking subject, who not only thinks and exists for their own selves as experts-planners, but also thinks on behalf of the supposedly non-thinking urban subject. The affectees purportedly lacked these sources of credibility, because of their non-familiarity with technical urban knowledges. Once this ROT had been tentatively established, the truths were then enforced through material and social practices, such as evictions and forced relocations, but also the promises of philanthropy and welfare reifying into the urban socio-material space (Kooij, 2015). Within this temporal ROT, the planners were the ones seen as always speaking the truth. The affectees did not always lie based on malicious intents, posited the planners, but the former were nevertheless less

knowledgeable and more prone to making mistakes in judging the outcomes of large urban development projects. Hence, the affectees' discourses on urban temporal truths were conveniently brushed aside, and not integrated in the ROT. The ROT was institutionalized thus (Richardson, 1999): the multiple deviant scales of urban time experienced and narrated by the affectees were all subsumed and suppressed (Crang, 2001) under one version of 'a time'. A scale of urban time – the planners' scale – became the scale of urban time (Moran, 2013): implemented, manifested, and reified as the LEW's physical footprint and the very tangible demolitions that ensued. Within the ROT produced by the planners, the prescriptive positionality of the affectees was one of attentive listeners and compliers, not advocates for their own future, let alone the co-designers of their own urban space and time. The heterogeneous and subjective nature of multiple urban times was collapsed into an absolutist version of time as 'efficient': social time was colonized by the institutional time (Fitzpatrick, 2004) of the planners in the urban realm, enforcing a temporal and representational homogeneity (Birth, 2012; Sutherland, 2013) measured in production outputs, calendars and man-months. This essential step in producing the ROT rested upon a negation of the multiplicity and multiscalarity of the temporal experiences of the affectees (Adam, 1995): the poetics of their multiple *durées* (Kofman & Lebas, 1996) were dismissed in favour of a flat, linear, homogenous ROT on urban time.

Conceptually, the theme of time as multiscalar forming the urban ROT was related to Foucault's original notions of knowledge/power, which were related to themes around (privileged and exclusive) temporal knowledges possessed by the planners, and the temporal power dynamics that came into play, in order to implement this ROT. The selective and exclusive nature of such knowledges/powers allowed or prevented the various urban actors to make meaningful or pragmatic decisions in the urban realm. This also tied in to the theme of temporal ambiguity, where conceptualizations of urban processes, urban lives, and urban development were found to be linked to uncertainties and ill-coordinated technologies of power (Smart, 2001; Simone, 2004) in the past, present, and future urban conditions, for specific

urban actors. By employing temporal knowledge, power, and ambiguity, the ROT projected a kind of temporal fatalism (Bardon, 2013) for the affectees: no one other than the planners had any agency to shape not just temporal outcomes, but also the temporal preconditions to those outcomes. The time envisaged by the planners was bound to arrive: no action or discourse by the affectees could avert the temporal causalities already set into motion by the planners' dominant ROT.

Even though, within the dominant ROT, the LEW was touted as a time-saving intervention, the temporal evaluation of the LEW with respect to the multiple scales of time has been contested ever since its launch in 2001. The ROT, which comprised the discursively produced imaginaries of the future, was itself 'fictional and flawed', and their realization remained 'unfinished and contingent' (Jaramillo & Carmona, 2022, p. 14). In the short-term, the LEW caused immediate dislocations, evictions, and intense resistance, but also intense investments in construction by the government. The planners posited that in the long term, the benefits of the LEW, as well as the LERP, would far outweigh the negative immediate impacts. However, in the much longer-term, after 20 years, it is the affectees' apprehensions about the project that have seemed to come true: today, the LEW is not being used to its full capacity, and the resettlement program is in shambles. It was this ambiguous hyperopic imaginary that marked the planners' ROT: the envisioning of temporally distant and uncharted futures, the reckless shunning of the affectees' purportedly unenviable past, and a conscious distancing from their miserable present. Particularly, the past and the present were far removed from the temporal imaginaries of the planners in their never-ending obsession with the future. Examining the eventual outcomes of the LEW, one can retrospectively muse that this ROT has been quite short-lived: it has not been able to survive the multiple political transitions, the promises of urban efficacy, and, most importantly, the test of time.

7.3 RQ2: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban subject?

Poststructuralist paradigms regard humans as not possessing universal or eternal essences; humans become particular kinds of context-bound subjects by becoming part of a discourse that assigns them specific positionalities (Evans, 2008). Addressing RQ2, the data was analysed in line with Foucault's understanding of 'the different modes by which human beings are made subjects' (Foucault, 1982, p. 777). For Foucault, discursive practices produce the positionalities of the objects and subjects that constitute a social body within a particular regime of truth, by employing 'arbitrary acts of power that include and exclude individuals and groups' (Cunningham & Fitzgerald, 1996, p. 50). Following conceptually from this, the data indicated how such subject positionalities were arbitrary and transient, and only temporally valid (Angermuller, 2018). The examples presented in CHAPTER 6 follow a chronological and thematic flow to indicate the shifts in temporal subjectification over two decades of the LEW story. The quoted segments provide an overview of the various temporal phases of the urban subject, and how they were produced, collectivized, and differentiated, across the multiple scales of urban time. Various discursive and material practices (Foucault, 1982; Foucault, 1998) in the data were analysed to trace the origins, pathways, and sequencing of events that lead to the production of affectees as particular 'objects of knowledge' (Kooij, 2015); and, by extension, an object of the planners' normative and ethical prescriptions for their own future.

The discursive production of urban subjects was seen to be fundamentally temporal. Each urban subject was discursively bracketed within a kind of temporality: whether a temporality that was accessible to their own agency, or temporalities that were constricted and bracketed. All three actor groups mentioned processes and attributions of subject formation relative to time: identities, shifts in identity, spatial embeddedness, their decisions, investments, and speculations, longevity and belonging, lifestyles and aspirations, as well as their relationships to the state, to other urban subjects, and amongst one another – all were mentioned with a strong

link to temporal themes. This included instances of self-subjectification as well as other-subjectification.

Planners believed all citizens to be eternal subjects to the state, whenever they occupied urban space, whether they were a planner, a common resident, or an ‘illegal’ encroacher; hence, the state could decide which subjects were to be benefited from projects of ‘national interest’. For the planner, the urban subject was temporally malleable (Haanstad, 2009). They could be moulded into any temporal existence that the state wanted to project onto its citizens, related either to their past, or their present, or the state’s offerings to them for the future. The affectees of the LEW were viewed by planners as being stuck in a state of being ‘non-urban’ since decades, as they had occupied an urban site illegally and had continued living there, building incrementally and pushing both the river and the city’s authorities, with lifestyles that deviated from urban norms. Hence, they were deemed by planners as ‘affectees’ before the project, living only opportunistically on borrowed time (Ringel, 2020), before their imminent dislocation from this site. The planners asserted, and the affectees seconded, that the latter knew full well that they would eventually be evicted from their ‘illegally’ occupied areas. But sitting along a drain, albeit illegally, was the only shot at an urban life that the affectees had, back when they had purchased their plots. Hence their present positionalities followed directly from their past precarity. The planners insisted that past poverty could not be used as an excuse for continued illegal living, and they were marked to be moved to a new place in the near future. The affectees’ purported non-urban lifestyle would have continued had the planners not philanthropically intervened and designed a bright future for them in the form of the LERP.

Subject-formation implies processes by which subjects are taught to self-evaluate and self-regulate their bodies and their urban positionalities. This was observed in the data, where affectees mentioned their relationship to the state and the acknowledgement of their own ‘illegality’ – acquitting the state of responsibility towards adequate housing and livelihoods. In a way, they were made to believe that their conditions were an outcome of their own choices in the past – they were

affectees before the project, living on borrowed time only, under constant temporal duress arising from the threat of displacement (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014). The subject-formation process also clearly outlined their corresponding obligations and responsibilities with respect to the planner: within this ROT, the subjects had long reaped the benefits of free illegal living; they must now be ‘compliant’ and support the state and the planners in the realization of their own good. The planners attempted to produce normative temporal routines for their newfound subjects (Shirani & Henwood, 2011); the affectees must become the passive recipients of the planners’ philanthropy, which now defined their inferior temporal positionality in the urban realm, downplaying their own agency as potential co-creators and co-administrators of the LEW story. Such top-down discursive treatment of a particular group of urban residents sought to preserve the hierarchical status quo already in place in urban society, where the planner-policymaker was elevated to the moral position of symbolic patron of the subjects’ temporalities (Marchese, 2019).

A dual-discourse of illegality and unhygienic living conditions was produced to justify the clearance of the ROW along which the affectees were sitting. Once subjects became reified as ‘eternal’ essences, or collectivized into homogenous groups such as ‘all were encroachers’, it became easier for the corresponding ROT to function on these reified positionalities. Subject identities, produced only through temporal discursive references and situated within multiscalar temporalities, were forced to be normalized as being based on objective truth. This was seen to make the prescriptive action of planners easier, and more simplistic (Howarth, 2010). The planner, representing the state’s interventions into urban space, semantically diluted (Poruthiyil, 2019) the entire existence of the affectees to ‘illegal encroachers’ only, in order to impose on them a new kind of temporality, that of the displaced urban subject on the way to a bright future. The discursive production of such temporally malleable subjects was also employed as a strategy to shift attention away from larger structural concerns, such as the spatial or economic injustices embedded in urban society. Such malicious discursive production helped to justify and normalize the subjects’ positionalities as rightfully deserved. The affectees deserved the

demolitions, asserted the planners, primarily because of their continued occupation of the ROW; the planners conveniently ignored the broader structural urban inequalities (Eriksson, 2015; Machin & Richardson, 2008) that had forced the affectees to take up this residence in the first place, decades ago.

In this discursive production of temporal subjects, the subjects themselves were expected to become witnesses to their own subjectification and compliance (Evans, 2008): they were required to bring forth evidence of their historical existence in their previous neighbourhoods, in the form of various documents. The planner was the neutral arbiter, but had placed the burden of proof onto the subject themselves. The ones who could not furnish such proof, had no chance for transitioning into the new future subject proposed by the planner, and was doomed to continue their temporally precarious life after their eviction from the ROW. For a guarantee to the promised bright future, evidence of temporal longevity at the LR settlement was demanded by the planners from the affectees in the form of NICs and house documents, so the latter could receive compensation – a residential plot and money for relocation. A quick survey and disbursement process carried out by the planners actually left many genuine affectees without compensation. The discursively produced subjects were viewed as more than just docile, compliant bodies operating within the ROT; they were expected to assume the role of participants, audience, and witnesses of their own compliance to this new ROT (Philp, 1990), in a perverse show of subtle but deep-rooted processes of temporal violence: here, they were made conscious of their own spatio-temporal impermanence, and made to realize the temporal ambiguity of their urban existence. Their temporal autonomy was constantly challenged (Goodin, Rice, Parpo, & Eriksson, 2008): in the absence of credible proof, the time they had spent in their settlements would now be dismantled as if it had never existed, fragmenting years of memories, associations, and attachments that would leave them without a sense of self tied to urban space (May V. , 2016). Such temporal enclosures propped up by the planners' discourse led the affectees only to futures that were already foreclosed to the affectees' agency; futures that were produced as both 'inevitable and desirable' (Jaramillo & Carmona, 2022, p. 11), where the individual

aspirations, plans and goals that had been carefully imagined, calculated, and planned by the affectees (Daly, 1996; Flaherty & Fine, 2001), even while living in temporal precarity along the banks of the LR, were not taken into account. The ‘encroachers’ became the ‘affectees’ of the LEW project, by complying with the planners’ visions for their relocation. Discursive imageries of the affectees’ detested past and the bright future offered to them by the planners were both invoked to meet one simple objective in the present (Klein, 2004): to drive out these subjects from the current ROW of the LEW. Their removal was cited as being ethically motivated, so that they would no longer be affected by either floods or their own ‘miserable’ living conditions along the LR. Even during the eviction and demolition process, the immediate damages of being evicted were clearly visible to the affectees, but the eventual benefits promised by the planners at the resettlement site seemed far off and uncertain. The planners had promised better futures and a lot of ‘potential’ at the resettlement site, where all facilities had been pre-provided. The planners especially emphasized how the next generation of the affectees would be much more advanced in urban facilities and personal growth. The affectees were given constant assurances and promises (Abram, 2014) of such invisible futures, despite being repeatedly subjected to disappointments, administrative mismanagement, and a general apathy on the side of the planners (Hetherington, 2014).

In contrast to the planners’ consistent assurances regarding the future, the affectees were more concerned about the immediate blows to their social networks, jobs, and public amenities by being ‘thrown away’ at a site 20km away from the city. The Civil Society saw through the hollow promises of the planners, citing that these did not include ‘long-term considerations’, and so the resettlement would eventually be unsustainable. But even in the discourse of philanthropic relocation, the future temporalities of the affectees were regulated by the planner; the resettlement itself was a manifestation of the planners’ normative control over the urban subjects’ futures (Sa’di-Ibraheem, 2020), and the prescription of a temporal ethics (Moran, 2013): instructions on how to spend their present, and their future, at the new resettlement site.

The temporal considerations of the planners stopped right at the arrival of affectees at LB, from where on it was up to the latter to build their own futures. The more pragmatic considerations of the transition period between eviction and resettlement were missing from the planners' discourses. In envisioning the transition from the present into the future, the planners' discourse implied a flattening of urban timescapes (Crang, 2001): the reduction of the affectees' months of planning, saving, salvaging, and rebuilding into an efficient, calculated resettlement plan, the LERP. The temporal phases involved in the many intermediary steps between the present here and future there, between the present now and the future then, were disregarded in the planners' version of the relocation. But for the affectees, this transition period was one marked by long periods of uncertainty, disrupted routines, and incremental saving, salvaging, and rebuilding their old lives and livelihoods at the new site. The planners' discursive production and control over the subjects' temporalities invoked not just undue delays in the affectees' lives, but also instances of sudden rush, frenzied accelerations of events, and unexpected twists in the perceived temporal continuities of their life courses (Sa'di-Ibraheem, 2020). The disruption of their anticipated futures – both at the time of eviction, and after arrival at the new site – disoriented their sense of temporal awareness (Shirani & Henwood, 2011) and affected their own capacity to plan for biographical certainty (Zinn, 2004) through the futures that had been externally thrust upon them. The various phases of their anticipated future (Jones, Flaherty, & Rubin, 2017) – the immediate relocation, the subsequent resettling, the eventual rebuilding – were all thrown into disarray. The temporal obligations placed by the planners upon the affectees, such as building a house in the first 5 years, also made the transition period financially and logistically cumbersome. The affectees resented the multiple disruptions of everyday routines, which wasted time and energy both – waiting, redoing, repeating, and rebuilding life back to their 20-year old selves. But they eventually believed that the LEW project and their resettlement had pushed them back 20 years, as their contemporaries – other urban subjects who had not been evicted – had moved on with their lives, while the former had only been trying to play catch-up since the last two decades, employing

fragmented, arbitrary, and improvisational strategies of chronometricalization (Charmaz, 1997) to plan ahead: they could only handle the future as it came, one uncertain step after the next, instead of planning and acting on long-term personal and communal goals. The ‘inability to plan, predict, or build futures in an incremental way’ brought about a violent kind of spatio-temporal dispossession (Smith, 2011, p. 17), leaving them with a lack of discretionary time (Burchardt, 2010; Goodin, Rice, Parpo, & Eriksson, 2008). This severely impacted their temporal autonomy (Clancy, 2014; Fitzpatrick, 2004), and undermined their own capacities to upgrade their futures in a proactive or deliberative way. Over the last two decades, the chronic time shortage (Szollos, 2009) had affected how they were trying to piece together a living when futures were uncertain, to make new times amongst the misplaced visions of futures: futures that appeared collapsed (Nielsen, 2014) before they had even begun to take form.

The futures promised by the planners were temporally short-lived. ‘Facts, truths and objects’ (Duineveld, Assche, & Beunen, 2013, p. 17) regarding the subjects were discursively produced at the onset of the LEW project, leading to a ‘stabilization’ of some objects and subject positionalities, such as the labels of the encroacher and the affectee. However, 20 years from now, little has changed in the cognitions of the planners: they still believe the LEW brought about an effective resettlement program, where those who were displaced are now living enriched lives. The actual trajectory of the affectees has faded into discursive and material oblivion after enjoying a short existence in the discursive and cognitive realms of planning processes. On the other hand, today, the affectees are hardly more than paused subjects (Elliot, 2016); they form a community of waiters (Foster, 2016), who await, in vain, essential urban services in LB; their temporal enclosure gives them a hopeless outlook on their inescapable urban futures, where they have to renegotiate their imagined futures every day (Jaramillo & Carmona, 2022). The temporal enclosures (Watts, 2004) that these subjects were restricted to were not only physical, spatial, and material; but encompassed the cognitive, discursive, and social aspects of the subjects’ life course, the ‘ruins of failed anticipation’ (Ringel, 2020, p. 14). Such discursively produced

causalities precluded the many alternate imaginaries of the affectees, containing them within temporal enclosures (Jaramillo & Carmona, 2022), and inducing in them a sense of temporal ‘fatalism’ (Bardon, 2013, p. 138). In contrast, the planners’ perceptions of the temporal progression of the affectees’ lives are very different from the narrations of the lived experiences by the affectees. For the planners, LB is a ‘whole city’, and a ‘thriving’ settlement today. The planners emphasized the ‘land value’ aspect of the relocation process: that eventually all affectees would have legal tenure of their houses, and hence would be financially better in the future. The affectees seconded this monetary gain over time, but questioned the expense at which this had come, not least the deprivation of temporal normalcy (Sa’di-Ibraheem, 2020). In fact, many of the affectees today have internalized an eternity of waiting and hoping as their natural subject position: their sense of ‘personhood’ hinges on a lifetime of waiting and hoping (Elliot, 2016). Their futures remain ‘repositories of temporal voids’ (Nielsen, 2014, p. 224), without an imaginable endpoint to orient the remainder of their urban lives. With a lack of discretionary time (Burchardt, 2010) and temporal control over the steering of their own life course, the temporal inequities the affectees are burdened with represent the intergenerational perpetuity of urban inequities.

Additionally, as a supporting response to RQ2, the data also indicated temporal differentiations between various kinds of urban subjects which alluded to their differential positionalities within a larger cognitive economy of temporal worth (Lewis & May, 2019). In such relational positions of temporal worth, some subjects’ individual times were referenced and appraised against the purportedly more valuable times of other urban subjects, in discursive and non-discursive displays of blatant temporal inequities (Goodin, Rice, Parpo, & Eriksson, 2008). Three kinds of differential temporal subject formation processes were observed.

Firstly, users of the LEW would save commuting time on the freeway, whereas the affectees of the LEW would miss out on the opportunity of saving commuting time – in fact, due to their relocation outside the city, they would now spend more time commuting to the same jobs in the city. This saving/wastage of time translated into

future development/dereliction for the temporally differentiated urban subjects. Secondly, those encroachers whose homes were spared 20 years ago due to not being in the ROW were considered temporal beneficiaries by the affectees, who had been able to advance their lives over time while living in the city; while the affectees had been removed from the same area and forced to restart and rebuild their lives over the same 20 years, after the anticipation of their projected futures failed to materialize (Ringel, 2020). The affectees considered this as a temporal anomaly that had dictated their lives ever since. Additionally, the planners' temporal subjectification process also differed from the affectees in that the former considered time an asset, resource, and a tool for legitimacy; whereas for the affectees time was a liability, to be negotiated and carefully rationed. For the affectees, every transition, every move, and every change had inherently been tied to a temporal shift. Their subjectification was fundamentally temporal: speculations over the longevity of illegally acquired land in the past; the tentative and incremental building of lives over time; a sudden disruption event that forced a drastic change in their urban trajectories; the periods of waiting and temporal precarity before they could access the new resettlement area; being forced to reiterate their everyday struggles at the resettlement site; rebuilding a home and a life again; the unpredictable pulsations of infrastructure and services at the resettlement site, and the eventual termination of particular amenities; and the imminence of a gloomy future, projecting from their current living conditions at LB. Each transition from one phase of subjectification into the next was tied to a particular temporal experience, as opposed to the selective temporal engagement of the planners with the LEW project.

7.4 RQ3: How did various actors frame the LEW discourse?

The ways in which the discourses of the various actor groups converge and diverge on these themes, and the reasons for these, were also explored, in order to address RQ3. Although the convergences were very few, several significant divergences were observed.

7.4.1 Convergences in discourses

Discursive convergences were present on the value of time as an asset and resource. The discourses of all actors supported the fact that urban time was being experienced at multiple scales and in multiple ways (Moran, 2013). They also agreed that urban planning and development were processes that occurred over time, and not instantaneously; and that any planned intervention in the urban realm should be monitored regularly to ensure its long-term effectiveness (Charbgoon & Mareggi, 2020). However, there were strong divergences in terms of how the actor groups interpreted the speed, temporal change, effectiveness, completion status, longevity, and the legacy of the project, and, by extension, of urban planning in Karachi.

7.4.2 Divergences in discourses: ROT and urban subject

Discursive divergences were found to exist around multiple themes. In fact, it was realized that although all the actors talked about the same themes, the content of those themes was markedly different.

In terms of the two main themes, the ROT and the urban subject, the discourses were also found to be substantively different. For the planners, the urban ROT was formulated, choreographed, and orchestrated around urban temporalities as being calculated and sacrosanct; the affectees viewed urban temporalities as either aspirational or ominous. The conceptualization of temporality itself was markedly varied across the actors, in terms of temporal scales, prioritizing of time, and the outcomes attributed to temporal processes. A clear tension was observed between the scales of time invoked by the planners and the other actors. The planners' conception of time pertained to the ROT they wished to propagate: that time was cultured, valued, empirical, measurable, and plannable (Abram, 2014). In the face of these assertions, the interpretations of time by the other actors – of time being experiential, metaphorical, and as a tool for violence (Sassen, 1999; Crang, 2001) – were dismissed as lying outside the planners' ROT of the multiscalarity of urban

time (Jaramillo & Carmona, 2022). The narrations, descriptions, and interpretations of time expressed by the participants included certain themes that were common across actors, such as the value of time, but strong divergences were observed in certain other themes – such as predictions and aspirations of the future. All actors believed urban processes as being anchored in temporalities, and linked urban artefacts to urban time. Planners emphasized temporal knowledges and temporal power as preconditions to the planning process, which also indicated the role of the planner as a self-forming temporal subject. Affectees gave a nuanced description of the multiple scales on which they experienced urban time during the LEW project, from immediate actions to long drawn-out periods of negotiations, waiting and inactivity. The planners' discourses contain optimistic claims about the future, whereas the affectees saw the future as either ambiguous or hopeless (Ringel, 2020; Nielsen, 2014).

As for subject formation, the discourses of the actors also differed considerably. Planners' discourses hinted at their belief in the fixity of the urban subject's essence (Angermuller, 2018): the subjects they discursively produced were static, fixed positionalities, as defined across a few simple categories relational to their compliance with the planners' directives (Marchese, 2019). They were temporally squashed and constricted. On the other hand, the affectees self-identified as subjects who were dynamic, temporally expanded, with positionalities ever in flux, according to everyday circumstances and aspirations.

Planners tended to define subjects in fixed temporal categories, as static identities, as essences that were spatially bound and temporally fixated (May V. , 2016): first, as an affectee even before the project had being launched, due to living inside a dirty river; then, when the project was conceived, the label of encroacher was propagated as their newfound subjectification, encroachers who had been living illegally all these years; then, this affectee-encroacher became either a 'deserving' or a 'non-deserving' urban subject, based on the evidence of temporal longevity that they could furnish to the authorities; if they succeeded in providing this evidence, they would become a compensatee, and an allottee, who would receive a plot and 50 thousand

PKR for the resettlement process; following which they were prescribed to go and settle immediately at the new site, where they were promised a bright future, imagined on the temporal trajectory to a good life, a better life. And the planner's temporal imaginary cuts off at exactly this point – there is no further consideration of what the settling process entailed, how long it would take to actually settle (Hetherington, 2014). There was of course the binding condition of settling within the first 5 years – if the allottees failed to do so, their plots would be repossessed, and they would lose the right to claim any other compensation. This was based on the planners' speculation that such allottees were merely waiting out on the land value to increase – they wanted to make profits off their allotted plot as it lay dormant, while they purportedly had a backup residence somewhere else in the city. Hence, to the planner, such subjects did not deserve the allotment, which was supposed to help those who had no backup options to live.

Planners appeared to boil down the subjects to a simple label, attribute, or signifier. However, that future was an ideal scenario: as imagined, not realized (Nielsen, 2014). Most importantly, the intergenerational aspect, the heterogeneity of alternative futures, of deviant trajectories, did not seem to come into play in the planners' version of the progression of urban time. The one-dimensional identity of the subject that was discursively produced at the inception of the project, and re-defined in a philanthropic light during the survey and compensation process, remained a fixed identity, an identifier, a label. The subject was cognitively circumscribed within the planners' discourse as temporally bracketed and spatially relegated to the periphery (Smith, 2011). In the planners' temporal evaluation, this subject had been provided with the necessary preconditions to spring back up, to re-accelerate back to their present socio-economic state, but from a distance and a time that were far removed from the current city's spatio-temporal extents. This was the identity that would continue to haunt the affectees for the next 20, 30, even 50 years, undoubtedly seeping into the next generation as part of the latter's inescapable inheritance (Burchardt, 2010).

For the affectees, the urban subject was always about the totality of their life course, anchored in time. In the narrative accounts of the affectees, the element of temporal transitions was found to be much starker, in the processes of self-identifications, as well as how they talked about themselves, amongst themselves, about their routines, their personal stories, and their odysseys over the city's space and time. The pre-2001, pre-eviction urban subject was someone else: heterogeneous stories emerged surrounding their routines, their lifestyles, and their social articulation (Sassen, 1999). The reasons for coming to and settling to the particular sites along the LR decades ago were myriad: they broadly followed stories of poverty and seeking employment in the 'big city'; but all the personal stories culminated in differentiated spatial and temporal experiences (Jones, Flaherty, & Rubin, 2017) along the way, up to the point of eviction. Here along the LR banks, heterogeneous individuals, families, and communities called this place home for decades. The launch of the LEW and the ensuing evictions entailed yet a different onset of temporal sequences for the families, depending on the diverse positionalities of the purportedly homogeneous 'encroachers': each one was affected in slightly different ways (Sa'di-Ibraheem, 2020). Hence, from the point of view of the affectees, the subject of the demolition period was someone else, the subject who immediately came to LERP and struggled to settle was someone else, and the subject of today is someone totally else. And the subject of 20 years in the future will be someone completely different. Where the subject of the planner was a static identity, one that could be written about, measured, evaluated, counted and represented as graphics on a pie-chart; for the affectee, the subject was the experience of the self that was ever-changing, every day: in the morning he might be a factory worker, then he receives a demolition notice, he runs home in the afternoon, and becomes a resistance worker; in the evening or on the weekend he becomes a negotiator and a mediator for the community. For the affectees, the process of subject formation is always in temporal flux, relational and relevant, anchored to time (Charmaz, 1997). Its flux is determined by actions that spring from past temporal subjectivities, but also aspire

towards future temporal subjectivities. There is an inherent temporal fluidity which mark the affectees' dynamic subject formation processes.

7.4.3 Secondary divergences

All the actors talked about the past. However, planners mentioned the past as a bleak condition of living, something mouldable and changeable, often to great urgency. They strongly justified their actions in the past, emphasizing how they had brought populations into the 'modern' present and upgraded their lives to become more 'urban'. However, affectees referred to past memories mostly as pleasant and satisfactory conditions of living along the LR banks, self-guiding themselves to better aspirations in the future (Daly, 1996). They emphasized that the past had great potential in terms of the various trajectories branching out of it, even if the LEW had to be implemented – the purportedly objective, linear temporal trajectory that had led to this state of the present (Moran, 2013) was not, in their opinion, the most pleasant or desirable one. The Civil Society narrated the past as a contested site where certain decisions held sway, certain actors had more power, and certain other actors were disenfranchised – echoing the affectees' voice that the LEW project did not necessarily have to turn out the way that it eventually did.

Divergences were also observed around temporal promises and eventual realities, of the present and the future, as evidenced by the promise of bright futures and the existing conditions of the present at the resettlement site (Nielsen, 2014). Actors also diverged in their mention of temporal transitions, and in their conceptualization of such transitional, interstitial times: for planners, transitions were instantaneous, from one place to the next, almost to the extent that these intermediate phases did not exist. But for the affectees, it was the transition phase itself that was temporally precarious and long-drawn out, and needed intense preparation, temporal rationing, and effective decision-making. The affectees knew that it would take intense amounts of time to come to terms with the fate that had been decided for them; to gather up the courage, to salvage their belongings, to transplant themselves into a new place, and

to set up life again. It could not be an instant process (Sa'di-Ibraheem, 2020). The planners, on the other hand, gave little regard to the transition, and portrayed the long-term bright future as having already arrived as soon as the affectees had left the ROW and set foot into LB (Watts, 2004).

Another interesting divergence was observed across the actor groups' discourses, in terms of the (non)-reciprocity of temporal subject formation strategies. Planners' discourses contained multiple instances where they defined both themselves and the affectees as temporal subjects. However, it was observed that affectees almost never commented on the planners' temporal subjectification.

Additionally, planners regarded temporal longevity at the old settlement as evidence or validation for duration of stay, as an exchange value for receiving compensation for a new place. For the affectees, on the other hand, temporal longevity translated into notions of belonging (May V. , 2016), home-making and community building.

The actors also had differing discourses on the predictions and hopes for the future ahead from 2022, in terms of both the future of the LEW project as a transport corridor as well as the existing conditions of the LB resettlement site as a 'planned' urban area. The discourses also differ in terms of the emphasis placed by participants on the various temporal phases of the LEW story. For example, P6, a planner, emphasized the long-drawn out construction phase, the technicalities of managing time and resources at the construction site, and the delays cause by the resistance to the ROW demolitions. C3 emphasized the resistance movement itself, daily routines of planning and executing the opposition, and the relationships and solidarity amongst various communities of affectees. Most of the affectees emphasized the post-demolition life at the resettlement site, and complained at length about how promises had not been fulfilled (Elliot, 2016), the present was worse than the past, and the future looked gloomier still.

Somewhat related to this theme of differentiated temporal emphases, the actors' discourses also diverged in the way they talked about the LEW itself. For the planners, the LEW story was pre-time: it was about how some people had arrived at

an empty river bank, and had settled illegally, and would have to be removed in the present. For the planners, this story also emphasized potential-time or imagined-time: saving time on the LEW, and going on to a bright future. But for the affectees, the same LEW story was post-time: for them, it started after the demolition, and placed greater emphasis on the resettlement than the LEW project itself: building up from nothing at LB, the efforts involved, the adjustments made, the processes of rebuilding, scavenging, catching up to come to the same level they were at before the LEW disrupted their spatio-temporal situatedness in the city's core. For the affectees, the post-time story focuses on today's micro-temporal and macro-temporal concerns (Charmaz, 1997): taking a longer route because the street is clogged with gutter water, to waiting hours on end for a water tanker to arrive at their house; to lives, decades and generations lost, to dwindling hopes for the future (Nielsen, 2014).

7.5 Epilogue: planning urban temporality

Urban society is historically and temporally contingent (Elias, 1992; Foucault, 1982). Early urban sociologists such as Simmel, Durkheim, and Tönnies implicitly noted the temporal aspects that appeared to frame the new urban environment in the early 20th century: the acceleration of individual and social life, the frequency and intensity of visual and auditory stimuli, and the disciplining of work-life routines dictated how new regimes of urban time came to be understood and implemented (Bouchet, 1998). Over history, urban areas have been the physical anchor point for various temporalities (Sassen, 1999) being transplanted from other non-urban spaces into a new arena, not least causing the disruption of rural circadian rhythms for the migrants who freshly entered the force-field of urban spatio-temporal relations. In this way, the city has been the place where 'the conquest of time through space' has come to manifest (Crang, 2001, p. 188).

Time has been an indispensable baseline for studying the multifaceted expressions of urban form and urban life: the lived experiences of work, life, socialization, leisure, and the broader urban life course (Henckel, Thomaier, Könecke, Zedda, &

Stabilini, 2013). Spatial experience derives inevitably from the temporal sequencing of space; in fact, Lefebvre characterized space to be ‘nothing but the inscription of time in the world’ (Kofman & Lebas, 1996, p. 16). Spaces capture, describe, and circumscribe temporal experiences: not only individual rhythms, but the simultaneous and polyrhythmic routines in the urban realm, both eurhythmic and arrhythmic (Lefebvre, 2004). Temporal place-making is anchored to the physical-material realm of space: urban time unfolds and is experienced through urban space itself (Mulicek, Osman, & Seidenglanz, 2014). The notion of *timespace* further nuances this understanding, and provides useful tools to analyse the manifold temporal manifestations of spatiality (May & Thrift, 2003). Expanding upon Harvey’s conceptualization of objectified space and spatialized objects (Harvey, 2009), the urban realm springs from *temporalized space* and *spatialized times*.

Even though time has remained a crucial ingredient to the planning and design of urban space (Lynch, 1972), the theorizing and planning of the urban has conventionally focused on spatial objectives, indicators, and deliverables. Although urban planning indirectly implies a consideration of time in its various policy decisions and the design of urban spatialities, the explicit focus of urban planning has traditionally been urban space (Nielsen, 2017). A demonstrable focus on temporal themes has usually been missing from urban planning endeavours, beyond the straightforward inclusion of ‘timelines’ as yardsticks to gauge spatial development, progress, and the accomplishment of spatial design objectives (Matthews, 2013; Raco, Henderson, & Bowlby, 2008). The discussion on urban time has remained mostly substantive, at a higher level of abstraction, and at a lower resolution: time-based planning agendas, the sequencing of planning goals, and the measurement of outputs against calendar units. However, urban space and urban time are very closely interdependent (May & Thrift, 2003). Planning is inherently imbued with various temporal steps and choices, especially in conceptualizing, visualizing, and representing future conditions, and in projecting future imaginaries into the present as if they had already materialized (Hoch, 2009). In fact, the orientation of planning objectives towards temporally distant futures that are made to look

accomplishable ‘from current states to desired ones’ (Abram & Weszkalnys, 2011, p. 4) is one of the strongest reasons for the very existence of the planning enterprise (Myers & Kitsuse, 2000). In this sense, urban planning manifests as a practice of temporal governmentality, which produces and disciplines particular kinds of urban subjects.

A more nuanced understanding of urban temporalities – one that integrates the multiple scales of individual, communal, and institutional temporal experiences and frameworks, as well as the processual dynamics of flow, speed, overlaps, and polyrhythmicities (Wunderlich, 2007) – is set to benefit conventional spatial planning. This is especially pertinent for cities of the Global South, where the very density, multiplicity, and speed of urban transactions demand a more critical approach to urban time (Nielsen, 2017; Simone, 2012). This requires a critical shift in the way urbanization is perceived, shifting focus away from merely the urbanization of space to the urbanization of time itself (Harvey, 1985). The acknowledgement of urban rhythms, frequencies, and amplitudes – the rhythms of the city (Crang, 2001) – calls for a re-orientation of urban studies and of the theories of planning (Friedmann, 1998) along primarily temporal themes (Amin & Thrift, 2002). As the data in this study shows, aligning with several other critical studies on urban time, it is necessary to conceptualize the urban spatio-temporal realm as not just a singular, abstract, or reified entity; but as a site undergoing constant contestations for the meaning, interpretation, and representations of urban time, as experienced and narrated by a multitude of urban actors. The urban is a spatio-temporal site where multiple temporalities and multiple ‘times’ come together – in interaction, transaction, or confrontation (Moran, 2013). Hence, urban planning, by its very nature, necessitates the conscious acknowledgement and inclusion of temporal truths into its conceptions, practices, and prescriptions. Planning must be self-critical of its own role in orchestrating, mediating, and steering the ‘possibilities that time offers space’ (Abram & Weszkalnys, 2011, p. 3), which calls for a more critical emphasis on the various forms of temporal urban governance and temporal urban politics (Raco, Durrant, & Livingstone, 2018).

In particular, planning has yet to develop ‘a repertoire of consciously temporal practices’ (Laurian & Inch, 2019, p. 281). Investigating the various orders and scalarities of time within the urban realm can help generate context-specific understandings of temporality (Charbgoon & Mareggi, 2020). Firstly, this implies the conceptualization of a *temporal turn* in urban planning, particularly for the Global South. Southern urbanisms are, by the very nature of their postcolonial inheritance, oriented towards managing, adjusting, and negotiating existing urban spaces and times, more than the creation of new spaces and new times (Simone, 2020). Secondly, this necessitates a different temporal ordering (van Tienoven, 2018) of urban subjects, who constitute the basic units of prescriptive planning actions, as being fundamentally temporal, and occupying urban time *before* they occupy urban space. Thirdly, the experiencing, ordering, and planning of urban time has to transcend ‘individualistic accounts of time’ (Sharma, 2014, p. 14) to implicate broader urban relationships in the struggles over social and relational urban times (Abram, 2014). This will require renewed conversations around the right to ‘meaningful’ time and temporal autonomy, which some consider basic human rights (Henckel, Thomaier, Könecke, Zedda, & Stabilini, 2013; Fitzpatrick, 2004); leading to concerns of temporal equity and temporal justice being integrated as core areas of focus within the various streams of urban spatial planning. Finally, this points to the need for a radical politics of urban time (Laurian & Inch, 2019) in a world rapidly undergoing planetary urbanization (Brenner, 2013) that has become both ‘borderless’ and ‘timeless’ (Castells, 1996, p. 460).

On a more intimate scale, as we venture into a future where the design and planning of cities are increasingly relegated to intelligent systems (As & Basu, 2022), smartification approaches, and the algorithmization of urban socio-temporo-spatiality, it becomes ever more critical to question the role and the extent of the ‘new’ approaches to planning, and what such semi-automation of decision-making entails for the temporalities of the future city (Sanchez, Shumway, Gordner, & Lim, 2022). On the one hand, where emerging technologies promise the smoothening and time-saving aspects of mundane urban aspects such as traffic regulation and

energy solutions, attention must also be paid to the deeper philosophical and ethical implications of smart planning tools such as urban data mining, multi-agent decisionmaking and swarm intelligence (Haldorai, Ramu, & Murugan, 2019), which imply the externalization of the innately human traits of sensorial and perceptual decisions. How would machines interpret and plan for the multiscalarity of urban temporal experiences? What does it mean to defer to technology the emotive and the cognitive aspects of urban temporality? These are some significant questions that this study raises towards the end, to orient future planning efforts.

AI-based planning endeavours need to be cautious about their reliability on the infallibility of machines to make decisions which have conventionally been attributed to human intelligence, human emotion, and human error (Yigitcanlar, Li, Inkinen, & Paz, 2022). Artificial intelligence-aided, procedural and generative design systems can often fail to account for the wicked nature of urban complexity (Quan, Park, Economou, & Lee, 2019). One of the significant challenges of such approaches is to reconcile the ethical concerns over collecting, managing, and conveying data structures to make decisions *for* their human masters (Kourtiti, Elmlund, Peter, & Nijkamp, 2020). The emergence of intelligent design and decisionmaking is not merely a technical issue, but a deeply socio-political one. What ethics or values guide such decisionmaking, and how would temporal resources be distributed across the urban populace under such systems? Whose time will be saved, for example by designing efficient commute systems, and whose will be lost, for example by procedurally generating affordable suburban settlements further away from core work zones? Through smart systems, the development of city brains, and intelligent design solutions, the city is becoming an almost autonomous entity: self-generating, self-regulating, and self-disciplining. In fact, non-human, non-biological intelligence is now rapidly replacing the human inputs in urban data analysis and development decisionmaking (Cugurullo, 2020). How does one distinguish between the ethical implications of decisions being generated by mechanistic automatons versus those being taken consciously by autonomous humans with agency? These are some techno-social challenges that will add further

complexity to the study of urban temporality in the coming decades, as urban planning becomes routinely automated.

In addition to the smart approaches to urban planning, in the face of already existing urban spatial challenges faced by cities of the Global South, such as the *rapidity* of uncontrolled spatial expansion, and the *urgency* of disaster risk reduction, what is needed in planning discourse and practice is a systematic approach to urban temporality in its political, social, and ethical dimensions. Planning has always been about taming the unpredictability of the future into the docility of the present. A radical socio-techno-politics of urban time must acknowledge the fundamentality of temporal truths to interpret, practise, and talk about urban planning for what is really is: ‘a form of temporal governance that must find its place in time’ (Laurian & Inch, 2019, p. 282). In the Southern cities yet to come (Simone, 2004), will time be the new unit of urban exchange value, the new urban currency and a viciously guarded urban asset? Cheesy as it sounds, only time will tell.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.1 Recap of research aims and objectives

The aim of this research was to understand how urban regimes of truth and urban subjects were being discursively produced by the actors who were closely engaged in the LEW project and its associated resettlement plan over a 20-year period, from 2001-2020. This aim was achieved by eliciting and analysing the discourses of the various actors: the ones who were planning (Planners), the ones who were being planned for (Affectees), and the ones voluntarily committed to ensure a just and equitable discursive and material exchange would take place between the two main actor groups (Civil Society). The objective behind such an inquiry, then, was *not* primarily to evaluate whether the LEW project should or should not have been built, or to comment on its functionality for or impact on the broader planning process in Karachi, or even its long-term significance as a transport corridor. The objective behind this inquiry was, rather, to bring forth the discursive strategies and acts that made the LEW ‘possible, necessary or inevitable’ (Richardson, 1999, p. 73) even when there were conflicting discourses around it amongst the various actors, and no mutual agreement or reconciliation had been reached prior to the project being launched in 2001. Examining the discourses in such a way meant engaging with the positionalities of the various actor groups, as defined through their own retrospective insights about their engagement with the project.

8.2 Summary of Results

Examining the 20-year story of the LEW through the data, it started to become clear that the LEW project was a story about not just **urban space**, but more about **urban**

time. This research brought forth a new way of looking at and conceptualizing **time** within the urban domain: within urban planning practices, as well as urban outcomes and experiences. The research presented a bottom-up, nuanced look into the conceptualization of ‘time’ as it was talked about in the context of a specific urban project. The analysis identified urban time as complex, experiential, metaphorical, and non-predictable; as opposed to the conventional understandings in planning theory and practice, of urban time as being chronological, linear, cyclical, or predictable. The research analysed the various **scales** of urban time as they emerged in the discourses of the participants, and highlighted new ways in which urban time can be conceptualized as multiscalar beyond the conventional scales of calendars, man-months, project deliverables, routinized everyday practices, and personal aspirations and goal-setting. What does time and temporality mean in terms of urban lived experiences? How are temporal ambiguities created and navigated by both planners and those being planned for? How are urban subjects ‘temporalized’ through planning processes, and how do such temporal subjects respond to and redefine temporalities through their own interpretations, experiences and practices? How is self-temporalization linked to the self-formation of the subject? And conversely, how does subject formation, in the Foucauldian sense, work by temporalizing subjects: by producing subjects as temporally bracketed and temporally regulated selves and others? These were some of the insights derived from this research, which can help elucidate the discursive aspects of urban production. The various cycles of data analysis aimed to highlight the key themes and patterns emerging from the data, in order to understand how ROTs and urban subjects were discursively produced by the actors who were closely engaged in the LEW project and its associated resettlement plan over a 20-year period, from 2001-2020. A summarized response to the 3 RQs is presented below:

8.2.1 RQ1: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban regime of truth?

Addressing RQ1, on how an urban ROT was discursively produced by the various actors, the research proposed various scales of urban time as they emerged in the discourses of the participants, and highlighted new ways in which urban time can be conceptualized as multiscalar beyond the conventional scales of calendars, man-months, project deliverables, routinized everyday practices, and personal aspirations. The research commented on the meaning of time and temporality in terms of urban lived experiences, as narrated by the various actors. The research found that the urban ROT was formulated, choreographed, and orchestrated around urban temporalities as being calculated and sacrosanct (planners) *or* aspirational and ominous (affectees). Time in the urban realm was observed to have various manifestations and interpretations: as an asset and a resource; as a yardstick to gauge various accomplishments of urban life; as a tool of malicious or covert planning tactics; as something to look forward to, or plan ahead for; as an instrument of socio-economic regulation and of enforcing compliance; as an investment; and as a retrospective past archive for re-orienting the present and the future. The data also suggested how temporal ambiguities were created and navigated by both planners and those being planned for, based on temporal knowledges and temporal power being selectively or exclusive exercised.

8.2.2 RQ2: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban subject?

Addressing RQ2, the research demonstrated that urban subjects were discursively produced as fundamentally temporal. It indicated how urban subjects became ‘temporalized’ through planning processes, actions and discourses; and how such temporal subjects responded to and redefined these temporalities through their own experiences, interpretations, negotiations, and practices.

Some dominant subthemes included: eternal subjects, temporally malleable subjects, subjects before the project, temporally stagnated subjects, being identified with labels such as ‘encroachers’, temporal activities such as incremental occupation of land and housing construction, the planners’ offer to the affectees to transform them over time from ‘encroachers’ to ‘affectees’ and ‘beneficiaries’ of the LEW project, formal documents as proof of temporal longevity for the affectees, visions of bright futures post-resettlement being painted by the planners, quick and indifferent planning actions such as demolitions, a long-lasting period of temporal precarity where affectees were neither here nor there, the struggles they faced over time when settling in, the various reiterations of life they had to go through, and the plagued present state of the affectees at their resettlement site as they wait for bleak futures to manifest. The LEW project was a rupture in the anticipated urban temporal trajectories for both the planners and the affectees, an event signifying a disjuncture for the timelines of both, which made both the planners and affectees temporal subjects, but in different ways and to different degrees. The data linked aspects of self-temporalization to the self-formation of the subject; and conversely, commented on how subject formation, in the Foucauldian sense, works by temporalizing subjects: by producing subjects as temporally regulated selves and others. Stark differentiations were also observed between pairs of temporally differentiated subjects, where one actor would be a temporal beneficiary at the expense of temporal disadvantages for the other, such as the users versus the non-users of the LEW.

8.2.3 RQ3: How did various actors frame the LEW discourse?

RQ3 was addressed as part of RQ1 and RQ2, by simultaneously analysing the discourse data across all actor groups, instead of in isolation. The data was categorized by themes rather than by actor groups. This enabled the discourses of the different actors to be read in parallel. The main similarities in the various actor groups’ discourses included their acknowledgement of urban time as multiscalar, a valuable asset, and an anchor for urban development processes. The main differences

in the actors' discourses consisted of their production of the ROT of urban time: for the planners, urban temporalities were linear, calculated, and fixed; the affectees' temporalities were aspirational and non-linear. Planners considered the future as pre-planned, certain, and bright, whereas for the affectees the future was full of uncertainty, disillusion, and further precarity. Planners also produced the affectees as fixed identities, as temporally bracketed and malleable subjects of the state, and painted them in a philanthropic light, expecting compliance and gratitude; for the affectees, the temporal aspect of their self-subjection was filled with temporal experiences that captured the totality of their life-course, with much starker and nuanced temporal transitions, with an emphasis on temporal voids and residual temporalities. Divergences were also observed around temporal promises and eventual realities, of the present and the future, as evidenced by the promise of bright futures and the existing conditions of the present at the resettlement site.

8.3 Contributions of study

The study makes three distinct contributions: theoretical, methodological, and practical-professional.

Theoretically, the study expands the notion of CDA into the discursive production of the Foucauldian notions of ROTs and subjects in the urban domain: it links linguistics, Foucauldian concepts, and the urban domain. The profession and the practice of urban planning inherently hinges upon the notion of time and long-term planning objectives and deliverables in the form of master planning, regional planning, projects, as well as specific strategic and spatial development plans, which all employ time as a baseline to gauge the progress and success of urban projects and processes (Charbgoon & Mareggi, 2020). However, the focus of urban planning has more broadly been on *space*, rather than *time* (Brenner, 2013). In conventional urban planning and design, *space* is right-wing, traditional, objective, and quantifiable; *time* is left-wing, radical, subjective, and qualifiable (Foucault, 2015). The results from this research point to the need for a temporally inclusive and temporally

cohesive planning framework. Such a framework would be focused on temporal equity: one that aims to reduce temporal precariousness, temporal differentiations, and temporal poverty amongst the urban subjects it sets out to ‘plan’ for. The framework would be sensitive to the various fundamental temporal stages involved in everyday urban lifeworlds, and would hence be able to plan more effectively beyond the linearity of simplistic survey-analysis-plan frameworks, or the conventions of rational-technical projects. In this regard, this research proposes time as a rejuvenated planning ethic. It considers urban time not only as an indicator, a measurable or variable; but, by considering the experiential aspect of temporality in the urban realm, through the case of this project, time is proposed as a planning input. A concern for temporality could be integrated into thinking about and talking about planning processes. Beyond conceptualizing time as measurable and quantifiable, as has been the norm, this research points to the need to conceptualize and plan for urban time at a more abstract level than calendars and project deliverables. This could help to enhance the toolkit of planning resources. In this regard, time could be thought of as more than one of the ‘values’ in planning: it is suggested that a consideration for time and temporalities could become one of the ethics on which planning as an enterprise operates. This goes beyond thinking of time as something to be delivered against; to gauge production value or deliverability, or longevity; but more of time as inherent and embedded in urban processes, especially those that require any kind of subject formation. Perhaps, in this vein, the design of urban time and the planning of urban *temporalities* might take primacy over the design and planning of urban *spatialities*. Hence, the results from this study can be used to generate new understandings of the epistemological processes underlying the development of planning theory and practice within the Global South, with an emphasis on discursive and sociocultural processes (Miraftab, 2009; Simone, 2020). These understandings can lead to new interpretations and applications of planning, as well as urban studies pedagogy in schools across Pakistan.

Methodologically, this study is the first urban CDA conducted on Urdu language discourse on an urban megaproject in Pakistan. The study provides a detailed log of

the complete methods, tools, and data analysis workflow that were employed. This in-depth description of the methods can be replicated, repurposed, and adapted to similar CDA studies on urban discourses, specifically in Pakistan. In this, the study attempts to provide a template, though not a normative one but more as a guide. There is much to interpret and improve upon the methods detailed here, and this form of qualitative inquiry has the potential to become a standalone way of talking about urban projects and planning processes in Pakistan.

In **practical-professional** terms, the study attempts to prove the significance of discursive production in urban planning processes. Highlighting this significance of the discursive nature of planning is especially relevant in a society where urban planning is yet a top-down activity in the footsteps of the rational planning paradigm, projecting more broadly from bureaucratic, pre-independence colonial legacies of the developmental state in the Global South (Watson, 2009). Additionally, the study demonstrates the effectiveness of CDA within a postcolonial developing society in which qualitative research is still not considered ‘scientific’ enough to theoretically frame urban development issues. There is a conscious emancipatory focus in this study, to create further opportunities for the democratization of urban politics and planning to make these processes more relevant and more inclusive for Karachi and its residents. Additionally, several new large scale urban projects are in the works for Karachi, which are expected to bring about similar dynamics of violent evictions and displacements, and forced relocations, with promises of bright futures. The Karachi Circular Railway (KCR) and the Malir Expressway (MEW) are just two of such projects. Hence, the results from this study might guide in-depth qualitative research into various aspects of such projects.

8.4 Directions for future research

There are several directions on from this work, arranged in increasing scalarity:

1. **Exploring additional themes within the same data:** there is substantial thematic variety in the data gathered for this study. The data utilized for this dissertation is only a part of the total data that was collected and coded as per the thematic framework. The same transcribed data can be used to talk about various other themes. Several secondary themes have already been identified in the coding frame, as mentioned in CHAPTER 5. These were not utilized for the analysis of urban temporalities and temporal urban subjects. Examples include the personal storylines of the affectees, as divided across before, during, and after the evictions; the story of the LEW itself, as narrated by planners, in phases that capture the technical details and opinions on pre-LEW, during-LEW, and post-LEW narratives; the various kinds of nomenclatures, adjectives, actions, and attributions employed for describing subjects beyond temporal themes; and the particular ethnic identities invoked during conversations, and how these tie in to broader urban dynamics. All of these themes can be explored and analysed as standalone inquiries, some of which the researcher aims to work on in the near future.
2. **Exploring the transitional phases of urban displacement:** perhaps this is one of the most potent applications of this research. The intermediate period of a demolition drive – post-demolition, pre-resettlement – forms the most significant part of an evictee’s storyline. However, it is the period that finds least mention in planning and policy agendas, especially in Karachi. In the planners’ imaginary, there is an instant, almost magical transmission of the affectee and their entire socio-economic and historical baggage from the demolished site instantly onto the resettlement area. Details of the phase of ‘transition’ are often dismissed, or lightly brushed aside, as if they are a minor, easily navigable inconvenience. However, substantial research has shown how this intermediary phase causes the compounding of negative impacts that have long-lasting impacts on affected populations. The learnings from this study can guide towards a more detailed analysis of the inevitable intermediary phase of displacement drives, how these can be better planned

for in advance, and integrated seamlessly as a vital component of resettlement plans.

3. **Expanding CDA studies in the urban realm:** the study provides an opening into the possibilities of conducting CDA research on urban themes within Karachi, and by extension urban cities of the Global South. A similar methodological workflow could be adopted for examining and critiquing development-induced displacement projects, which could, over time, contribute to developing a *temporal* model of urban megaprojects that dislocate urban populations. These learnings could generate distinct thematic temporal ‘phases’ beyond the technical chronologies of conventional planning deliverables.
4. **Exploring urban temporality:** several distinct scales and manifestations of urban temporality can be explored based on this study, employing CDA or other research approaches. Some immediately relevant themes include: macro-time; the many times of the city; material and social (im)permanences; polyrhythmia and the coalescence of individual urban trajectories; the relationality of grand urban ‘times’ compared to the miniature scales of everyday practice; the notion of ‘collective’ urban time vs ‘individual’ instantiations of temporality. The domain of urban temporality has been gaining momentum, and qualitative interpretations of the various times of the city can contribute to these learnings, also contributing to the theories *in* planning.
5. **Building upon CDA research in the Urdu language:** the study lays down clear templates, guides, and a detailed audit trail for the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data in any language. Due to the technical limitations of the PhD dissertation being carried out in an English language educational institution, all the work for this study was carried out in English. However, it is very much possible to replicate the whole process for a study in the Urdu language – in fact, if undertaken, such a replication of methods might underlie some of the first Urdu CDA studies. Additionally, as of 2022,

software like MAXQDA offer direct transcriptions, coding, and analysis in the Urdu script, which gives added advantage to automate and accelerate the research process.

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APPENDICES

A. METU Ethics Committee Approval

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27 OCAK 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Anlı ATAÖV

Danışmanlığımı yaptığımız Adam ABDULLAH'ın "*Discursive Production of the Urban Subject: A Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis on Karachi's Urban Planning*" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 002-ODTU-2021 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.


Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkanı

B. Informed Consent Document (English)

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

This interview is part of a study titled ‘Discursive Production of the Urban Subject: A Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis on Karachi's Urban Planning’ being conducted by Adam Abdullah as part of the degree requirements for a PhD in City and Regional Planning at the Middle East Technical University, Turkey.

The study aims to examine planning discourses on the Lyari Expressway in Karachi. It seeks to understand processes of design, decisionmaking, and communication that occur during the planning of large scale urban projects, and the impacts that such projects have on the larger city. It will examine how planners think, communicate, and act in their pursuit of planning for the common good of the urban population. There are no direct benefits or risks for the respondents for taking part in the interview.

The interview is expected to last roughly 50-60 minutes. Participation in the study is voluntary. Your responses will be audio-recorded to help in transcription, and will be accessed by Adam Abdullah only. The recordings will be permanently deleted once transcription is complete. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and evaluated only by the researcher. The information you provide will be used only for the purposes of this PhD project.

The interview does not contain any questions that may cause discomfort in the participants. However, if you feel uncomfortable at any point during the interview, you may request to end the interview. Before, during, and after the interview, you can also ask questions related to the study, which will be answered by the interviewer. I would like to thank you in advance for your participation in this study.

For further information about the study, you can contact Adam Abdullah at the following email address: adam8juneabdullah@gmail.com; and phone number/WhatsApp: +92-335-2530649.

I am participating in this study totally on my own will and am aware that I can quit participating at any time I want. I give my consent for the use of the information I provide for scientific purposes. (Please return this form to the data collector after you have filled it in and signed it).

Name Surname

Date

Signature

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C. Informed Consent Document (Urdu)

فارم برائے معلومات و اجازت

یہ انٹرویو میری پی ایچ ڈی تھیسس کا حصہ ہے، جو میں ڈل ایسٹ ٹیکنیکل یونیورسٹی ترکی (METU Turkey) سے، شعبہ شہری منصوبہ بندی میں کر رہا ہوں۔ اس اسٹڈی کا عنوان ہے: 'Discursive Production of the Urban Subject: A Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis on Karachi's Urban Planning'۔ اس اسٹڈی کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ لیاری ایکسپریس وے کی پلاننگ کا مطالعہ کر کے، بڑے اربن پراجیکٹس میں ڈیزائن، فیصلہ سازی، منصوبہ بندی اور کمیونیکیشن کے عمل کو سمجھا جاسکے۔ خاص طور پر یہ کہ پلانرز کس طرح سے شہری آبادی کی اجتماعی جھلائی کے بارے میں سوچتے ہیں، بات چیت کرتے ہیں، اور فیصلے کرتے ہیں۔ اس انٹرویو میں حصہ لینے کے کوئی براہ راست فوائد یا نقصانات نہیں ہیں۔

اس انٹرویو کے لئے تقریباً ۵۰ سے ۶۰ منٹ درکار ہوں گے۔ انٹرویو میں آپ رضا کارانہ طور پر حصہ لے رہے ہیں۔ میں آپ کے جوابات کو ساتھ ساتھ آڈیو ریکارڈ کرتا رہوں گا، یہ آڈیو مجھے بعد میں نوٹس بنانے میں کام آئے گی۔ اور اس آڈیو کو صرف میں یعنی آدم عبد اللہ سنوں گا۔ نوٹس بنانے کے بعد میں یہ آڈیو فائلز ڈیلیٹ کر دوں گا۔ آپ کے جوابات صرف میں پڑھوں گا اور جو انفارمیشن آپ مجھے مہیا کریں گے وہ میں صرف اپنی پی ایچ ڈی کے لئے استعمال کروں گا۔

اس انٹرویو میں کوئی ایسے سوال شامل نہیں کئے گئے ہیں جن سے ارادی طور پر کوئی ناخوشگوار پیغام پیدا ہو یا کوئی پریشانی ہو۔ لیکن پھر بھی اگر کسی سوال سے آپ کو کوئی پریشانی ہو یا آپ کو مناسب لگے تو آپ بالکل بلا جھجک مجھے بتا سکتے ہیں اور انٹرویو ختم کرنے کا بھی کہہ سکتے ہیں۔ انٹرویو کے دوران یا انٹرویو کے بعد آپ میری اسٹڈی سے متعلق جو بھی سوال پوچھنا چاہیں میں کوشش کروں گا کہ تفصیل کے ساتھ اس کا جواب دے کے آپ کو مطمئن کر سکوں۔ انٹرویو شروع کرنے سے پہلے میں آپ کا شکریہ ادا کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ نے اس اسٹڈی میں حصہ لینے کے لئے رضامندی ظاہر کی۔ اسٹڈی کے بارے میں مزید معلومات کے لئے آپ میرے ای میل ایڈریس adam8juneabdullah@gmail.com یا فون / واٹس ایپ نمبر 0335-2530649 پر رابطہ کر سکتے ہیں۔

میں اس اسٹڈی میں رضا کارانہ طور پر حصہ لے رہا / رہی ہوں ہو اور مجھے علم ہے کہ میں کسی وقت بھی انٹرویو ختم کرنے کا کہہ سکتا / سکتی ہوں۔ میں جو جوابات دے رہا / رہی ہوں ان کو ریسرچ میں استعمال کرنے کی اجازت دے رہا / رہی ہوں۔ (اس فارم کو پر کرنے اور دستخط کرنے کے بعد آدم عبداللہ کو واپس کیجئے)۔

تاریخ

مکمل نام

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دستخط

D. Interview Questionnaire with RQs

RQ 1: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban regime of truth?

Sub-RQ 1: What was conceptualized at project start: the driving forces, the objectives, and the *imagined reality* produced by the discourses?

Sub-RQ 2: What happened over time: how was each occurrence associated with the original discourse, how did discourses shift, and what became the *actual reality*?

- IQ1: Through all these years, what were the objectives and driving forces behind the LEW? What was the main/underlying purpose of LEW?
- IQ2: *Follow-up*: Why was the LEW given so much importance by various governments through the years?
- IQ3: Was there the idea that “LEW is good for the city”? How was public good/ common good conceptualized? How was this ‘common good’ justified? With reference to what citizens, which aspects of the city?

RQ 2: How did the discourse of LEW produce the urban subject?

Sub-RQ 3: How did planners, affectees, and civil society discursively produce the urban subjects, through what *attributions* and *actions*? How were these subjects collectivised, differentiated, and self-identified?

- IQ4: Were there some actors whose support changed over time or because of some reason? Maybe first they were against, but then changed? Or first they supported, but then changed? If so, why and how?
- IQ5: *Follow-up*: do you think any planning decisions or events played a role in changing their support/opposition? Or was it because of some other factors?

RQ 3: How did various actors frame the LEW discourse?

Sub-RQ 4: What did the planners/affectees/civil society claim about the LEW project, has it changed over time, and why?

Sub-RQ 5: How was the discourse of the planners/affectees/civil society convergent or divergent?

- IQ6: Please describe your role as [position] regarding the LEW (with years)? What were your typical daily activities/tasks, regarding the LEW? With which other institutions/actors did you work closely?
- IQ7: As a [position], what was the main idea / vision of the LEW *for you*? How did you personally see the LEW project when it began?
- IQ8: *Follow-up*: Do you still see it the same way? Why/why not? What happened that changed your view about it?
- IQ9: In your opinion, which decisions/events of the project were the most significant (with years)? To which decisions/events of LEW did you contribute? [planners, government OR as community-resistance]

Concluding question

- IQ10: Who do you think should the credit (or blame) for the LEW go to? If you can name one person or institution?

E. Interview Questionnaire (English)

1. Through all these years, what were the objectives and driving forces behind the LEW? What was the main/underlying purpose of LEW?
2. *Follow-up:* Why was the LEW given so much importance by various governments through the years?
3. Was there the idea that “LEW is good for the city”? How was public good/common good conceptualized? How was this ‘common good’ justified? With reference to what citizens, which aspects of the city?
4. Were there some actors whose support changed over time or because of some reason? Maybe first they were against, but then changed? Or first they supported, but then changed? If so, why and how?
5. *Follow-up:* do you think any planning decisions or events played a role in changing their support/opposition? Or was it because of some other factors?
6. Please describe your role as [position] regarding the LEW (with years)? What were your typical daily activities/tasks, regarding the LEW? With which other institutions/actors did you work closely?
7. As a [position], what was the main idea / vision of the LEW *for you*? How did you personally see the LEW project when it began?
8. *Follow-up:* Do you still see it the same way? Why/why not? What happened that changed your view about it?
9. In your opinion, which decisions/events of the project were the most significant (with years)? To which decisions/events of LEW did you contribute? [planners, government OR as community-resistance]
10. Who do you think should the credit (or blame) for the LEW go to? If you can name one person or institution?

F. Interview Questionnaire (Urdu)

۱. اس پوری کہانی میں، LEW پراجیکٹ کے objectives کیا تھے؟ اور اس کے پیچھے driving forces کیا تھے؟ (کوئی شخصیت تھی، کوئی vision تھا، کوئی اور چیز تھی جس کی وجہ سے اس کو اتنی اہمیت دی گئی؟) اور LEW کا basic مقصد کیا تھا؟

۲. (تو اسی سے linked یہ سوال ہے کہ) LEW کو مختلف حکومتوں کے ادوار میں اتنی اہمیت کیوں مل رہی تھی؟ جیسے کہ پہلے دو دفعہ بینظیر کے دور میں، پھر مشرف کے دور میں۔

۳. LEW کے planners کا یہ ماننا تھا کہ LEW شہر کے لئے ایک اچھا اور کارآمد پراجیکٹ ہے۔ تو اس سلسلے میں 'good for the city' یعنی public good یا common good کو کس طرح define کیا گیا؟ یعنی یہ پراجیکٹ شہر کے کن لوگوں کے لئے اچھا ہے، یا کراچی شہر کے لئے کس حوالے سے اچھا ثابت ہوگا؟

۴. کیا کچھ actors ایسے تھے جن کی اس پراجیکٹ کے بارے میں support وقت کے ساتھ بدلی ہو؟ جیسے کہ، پہلے وہ LEW کے خلاف ہوں مگر پھر بعد میں اس کو سپورٹ کرنے لگے ہوں یا پہلے پہل اس کو سپورٹ کرتے ہوں مگر کچھ عرصے بعد اس کے خلاف ہو گئے ہوں؟ اگر ایسے کچھ لوگ یا عناصر تھے، تو اس بارے میں تھوڑا بتائیے۔ چاہے planners میں سے، یا town administration میں سے، یا communities میں سے۔

۵. کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ ان کی سپورٹ / مخالفت بدلنے کی وجہ کوئی planning decision یا واقعہ تھا؟ جیسے کہ NHA کوئی آرڈر، یا عدالت کا کوئی فیصلہ؟ یا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ ان کے رویے میں یہ بدلاؤ کسی اور وجہ سے آیا؟

۶. LEW پراجیکٹ میں [بطور پوزیشن] آپ کا کیا رول تھا اس بارے میں ذرا تفصیل سے کچھ بتائیے۔ کن کن سالوں میں آپ زیادہ active رہے؟ اور آپ کا ایک نارمل دن کس طرح گزرتا تھا، صبح سے شام تک آپ پراجیکٹ کے حوالے سے کن سرگرمیوں میں مشغول رہتے تھے؟ دوسرے کن اداروں کے ساتھ مل کے کام کرتے تھے؟ اس بارے میں تھوڑی روشنی ڈالیے۔

۷. [بطور پوزیشن]، آپ کے نزدیک LEW کا main idea یا vision کیا تھا؟ جس وقت یہ پراجیکٹ شروع ہوا یا جس وقت آپ اس کے ساتھ engage ہوئے، اس وقت آپ کی اس پراجیکٹ کے بارے میں کیا سوچ اور کیا رائے تھی؟

۸. کیا آپ آج بھی یعنی ۲۰۲۱ء میں بھی LEW کے بارے میں یہی سوچ اور یہی رائے رکھتے ہیں یا اب کچھ مختلف رائے ہے؟ کیوں / کیوں نہیں؟ ایسا کیا ہوا جس نے آپ کو اپنی رائے بدلنے پر مجبور کیا؟ کوئی خاص event، یا کوئی چیز جو خلاف توقع ہوئی ہو؟

۹. آپ کے اپنے خیال میں، اس پورے پراجیکٹ میں کون سے فیصلے یا کون سے واقعات ایسے تھے جنہوں نے کوئی بہت گہرا اثر چھوڑا ہو؟ (کون سے سال میں یہ فیصلہ / واقعہ پیش آیا؟) اور اسی حوالے سے یہ بھی بتائیے گا کہ LEW کے کون سے فیصلوں میں آپ کا براہ راست کوئی contribution یا حصہ تھا؟ یا آپ کے کہنے سے، آپ کے کسی action سے کوئی فیصلہ / واقعہ ہوا یا ہونے سے رہ گیا ہو؟

۱۰. اور اب ایک چھوٹا سا آخری سوال: اگر میں آپ سے یہ پوچھوں کہ وہ کون سا ایک شخص یا ادارہ ہے جس کے بارے میں ہم یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ LEW پراجیکٹ کا سہرا یا گناہ اس کے سر جاتا ہے، آپ کے خیال میں وہ کون ہو گا۔ کوئی ایک شخص یا کوئی ایک ادارہ۔

G. Debriefing Document

DEBRIEFING FORM

This study examines how ‘planning discourses’ produce urban reality. Planning discourses include the discourses of individual planners, planning institutions, and the planning dispositif, at the local, provincial, and federal level. My theoretical framework establishes that discourse is the fundamental productive feature of urban reality/truth, and planning discourses establish a particular version of the urban as a fundamental urban ‘regime of truth’.

For this study, I am conducting interviews with planners/decisionmakers involved in the various stages of the Lyari Expressway project, from its inception in 1989 to its complete inauguration in 2019. The data collection through interviews is expected to be completed by Feb-March 2021. Data analysis will occur during March-June 2021. The findings will be written up in the subsequent months.

The results from this study will help contribute to the theoretical understanding of urban planning as a discursive activity in decisionmaking (regulation/control) by an expert group (planners) for a larger mass of people (the ‘planned’). The findings will be used to address gaps in urban planning theory, Foucauldian theory, and theories on discourse.

For further information on the study through its stages, you can contact me at the following email address: adam8juneabdullah@gmail.com; and phone number/WhatsApp: +92-335-2530649.

Once again, I thank you for your participation.

H. Extended Timeline of the LEW

Table 8.1. An extended timeline of the LR and LEW. Significant political events in *bold italics*. Master planning events in *simple italics*.

Year	Event
1730s onwards	Baloch families from Makran settle along LR banks
1700s-1800	Settlements along LR increase in size and population
1839	<i>Annexation of Sindh. British colonial administration takes over Karachi</i>
1800s	Karachi expands as colonial town
<i>1923</i>	<i>Karachi Master Plan by A. Miram</i>
<i>1946</i>	<i>Karachi Master Plan by Col Thomas</i>
1947	<i>Partition of British India. Karachi is declared capital of Pakistan</i>
1950s	Karachi's population expands, more migrants settle along the LR
<i>1952</i>	<i>MRV Plan</i>
<i>1958</i>	<i>Greater Karachi Resettlement Plan</i>
1960s	More migrations: new colonies established; new social bonds
1970s-1980s	Population increases. Karachi's port and industrial activities surge
Through 1970s	Settlements along LR gradually acquire infrastructure and utilities; incremental regularization of some LR settlements; political organization and affiliations of residents along the Lyari corridor
<i>1974</i>	<i>Karachi Development Plan 1975-84; proposes NBP and SBP</i>
1977	Heavy torrential rains cause flooding along LR
Post-1977	<i>Administrative and political uncertainty hinders development in Karachi</i>
1978	WAPDA flood plan study for LR banks
1980-1995	Migrants: Afghanistan and NW tribal areas due to war
<i>1985</i>	<i>KDP 1975-84 expires; NBP and SBP not built</i>
1988 – 1992	<i>Farooq Sattar (MQM) becomes mayor Karachi</i>
December 1988	<i>FG change: Benazir Bhutto (PPP)</i>
1989	<u>LEW Design 1</u> is proposed by some well-intentioned citizens, as an alternative to the unbuilt NBP; immediate opposition from settlements and commercial activities along LR; alternates to the LEW are presented by URC, an NGO; formation of Lyari Nadi Welfare Association (LNWA) to safeguard communities' interests
1990	Opposition is ignored by FG; planning for LEW continues, at a slow pace
November 1990	<i>FG change: Nawaz Sharif (PMLN)</i>
1991	LEW Design 1 shelved due to lack of public support
March 1991	WAPDA study [Flood control plan for Karachi] submitted to PG
<i>June 1991</i>	<i>KDP 2000 is passed</i>
1992-2001	<i>Administrator System implemented in Karachi</i>
1993	Lyari River floods, houses destroyed

Year	Event
October 1993	<i>FG change: Benazir Bhutto (PPP)</i>
1994	<u>LEW Design 2 proposed</u> : design and plans not communicated to affectees
1995	FWO submits feasibility study on LEW to KMC
1995	FG approves LEW Design 2
Early 1996	KMC finalizes detailed drawings for LEW
1996	Demolitions begin along LR; immediate opposition from LR settlements; demolitions continue; negotiations with resisting communities; LNWA agrees to convince communities to voluntarily remove houses falling within demarcated ROW
1996	LEW Design 2 is shelved
1996	NBP is approved by FG
February 1997	<i>FG change: Nawaz Sharif (PMLN)</i>
October 1999	<i>Military coup against Nawaz Sharif</i>
June 2001	<i>Musharraf becomes President of Pakistan</i>
2001	<i>Devolution: new LG system in Karachi; administrator system abolished; Naimatullah becomes mayor</i>
2001	<u>LEW Design 3</u> : ‘Re-launch’ of the LEW: Musharraf government decides to build both NBP+LEW within NBP budget; NBP made shorter in length. LEW executing authority: NHA; designer/consultant: EA Consultants; contractor: FWO
2001	Work begins on NBP
2001	Announcement of LEW to LR communities and public; NHA provides satellite imagery to CDGK to calculate and demarcate ROW; eviction notices issued to LR communities; no plan for compensation/resettlement exists yet; all settlements termed as ‘encroachers’ illegally occupying government land; demolitions commence
2001-2002	Opposition to evictions and demolitions by LR communities; evictees of HAV file a case against LEW in SHC; formation of alliances amongst various communities; protests and demonstrations; support of Civil Society
March 2002	Ground-breaking ceremony of LEW delayed due to protests
2002	Facing protests and public demand for LEW details, Niamatullah (Mayor Karachi) promises to make details available to everyone
September 2002	A rehabilitation plan is announced by LG (CDGK): LERP is set up
2002	1 st listing survey for documenting ‘affectees’
2002	Resettlements starts at Hawkes Bay Scheme 42, Sectors 9 and 10
April 2003	Project Cycle-1 (PC-1) of resettlement prepared by LERP approved by ECNEC (Executive Committee of the National Economic Council – Cabinet Division, Govt of Pakistan)
October 2003	SHC judgement; stay order given by SHC to leased/legal properties, no demolitions to be done without paying market-rate compensation to these, according to LAA 1894; gives no favour to unleased houses, but orders on-ground survey to document all affectees more accurately
August 2004	<i>FG change: Shaukat Aziz (PMLQ) becomes PM</i>
2004	Resettlement starts at LB: Taiser Town Scheme 45 (Sectors 35 and 36); 2 nd listing survey to document affectees

Year	Event
November 2004	Original expected completion date for LEW passes, LEW remains incomplete
August 2005	NHA files case in Supreme Court of Pakistan against ‘encroachers’
October 2005	<i>Mustafa Kamal becomes mayor Karachi (2005-2010); Nasreen Jalil Deputy Mayor</i>
December 2005	Revised (second) PC-1 based on the on-ground survey is approved
2007	3 rd listing survey
<i>December 2007</i>	<i>KSDP 2020 is approved/passed</i>
March 2008	<i>FG change: Yusuf Raza Gillani (PPP)</i>
September 2008	<i>FG change: Asif Ali Zardari (PPP) becomes president</i>
November 2008	Re-Revised (third) PC-1 approved
2009	Resettlement started at Baldia Township Scheme 29, Sector 1
2010	Revised completion date for LEW passes, project still incomplete; resistance by LR settlements continues as LEW construction progresses; southbound side completed; delays in ROW clearance on northbound side
2010	Institutional friction: LG (CDGK) raises objections to revised ROW by FG; FG manages to convince LG on revised ROW
2011	LERP runs out of funds; bulk of resettlement funds spent to acquire electricity and gas connections; KESC issues disconnection notices to LERP due to non-payment of dues
2012-2019	Costs of LEW keep increasing; construction keeps getting delayed due ROW resistance and constant re-alignments/re-designs
June 2013	<i>FG change: Nawaz Sharif (PMLN)</i>
2016	<i>Commissioner System abolished in Karachi; Waseem Akhtar mayor (2016-2020)</i>
2019	Last ramp of LEW opens; service corridors still remain to be constructed; both corridors of LEW officially declared fully open to public
2022	LEW functional; LERP disbanded; LB settlers await services and infrastructure

I. Secondary sources consulted for listing down participant names

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9. PM Shahid Khaqan Abbasi address the inauguration ceremony of Lyari Express Way: <https://bit.ly/3E6xmbj>
10. Worst Condition Of Taiser Town DMC West - ON THE SPOT By Bilal Ahsan: <https://bit.ly/3y5UKSw>
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J. Potential participant profiles (Planners)

No	Affiliation	Name of participant	Designation/ dates
1.	NHA	Asim Amin	GM (Planning) (NHA HQ)
2.	NHA	Tufail Ahmad Sheikh	Member (PPP) (NHA HQ)
3.	NHA	Major (Rtd.) Syed Ahmed	LEW Project Director 1
4.	NHA	??	LEW Project Director 2
5.	NHA	Major Gen. Raja Farrukh Javed	Former chairman NHA
6.	NHA	Shahid Ashraf Tarar	Former chairman NHA (2017)
7.	FWO	Yousuf Barakzai	Former General Manager (Construction) – LEW
8.	FWO	??	Former General Manager (Construction) – LEW (2001-2019)
9.	FWO	Lt. Col. Adil Khan	Commanding Officer, LEW construction
10.	FWO	??	Director (2001-2019)
11.	EA Consultants	Tanveer Ahmed Khan	Consultant LEW 2001-onwards; Currently: Head of Operations/ Director Projects
12.	EA Consultants	??	Designer LEW (2001-2019)
13.	FG	Pervez Musharraf	President of Pakistan 2001-2011, force behind LEW
14.	Bureaucrat	Dr Masuma Hasan	Secretary to ex-President Musharraf
15.	Bureaucrat	Brig. Akhtar Zamin	Secretary to Governor Sindh, Muhammad Mian Soomro, 2000-2005
16.	LERP	Shafiq Paracha	Project Director (2005-?)
17.	LERP	Nasir Hayat	Project Director LERP (2002)
18.	LERP	Rasheed Asim	??
19.	LERP	Mohammad Shamim	Consultant
20.	LERP	Aziz Memon	Executive Engineer LERP, Hawks Bay Scheme-42
21.	LERP	Yawar Mehdi	Executive Engineer LERP, Taiser Scheme-45 and Baldia Scheme-29
22.	KMC	Farooq Sattar	Mayor Karachi (9 January 1988- 27 July 1992)
23.	KMC	Fahim Zaman	Former mayor, Administrator KMC
24.	KMC	??	Commissioner Karachi, 2010-2016
25.	KMC	Waseem Akhtar	Mayor Karachi (Aug 2016- Aug 2020)
26.	KMC	Iftikhar Shalwani	Commissioner Karachi, Aug 2020–Dec 2020
27.	KMC	Navid Ahmed Shaikh	Commissioner Karachi, Dec2020-ongoing
28.	KMC	Asif Jameel	Deputy Commissioner Karachi West, 2017
29.	KMC	Laeq Ahmed	Administrator Karachi, 2020-2021
30.	Revenue Dept, CDGK	Roshan Ali Sheikh	EDO (Executive District Officer, Revenue Dept).

No	Affiliation	Name of participant	Designation/ dates
31.	Revenue Dept, CDGK	Afzal Zaidi	Part of Revenue Dept, CDGK.
32.	Estate Dept, CDGK	??	Ownership/management of city land
33.	Enforcement Deptt. CDGK	Salman Faridi,	District Officer, Enforcement Division
34.	MPGO	Master planner 1	Worked on the KSDP 2020
35.	MPGO	Master planner 2	Worked on the KSDP 2020
36.	CDGK	Niamatullah Khan	Mayor Karachi (2001-2005)
37.	CDGK	Dr Fayyaz	Assistant to Niamatullah, Mayor Karachi
38.	CDGK	Mustafa Kamal	Mayor Karachi (2005-2010)
39.	CDGK	Nasreen Jalil	Deputy Mayor (2005-2010)
40.	CDGK LG	Mohammad Kamal Malik	Town Nazim Gulberg
41.	CDGK LG	Saeed Ahmed Sidiqi	Naib Nazim Gulberg
42.	CDGK LG	Latif Lodhi	Municipal Officer Gulberg
43.	CDGK LG	Wasay Jalil	Town Nazim Gulshan
44.	CDGK LG	Shoaib Akhtar	Naib Nazim Gulshan
45.	CDGK LG	Muhammad Shafiqur Rehman	Municipal Officer Gulshan
46.	CDGK LG	Osama Qadri	Town Nazim Liaqatabad
47.	CDGK LG	Tasnimul Hassan Farooqui	Naib Nazim Liaqatabad
48.	CDGK LG	Ghufran Ahmed	Municipal Officer Liaqatabad
49.	CDGK LG	??	Town Nazim Jamshed
50.	CDGK LG	Imran Aslam Khan	Town Administrator
51.	CDGK LG	??	Town Nazim SITE
52.	CDGK LG	??	Town Nazim Lyari
53.	CDGK LG	Humayun Khan	Town Nazim Keamari
54.	CDGK LG	Ameer Hamza	Naib Nazim Keamari
55.	CDGK LG	Muhammad Latif Lodhi	Municipal Officer Keamari
56.	CDGK LG	UC Nazim	Lower-tier: on field every day
57.	ANP	??	Politician with constituency
58.	MQM	??	Politician with constituency
59.	PPP	??	Politician with constituency
60.	Sindh Assembly	??	MPAs – from 2001 to 2019
61.	SHC	??	Advocate General in demolitions case (2013)
62.		???	demolition workers
63.		???	machine operators
64.		???	eviction notice distributors

K. Potential participant profiles (Affectees)

No	Affiliation	Name of participant	Designation/ dates
65.	LNWA	??	Lyari Nadi Welfare Association: Community resistance group, 2001-onwards
66.	HAV	Jan Mohammad	Community resistance leader
67.	HAV	Tariq Aziz	Lawyer, affectee from Hasan Aulia Village
68.	HAV	Farida Majeed	Ex-councilor/ UC from Hasan Aulia Village
69.	Affected community	??	Representative, community affected in 2001-2006 (Sohrab Goth, Gulshan/southbound track)
70.	Affected community	??	Common affectee, community affected in 2001-2006 (Sohrab Goth, Gulshan/southbound track)
71.	Affected community	??	Common affectee, community affected in 2001-2006 (Sohrab Goth, Gulshan/southbound track)
72.	Affected community	??	Representative, community affected in 2013-2017 (Golimar/northbound track)
73.	Affected community	??	Common affectee, community affected in 2013-2017 (Golimar/northbound track)
74.	Affected community	??	Common affectee, community affected in 2013-2017 (Golimar/northbound track)
75.	LB	??	Resettled affectee at Lyari Basti
76.	LB	??	Resettled affectee
77.	LB	??	Resettled affectees

L. Potential participant profiles (Civil Society)

No	Affiliation	Name of participant	Designation/ dates
78.	Citizen	Dr Samir Hoodhboy	Came up with LEW Design 1
79.	Researcher	Arif Hasan	Chairman URC; academic/writer
80.	Researcher, bureaucrat	Tasneem Ahmed Siddiqui	Former Director-General, SKAA; founder, Khuda ki Basti low-income housing project
81.	Engineer	Shoaib Ismail	Proposed an alternate LEW design; engineer
82.	University	Noman Ahmed	Academic, covering various aspects of LEW
83.	URC	Yunus Baloch	Director
84.	URC	Zahid Farooq	Joint Secretary
85.	Media	Baseer Naveed	Journalist covering resistance, HR advocate, 2002 onwards
86.	Media	Zubeida Mustafa	Journalist covering resettlement program 2005 onwards

M. Step-by step workflow of the Data Analysis Phases

Table 8.2 gives a detailed step-by-step description of each stage of the Data Analysis workflow. It is meant to lay down a replicable methodological guide for similar data analysis exercises. Each step derives from the learnings of the previous one, and the process as a whole is largely intuitive and iterative. This description is not meant as an exhaustive or rigid to-do list, but more as a personal log of activities that helped arrive at the current results of this study. It can be consulted as a reference for urban CDA research. Explanatory descriptions of each step have been provided in CHAPTER 5.

Table 8.2. Step-by-step description of Data Analysis phases

No.	Process
Data Analysis Phase I: Coding and Refining	
1	Open coding A4
2	Developing basic coding frame
3	Refining coding frame
4	Open coding A5
5	Refining coding frame
6	Open coding A6
7	Refining coding frame
8	First round of Creative Coding: 'Life during eviction' and 'Life after eviction'
9	Open coding P1
10	Open coding P4
11	Retrospective coding on previous transcripts
12	Code categorization choices
13	Deleting tangential codes
14	Categorizing specific codes: Actors
15	Arriving at a provisional, hierarchical, multi-level coding frame

Table 8.2 (continued)

No.	Process
16	Open coding A7
17	Open coding A9
18	Adjustments to code hierarchy, capitalization of most frequent codes, color-coding
19	Second round of Creative Coding: 'TIME' and 'SUBJECT FORMATION'
20	Retrospective coding on previous transcripts
21	Open coding C1
22	Refining coding frame
23	Reading previous transcripts to apply new code hierarchies
24	Open coding P5
25	Open coding P6
26	Consolidating codes for all 'Actors' under 'PLANNING PROCESS'
27	Small adjustments to coding frame
28	Third round of Creative Coding: 'LEW'
29	Open coding C2
30	Fourth round of Creative Coding: 'PLANNING PROCESS'
31	Open coding A8
32	Open coding A1
33	Open coding C3
34	Consolidating codes
35	Open coding P2
36	Open coding P3
37	Retrospective coding on previous transcripts
Data Analysis Phase II: Identifying prominent themes and relationships in the data, and updating coding frame	
38	Tool 1: Code Frequencies
39	Tool 2: Code Coverage

Table 8.2 (continued)

No.	Process
40	Tool 3: Code Clouds
41	Tool 4: Refining Codes
42	Tool 5: Creative Coding
43	Coding frame, subcodes and parent codes locked
Data Analysis Phase III: Generating Results through iterative processes	
44	Process 1: Overview of Codes
45	Process 2: Code Frequencies
46	Process 3: Code Relations Browser
47	Process 4: Code Map
48	Process 5: Similarity Analysis
49	Process 6: Code Coverage

CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MCP	Dept. of City & Regional Planning, METU	2016
B. Arch	Dept. of Architecture, NED University Karachi	2012
A' Levels	Karachi Grammar School	2006
O' Levels	Generation's School	2004

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2022-Present	Karachi Urban Lab, IBA	Associate Director
2021-Present	Social Sciences/Liberal Arts, IBA	Visiting Faculty
2021-2022	UNDP-IBA Project	Data Analysis Specialist
2019-2022	Karachi Urban Lab, IBA	Senior Research Associate
2012-2013	Dept. of Earthquake Engineering, NED University Karachi	Research Assistant
2012-2013	Dept. of Architecture, NED University Karachi	Visiting Faculty
2009-2010	Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture, Karachi	Teaching Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Urdu, English

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